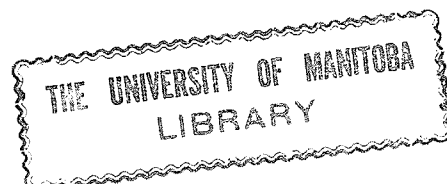


ESKIMO ETHNIC IDENTITY:
A SYNTHESIS OF PROBLEMS AND APPROACHES

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TO JODI
AND MY PARENTS

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ABSTRACT

Eskimo Ethnic Identity:

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Anthropological researchers continue to encounter the problems associated with the meaning and identification of ethnic units in the societies they study. Although there is little written that explicitly treats ethnicity constructs among Eskimo or, for that matter, native peoples in general, I contend that the validity of defining ethnic groups remains a critical focal point for socio-cultural studies. Through a synthesis of the ethnic identity phenomena among certain Central Canadian Eskimo, attention is directed toward the definition of meaningful ethnic groups or units, both traditionally and in the contemporary setting. Further, consideration is given to the analysis of these ethnic units and suggestions are presented for research aimed at elucidating the problems involved in the study of Eskimo ethnicity. These points may be applicable to ethnic groups in other areas as well.

Recent examinations of the Euroamerican and Euro-canadian impact on ethnic self-perception among indigenous groups in North America indicate the emergence of a changing

pattern in identity concepts. The conclusions reached in this thesis are, at best, problematic and purport to serve only as a guide for additional studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While the finished product presented in this thesis represents my own incipient contribution to an increasing knowledge of the Eskimo, I wish to acknowledge the combined efforts of many who played significant roles throughout the various stages culminating in this manuscript.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor T. C. Correll, my chairman and advisor, for the many long hours spent in helping me to formulate a problem and begin the research on this thesis. His knowledge of the Eskimo has been of tremendous help and encouragement to me. To the remaining members of my committee, Dr. J. S. Matthiasson and Dr. R. E. Wiest, I extend my sincere thanks for their help in completing my work.

I am grateful to Dr. Joan F. de Pena for making possible the opportunity for two field visits at the Eskimo settlements of Igloolik and Hall Beach, Northwest Territories. These field visits were in connection with Dr. de Pena's study of Eskimo children's growth and development under the auspices of the International Biological Programme-Human Adaptability Igloolik Project, Growth and Development Study. Although I was primarily involved in taking anthropometric measurements and transcribing vital statistics, the time spent in these two villages provided an opportunity to make a number of

observations which led me to this search of the literature on ethnic identity and its applications to the study of Eskimo ethnicity.

Special appreciation must be expressed to Dr. D. A. Rokala for his initial encouragement leading to my entry into anthropological studies. His direction, guidance and suggestions both before and during my study at the University of Manitoba shall long be remembered.

I also wish to acknowledge the suggestions of my fellow graduate students in the preparation of this manuscript. In particular, the comments and discussions of Ivan Raupp, Larry Sawchuk, Frank Wagner and George Wenzel were most stimulating. In addition, I wish to thank Dr. Raleigh Ferrell and Dr. Robert E. Ackerman of the Department of Anthropology, Washington State University for their comments regarding contemporary problems in ethnic identity.

Certainly I would not wish to exclude the Eskimo and Eurocanadians at Igloolik and Hall Beach. While not contributing directly as informants for this thesis, they assisted through their conversations and friendship. I am especially grateful to Alan Falconer and Father Franz Van deVelde, O.M.I., residents at Hall Beach during my field visits, for their correspondence which has provided both current information and continued encouragement.

Finally, I express a deep appreciation to my wife for her comments, criticisms and proofreading. Without her perseverance and persistence I might not have completed this thesis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Eskimos . . . are a very distinct people. They have an easily recognized physical type, they speak a language spoken by nobody else, and they have evolved their own special way of life, different from that of any other people, enabling them to live and be happy under the most extreme conditions (Rowley 1964: 12).

The Problem of Ethnicity

Briefly, ethnic identity is used in this thesis to refer to ascribed membership in a group. Members share a set of signs, signals and values by which they distinguish themselves from other groups. Generally an ethnic group, to be recognizable, must be viewed in contrast to other groups (Barth 1969; McFeat 1970). This interpretation of the concept of ethnic identity and its related terms will be elaborated in the concluding chapter.

This thesis has been initiated to examine concepts relating to ethnic identity and to elucidate the identification of ethnic units among Eskimo, in particular those in a portion of the Central Canadian Arctic. Comprehensive information as to the nature and identity of Canadian Indian¹ groups in terms of ethnic units is inconclusive at the present time (Slobodin 1970: 12).

Simplistic statements, such as the one attributed to Rowley (above, p. 1), are prime contributors to the enigmatic environment surrounding ethnic identity. Edward T. Hall, in his work on proxemics, asserts that there are both physical and non-physical boundaries for every living thing. The latter make up what he refers to as territory and, though harder to delimit, are equally as real. It is argued that in man the concept of territoriality between cultures becomes highly elaborated and greatly differentiated (Hall 1959: 146). The implications from such arguments have been extended, in many instances, to include the ethnic groups which may comprise the various cultures as well. Implicit in Hall's statement on boundaries is the notion of frontiers -- natural, social or cultural -- demarcating one group from another. It is unlikely that ethnic boundaries are, in fact, that easily discernible. Further, the problem is intensified through attempts to establish meaningful research units in areas of contiguous habitation which lack ecological or state-like divisions (Moerman 1965: 1215). Only in a limited number of instances are we presented with anything closely approximating an isolate in any sense of the term.

Among the Kachin of Highland Burma, E. R. Leach contends that lacking natural frontiers² we may find, in fact, a greater likelihood of interaction between groups (1954: 17). Further, he proposes that such relations can imply an underlying social structure expressed in cultural

symbols, the boundaries of which do not necessarily coincide (Leach 1954: 17). Under such circumstances, Leach finds the conventional ethnographic interpretations of a culture and a tribe inadequate (Leach 1954: 281). Analogous with Leach's comments on the Kachin is my position regarding the Eskimo in the North American Arctic.

Boas proposed the concept of a basic Eskimo cultural pattern in his early work in the Central and Eastern Canadian Arctic. He postulated:

. . . that we find now a greater unity of Eskimo culture from Alaska to North Greenland in the detailed form of utensils as well as in customs, beliefs and certain parts of mythology (Boas 1907: 564).

The minor degrees of difference noticeable were credited to an influence of the environment on the material and intellectual cultures of the various Eskimo groups (Boas 1907: 356-57). While a certain consistency of cultural elements prompted Kroeber to designate an Arctic culture area (1939: 20-27), Eskimo culture has been conceptualized as a series of variations on a major theme, which develop primarily around subsistence patterns and segregate into regional systems (Spencer and Jennings, et al. 1965: 122). For the most part, the variations relate to the two main orientations in Eskimo subsistence: sea mammal and caribou hunting, although this dichotomy is not rigidly adhered to at all times. Trade networks, such as the one between coastal and inland peoples (see Spencer and Jennings, et al. 1965: 132-37), provide a means for exchanging vital products

between ecological zones, thus helping to retain the basic homogeneity suggested for Eskimo culture. The complexity of the Eskimo system is summarized by Laughlin as a succession of " . . . ever more inclusive units ranging from small village demes to the largest population unit which includes all Eskimo" (Laughlin 1970: 5). Some current research among Eskimo groups in the Central Canadian Arctic and Alaska may shed additional light on the validity of considering Eskimo society a single framework (T. C. Correll, personal communications: 1968-70).

Ethnographic examples of the regional Eskimo groups found in the Canadian Arctic include the Mackenzie, Copper, Caribou, Netsilik, Iglulik³ and Labrador Eskimo. Jenness has suggested that, except for limited instances where the region has been named after a peculiar feature of the inhabitants, the designations reflect geographic areas (1932: 123). On this basis the boundaries for Eskimo regional systems are somewhat tenuous; however, Goffman has defined a region " . . . as any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception" (1959: 106). At this point it is premature to speculate whether geographic, cultural or some combination of these and other phenomena constitute barriers to Eskimo perception, thus enabling the establishment of ethnic identity units.

Two basic assumptions are inherent in the acceptance of an underlying cultural theme among Eskimo populations as put forth above. First, that the basic homogeneity extends

to all Eskimo groups and, second, that variations are identifiable through some system of boundary markers. It is the latter, the definition of units and their applicability to anthropological research, which has become increasingly difficult to ascertain.

The need for more accurately delimiting study units, such as ethnic groups, and relationships to other units is a well accepted fact. Continued attempts are being made in the social sciences to create various taxonomies which will provide a framework for the study of man in part or in total. This alone makes the problems of ethnic identity and potential boundary mechanisms worth investigating. Conversely, it is equally important to consider that taxonomic units defined by concepts of ethnicity may have limited value as a designator of research units. Additional implications can be directed toward biological and linguistic unit constructs as well, but will not be dealt with in this thesis. The conclusions to be drawn from such considerations may assist those involved with Eskimo socio-cultural research in producing studies which lead to an increased understanding of the Eskimo, past and present.

The Method of Analysis

By necessity, much of the material presented in this thesis must remain problematic. There is little that has been written which deals explicitly with ethnic identity and boundary marker mechanisms among the Eskimo⁴. I suggest

that most current considerations of ethnic identity have not provided an adequate solution to questions concerning the value or tenability of applying artificial boundaries in empirical situations.

Three basic avenues of investigation are used here to examine the problem. First, the literature is reviewed to synthesize more concisely the problems inherent in defining Eskimo ethnic constructs. Specifically, ethnic identity is examined in light of the miut group and the regional system, their relevance to Eskimo populations in the ethnographic present and ultimately the applications to contemporary Arctic studies. In addition, the impact of Western society on Eskimo self-identification [ethnic identity] has been considered. Further exploration of the relationship between native groups and intruding social systems provides up-to-date considerations of potential changes in concepts of ethnicity. Second, this thesis includes an analysis of ethnic identity in conjunction with the position taken by Barth (1969) and elaborated by McFeat (1970). The Eskimo data will be examined within this framework. Third and finally, I have included suggested avenues for approaching the problems of ethnic identity which are pertinent to socio-cultural research. Because of the general scope inherent in this study of Eskimo ethnic identity, it is difficult to confine these efforts within the framework of a single theoretical approach. The application of a more eclectic perspective is indicated by the

complexity of the problem.

While this thesis is directed toward a synthesis of ethnic identity applicable to Eskimo populations in general, the Iglulik Eskimo have been selected for a more detailed description. Although the Iglulik data is not complete in all areas included in this study of ethnic identity, this group will be referred to in terms of some of the problems examined. Further, and most important for this thesis, the Iglulik Eskimo provide the reader with a specific example of a Central Canadian Arctic Eskimo group [aboriginal, historic and contemporary] enhancing the understanding of the setting in which ethnic identity problems in the study of Eskimo groups have arisen.

