# Dissecting Discourse: Donald Marsh and Arctic Social Policy in the Post-War Era

By
Krista Pilz

A Thesis Submitted To
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment For the Degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Native Studies
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba



Faculty of Graduate Studies
500 University Centre, University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

Phone: (204) 474.9377
Fax: (204) 474.7553
graduate_studies@umanitoba.ca

**Dissecting Discourse: Donald Marsh and Artic Social Policy in the Post-War Era**

**BY**

**Krista Pilz**

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree**

**Master Of Arts**

Abstract

This thesis examines the role of Donald Marsh, second Anglican Bishop of the Arctic Diocese, in the development of arctic social policy. Particular attention has been paid to critically reading Marsh's contradictory role as both advocate for Inuit interests and his position as a colonial missionary. Theoretical attention and discursive readings of Anglican publications alongside popular publications inform part of this thesis. Close readings of archival correspondences between Marsh and government administrators over health and hospitalization, and educational reform and implementation inform another part. This thesis also represents an attempt to synthesize oral, primary, secondary and theoretical sources.

**Acknowledgments**

The writing of this thesis has been an existential journey through the writing process, as well as it was a personal rumination about the importance of writing, and re-writing history. It has been a rough road traveled. Through it all, I have encountered kindness along the way from so many people that renewed my energy, erased the dark clouds over my head, rejuvenated my sense of excitement, dulled my pessimism, and distracted me when I needed it, and always told me that I could do it. To this I owe all of the people in my life. Each in their own unique and special ways have helped me do something I never thought possible.

In many ways writing this thesis was a test of my commitment to scholarly endeavors. The encouragement, support and intellectual challenges I so gratuitously and graciously received from my committee members, Dr. Chris Trott, Dr. Emma LaRocque and Dr. Adele Perry, will forever be appreciated and acknowledged. I can only hope that they are happy with the final product.

My friends and peers throughout all of this listened to me endlessly lament about the difficulty of writing and the depressing specter of isolation. They took me away with laughter. My peers, whom are also my friends, challenged me to understand my position as a non-Native student mulling over and over where I fit into the schema of their history.

The people along the way that helped me with my research at the Anglican Archives by taking time from their schedules to help me through the miles of endless files and boxes that make up a good part of this thesis. Not to mention the hours spent at the photo-copier chatting.

This thesis could never have been conceived of without the inspiration of the people whose history this about. The elders I visited in Aklavik who so generously gave me their time and made me feel welcome in their homes; Sheeba Selamio, Donald Aviugana, Elizabeth Aviugana, Mary Kendi, Richard Papik, Albert Oliver and Sarah Meyook.

Finally, to Peter and Malay, my family and support system throughout it all. Without Peter's understanding and respect for the writing process this never would have materialized.

This thesis is dedicated to all of the women in my family.

## Table of Contents

## Chapter One: Introduction

A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet.

Walter Benjamin, Theses on the Philosophy of History, 1968. Pp. 257.

When I began writing this thesis I felt at times as though I was spying on people's lives and preparing to make assertions which may not in the end fairly represent the events or the people whom this thesis describes and documents. I quarreled with myself about the notion of why I was unsettled by the idea of trying to reconstruct events with archival, oral and secondary sources, then write and document events that in the end are, as we say - history. Upon some reflection I came to realize that the intrinsic importance of this story does not lie in the details per say, but in the politics from which the argument is structured. When E.H Carr aptly writes "study the historian before you study his facts"[1], he urges readers to look not necessarily for an objective in what is written, but rather for the angle from which the historian writes. Throughout this thesis it is painfully obvious where I am positioning myself as a writer, and historian.

This thesis is an examination of Donald Marsh's, the Second Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic, role in and impact on, colonialism in the Canadian arctic. Through multiple theoretical frameworks I probe the different ways in which Marsh, as a

---

[1]Carr, E.H. What is History? (London: Penguin Books, 1961) 23.

representative of the Anglican Church, struggled with and simultaneously colluded with the state to import and impart colonial ideology in the Canadian arctic.