The selection of the Iglulik Eskimo group for expanded discussion is based both on the diachronic continuity available in the literature and my familiarity with the people themselves. Personal observations and examples concerning community structure and individuals were taken from notes compiled during two field trips to Igloolik and Hall Beach, Northwest Territories in February, 1969 and July-September, 1969. Personal communications from several residents of the area have enabled me to supplement my field notes with some current information through the early part of 1971. The dynamics of these two communities presupposes additional changes which will not be considered in this thesis.

The Iglulik Eskimo regional system has been well documented by early explorers (Lyon 1824; Parry 1824) and several members of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24 (Birket-Smith 1928; Mathiassen 1928; Rasmussen 1929). In addition, the correlation between the contemporary populations in the area and the earlier Dorset and Thule Cultures has been established through the efforts of several archeological scholars (Mathiassen 1927; Rowley 1940; Collins 1956; Meldgaard 1960; Taylor 1963, 1966, 1968).

More recently the Iglulik Eskimo, along with several neighboring groups, have been the subject of extensive socio-cultural study by David Damas (1963, 1966, 1968a, 1968b, 1969a, 1969b, 1970). Other Central Canadian Arctic groups are currently subject to both linguistic and cultural research developing an ethnographic base which provides an adequate, although not complete, framework within which to examine problems of ethnicity and the potential effects of contact and change. Further corroboration is supplied from selected literature pertaining to other North American Eskimo groups and Sub-Arctic Indians as well as minority populations in S. E. Asia.

CHAPTER II

THE IGLULIK ESKIMO: ECOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

While there are numerous Eskimo groups in the Canadian Arctic, the Iglulik Eskimo are presented here as one example within which the problems of ethnicity may be considered. The ecological factors involved in their specific adaptation to a northern area and the ethnographic data provide a basis from which to undertake an investigation of both the aboriginal and contemporary concepts of ethnic identity. Although the lack of explicit data regarding the Iglulik Eskimo prevents the fullest utilization of this background material, I maintain that such basic information is pertinent to our understanding of ethnicity development as seen in a particular arctic sector.

Ecology

The topographic environment of the region primarily inhabited by the Iglulik Eskimo alternates from tundra vegetation to gravel and exposed rock [mainly limestone] (Mathiassen 1933: 24-85; Damas 1969a: 42). According to recent geographical studies of the northern Foxe Basin area, approximately thirty physiographic divisions can be identified, none of which have any marked significance for the overall ecology of the region (Anders 1965: 5-15; Crowe 1970: 1).

Mathiassen has designated a major portion of the entire region a " . . . typical Barren Grounds land" (1928: 6). In general, much of the land portion of the region is glaciated plateau ranging in height between 500 and 1,500 feet above sea-level. Few of the numerous islands in the area average over several hundred feet in elevation (Mathiassen 1933: 24-85; Anders 1965: 5; Crowe 1970: 1). It is not until the northern part of Baffin Island that the higher plateau land is encountered which falls off sharply toward the coast line forming a series of fjords and valleys (Mathiassen 1928: 8).

A prominent physical characteristic of the soil in this region, as well as other parts of the Arctic, is the presence of permafrost (Thompson 1968: 266-67; William Pruitt, personal communication: 1969). Permafrost is an area of substratum that has remained below freezing for two or more years. This permafrost ranges in depth from several inches up to approximately 1,500 feet. The active top layer is subject to alternating freezing and thawing each year. This characteristic of Arctic terrain makes summer land travel difficult, contributes to the accumulation of surface water as proper drainage is not possible and hinders the development of fertile soil. Coupled with the short growing season, permafrost has contributed significantly to reducing the number of plant species capable of surviving in Arctic regions.

For approximately seven months of each year the sea area of the Iglulik Eskimo region is frozen over. The land-

fast ice, reaching its maximum sometime around late April or early May, provides a convenient avenue for travel as well as an easy access to the walrus and seal which abound at the floe edge some 10 to 14 miles offshore (Anders 1965: 22; Crowe 1970: 2). In general, the breakup of ice in the northern reaches of Hudson Bay and Foxe Basin has been completed by mid-July; however, there have been instances where the density of the ice pack has prevented navigation throughout most of the summer (Larnder 1968: 335). At Igloolik, for example, the Hudson's Bay Company was unable to receive their necessary supply shipments for several years during the early 1940's due to unusually heavy pack-ice (Damas 1963: 26; Crowe 1970: 2). The formation period for sea ice during the late fall months is crucial for ease of travel by dog team, snowmobile and bombardier, as well as for the building of an ice runway for receiving scheduled air transportation. According to informants, heavy winds caused considerable shifting of the pack-ice during the winter of 1967-68 which greatly hampered the various modes of transportation.

The climatological aspects of the region are basically uniform throughout most of the area. The climate has been described, for the most part, as Arctic continental with long cold winters, short summers, little precipitation and a relatively high humidity. Winds of gale force are uncommon, but there are few periods of complete calm. The winter temperatures average between -20°F and -32°F during February,

the coldest month. July is considered the warmest period and averages between 42° F and 49° F (Mathiassen 1928: 9-10; Anders 1965: 18; Damas 1969a: 42). The lower summer temperatures are maintained to a great degree by the late ice breakup. This factor, in addition to retarding spring warm-up, keeps winds cool and contributes to the development of fog which frequently appears in much of the region (Thompson 1968: 267). I would like to point out that during late July, 1969, while in Hall Beach, an unofficial record of 72° F was reached which indicates, contrary to general opinion, some extremely pleasant weather may be enjoyed north of the Arctic Circle. In total, the effects of this rather rigorous climate are manifest in almost all of the remaining environmental sub-systems, thus becoming one of the more important features of the Arctic.

Arctic flora in this region is abundant, but limited to a small variety of species. The denseness and variation correlate directly with the soil conditions and temperature for various parts of the region. Growing areas range from well drained gravel ridges to heavily saturated meadow-like areas with a rather constant water seepage throughout most of the growing season (Anders 1965: 31).

There are mosses, lichens, sedges, grasses, dwarf willows and a scattering of flowering plants (Anders 1965: 30-31). One significant aspect is the absence of trees (Robinson 1968: 233). Perhaps the most important influence of this treelessness is the adoption of other organic

materials such as bone for the manufacture of material goods. The limited number of floral species has resulted in little exploitation of this portion of the eco-system by the Eskimo. Some berries are picked in season and the willow, when available, may be used for fuel or in the construction of sleeping mats. The greatest contribution of the flora in this environment is credited to its role in the distribution of game, most importantly the caribou (Damas 1969a: 42).

Among the more important fauna in the Iglulik region are caribou, ring seal, bearded seal, walrus, narwhal and the beluga or white whale. There are also varying quantities of polar bear, arctic wolf, hare, fox and lemmings. Historically the musk ox provided some hunting potential, but mainly in the Wager Bay region inhabited by the Aivilingmiut (Lyon 1824: 341; Boas 1888: 449, 1907: 357; Mathiassen 1928: 12-14; Damas 1969a: 45). Only a few species of birds [gulls, ptarmigan, ducks, geese and loon] and fish [tom cod, grayling and arctic char] are found; neither have played an important role in the subsistence patterns of the Iglulik Eskimo (Mathiassen 1928: 13-14; Anders 1965: 43 and 46).

The major subsistence orientation for the Iglulik Eskimo has been sea mammal hunting. Robinson comments:

For the Eskimo, the waters of the Bay [referring to Hudson Bay and the adjacent Foxe Basin: my note], including its variable ice cover and animal resources, are more important in some regions than are the land areas (1968: 234).

The caribou, while they do contribute to the overall food supply, are considered secondary in their subsistence value

by the Iglulik Eskimo. However, it is important to note that in addition to supplying extra meat and hides for clothing the contents of caribou stomachs were utilized as a means of providing vegetable material in an otherwise heavy protein diet.

Ethnography

The Iglulik Eskimo comprise a regional system occupying portions of Melville Peninsula, Igloolik Island and northern Baffin Island where today are found the government supported villages of Igloolik, Hall Beach, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Repulse Bay (Crowe 1970: 22). The literature pertaining to the Iglulik peoples has its earliest beginnings in the reports of several Arctic exploratory parties that entered this region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The journals kept by these explorers provide us with some of the first information on the North, the aboriginal inhabitants and their culture.

Some of the first contacts with members of the Iglulik group occurred in the Repulse Bay region. Captain Middleton is acknowledged to have made the initial recorded encounter with the Eskimo around Wager Bay as he explored Roes Welcome in 1742 (Mathiassen 1928: 4, 1933: 3; Manning 1943: 101). Thomas Button, in 1613, made the first actual exploration of the more southern limits of the Iglulik Eskimo region (Anders 1965: 52); however, there is no indication that he actually contacted any of the natives

inhabiting the area. Other early explorers, J. Rae and C. F. Hall, also spent time exploring the territory populated by Iglulik Eskimo. Unfortunately their contributions have not extended, to any major degree, our knowledge of the aboriginal inhabitants they may have encountered. John Ross and his expedition were among the earliest explorers of the Pond Inlet region located on the northwestern tip of Baffin Island, investigating that area in 1818 (Mathiassen 1928: 5, 1933: 3).

Captain W. E. Parry is considered the first to reach and make contact with the Eskimo at Igloolik Island in northern Foxe Basin. On a second voyage in search of a Northwest Passage in 1821-23, he spent the winter of 1822 anchored in Turton Bay along the southern coast of the island (Lyon 1824: 277; Parry 1824: 353). It is possible that some members of this particular sub-culture, the Iglulingmiut⁵, met traders before Parry's exploration. Hudson's Bay Company ships were operating in the area of Cape Fullerton before Parry's voyage (Manning 1943: 101), and while little was known of the Eskimo north of this point at that time, contact and trade between the Iglulingmiut and the more southern Aivilingmiut could have accounted for the metal objects that Parry found upon his arrival (Parry 1824: 504).

The archeological evidence for cultural continuity in the Iglulik region is impressive. Jens Munk Island provides a sequence that dates back approximately 4,000 years from the contemporary Iglulik Eskimo (Meldgaard 1960: 73;

Taylor 1968: 1). The oldest site, located on Igloolik Island, belongs to the Sarqaq or pre-Dorset inhabitants of the area (Anders 1965: 47).

A suggested series of cultures, each seeming to focus on the northwest regions of Foxe Basin with an orientation toward sea mammals (Crowe 1970: 13), is credited with giving rise to the present Eskimo population as it is found today throughout much of the Central Canadian Arctic. Included in these cultures are: Sarqaq - 1,800 B.C. to 800 B.C., Dorset - 800 B.C. to 1,300 A.D. and Thule - 1,300 A.D. to 1,700 A.D. (Meldgaard 1960: 64-75; Damas 1963: 18). Dispersion of the population may have taken place in an increasing proportion as each successive culture came into being.

The fourth culture, the contemporary Eskimo, remained virtually unchanged until the more recent influences of Western society. It is difficult to measure the line of demarcation between Thule Eskimo and the present day populations, although it is most often distinguished by the disappearance of large scale whaling and the shift to other sea mammals as the base for subsistence (Anders 1965: 47). More recently the emphasis has been directed toward settlement into permanent villages and a gradual reorientation of the economic system from hunting to one which includes varying amounts of wage employment.

David Damas has devoted considerable effort in the past few years to the study of social structure and kinship systems among several of the Central Arctic groups, specifi-

cally the Iglulik, Netsilik and Copper Eskimo. One product of his research, in combination with earlier ethnographic and historical accounts, has been an ethnohistorically oriented framework for analyzing patterns and changes in these particular Eskimo regional systems (Damas 1963: 19-31, 1966: 115-19, 1968a: 141-72, 1969a, 1969b).

This ethnohistoric framework follows a series of stages depicting, for the most part, the economic and social life of a particular period, the various influences that may have been operative during these periods and the resulting changes. The temporal sequence suggested as a basis includes: aboriginal, transitional, contact-traditional and centralized periods (Damas 1968a: 141)⁶. Damas's scheme has been utilized in presenting this ethnographic view of the Iglulik Eskimo.

Aboriginal Ethnographic Period

The aboriginal or earliest period in Iglulik Eskimo history is defined as one " . . . in which contact with whites was restricted mainly to exploratory parties" (Damas 1968a: 142). During this period technology, economy, ideology and social organization showed little signs of change (Damas 1966: 115). It remained, for the most part, the product which had evolved out of the preceding Thule culture during the latter part of the eighteenth century. At that time, the more drastic changes resulted from the decreased emphasis on whale hunting, especially a virtual end to the larger baleen

whale (Taylor 1968: 14). The accompanying shift in subsistence base is thought to have contributed to the abandonment of the larger, permanent villages and brought about the advent of a more nomadic way of life. Characteristic of this shift in settlement pattern was the snow house or iglu located on the sea ice as the primary housetype during the winter. Additional contributions to the evolution from the Thule culture were received through the introduction of some European goods and ideas by the whalers who had begun operations in this area by the early 1800's (Taylor 1968: 14).

Settlement patterns of the aboriginal Iglulik Eskimo remained closely related to seasonal cycles. The most common, and the largest, grouping was the winter seal hunting villages comprised of approximately 100 people who banded together for a period of three to four months (Helm and Damas 1963: 11). The major activity of these winter camps involved mauliqtaq [breathing-hole] sealing. During the spring and summer months, the Eskimo disbanded into smaller hunting camps ranging in size from 5 to 50 individuals. These camps were usually engaged in uuttuq [basking] sealing, walrus and caribou hunting and some fishing (Mathiassen 1928: 23-36; Damas 1963: 19, 1968a: 146, 1969b: 117-19).

The smallest unit detected among the Iglulik Eskimo was the family. It is implied that reference was made to the nuclear family, but there is evidence to suggest a greater importance may have been given over to the extended family (Nourse 1879: 128; Low 1906: 142; Damas 1968a: 146). These

smaller segments in the overall social organization included the parents and both single and married offspring, and may have functioned as the minimal economic unit. The range of kinship and quasi-kinship structures discussed by Damas (1963: 34-57) indicates, however, the wide range of relationships available within Eskimo populations. Such wide spread ties may have modified or greatly reduced the perception of formalized boundaries between populations that have been ethnographically designated separate entities. On the basis of extensive geneological work Damas has suggested that the Iglulik Eskimo comprise " . . . a relatively continuous kinship network . . . " (1968a: 154).

The oldest male was normally referred to as the isumataq (Damas 1968a: 146). Mathiassen reported that this honor was extended, on the band level, to the most "influential" male residing in a particular group (Mathiassen 1928: 209). The degree of influence was measured in skills for hunting and guidance, not necessarily in any terms of material wealth. Members of the band or family were not obligated to follow directions from the isumataq, but looked to such specialists for advice based upon previous experiences and successes. Damas (1968a: 115) points out that the concept of the isumataq may have reduced the need for sharing partnerships such as those found in other parts of the Arctic, particularly among the North Alaskan Eskimo (see Spencer 1959; Spencer and Jennings, et al. 1965: 132-37). In the case of Central Arctic groups such as the Iglulik Eskimo,

the distribution of food was normally carried out along the lines of the extended family following the suggestions of the isumataq.

Under the aboriginal social structure, kinship reticula formed the basis for most ties existing between Iglulik Eskimo. Such networks extended from any one of the three miut groups [Aivilingmiut, Iglulingmiut or Tununermiut] to either or both of the remaining ones. These networks were considered among the chief integrating mechanisms for the region along with such extra-kin relationships as spouse exchange, dancing, joking and naming (Mathiassen 1928: 211; Damas 1963, 1968a: 147-48, 1968b: 112).

Several other social practices are worthy of further mention. Child betrothal was conducted as a means of assuring a mate for the young male of the family and with a view toward future domestic help (Mathiassen 1928: 210). This type of marriage planning has also been hypothesized as a means of offsetting a sex imbalance that would result from the practice of female infanticide (Balikci 1967: 623); however, this may have had little function among the Iglulik Eskimo as there seems to be little or no evidence of infanticide despite a high infant mortality (Damas 1968a: 148). Adoption appears to have been fairly widespread throughout the Iglulik Eskimo. Of the several motives associated with this practice, the two most commonly referred to are distribution of sex within the group and assurance of assistance in old age (Parry 1825: 531; Damas 1968a: 148, 1969a: 53).

The material culture of the Iglulik Eskimo constitutes a variety of elements geared to the adaptation to an Arctic environment. Included in a basic inventory are skin tents, kayaks, dog sledges, stone lamps for heat and light, stone cooking pots, harpoons and fish spears of bone and ivory, the bow and arrow and tailored skin clothing made from both seal and caribou hides. A detailed description and discussion of the material culture of the Iglulik Eskimo can be found in Mathiassen (1928).

Rasmussen expresses the religious philosophy of the Iglulik Eskimo through a quote, evidently taken from one of his informants: "We do not believe, we fear" (1929: 54). While caution should be used in accepting this interpretation due to possible error in translation, there is some substantiation for the fear aspect exhibited in the reliance of Iglulik Eskimo on both shamans and personal amulets to ward off evil spirits and cope with the unknown or supernatural. The shaman provided a means of communication with supernatural forces, while the amulet lent additional protection from evil spirits on an individual basis (Rasmussen 1929: Chapter 5 and 6).

The view of the supernatural, deities and taboos as rules of life and conduct are, for the most part, related to some aspect of their environment, most commonly the animals upon which the Iglulik Eskimo depend for food. Among the hunting taboos, those related to the caribou seem to be the most numerous and complicated. Special emphasis is directed

toward the separation of sea and land mammal hunting (Rasmussen 1929: 183-95). Subsistence based religious practices have been suggested for hunting and gathering people in other areas as well (see for example Moore 1969).

This, in most general terms, describes the Iglulik Eskimo as they were before the strong influence of Western society began to dominate their life-way through more consistent contact. This domination will bring about the changes which become increasingly visible through time.

Traditional Ethnographic Period

The traditional period for the Iglulik Eskimo has been characterized by the increased importance of whalers and traders. Damas suggests that its beginning may be traced back as early as the establishment of Fort Prince of Wales near what is now Churchill, Manitoba, in 1718 (1968a: 156). Several trading vessels operated out of this port and provided most of the goods that were bartered with the indigenous populations until the Hudson's Bay Company began to erect local trading posts in the early 1900's.

Whaling activity in the Hudson Bay region became important in the mid-1800's (Boas 1888: 466) and lasted until approximately 1910. Among the more important effects which the whalers had on the aboriginal populations were the diseases which they transmitted (Boas 1888: 426), and the increased mobility and relocation arising from the practice of hiring various local Eskimo to work for them.

This latter influence disrupted the normal seasonal cycle and, in one case, resulted in permanent relocation of a group of Aivilingmiut who were moved to Southampton Island to replace an extinct native population (Damas 1968a: 157).

The desire to trade for the material goods of the whiteman contributed to intensified contact between regional groups as well as the various miut designations within the Iglulik Eskimo themselves. Some of the more desired trade goods included iron, rifles, ammunition, tea, flour and tobacco. To obtain these items, the Eskimo gave up considerable amounts of fur. Whale boats, obtained from the early whalers in the region, also played a significant role in increasing the range of sea mammal hunting (Mathiassen 1928: 96).

Among the items of aboriginal culture, Eskimo art styles have been noted for their marked change during this period. Art, as a traditional means of expression, became oriented toward an additional avenue for trade. The chief source of sales became the whaler and, in their desire to please [perhaps equally important was their desire to trade], the Eskimo began to carve things suggested by the whiteman (Damas 1968a: 159). Most of the other material and intellectual elements were retained, contact with Western society was still sporadic and the full impact was yet to be felt.

Contact-Traditional Ethnographic Period

For the Iglulik Eskimo this period marked many of the most important changes in both social and cultural organization. The chief determinants of this portion of the total sequence included trading posts, missions and RCMP Police detachments (Damas 1966: 116-17, 1968a: 159-60). The contact-traditional period has been characterized as " . . . a period of prescribed, stabilized and regularized relations between native and white persons and institutions (Helm and Damas 1963: 20).

During this period the yearly settlement pattern of the Iglulik Eskimo shifted toward a hunt-trapping camp, closely resembling the aboriginal summer camp (Damas 1966: 117). The focus of activity and the center for contact became the trading post or mission. This movement toward a more permanent base community, with what appeared to be a network of satellite camps, provided much of the needed impetus for the decline of nomadism and cultural independence which had been hallmarks for the earlier aboriginal and traditional periods (Helm and Damas 1963: 10-11). The community structure began to resemble the composite band which has been outlined by Steward (1955: Chapter 8) and Service (1962: 63-64). This societal entity included a number of unrelated nuclear biological families which were integrated " . . . on the basis of constant association and cooperation rather than actual or alleged kinship" (Steward 1955: 143). While this new social structure may have applied

to the groups making up the central trading community, I suggest that the camps, themselves, still relied heavily on an aboriginal system of kinship which " . . . formed a basis for much personal interaction and established strong emotional bonds . . . " (Damas 1966: 116).

With the establishment of trading posts at strategic locations such as Repulse Bay, Igloolik and Pond Inlet, the need to travel for trade was greatly reduced. Populations began to stabilize. Travel, for the most part, was restricted to what was necessary for hunting, trapping and visiting.