In 1926 Donald Marsh went to Arviat, then called Eskimo Point, to establish an Anglican mission. He stayed in Arviat for seventeen years.[2] He arrived in the north prior to systematic state expansion into the arctic. Trading companies were well established and RCMP stations were being actively constructed but state policies regarding Inuit welfare, health and education were yet to be fully developed or implemented. Marsh was initially sent to Arviat by the Anglican Church to offset the invasion of the Roman Catholic Church, which had established stations at Chesterfield Inlet (Igluliyjuk). There was in this period intense conflict and fierce competition between Anglicans and Catholics in this area and Marsh's project was to establish a mission station to fend off further Catholic encroachment.

By 1945 Marsh was actively engaged in agitating on behalf of Inuit and was, in some ways, responsible for public criticism and facilitation of resistence toward government impact on Inuit life. In 1944, he and his family moved to Aklavik, Northwest Territories where he held the position of Archdeacon and Commissary of the Diocese. In 1953, after the death of Archibald Lang Fleming, the first Anglican Bishop, Marsh became the Second Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, and with considerable national influence he advocated to the government on behalf of Aboriginal people and their way of

---

[2] Donald Marsh. Echoes From a Frozen Land. Winnifred Marsh, Ed. (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987.)11.

life.[3]

As a student of both history and colonial discourse I am compelled to recognize that the state and churches involved in colonizing the arctic were acting in a way which they thought was in the best interest of the Indigenous people implicated in their colonizing projects. However, I am not compelled to take this at face value. While this may have indeed been the case, how missionaries and government officials legitimated the importance of their civilizing missions and were motivated is the juncture from which I diverge. It is a matter of crucial importance to recognize the life work of anybody no matter whom they are. However, what is of primary importance, is recognizing that if we are going to analyze the historical epoch of Hitler, George W. Bush, or any other historical figure of importance we had better be decisive and committed to critically assessing the impact their lives have had on the people they oppressed or emancipated both yesterday and today. I am not so interested in understanding the individual people involved, but rather the way in which they imposed themselves in people's lives. Missionaries to the arctic were there to fundamentally alter society materially, socially, and ideologically. The impact that they had in the process is important, and deserves to be told in a manner that recognizes the destructive ideological and material impacts of their presence. When Blaut suggests that " a missionary might have great love and respect for the people among whom he or she worked but could not be expected to believe that the

---

[3]Donald Marsh. Echoes into Tomorrow. Winnifred Marsh, Ed. (Three Hills, Alberta: Prairie Graphics and Printing, 1991) 27.

culture and mind of these non-Christians was on par with that of European Christianity"[4], I would have to agree that, with regards to Donald Marsh, Blaut is right. Marsh did not regard his Indigenous parishioners as on par with European morality, if he did his mission would have been obsolete and/or immediately collapsed.

It is not even so much the southerner, or European, presence in the north that is the issue. What is important to recognize is the *way* in which they were there. The state imposed policies, the church imposed their civilizing logic, traders imposed their economy, industry imposed it's logic of capital accumulation. These matters are not to be taken lightly. These factions were not complicit entities supporting the societies they encountered. Each, in their own very particular ways, imported hegemonic ideology and attempted to institute new ways of life for the people they encountered. There is no way around it, that is the nature of colonialism. Mary Louise Pratt rightly argues that "Eurocolonialism has the immense flexibility to normalize and homogenize the rhetoric of inequality. It asserts its power over anybody or any place whose life-ways have been organized by principles other than the maximizing, rationalizing mechanisms of industrial production and the manipulations of commodity capitalism."[5] She goes on to say that "It tolerates all manner of contradiction."[6] We will see throughout this thesis the ways in which immense contradictions were tolerated.

---

[4]Blaut, J.M. The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1993) 24.

[5]Pratt, Mary-Louise. Travel Writing and Transculturation. (London: Routledge, 1992)153.