Closely coupled with the trading post, and in some instances preceding it, were the missions which began to make inroads into the territory about the same time. For example, Roman Catholic missionaries established the first mission among the Iglulingmiut at Abadjaq in 1931. In 1937 the mission moved to Igloolik⁷ and in 1939 it was joined by a Hudson's Bay Company trading post (Damas 1963: 26). Both the Roman Catholic and Anglican faiths have played an important role in changing the Eskimo outlook toward the spiritual life, and Damas points out that a large number of the native people in these areas soon became " . . . nominal Christians" (Damas 1968a: 162). Christianity took its toll among such aboriginal practices as shamanism and wife exchange and may have contributed to a stability of marriage (Damas 1963: 23-24).

These contact-traditional camps and the accompanying organizational structures continued for a number of years.

There are still remnants of them remaining at the present time. However, the majority of the Eskimo have moved into the centralized settlement which is the last major period to be considered under Damas's format.

Centralized Ethnographic Period

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this period is the permanent northern settlements that have sprung up throughout the Canadian Arctic. In the Iglulik region Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Igloolik, Hall Beach and Repulse Bay have become the government sponsored living sites for almost all the native peoples. In the strictest sense, the concept of centralized community applies best at the level of the larger settlements [Frobisher Bay, for example]; however, the steady growth in the percentage of Eurocanadians has changed the complexion of even the smaller northern villages.

Damas considers the primary causes leading to the centralization of the Eskimo thusly:

. . . inability . . . to live off the land⁸, plus the opportunities for wage labour, the presence of schools, government aid programs, and the related motive of seeking the more exciting life offered by the centralized community (1966: 118).

I would find little reason to disagree with these causes, the only exception being Damas's conception of "a more exciting life". He has not made this point clear. Some of the comforts and entertainment resulting from contacts with Western society are thoroughly enjoyed by the Eskimo; at the same time, several informants have complained about the

negative aspects such as drinking, fighting and a loss of traditional skills in hunting and sewing.

In the majority of cases the most important element lacking in these contemporary Eskimo settlements is a self-sufficiency in organization. The authority rests firmly in the hands of the Eurocanadians (Damas 1966: 118, 1968a: 169).

The degree of movement away from the traditional economic system is marked by both the availability of game and the amount of other employment located in or near the settlement. In some areas mining, construction and the DEW Line are factors contributing to the conversion of the Eskimo from hunter to wage earner. Damas, however, suggests that among the Iglulingmiut " . . . the hunt is still at the focus of economic activity, and the yearly cycle is closely involved with the sort of hunting situations that are most favourable at each season" (1963: 30).

Neighborhoods within many of the new settlements tend to draw up along lines of the traditional camp. The leadership, cooperative and sharing practices operative in the aboriginal setting continue to function to some extent (Damas 1968a: 165; Graburn 1969: 225). Such patterns are observable in the every day activities at Igloolik. Kin ties, much the same as those forming the network of relations for the traditional hunting camp, will influence the selection of housing in the contemporary settlement.

Religion may also be a factor in the structuring of a community. Apparently, some segregation developed in

Igloolik where members of the two faiths, Roman Catholic and Anglican, tend to locate near their respective missions. With minor exceptions, it seems that the current structure of Igloolik has divided near the center of the village to a degree that is unlikely to be coincidental. This same pattern is nowhere as evident at Hall Beach.

Many elements of aboriginal Eskimo material culture are disappearing from the contemporary scene. The most obvious changes can be seen in the house types, clothing and methods of transportation (Damas 1968a: 166). It is not uncommon to see blue jeans and a jacket and the snowmobile replacing the tailored caribou suit and the dog team.

While the original intention may have been to stabilize the populations in these settlements, in actual practice there seems to be an increase in the feeling of mobility. Eskimo leave their home area for special training and are moved about from settlement to settlement in attempts to obtain the fullest utilization of their new found skills. It would not be uncommon to find Iglulik Eskimo living in settlements located beyond aboriginally defined spatial limits or to find Eskimo from widely dispersed regional systems now living in Igloolik or Hall Beach. An examination of the birth records, maintained by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at Igloolik, is suggestive of the trends taking place in population resettlement. Where it is possible to ascertain the birth place of parents, it can be noted that representatives of the Aivilingmiut and Tununermiut from the

settlements of Repulse Bay, Coral Harbour, Chesterfield Inlet, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay respectively, are now residing in Igloolik and Hall Beach. The traditional shift patterns seemingly continue to operate to some extent. Even more enlightening is the number of Eskimo from Gjoa Haven, Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, Aklavik and Reid Island. These represent Eskimo from groups that are not normally included in the Iglulik regional system. The latter three are located in the far western portion of the Canadian Arctic. To a large degree these individuals resettled as a result of the wage labour available at the DEW Line site in Hall Beach, but I suggest that further study would be necessary to determine the full range of possible factors contributing to relocation in the modern community.

The Contemporary Settlement

Two field trips during 1969 provided the opportunity to spend time at Igloolik and Hall Beach, settlements located in the Iglulik Eskimo region. My observations reflect some of the changes that have taken place since Damas conducted his field work in 1960-61, the last extensive socio-cultural research among these particular Eskimo. With limited exceptions, on-going change precludes my awareness of community alterations taking place after the field sessions of 1969.

The trapping-hunting camps, referred to earlier, are still in evidence; however at present they are most frequently occupied only during the summer months. One or two families

did remain at Agu Bay northwest of Igloolik on Baffin Island the year around; but, for the most part, winter hunts are conducted in the form of shorter trips directly from the villages themselves.

While the general pattern of both Igloolik and Hall Beach was established by town planners employed by the Canadian government, the latter, perhaps due to the smaller population, has managed to remain more traditional in its composition. With the exception of one house, relocated late in the summer of 1969, all Eskimo housing has been placed along the beach. This provides easy access to the main avenue of travel during both winter and summer. Toward the center of the community, also on the beach side, are a transient center, Hudson's Bay House with several warehouses, the government housing for the village mechanic and area clerk, an administrative office and the Anglican church. Across the street, following the same linear pattern, are the nursing station, Hudson's Bay Company store, the school, two teacher's houses, a government warehouse and repair shop, the power house and the Roman Catholic mission. Hall Beach is located approximately two miles from Foxe Main DEW Line site and the airport. Several houses just outside the radar installation are utilized by native employees at the site. A recent addition to the community is the International Biological Programme buildings which were being erected in the fall of 1970 (Alan Falconer, personal communication: 1971).

Igloolik, the larger of the two settlements, has been forced into a somewhat different layout. Most houses are arranged in a pattern which puts them back from the beach much more closely resembling a small southern Canadian community. The central part is given over primarily to government installations: several school buildings for classes up to ninth grade, area administrator's office, telephone exchange, government employee's housing, nursing station, oil storage tanks and the RCMP Police. The International Biological Programme research center, erected in the fall of 1969, was destroyed by fire later that same winter and as of early 1971 it has not been replaced (Father Franz Van de Velde, personal communication: 1971).

The Hudson's Bay Company complex forms a hub around which much of Igloolik revolves. Another major complex is provided by the Roman Catholic church. In close proximity to each other are the stone church, a mission house, museum, the Eskimo Co-op store, craft center, repair shop and a meat storage building. The Eskimo cooperative provides residents of Igloolik with an additional source of Western foodstuffs and merchandise. It also serves as an outlet for native meats which are hunted by the Eskimo and sold through the store. Under the supervision of the Roman Catholic priest, the Eskimo Co-op has grown rapidly in recent years and provides an opportunity for employment for several Eskimo. The cooperative furnishes an additional service to the settlement by handling the contracts from the government for waste disposal,

water hauling and construction.

Residents of both Igloolik and Hall Beach enjoy many of the same conveniences offered in villages far to the south. Diesel generators supply electricity for street lights, home lighting systems, refrigerators, stoves, stereos, radios and sewing machines. Movies are shown at least once a week; in Hall Beach the school is used as a theater and dance hall, while Igloolik has its own community center for such forms of entertainment.

In the latter part of the last decade a newspaper, the Midnight Sun, started publication under the guidance of one of the school teachers. This is printed simultaneously in Eskimo and English, providing an outlet for news from both settlements, other villages and a means by which ideas and opinions can be communicated by both the government and the local residents, Eskimo and Eurocanadian.

Modes of transportation continue to take on the look of the twentieth century. While the dog team and sledge is still much in evidence, a number of Eskimo have turned to the snowmobile for winter travel. There is, however, a note of skepticism, perhaps best summed up by an Eskimo who informed me "can't eat ski-doo", referring to the ultimate value of a dog team if trouble arises on the trail. Automobiles as yet have not made the scene this far north, but some trucks and caterpillar tractors are utilized by both the government and the co-op. Some of the younger Eskimo have also added motorcycles; these are particularly evident

in Hall Beach where the longer stretch of road between the village and the DEW Line site permits a greater opportunity for use. The kayak has disappeared as a means of water transportation. The only one remaining, while I was in Igloolik, was one the priest had asked the Eskimo to construct while they still remembered the old techniques. In its place the Eskimo rely upon freighter canoes and whale boats powered by outboard motors. The co-op also owns two larger motorized fishing boats used primarily for cooperative walrus and caribou hunts. Commercial air travel is a regular part of the transportation network for Igloolik and Hall Beach [weather permitting]. Two airlines serve Hall Beach and one makes twice weekly flights the additional short distance north to Igloolik. High freight costs have prevented this from becoming a readily accepted means of shipping. Both communities still rely on the once-a-year supply ships of the Department of Transportation for much of the food stuffs, merchandise, oil and building materials that keep two such rapidly expanding settlements viable.

Eskimo at Hall Beach and Igloolik are beginning to take an active part in the government of their respective villages. While it still seems evident that control resides with the area administrator and his staff, both villages have established councils which contribute to the supervision of community affairs.

CHAPTER III

ETHNIC IDENTITY: TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS

Characteristic elements of Eskimo society, family integration and band structure, have been the subject of several anthropological studies (Steward 1955: 101-50; Service 1962: 59-109; Damas 1969b). Other types of groups which have commonly been used in ethnographic accounts of Eskimo throughout the Arctic include miut groups and their larger aggregate regional systems. These latter two have been extensively utilized to designate aboriginal and historical units of study and, by implication, distinctive ethnic entities. While the criteria for their definition is at times vague, Damas cautions against accepting a simplistic dichotomy to define the boundaries such as Nunaqatigiit [literally translated "neighbor"]. He notes that this term is a common referent relating to both members of a local grouping as well as those encompassed in a larger geographical sense (Damas 1970: 3). The miut group and the regional system are examined here with regard to Eskimo ethnicity.

The term miut is an Eskimo suffix meaning "the people of . . . ". Spatially distributed from Alaska to Greenland, it is suggested that the miut group represents a refinement of the larger regional systems into units that are almost sub-cultural in nature (Valentine and Vallee 1968: x).