[6]Ibid 153

Northern history is thus far an underdeveloped field of scholarship. I draw from Brody's reading of the southern tendency to idealize the north, and the degree to which northern history has been written as a series of imperial narratives which appeal to the south's glorification of the north as a source of Canadian national cultural pride. I approach, through out this thesis, the rationale that Brody outlines when he suggests that; "Northern history can be - and has been- written as a saga of a few heroic individuals: it should be written around the combined operations and purposes of a small number of institutions."[7]

History, for me, is not a series of linear narratives, nor during the course of writing this thesis have I been pre-occupied with details that in the end obscure the intrinsic value of the stories. For example, dates of events are often incoherent and so they have not been presented in chronological order. Often times, primary source documents dated five to six years apart are juxtaposed to make a specific point, or prove a larger point. Chronology is, for me at times, cumbersome and irrelevant to the broader story of colonial incursions in the north. This thesis has not been composed on the premise that there is a whole or complete version of this story- as often dates, or chronological ordering, implies. This thesis is, however, premised on the notion that history is as contradictory and incomplete as the individuals whose history we are examining, as well as the historians themselves.

This thesis also represents an attempt at teasing out some of the elements of this period that can not be understood as contradictory. For example, it has often been said

---

[7]Brody, Hugh. The Peoples Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic.Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1975)17.

that the northern evangelical project was contradictory because it embodied both the elements of a destructive colonizing force at the same time that the ideology from which it was premised was a fundamentally honest philanthropic endeavor. This is precisely the ongoing story, evident in both primary and secondary sources, that if not critically assessed would produce in this thesis yet another Imperial narrative. Blackburn warns us against the potential to "fetishize colonialism and its discourses in a way that reduces it to a single monolithic process."[8] While I agree in theory that colonialism acted in very particular and peculiar ways, the context of northern Canadian colonialism specifically requires that we look at the ways in which institutions in the north acted in tandem to produce a singular civilizing project. The state's involvement with the church, and vice versa, over providing education is just one such example.

I have grounded the argument of this thesis on the premise that the state and the church acted as potent conjoined hegemonic entities that no matter which way you slice it acted to fundamentally change the patterns, places and ways of people's lives regardless of the good-will veil that it so often wore. While this is indeed the politic from which I write and think, it is also important to highlight that many of the documents and evidence I choose to include could be understood as erasing Indigenous agency. Blackburn, again, wisely warns that the possibility of relying too heavily on colonial documents to analyze colonialism all to often ends up " becoming complicit with the colonizer's power and

---

[8]Blackburn, Carole. Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2000) 17.

influence."[9] To this I would have to agree and simultaneously disagree. I have chosen, to the best of my ability, to represent northern colonialism as a powerful force. There is little doubt that it was. I do not wish, however, to represent it as a force which people could not resist or imply that people did not resist all through this period. This thesis ends with the beginning of an era of intense politicization among Inuit against the state's colonizing policies in a way which, to date, has not yet been documented in the scholarly literature.

As noted above, the history of colonial impacts on the Canadian north is so far an underdeveloped field of scholarly inquiry, and therefore depends on the use of multiple sources. This thesis draws from archival sources collected from the National Archives of Canada and the Anglican Church Archives located in Toronto, Ontario, limited scholarly secondary literature regarding northern political and resource development, and from three separate series of interviews. The first round of interviews took place in Peterborough, Ontario with David Marsh, Donald Marsh's son in May 1999. The second interview with Bob Williamson, who graciously invited my partner and I to chat with him about his experiences in Northern Administration during the mid-fifties. The third round of interviews were conducted in Aklavik, Northwest Territories (NWT) in June of 2004, with Inuit, Gwich'in and Inupiat elders. I also had the opportunity to have a casual conversation with Walter Rudnicki,, a former Welfare worker with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, during his visit to the University of Manitoba as a distinguished guest for the Native Studies Colloquia Series in the winter of 2003. Although there was much gained from these interviews and conversations, much of the

---

[9]Ibid 14

material drawn upon for this thesis was textual.

## Chapter Two: Contextualizing Marsh and the Missionary Movement

"Things were better before the law came"[10]
Mary Kendi, Gwich'in Elder. Aklavik, NWT. June, 2004

We were out traveling on open ice, and we were traveling by dog team. We stopped to have a rest, to put up our tent, and we found out that it was Saturday. We found out that we had to stop because the next day was Sunday and we were supposed to rest. That is what our missionaries said. It was wintertime and we were out of fuel for our qulliq and we didn't have any matches. It was going to be Sunday and we had to stop. I was really thirsty. We didn't have any tea. ....Just because it was Sunday, I almost died of thirst.
As Told to Nancy Wachowich by Apphia Agalakti[11]

When Myra Rutherdale writes; "The dichotomy drawn by some mission scholars between civilizing and evangelizing was not so evident in the north, that the emphasis on civilizing Aboriginal peoples continued but, the rhetoric about the glory of the British Empire had begun to decline after the First World War"[12], she makes the crucial point that the 'evangelizing' project was intimately linked with the 'civilizing' project. This, as we will see throughout this thesis, was indeed the case. What is also important to tease out from this is that the 'civilizing logic' was not exclusive to the evangelical project, it was also embodied in the state's discourse to rationalize their colonial excursions into the arctic. While the

---

[10]Personal Interview with Mary Kendi, Aklavik. NWT June 2004.

[11]Wachowich, Nancy. In Collaboration with Apphia Agalakti, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak and Sandra Pikujak Katsak. Saqiyuq: Stories From the Lives of Three Inuit Women. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill- Queen's University Press, 1999) 30-31.

[12]Rutherdale, Myra. Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002) xx.

explicit rhetoric about the glory of the British Empire may have disappeared from the written texts the actions associated with a newly formed and expanding colonial empire and it's consequences for northern Canadian Indigenous people were far from gone.

Two points need to made about the ideological make-up of the bureaucracies, both religious and secular, that were administering 'aid' to the north. Much of the policy administration during the pre- and post war period in the Canadian arctic was developed and implemented by individuals who were first or second generation descendants from Europe. This implies some degree of common societal values, ideas and motivations. James Ryan aptly describes European societal values of this era as a "pervasive and persistent set of cultural attitudes towards the rest of the world informed to varying degrees by militarism, patriotism, a belief in racial superiority and loyalty to a 'civilizing mission'."[13] During the period that Marsh was most actively involved in travelling around the north as Bishop, being vocally critical about the state's policies regarding health and education, there was an implicit discourse circulating around patriotism, and racial superiority. This falls in line with the state's rhetoric about the necessity to 'develop the arctic'. The Christian rationale operated as a 'civilizing' project. This is one of the founding ties between the church and the state in this particular context. Therefore, it is not surprising that government administrators responsible for 'developing the arctic' were not only culturally separated from the people whose lives they set about determining, but they also lived geographically very distant.

On the other hand, southern interest in the Canadian arctic, as Duffy notes, was

---

[13]Ryan, James. Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 12-13

motivated in part because a "small population of people inhabited such an extensive tract of land"[14]. The myth of emptiness, social disorganization, ingenious primitivism and all the other imperial synonyms used to historically describe the Canadian arctic have proved to be an influential force in the arctic in both ideological and practical terms. Discursive constructions of Inuit culture span over the entire time that the arctic has been an object of fascination for non-northerners. Brody aptly writes that;

> Originally Eskimo society was, according to this stereo-type, self contained and nomadic, little bands of people drifting across immense distances, recurrently beset by starvation and disaster. There was no social organization, no leadership, no authority. This way created a people both tough and benign: they smiled and laughed, even as they struggled against all odds to survive.[15]

These constructions, as Brody suggests, are illusions that legitimated white colonizing projects in the north.

What is also particularly interesting about the arctic is that the age old notion of empty wild lands and barren frontier land persists today. During my visit to Aklavik and Inuvik NWT in June 2004, the Inuvik Petroleum Show Conference and Trade Exhibition was on. This is the largest trade show in the NWT and its motto is ' northern oil and gas development: working together - from exploration to market'. The meaning of exploration in this motto should be emphasised. The industry of oil exploration necessarily infringes on the hunting patterns and social activities of the Indigenous people for whom the land and rivers both presently and historically feed and sustain customary social activities.