T. C. Correll (personal communication: 1970) proposes that a greater value has been placed on the miut group as a unit referent for research purposes than has been demonstrated either explicitly or implicitly. My examination of the literature reveals some of the ways in which the term miut has been applied.

The Iglulik Eskimo, a regional group, were thought to be comprised aboriginally of three miut groups: the Inglulingmiut proper, the Aivilingmiut and the Tununermiut (Mathiassen 1928: 1; Rasmussen 1929: 9; Anders 1965: 53). Boas included the Tununermiut as one sub-division of a group he referred to as the Aggomiut, the other sub-division being the Tununirusirmiut. His distinction was based on the former inhabiting the area around Pond Bay while the latter were centered near the western entrance to Admiralty Inlet (Boas 1888: 442-43). The validity of this further division is not generally supported; Boas seems to be the only ethnographer making the separation. For purposes of this thesis it is assumed that residents of Pond Bay and Admiralty Inlet make up a single miut group, the Tununermiut, following the designation of the Fifth Thule Expedition. The integration of these three miut groups into an Iglulik regional system is based primarily on a uniformity of material culture (Mathiassen 1928: 1). There is also linguistic evidence of uniformity (Rasmussen 1929: 10) and Damas (1963) indicates that an extensive kinship network was operative throughout this region.

The Iglulik Eskimo regional system extended over an area " . . . from around Chesterfield Inlet, north along the northwestern shore of Hudson Bay and the western and northern shores of Foxe Basin" (Damas 1969a: 46). Birket-Smith (1940: 10) provided a somewhat more concise geographical delimitation for the miut groups which comprise the Iglulik system. Following his outline, the respective territories can be defined thusly:

Aivilingmiut - known as the dwellers of the walrus place, whose range extended over a territory ranging from Chesterfield Inlet on the south up along the coast to Lyon Inlet. Some Aivilingmiut have also moved to Southampton Island following the extinction of the aboriginal population, the Sadlirmiut, in 1902-03. The center for the Aivilingmiut has been placed at the old site of Aivilik on Repulse Bay.

Iglulingmiut - referred to as "dwellers of the house place", they are located on the islands of Fury and Hecla Straits, northern Foxe Basin, the east coast of Melville Peninsula as far south as Lyon Inlet⁹ and the northwest coast of Baffin Island bordering on Foxe Basin. The sub-group takes name from Igloolik, a settlement on the southeast tip of Igloolik Island¹⁰.

Tununermiut - the "dwellers of the back of the country" inhabit almost entirely the region near Pond Inlet on the northern tip of Baffin Island.

There are a lesser number of families living along

Admiralty Inlet to the south and these tend to center around an area known as Arctic Bay.

In his discussion of settlement patterns within the Iglulik region, Crowe (1970: 8-10) speaks of a series of "core areas" around which habitation sites develop. For the most part these relate to the availability of game and the accumulation of characteristics pertinent to good hunting. Adjacent to each core is a series of seasonal habitats [camp sites] which remain viable only during certain times of the year. These temporal locations have added further to the confusion surrounding the use of the miut group as an ethnic referent. The suffix, miut, may be attached to a particular place name associated with various camp locations, a point which will be considered later. In general, however, the core areas described by Crowe seem analogous to the areas which Mathiassen and Birket-Smith considered central to the three miut groups within the Iglulik Eskimo regional system.

One major objection arising from the use of the miut group as a unit implying ethnic identity is best exemplified by Mathiassen who cautions that miut, as a referent, may have a greater geographic than ethnographic significance:

That a man is Iglulingmio¹¹ as a rule means nothing more than that for the present he is living in the Iglulik area; still, one hears occasionally that this or that person is an Iglulingmio because he was born in Iglulik, or even because his mother was born in Iglulik; thus this term has no fixed definition (Mathiassen 1928: 21, emphasis mine).

This interpretation is supported by Damas (1968b: 113) who indicates that the use of the miut group among Eskimo

correlates with identification by a territory or settlement name. Further Graburn points out that such areas overlap and exact boundaries vary depending on the orientation of the speaker (1969: 34).

It is not difficult to envision several different contexts in which Eskimo could make reference to a miut group to which they belong, yet each would be considerably different in orientation thus reducing opportunities to maintain ethnic identity along such lines. A member of the Iglulik region could use miut to mean that he lives at or near one of the three centers of habitation: Igloolik, Pond Inlet or Repulse Bay. His term of reference in this case would be Iglulingmiut, Tununermiut or Aivilingmiut respectively. Even more inclusively, however, miut could also be used in an Eskimo's reference to his affiliation with a particular hunting camp. It is, obviously, a means by which the Eskimo can delimit his world, but subject to change as his reference point changes.

Malinowski, who devoted considerable effort to a discussion of the inherent problems of meaning in primitive languages, observes that " . . . in a primitive language the meaning of any single word is to a high degree dependent on its context" (1938: 306). Further, he states that the " . . . pragmatic relevance of words is greatest when the words are uttered actually within the situation to which they belong and uttered so that they achieve an

immediate practical effect" (Malinowski 1935: 52). While this does not necessarily clarify the problems associated with using the miut group as a unit of ethnicity among Eskimo, Malinowski's concept of the "context of situation" lends itself to explaining logically the profuse duplication of miut groups within a single regional system. As he suggests, " . . . it is the pragmatic use of speech within the context of action which has shaped its structure [in this instance, the meaning of a specific miut group: my note]" (Malinowski 1935: 52).

Isolation, as a factor providing boundaries for ethnicity between miut groups, is at best questionable. Mathiassen noted that the entire Iglulik region was either inhabited or regularly traveled by members of the Inglulingmiut, Aivilingmiut and Tununermiut (Mathiassen 1928: 4). Further, he has indicated that, "Many of the Iglulik Eskimo know two of the three principle areas of which their country is made up . . . and many of them know all three" (Mathiassen 1928: 97). It is thought that Eskimo groups most frequently have contact with one or more contiguous groups (Hodge 1906: 434; Weyer 1932: 152). Dorothy Jean Ray, commenting on the Eskimo of the Bering Sea area, points out that boundaries were recognized and maintained between Eskimo and Indian but rarely between Eskimo groups (1967: 381). The latter would seem to apply to miut groups within regional systems. Although Laughlin has substantiated isolation's contribution to physical variation (1966: 482-83), and I would agree that

this phenomenon has had its effect on linguistic and cultural elements in certain instances, I believe that the isolation factor must be eliminated in considering social boundary markers between miut groups contained within any major regional Eskimo group. From the beginning of the traditional ethnographic period (above, pp. 22ff.) increased influences from Western society have played a significant role in further reducing isolation of the miut group and, in time, the regional system as well.

Noting the high degree of mobility suggested by Mathiassen (above, p. 39) and, most important, the diversity of meaning attached to the use of miut, the value of such a unit as a marker of distinctive ethnicity would be highly conjectural. It is unlikely that the miut group was much more than a convenient designator, certainly not a rigid construct that implied a singular, uniform meaning to all its members. Assuming that these observations on the use of miut are correct, the term would have little meaning as a marker of ethnic identity. In addition, the value of using this concept as a socio-cultural research group would depend on the researcher's ability to extract the meaning that was being attached by the Eskimo themselves. Two considerations would be important: first, Eskimo tend to refer to groups that are limited in size with little comprehension of a larger distinction and, second, there is a variable perception of one group by another. In many cases such terms might be extended to larger groups than any particular Eskimo group

would normally incorporate into their sphere of relations (Weyer 1932: 203; Balikci 1964: 23; Oswalt 1967: 3).

Since I have suggested that the miut group should be eliminated as an ethnic unit, I wish to examine the qualifications of another traditional group: the regional system. There are a number of references in the earlier ethnographic accounts to intercourse between tribes [regional systems?] (see for example Boas 1888: 462-70, 1907: 480; Stefansson 1913: 288-89; Mathiassen 1928: 23; Birket-Smith 1940: 9). However most of this contact and exchange applied largely to the periphery of the respective regional territories, and it remains suspect as to what extent, if any, this may have altered the regional group as a possible unit from which ethnic identity distinctions can be drawn.

Eskimo social units have been noted for their basic fluidity. Individuals and families may shift groups, although such changes in residence normally take place within the same regional system. While relatively new to their new group, they are considered foreigners both by themselves and the members of the group with whom they are now living. It has been suggested, however, that with the passage of time the individual usually adopts the identity of the new residence group (Jenness 1923: 33; Balikci 1964: 24). At least one example of this presently exists among the Eskimo at Igloolik. While the majority of Eskimo in this village are Iglulingmiut or normally considered representatives of the miut groups which comprise the Iglulik regional system, there is at least

one Netsilik Eskimo residing there (Father Franz Van de Velde, personal communication: 1969). For all practical purposes this individual seems to participate in the activities of the community to the extent that any Iglulingmiut would; he has become what Ray refers to as a " . . . citizen of his adopted home" (1967: 375). Much of this is based on conjecture and further research would be necessary to explicitly document this particular case. Birket-Smith recounts the fact that seven families of Arviligjuarmiut, a sub-division of the Netsilik Eskimo, moved to Repulse Bay to be near the trading post. In so doing they took up residence in an area normally inhabited by Iglulik Eskimo (Birket-Smith 1940: 9). Further reference to immigrant Netsilik Eskimo is alluded to by Rasmussen (1929: 9). In such cases the question of regional identity has not been considered and it would seem that the change in orientation of allegiance between groups is accomplished with little effort. I suggest that those individuals making such changes might have had greater difficulties than indicated and, further, they might always be considered an outsider even though permitted to join the new group.

The scholars referred to in the previous paragraph imply a lack of reinforcement of boundaries between Eskimo regional groups; however, there is some evidence to the contrary. It is suggested, by certain value statements, that Netsilik are inferior, primarily through lack of personal cleanliness (Birket-Smith 1945: 43) and that they exhibited

personality characteristics which tended toward a troublesome and unreliable atmosphere (Boas 1907: 116). One of Mathiassen's informants was even more emphatic:

. . . if she were to have a new husband, it was all the same whether he was an Aivilingmio, an Iglulingmio or a Tununermio; if need be a Qaernermio or an Akudnermio might do; but a Netsilingmio -- never! (Mathiassen 1928: 23).

A comparison of the material culture between regional systems indicates a great deal of similarity; yet there are subtle differences. An example of this may be found in Birket-Smith's comparison of Netsilik and Iglulik Eskimo clothing. He notes that the differences are reflected in what would constitute minor changes in detail (Birket-Smith 1945: 22). Certain items such as the sledge or qamutik exhibit various refinements from area to area (Arima 1967: 100); however, it remains open to further interpretation as to the degree these represent an individual idiosyncrasy, an ecological adaptation or a means of distinguishing one Eskimo group from another (see Mathiassen 1928: 72-90; Birket-Smith 1929: 71-76).

There is some phonological evidence for a distinction between regional systems. Linguistically, the Iglulik group appears to form a separate dialect (Rasmussen 1929: 10). Birket-Smith suggests that they are closer in speech pattern to the Laborador groups than other Central Eskimo systems (1928: 23-25). More recent linguistic research among Central Arctic Eskimo indicates that the dialect difference between regional systems may be relatively slight. For example, an

"s"-like sound may shift to "h" when moving from the Iglulik to the Caribou or Netsilik regions (T. C. Correll, personal communication: 1970). Weyer contends that the transition from one dialect to the next is gradual and that " . . . lines of demarcation cannot be established" (1932: 203). Birket-Smith is not quite so restrictive when he states " . . . dialects form groups, the mutual relation of which only in part corresponds with the geographical division" (1928: 16). The dialect group in this case would correspond most closely with the regional system. Although miut groups near the borders of adjacent regional systems might display a gradation from one dialect to another, the minor distinctive features attributed to each dialect would help serve as a means of identity for a particular region.

The relative homogeneity of material culture and language lends support to earlier statements concerning a basic underlying Eskimo culture throughout the entire Arctic area (above, p. 3-4). However, the minor distinctions outlined in the preceding paragraphs provide a means by which members of regional groups can draw contrasts. The regional system could be considered the ethnic sub-set within the overall Eskimo culture. Boundaries were maintained by these minor distinctions which became the signs, signals and values of ethnic identity (above, p. 1).

I suggest that the ethnic constructs used by the Eskimo were not so rigid as those characteristic of some other cultures. Nevertheless, I believe that the regional

group can be looked at with some degree of validity as an Eskimo ethnic unit for aboriginal and historical peoples.

With regard to the Iglulik Eskimo, Mathiassen offers a succinct summary:

We are thus in a position to state that . . . the Aivilingmiut, Iglulingmiut and Tununermiut, in reality form one tribe [regional system: my note]; if they have any connection with the neighboring . . . Akudnermiut, Netsilingmiut and Qaernermiut, they regard them nevertheless as strangers whom they very often look down upon (1928: 23).

In my interpretation this would constitute a display of ethnicity.

CHAPTER IV

ETHNIC IDENTITY: CONTEMPORARY CHANGES

The importance of group contrasts in determining ethnic identity was noted in an earlier definition (above, p. 1). Seymour Parker elaborates this viewpoint, defining ethnic identity as " . . . the evaluation of one's membership identification with his own and other ethnic groups" (1964: 325). Under acculturation pressures from a dominant group, change is manifest in the degree to which members of the subordinate population value the structures presented by the intruding ethnic unit. Berreman concludes:

Most individuals . . . remain loyal to their own social group [ethnic unit: my note] so long as it remains a functional entity capable of communicating its norms to its members, rewarding them, and exercising control over them (1964: 245).

The Eskimo in Canada represent one population where ethnic identity under Western impact can be examined.

It has been already noted that the Eskimo in the Canadian Arctic are residents of settlements established to varying degrees by elements of Western society, i.e. missionaries, traders [most frequently the Hudson's Bay Company] and various governmental agencies in which the "interests" of aboriginal peoples have been vested (above, pp. 24-29). A later addition was the establishment of the DEW Line, an

early warning defense system spanning the polar regions of North America and Greenland. While not contributing directly to the development of new settlements, the DEW Line's primary effects on ethnicity changes are in areas of increased cash economy and the shifts of certain key Eskimo personnel, especially from the Western Arctic to installations in the eastern sectors. These elements of Westernized village structure have influenced Igloolik and Hall Beach.

VanStone's study of Southampton Island Eskimo is another example of how population shifts have brought together Eskimo from such diverse localities as southern Baffin Island, the Ungava Peninsula and the western part of the Keewatin District (1960: 83). What effect the resettlement of Eskimo traditionally thought to belong to separate regional groups has in reshaping intra-Eskimo ethnic identity has not been fully considered. Honigmann's (1952) study of the Great Whale River Eskimo indicates an inhibiting of inter-group relations in such circumstances. Analysis of particular settlements following these lines of reasoning may provide clues to the amounts of persistence or change that can be attached to ethnicity concepts in the contemporary settlement.

It is assumed that the admixture occurring in these relatively artificial northern settlements has placed additional constraints on the composition of traditional ethnic units and their usefulness in defining ethnicity today. I suggest that such restructuring would begin to usurp the boundaries that Eskimo originally used to define their ethnic identity

within the regional systems. Rather, other considerations have become more crucial for interpretation of the current socio-cultural situation. The emerging ethnic constructs can best be viewed in direct relation to the influence of Eurocanadian society.

One significant aspect of Eurocanadian-Eskimo contact is exhibited in the dichotomy which develops in Eskimo identity based on the degree of orientation toward a Westernized culture or toward that of the native culture. Ethnic identity retention, in the former instance, might be examined in light of Barth's position on the institutionalization of technological innovations. Barth has suggested that we re-orient our focus on " . . . institutionalization as the critical phase of change . . . it will be rates and kinds of pay-offs of alternative allocations within that system that determine whether or not they will be adopted . . . " (1967: 668). Parker indicates that attempts on the Eskimo's part to internalize the new values and patterns of behavior increases the likelihood of problems in ethnic identity (1964: 326). Further, he states:

. . . whatever the original motivation, the minority group member attracted to Western society is more likely to develop negative attitudes, toward his own and the dominant ethnic group, when he perceives barriers to his newly-acquired aspirations. . . . A devalued ethnic self-image and hostility toward Western society emerge from a situation where individuals set new goals, which they then perceive cannot be reached (Parker 1964: 338).

In addition, Foster contends:

Rapid acculturation frequently promotes village factionalism, and divisive tendencies become more apparent than when tradition alone is the controlling factor in community cohesiveness (1962: 39).

With the high status restricted to the Eurocanadian community members, Eskimo are left with an inferior ascribed status. Recruitment is most frequently from outside the native ethnic society making vertical mobility virtually impossible (Dunning 1959: 118).

F. G. Vallee has tentatively identified a polarization in Eskimo identity which he sees arising from the relationship between an Eskimo and the culture of Western society or that of the native group. He attaches the labels Kabloonamiut [people of the white man] and Nunamiut [people of the land] (Vallee 1967: 135-49). The primary difference is an orientation toward a cash economy versus one oriented toward hunting. A similar division was also identified among Eskimo at Great Whale River (Balikci 1960: 149) and was evident in intra-Eskimo relations at Igloolik and Hall Beach during the field sessions of 1969. Although Vallee seemingly has not made provisions for anything other than these polarized ends, I would suggest that there is a greater need to view the contemporary community in terms of a continuum which contains a growing number of individuals and families in neither the Kabloonamiut nor the Nunamiut categories.

Through encouragement on the part of governmental agencies, the individuals comprising this new category have sought to prepare themselves for meaningful roles in Western

society only to find in a majority of cases that they were not sufficiently educated for jobs in terms of the Euro-canadian world. At the same time, through their efforts to acquire these positions, they had neglected learning the skills that would make them productive members of the Eskimo community. Jacob Fried refers to them as " . . . quasi-acculturated neo-native or neo-Canadians . . . " (1963: 64) and, further, suggests that the resulting individual closely resembles a new generation of Metis: " . . . a semi-skilled worker with modern tools, but one who is still socially peripheral to the dominant white social elements of the community" (Fried 1963: 65). Dunning (1959) has applied the term "marginal man" as an all-encompassing term for native inhabitants of Eurocanadian dominated settlements in northern Canada. I suggest, rather, that the term can be applied more accurately to the individuals who have, in fact, become peripheral in identity to both major factions, the Eskimo and Eurocanadian. Further, I would concur with Parker who regards this situation as a prime contributor to " . . . serious role conflicts and discontinuities among adolescents and young adults" (1964: 338). This is particularly evident among some of those who have gone outside the settlement for a major portion of their education.

Personal observations made during field trips to Igloolik and Hall Beach indicate this to be the case in several instances. In particular, one example stands out from among the several Eskimo I would place in such a category.

This individual, a male about 20 years old, was educated just short of the eight grade. His English was what I would consider fluent, exhibited by several jobs he had held in Ottawa and Churchill, Manitoba, yet his lack of formalized education seemed a stumbling block to any major aspirations to "succeed" in Eurocanadian society. At the time of my acquaintance with this individual, he had returned to the village and continued moving through a series of locally obtained jobs from most of which he was either laid-off or quit, usually for what he claimed to be a lack of interest in the work. My latest information indicates that he was continuing to operate in this manner and, in the fall of 1970, was doing construction work (Alan Falconer, personal communication: 1970). During periods of intermittent employment, he seemed preoccupied with plans for future jobs which he considered more desirable than the one currently held. The lack of necessary skills and education were dismissed in a cursory manner though several members of the community pointed out the importance of such considerations. While unable to secure his position among Eurocanadians, this individual did not attempt to become "Eskimoized". At no time did he deny his Eskimo heritage, yet he seemed to be totally incapable of making readjustments to village life. His peer group consisted mainly of those having the same problems or, at best, still going to southern schools. In addition, when it was possible he would associate with transient Eurocanadians and less frequently with more permanent Eurocanadian residents

of the settlements.

There are a smaller number of Eskimo who represent still another marginal situation. In contrast to the example just given, these individuals are marked by a low status in their original orientation group. In an attempt to create a higher status for themselves, they promote relationships with the Eurocanadians. Rather than achieving the sought for status, they normally find themselves looked upon as marginal in terms of both Eskimo and Eurocanadian society. Yet, in the case I am familiar with, the individual continues to place himself at the disposal and eventual ridicule of the Eurocanadian members of the villages. For the most part, he is considered unproductive by both groups. Although marginal for different reasons than my earlier example, I would place such individuals into the suggested marginal ethnic category as well. Fried indicates that the problem of marginality among individuals is most prevalent in the larger settlements (1963: 61); however, it must not be discounted as a contributor to factionalism in ethnic identity among Eskimo in even the more remote regions of the Arctic.

Numerous studies of ethnic identity have indicated that while the traditional is undergoing change, there is an increased need developing for individuals to establish a distinctive means of identification. While doing research among groups in Burma, Lehman noted that there was a tendency to intensify cultural identity [ethnicity?] when proximity to the national culture presented a real or imagined threat to

a particular group's traditional system (1967: 112). Among North American native peoples such movements are represented in a growing concept of self-identification which results in the strengthening of identity as Indian. Slobodin suggests that this has developed primarily from a " . . . convergent history of aboriginal populations under Euro-American and Euro-Canadian pressure . . ." (1970: 5). While indigenous peoples were not prone to group others under such an all-encompassing term, continued reference to such by governmental agencies and an increased awareness of common problems have given rise to various pan-Indian movements in both Canada and the United States.