---

[14]R. Quinn, Duffy. The Road to Nunavut. (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988.) xiv.

[15]Brody, Hugh. The People's Land. (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1975) 77.

One contemporary example is the yearly trip to Shingle Point, where people from Inuvik and Aklavik, come together to spend a month camping, whale hunting, fishing and catching up on the past year's events. While driving around town with Eva Gordon and Andrew Gordon, smoking cigarettes, seeing the town sites, and learning through conversation of their lives growing up in Aklavik, I learned in an off-handed series of comments that people have been unable to catch beluga whales because an ocean sonar instrument used for oil exploration was accidentally dropped in the ocean and left behind. Consequently the beluga have gone to a place unknown to the local hunters. There has been no effort on the part of the 'exploration team' to claim responsibility[16]. 'Exploration' in this sense of the word may appear to hold different meaning than it did fifty years ago, however, both contemporarily and historically, exploration implies and is rooted in the notion that the vast lands of the Canadian arctic are under-developed and scarce in population. What has not changed, however, is the notion that exploration in the Canadian arctic is intimately tied to the extraction of resources at the expense of Indigenous land-use patterns. The petroleum show of 2004 is an inflated, over advertised, legitimated version of the arctic fox fur trade and the whaling industry of earlier times. This point is important to highlight, because exploration by anthropologists and missionaries differs in the sense that for them Indigenous peoples were objects of exploration; but exploration nonetheless.

Early explorers such as Frobisher, Baffin, and Peary, as well as, anthropologists such as Boas, Jenness and Stefansson and a plethora of others returned from the arctic with tales

---

[16]Personal Communications. June, 2004 Aklavik, NWT Eva Gordon and Andrew Gordon

of adventure. They became the public intellectuals whose job it was to inform, predict and put into focus the lives of people with whom they were in contact only briefly. In *The People's Land,* Brody examines the relationships Whites had with Inuit and the discursive constructions produced from these multiple but brief encounters. He specifically addresses the question of how these constructions over time became the general attitudes and ideas southern society came to have about the arctic and Inuit society which consequently came to be the foundations for legitimizing missionary, administrator, and trader involvement in Inuit lives. Brody writes;

> In the language of the missionary, the Eskimo must be 'saved', in that of the administrator, he must be 'helped'; in that of most whites, he must be 'civilized'. Each white justifies his own work by referring to the benefits, medical, moral, intellectual, or material, that southern culture can give. And as the process gets underway, as the Eskimo slips from nature and is pushed towards culture, he is in limbo between social classes, between worlds, and in the colonist's mind becomes half man and half non-man. In the contemporary northern settlements, the whites perceive a worker without work, a villager without land, an employee with few motives to work.[17]

By the 1940's, and through to the 1970's, government policy administration reflected the perceptions, politics and interpretations, brought back by southerners about northerners. Government policy making during this period turned from what was considered neglect in the pre-war era, to drawing Inuit into the folds of 'Canadian' citizenry by expanding to the arctic the western institutions this implies. Initiatives such as southern-style institutional education, family allowance programs and hospitalization were created and brought into the eastern arctic without consultation by what, Tester and Kulchyski argue, operated as a '

---

[17]Brody The People's Land 101.

liberal welfare state'.[18] Grant suggests that the role of policy development was related less to questions of Inuit welfare, something policies were advertised to the public as, and more toward the government justifying establishing Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) stations and Hudson Bay Company (HBC) trading stores as a means of claiming sovereignty, and securing the north as Canadian territory from the threat of the U.S and Denmark. According to Grant, the rush to establish Distant Early Warning lines (DEW lines)[19], RCMP detachments, acquire natural resources, and relocate people to ambiguously owned land were the means by which Canadian sovereignty would be claimed.[20]

The nature of this thesis, which includes writing about Indigenous people and their experiences with arctic government policy, necessarily requires that I orient my analysis towards mapping how Marsh, as a middle class, British born missionary was influenced by and contributed to popular perceptions of the Indigenous peoples he ministered to. Underlying the specificity of examining Marsh's role as missionary, there is a broader analysis of Anglican church/state relations in the arctic taking place that contributes to a general discussion regarding the role of the church in the recent history of the arctic.

---

[18]Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski. Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994) 4.

[19]DEW lines were in response to the cold war. The American and Canadian government poured an immense amount of capital into constructing DEW lines across the arctic. Their function was to warn the military of Russian missiles entering the atmosphere. Unfortunately, the impact of these stations was disastrous for the arctic environment and animal migration patterns. The consequences of these stations are still being felt by northerners today.

[20]Grant, Shelagh Sovereignty or Security: Government Policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988)

This thesis will attempt to trace the influence Donald Marsh, as an important non-government agent who lived in the arctic for a considerable period of his life, had on the development and implementation of arctic social policies, as well as study the ways in which his opposition could be read as another model of a colonizing ideology. There is no doubt that Marsh was a contradictory figure. His charismatic language and authoritative tone could appeal to both sides; those who believe he worked in the best interests of Inuit, and those who believe he was another colonial figure attempting to alter, for the benefit of the Anglican church, Inuit society.

Missionaries had long been proselytizing Indigenous peoples all across the arctic. Roman Catholics and Anglicans were among the most 'successful' and well established of religious denominations, due in part to their cooperation with, and support from, the Canadian government. Similar to the experience of southern Aboriginal people, missionaries were among the first to begin establishing permanent churches, hospitals and schools. Their ability to fund these projects was initially procured by clergy members from Europe and Canada and also Women's Auxiliary movements. By the time Donald Marsh was involved with setting up the mission station in Arviat he was funded substantially by the two former sources and less from the latter.

What is important to note about Marsh is the duration of time he spent in the north. He spent twenty years as a resident of the arctic in Eskimo Point (now Arviat) and Aklavik. Marsh's three children, and his long time partner Winnifred also lived in the arctic. Following the death of Archibald Lang Fleming in 1953, Marsh become the Second Anglican Bishop of the Arctic. When Marsh was stationed in Toronto as Bishop he continued to travel

through out the arctic visiting his parishioners, performing baptisms and confirmations until his accidental death in 1973[21].

This 'experience' and commitment is not exceptionally unique among missionaries, however, for Marsh this 'experience' translated into authority and solidified his ability to argue with government officials. He first went to the north during a period when there was little to no government notice or administration to the arctic. He was witness to, at the same time he was part of, the dramatic changes that occurred in the north when the government did intervene. He was well- versed in northern living long before many government administrators who, with a substantial amount of power, came to the north. To some degree this explains why Marsh reacted to and opposed many government policies. His experience living among Inuit had given him, and this is evident in the archival record, a self-perceived authority to know what was best for the north, Inuit and the other Indigenous peoples he ministered to. In some cases, to be discussed further, Marsh's opposition was well warranted and effective, and in others it can be read as contradictory, antagonistic and only in the best interests of his evangelical mission .

There is a wealth of primary source material written by Marsh available in the public record. They range from magazine articles and photographs, to government documents and Anglican Church records, as well as two posthumously published books edited by Winnifred Marsh, his partner and fellow arctic missionary, from Marsh's early arctic journals and diaries. Marsh's long term residency and many long distance travels over the arctic uniquely

---

[21]Marsh was fatally wounded in a car accident while on vacation in London, England.

positioned him to engage with Inuit, Inuvialuit and Gwich'in parishioners on an everyday basis. He was privy to experiences and insights that southern administrators did not have when it came to policy development and implementation because of the amount of time he lived in the north. This undoubtedly was a valuable asset to have, and one which Marsh was prone to highlight in his dealings with government administrators.

This thesis has drawn from four broad genres of written material; scholarly secondary literature about arctic history and public policy, Marsh's popular published articles and his edited diaries, archival sources, and secondary literature on the history of expansion of missions in Canada.