Recently, Damas (1970) has examined the impact of Eurocanadian and Euroamerican contact on ethnic self-perception among contemporary Eskimo in several areas of the Canadian Arctic. This research reflects a breakdown in what were taken to be the more traditional ethnic units, those expressed ethnographically in terms of regional systems and concomitant miut groups, with an accompanying shift toward reinforcement of more homogeneous Eskimo socio-cultural patterns (Damas 1970: 14, personal communication: 1970). Such shifts are exemplified by the preservation of pride in an ability to perform " . . . routine occupations of travel, the hunt, manufacturing of certain tools, snowhouse building . . . These are the occupations of his people [Eskimo: my note]" (Damas 1970: 10). Ethnicity trends of this nature are representative of a reaction to the intruding social system

and acculturation pressures. Further inforcement of this difference can be attributed to a far too common belief that the Eskimo was inferior to the Eurocanadian (Balikci 1960: 171), although this has not been demonstrated to the extent that it may be observed in the relationships existing in some Euro-canadian-Indian settlements (Koolage n.d.). In many cases the inability of the Eurocanadian to live as Eskimo and develop Eskimo skills for existence in the Arctic environment has instilled a further sense of confidence and a retention of cultural and ethnic integrity among Eskimo (Damas 1970: 10-11). The development of new forms of power and prestige and the emergence of a new type of Eskimo leader are also indicators of such a movement (Balikci 1960: 170; Honigmann and Honigmann 1965: Chapters 3 and 4). While much of the preservation of pride in being Eskimo is presently being carried out in terms of the individual, it is reminiscent of the incipient stages of a pan-ethnic movement.

In conjunction with a culturally based ethnic distinctiveness, language differences are consciously maintained. For some individuals, the continued use of Eskimo is indicative of the lack of opportunity to learn English, but for others it has become a matter of choice. The latter is exemplified by a former Eskimo clerk at the Hudson's Bay Company in Igloolik. While this individual was conversant in both Eskimo and English, his use of the latter was restricted to his duties in the store. Outside, and in connection with his position on the Eskimo village council, he was

observed to rely exclusively on the services of an interpreter before expressing his opinion, always in Eskimo. Since my earliest contact with this particular individual, he has relinquished his employment at the store and returned to hunting as a primary means of subsistence, indicating his increased desire to maintain his Eskimo identity along the lines observed by Damas and, perhaps, his disenchantment with the Eurocanadian and wage-labor economy. While this represents an extreme in reverse bi-lingualism or an emphasis of the native language over newly acquired skills in a second language [English], it is evident, although to a lesser degree, among other residents of Igloolik and Hall Beach as well.

In a somewhat analogous situation, Joan Albon noted the occurrence of a homeostatic-like device being utilized by relocated American Indians to offset acculturation pressures. She suggested that the Indians retained traditional customs and gatherings as much as possible in the new setting; they did not really assimilate, but used old ways to cover up problems in adapting to the new environment, both physical and cultural (Albon 1964: 303). It is my contention that the Eskimo, under similar acculturative pressures, are developing what might be viewed as an ethnocentrism of their own and maintaining such a position through a unified ethnic identity in contrast to Eurocanadian society. It should be pointed out that an economic base largely relying on the more traditional hunting subsistence pattern has enabled some settlements to achieve a higher degree of Eskimo ethnicity than others. Damas refers to such situations as " . . . an early

phase of contact florescence . . . " (Helm and Damas 1963: 20) enhanced by the relatively abundant game resources remaining in regions such as the one inhabited by the Iglulik Eskimo.

In contrast and yet following along the same line, Balikci notes that the Arviligjuarmiut at Pelly Bay exhibit a developing trend toward " . . . stronger identification with the particular country than they had in traditional times" (1964: 60). A similar movement toward specific group ethnicity from pressures of Western society and oil exploitation in Alaska has been detected by Michael Dorris. The people of Tyonek village endeavored to have themselves formally defined as a separate Athapaskan tribe with their own reservation in order to retain full oil rights for themselves (Dorris, personal communication: 1970). While these are dissimilar in goal orientation, the latter representing motivation from material gain rather than cultural retention for its own sake, both observations indicate that group-specific identity may be critical under certain circumstances. In both examples, however, the impetus came from contact pressures.

In summary, there are three basic ethnicity constructs applicable to the contemporary Eskimo settlement in the Canadian Arctic. Succinctly stated these are: one with a continued or renewed interest in a hunting subsistence economy and a reinforcement of cultural distinctiveness, another utilizing Eurocanadian wage labor as a major means

of support and a third ethnic pattern which is marginal to both. Eskimo unable to achieve new ethnic identity may turn to re-emphasis of their ascribed status. When measured on a direct comparison, Eskimo versus Eurocanadian, all three may be considered sub-sets within a broader ethnic identity that can be expressed simply as Eskimo. McFeat expresses such concepts of group ethnicity in terms of an us and them dichotomy (1970: 29). The binary characteristics resulting from such opposition tend to reinforce the distinctions between groups and serve to maintain separate ethnic identities. In this manner the ethnic developments among the contemporary Eskimo support McFeat's position that we must distinguish between group culture and group ethnicity; the former being capable of succumbing to general cultural evolution while the latter intensifies the inclusiveness of the group (McFeat 1970: 28-29).

Though the term Eskimo may be used at a highest level of generalization to denote ethnicity, future investigators will need to keep the above mentioned distinctions in mind when attempting to concisely determine the ethnic identity composition of the native populations in northern settlements. The consideration of a changing focus in identity is pertinent to the anthropologist's perception of meaningful units for socio-cultural studies among Eskimo today. Increased complexity in the modern Eskimo community precludes readily accepting a simplistic statement of ethnicity.

CHAPTER V

ETHNIC IDENTITY: ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTED RESEARCH

Analysis

Among the new directions in anthropological research has been the renewed and critical interest in the understanding and delimiting of meaningful boundary markers. This replaces an earlier period during which seemingly arbitrary boundaries were established on criteria which the researcher perceived as significant or easily utilized.

Several people have commented on the problems of indiscriminate use of etically derived criteria for boundaries. The use of more common boundary markers [language, ethnic labels, material culture], referred to as "indeterminate criteria" (Dole 1968: 85), present a difficult means of perception. These various elements may be shared independently, and the criss-crossing of boundaries makes it extremely difficult to determine the exact nature of the unit under consideration. Moerman places responsibility for a great deal of ethnic identity problems directly with the researcher:

He [the ethnographer: my note] must not assume that any single "objective" difference or similarity -- of language, polity, phenotype, or religion -- is significant to all groups, and in the same ways, and to the same degree (1965: 1220).

The differences between various groups may be ideal and not

actual as past ethnographic accounts would lead one to believe (Leach 1954: 286). Among the hill peoples of Burma, Leach observed that the:

. . . ethnographer has often only managed to discern the existence of 'a tribe' because he took it as axiomatic that this kind of cultural entity must exist (1954: 291).

Logically, then, it would seem that the objective of ethnographic research must carry beyond the traditional descriptive approach, concerned mainly with outlining a definitive framework of dress, language [dialect] and other presumed ethnic boundary markers. To adhere strictly to such usage may lead to the creation of a fictional unit having little relevance to the people being studied. The "indeterminant criteria" may be important, but it must be determined in each particular case what is critical in the peoples' perception (see Barth 1969: 14).

Fredrik Barth has been in the forefront of the critical examination of ethnic units and their concomitant boundary markers. In his introduction to a volume treating the meaning and interpretation of ethnic units (Barth 1969: 9-38), he expands upon ways of looking at such phenomena which are applicable to the Eskimo data and assist in making the concepts of ethnicity more intelligible. In this same light, Tom McFeat (1970) elaborates on Barth's work, adding further understanding to the complex problem of ethnicity.

Barth suggests several criteria for his working definition of the term ethnic group: a unit which is "bio-

logically self-perpetuating", "shares fundamental cultural values", maintains a "field of communication and interaction" and "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (Barth 1969: 10-11). Perhaps the most critical of these criteria, according to Barth (1969: 13), is the latter one. It is difficult to maintain an ethnic unit, or other bounded units without another unit of the same level of abstraction with which to contrast it. McFeat emphasizes this point in his referral to systems of binary opposition. The ethnic group tends to dichotomize between "we" and "they" in maintaining its identity (McFeat 1970: 29). Presumably the greater the contrast between groups in those areas which they deem critical, the stronger are the boundaries for ethnicity.

Leach states that " . . . the maintenance and insistence upon cultural difference can itself become a ritual action expressive of social relations" (1954: 17). Such ethnic dichotomies, in order to maintain their boundaries, require overt signs and signals which are recognized by the members of the possessing group and by the opposing group(s) as diagnostic of that ethnic unit. These signs and signals could comprise such things as type of dress, house, dialect or style of living, although the specific criteria would vary from case to case and would not comprise the whole cultural inventory, rather, only those things the people themselves deemed significant. In addition, Barth considers the " . . .

basic value orientation: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged . . . " (Barth 1969: 14) equally as important.

In examining Eskimo ethnic units it is necessary to investigate two different periods manifesting two different compositions of the concept of ethnic group. Aboriginal and historic times were characterized by organizational units of a different nature than those now evolving among Eskimo after contact with Western society and movement into villages of Eurocanadian design (above, pp.17-33). They must be examined, then, separately and notice taken of the reasons for the shift in significant units of ethnic identity.

In Chapter Three, dealing with aboriginal and historic social units of the Eskimo, I maintained that the miut group was not a significant unit for perpetuating a concept of ethnicity. Miut groups were too dependent on a context of reference to have meaning as an ethnic unit. The fluidity of movement between such groups and the diversity attached to the use of the term precludes establishing rigid criteria for membership. Even though the miut group follows closely the first three criteria outlined by Barth, it lacks the crucial feature of a strong dichotomy. On the other hand, the regional system is a more encompassing concept and does lend itself to the idea of an ethnic unit construct. I maintain that these regional systems did comprise, in fact, true ethnic units, although the boundaries were not so rigid as those found among some other ethnic units in unrelated cultural

settings or as those now found between Eskimo and Eurocanadians in the contemporary northern settlements.

Regional systems in the Canadian Arctic conform to Barth's general concept of ethnic groups. Most importantly, there is a binary opposition formed on the basis of minor variations in clothing styles, speech, marriage restrictions and other elements that could be construed as ethnically bound signs and signals denoting the boundaries between regions. Further, there were elements of personal value judgement [see comments by Birket-Smith, Boas and Mathiassen, above, p. 42-43] which were thought to be characteristic of Eskimo from other regional systems. These crucial features of ethnicity were shared throughout the regional system by members of the various miut groups which comprised that particular region. It has been indicated earlier that there was intercourse between peripheral members of adjacent regional groups [above, p. 41]; however, Barth has proposed:

. . . categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information
 . . . discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories (1969: 9-10).

Thus the overall value of considering the regional system as an Eskimo ethnic group has not been negated by trade, travel or limited immigration by individual Eskimo and their families. Social boundaries could be maintained at a higher level of abstraction.

With the increased interest in the Arctic by Euro-canadians and their movement into the area, Eskimo were drawn

together from their diverse camps or miut groups into the Eurocanadian established villages. This marked the beginning of the centralized ethnographic period which Damas attributed to a number of primary causes (above, p. 26). Movements of peoples were not restricted to villages within their original regional group territory, but rather peoples were moved to many different areas resulting in a mixing of sometimes several Eskimo regional groups in one village. When children were sent to schools outside, they too found that their associates were not always of the same regional group. While signals relating to distinction of separate regional ethnic units probably were retained for a time, I suggest that these tended to become submerged under the more encompassing Eskimo cultural criteria. Damas has noted a trend toward further breakdown of the old barriers between regional systems. For example, it is less of a problem to consider marrying and living outside a particular regional system today than it was in aboriginal times (personal communication: 1970). Such lowering of restrictions has probably resulted from shifts in identity perception and is indicative of the caution that must be used in delimiting ethnic boundaries in the contemporary settlement.

As stated earlier, signals were never rigid or extreme between regional groups and the shared "Eskimo" culture was maintained throughout the Arctic. On confrontation with dominant, sometimes seemingly hostile and quite different Eurocanadian characteristics, there was a tendency for Eskimo

to override minor differences and perceive cultural similarities which incorporated important signaling and value criteria that could be used to dichotomize an Eskimo ethnic unit with that of the Eurocanadians. John and Irma Honigmann, in their study of Eskimo at Frobisher Bay, have noted that "Many Baffin Island Eskimo show marked reticence, shyness or wariness when faced by anything but the most casual interaction with a Eurocanadian . . ." (1965: 123). The Eurocanadians, at the same time, were using a similar set of criteria on their part to establish ethnic boundaries for their own group, separating it into binary opposition with the Eskimo one. Let us examine how this worked.

I have suggested the development of three basic ethnicity constructs within the contemporary Eskimo settlement which may be viewed as sub-sets of a broader Eskimo ethnic identity (above, p. 56-57). Lehman has expressed similar phenomena in S. E. Asia through the identification of role systems. He states " . . . any local or regional group . . . is inherently likely to have recourse to more than one ethnic role system and more than one identity" (Lehman 1967: 107). Lehman contends that " . . . social and cultural systems are reference systems -- that is, cognitive models at varying levels of awareness" (1967: 105). In line with this, he suggests:

. . . when people identify themselves as members of some "ethnic" category . . . they are taking positions in culturally defined systems of inter-group relations . . . in reality, ethnic categories are formally like roles and are, in that sense, only very indirectly descriptive of the empirical characteristics of substantive groups of people (Lehman 1967: 107).

Following this line of thought, then, it would be possible to account for the apparent sub-division in what was previously stated to be a single Eskimo ethnic group capable of dichotomization with the Eurocanadians. Barth has also taken note of similar situations. He points out that not all members of the broadest ethnic group share equally all the criteria which are considered meaningful or critical to the definition of a particular ethnic group (Barth 1969: 29).

The emerging Eskimo variations can be examined in light of the various strategies that are available to peoples coming into contact with a dominant ethnic group. These strategies for the Canadian Eskimo can be outlined following Barth (1969: 33): first are those individuals who attempt to pass and become incorporated in Eurocanadian society although such attempts may result in poorly integrated groups with low status; second are those willing to accept their minority position and attempt to incorporate cultural elements from the larger society in all areas of their life, a phenomenon commonly leading to assimilation; and third are those wishing to reinforce previous ethnicity. Corresponding with Barth's basic strategies, I have identified the ethnic sub-sets: marginal man, Kabloonamiut and the pan-Eskimo.

Barth summarizes the concept of variable ethnicity strategies thusly:

. . . under varying circumstances, certain constellations of categorization and value orientation have a self-fulfilling character . . . others will tend to be falsified by experience, while others again are incapable of consummation in interaction.

. . . With such a feedback from people's experiences to the categories they employ, simple ethnic dichotomies can be retained and their stereo-typed behavioral differential reinforced despite a considerable objective variation (Barth 1969: 30).

In other words, even though it is possible to identify ethnic sub-sets, the major unit may still be viewed simply as an Eskimo versus Eurocanadian contrast. The consideration given to the emerging ethnic sub-sets is important, nevertheless, for the interpretation of culture contact and, ultimately, to assist in the prediction of possible change.

Suggested Research

From the examination of the literature, the conclusions may be stated in the form of an hypothesis which should then be tested empirically. I would hypothesize that the traditional Eskimo ethnic groups, based on the regional system, are becoming reorganized into a broader based Eskimo ethnic group encompassing all Eskimo in dichotomy with Eurocanadian society. Further, there are factors at work to perpetuate this ethnic group identity and a renewed interest in ethnic worth is generating a pan-Eskimo movement among many in the ethnic group.

Without question, one of the first steps to be undertaken in researching this problem would be a demographic examination of the area. From a reliable demographic base one could begin to determine the extent of relocation contained within a particular village. At the same time, it would be important to ascertain if population clusters were developing that in any manner resemble old ethnic constructs, how closely

adhered to are traditional marriage patterns and how old prejudices might be retained either in a joking manner or as a means of actual segregation. Apart from the villagers actually in residence, the children who are being sent to schools in other areas, mainly in the south, would provide an interesting contrast. One might endeavor to find out how they react to Eskimo from other villages in the same school. Do they perceive each other as ethnically Eskimo without prejudice? Is a "village oriented" ethnic group emerging? Do they unite in dichotomizing against Eurocanadians and Indians?

Perhaps the most important part of future research into Eskimo ethnic identity centers around determining the modern signaling devices which mark membership in the Eskimo ethnic group(s). It has been suggested that ethnic groups may represent a categorization imposed by the outside observer for his specific problem; however, it is the formalization of the internal criteria for ethnicity which may be the promising field for exploration (Raleigh Ferrell, personal communication: 1971). As Goodenough states " . . . we must know what phenomena they see, for these are the phenomena to which they respond" (1970: 104).

The newly developing approach of cognitive anthropology, with its particular emphasis on deriving emic rather than etic criteria, in conjunction with ecological studies would be a valuable technique in elucidating ethnicity constructs. Following such approaches should yield what Frake proposes to

call the "ethno-ecological" or a " . . . description of cultural behavior . . . attained by a formulation of what one must know in order to respond in a culturally appropriate manner in a given socio-cultural context" (1962: 54). Ethno-ecology may help create a taxonomy within the framework of meaning to the people themselves and not just an artificial structure imposed on them in an attempt to identify their concept of an ethnic identity unit. A model such as the one outlined by David Clarke (1968: Chapter 3) could provide an avenue for interpreting the interrelations between various sub-systems making up the eco-system as a whole. Clarke's environmental model consists of both internal and external systems. The external refers to the environment and consists of five sub-systems: fauna, flora, geology, climate and other alien socio-cultural systems within the same interconnected territory. The internal portion of his model is the socio-cultural group being studied, i.e., the Eskimo of a particular region or settlement. Under Clarke's theoretical construct, the internal system is also broken down into an interrelated network of five sub-systems: social, religious, psychological, economic and material culture (Clarke 1968: 102-03, 124). Such a shema would allow the researcher to examine networks between suggested categories which emerged from the natives' view of themselves. It would prove helpful in determining the extent of dichotomization actually being observed between members of groups purported to be in binary opposition.

In conclusion, I emphasize again the importance of defining emically valid criteria for measuring ethnicity. Only in this manner can anthropological studies progress toward a clarification of the ethnic units involved and their respective boundaries in any society.

NOTES

1. Following Diamond Jenness (1932), Slobodin has included the Eskimo under the rubric of Canadian Indian in his presentation of the question of ethnic identity. It is a matter of importance to provide a definition of Eskimo which separates them from Indian other than the anatomical grounds suggested by Jenness (1932: 6). The difference is, for the most part, less discernable between some northern Athapaskans and the Eskimo than it is between groups generically referred to as North American Indians. For purposes of this thesis, Eskimo are considered to be those individuals or groups speaking a dialect of Inupik, a common means of communication from the Seward Peninsula in Alaska to Greenland (Dumond 1965: 1231). The major subsistence base is sea mammal hunting; exceptions are the Caribou Eskimo of the central Keewatin District in Canada, who like the Alaskan Nunamiut, rely heavily on a land based subsistence pattern centered around the caribou.
2. By natural frontier I refer to such topographical features as mountain ranges, rivers or large bodies of water which tend to separate groups and make interaction and exchange more difficult.

3. The spellings, Iglulik and Igloolik, have been used interchangeably in much of the literature. In this thesis, Iglulik will be used when referring to the Eskimo themselves following the use established in the Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. Igloolik will have reference to geographical location, either the island located in Foxe Basin or the settlement.
4. Three authors, Narroll (1964), Barth (1969) and Cohen (1969) have treated the general subject of ethnic units and boundaries in some detail. It remains, however, for the student to interpret how the problem is to be handled for any specific group.
5. This spelling is most commonly used, although Iglulirmiut was used by Boas (1888). They both refer to the same group.
6. A somewhat similar scheme was suggested earlier by Murphy and Steward in their comparison of the Montagnais and Mundurucu. In this study the four phases were: pre-fur [Montagnais], marginal involvement, transitional and convergence and culmination (1956: 348). These phases align with what Damas proposes for the Eskimo and follow closely an increasing dependence on Western society.
7. This particular site is referred to by the Eskimo as Ikpiakjuk differentiating it from the traditional settlement of Igloolik located on the southeastern tip of

Igloolik Island. Ikpiakjuk was selected primarily for the sheltered harbour provided by Turton Bay. It is interesting to note that several community residents reported that the Eskimo would have preferred to locate at traditional Igloolik or Qiqiqtarjuk as either of these locations would have been more convenient for sea mammal hunting due to their proximity to the floe-edge during the winter months.

8. Damas is not clear on this point, but does suggest that the impact of the Eurocanadian on the traditional hunting economy has not been as strong in some areas as others. Damas views the added technological features as a means of increasing the potential of the hunting subsistence pattern, the major opportunities coming about only in areas where the game resources are still fairly abundant (1963: 32).
9. Mathiassen sets a somewhat more restricted boundary on the southern limits of the Iglulingmiut. He states:

The natural boundary between the first two groups [Aivilingmiut and Iglulingmiut: my note] is the stretch of coast between C. Wilson and C. Jermain, which is uninhabitable as open water stretches right into the country in winter, whereas in summer the coast is often blockaded by drift ice . . . (1928: 21).
10. Parry (1824: 451) and Mathiassen (1928: 31) have viewed the settlement as the most important one, acting as a central link and principal rendezvous for the entire

Iglulik group.

11. The singular form, used in referring to individual members of a miut group.

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