It is useful to categorize Marsh's published work into three distinct categories. There are his personal texts, Church publications, and popular ethnographic articles. The personal texts include two books which were edited and published by his late partner and fellow arctic missionary, Winifred Petchey Marsh, following his death in 1973. *Echoes From A Frozen Land*[22] and *Echoes into Tomorrow*[23] are based on his journals from Arviat and Aklavik respectively. They provide the background information of his life as well as his thoughts, feelings, and observations, and importantly, include narratives regarding Inuit society and culture, and his critical observations concerning the changes taking place in the north at the time.

Marsh's plethora of church publications span over the twenty-three years that he was Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic. On a semi- regular basis, the Anglican Church published

---

[22]Marsh. Frozen Land.

[23]Marsh. Echoes into Tomorrow.

a bi- annual newsletter that was circulated to members of the Arctic Fellowship[24] in southern Canada, the U.S. and Europe, titled the '*Arctic News*'. The Bishop's letters in the front cover of each edition, during his tenure as Bishop, were written by Marsh. These letters provide readers, both contemporary and historical, with the daily goings on of the Diocese as well as anything else the Bishop thought relevant for the day. Most of Marsh's Episcopal letters were politically charged and they give insight into Marsh's interpretations of the struggles Inuit were confronted with in the face of government policies. These articles are crucial resources because they chronicle over a twenty-three year period the changing perspectives and struggles which Marsh thought worthy of writing.

Marsh was an avid contributor to various magazines that feature popular ethnographic style narratives. He wrote for *National Geographic*, *Natural History* and *Canadian Geographic,* composing close to twenty articles over a thirty-year period, which feature carefully constructed photographic testimony about Inuit culture as Marsh perceived it. Articles such as 'How to Skin a Seal'[25], 'Mudding A Sled'[26], and 'Action! Camera!: Two Spirited Studies of Eskimos At Play'[27] all offered readers the evidence of 'otherness' that appealed to the southern imagination about Inuit. These articles constructed for the reader particular activities that were/are popularly associated with 'traditional' Inuit everyday

---

[24]The 'Arctic Fellowship' consisted of Anglican church members and clergy inside Canada and abroad.

[25]----------. 'How to Skin A Seal.' The Beaver. (December: 1941, 50-51)

[26]----------. 'Mudding a Sled.' The Beaver. (March:1942, 44-45)

[27]----------. 'Action! Camera!: Two Spirited Eskimos at Play.' The Beaver. (September: 1943) 38-39.

practice as well as positioning Marsh as a leading authority on Inuit culture. At the time these articles and pictures were published, there were changes in the way Inuit dressed and the technology available to them, however, Marsh never presented such images. Rather, the images he chose fixed Inuit and Inuit culture into the past.

Through a textual analysis of Marsh's published and unpublished material available through the archival record it is plausible to argue that his approach to Inuit culture was as antagonistic and equally as paternalistic as the government. His interests and struggles were more aligned with the expansion and maintenance of Christian hegemony throughout the arctic. He commonly fought for issues that he argued would be in the best interests of people, but a closer reading indicates that the struggles Marsh fought would better have facilitated the growth of church's missions, roles and responsibilities.

The breadth of available literature about the history of northern Anglican missions is extensive. Virtually all the missionaries involved in setting up mission posts wrote diaries, journals, or books and published them later on in their lives. John Sperry[28] and Archibald Lang Fleming[29], to name a couple, have published their writings both during and after their arctic missionary activities.

There is limited literature that deals specifically with historical Christian mission development from an Inuit perspective. Oosten and Laugrand's work contributes to the

---

[28]John R Sperry. Igloo Dwellers were My Church: The Memoirs of Jack Sperry. (Calgary: Bayeux, 2001)

[29]Archibald Lang Fleming. Dwellers in Arctic Night. (Westminister: The Society For the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1928); Archibald the Arctic. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956)

material available concerning the impacts which missionaries had on the fundamental social changes which took place following government and missionary presence in the north. Two separate series are of particular interest to this project; *The Introduction*[30] to Interviewing Inuit Elders and Volume One of Inuit Perspectives on the Twentieth Century, *The Transition To Christianity*[31] offer, through interviews with Inuit elders, their life stories and the ways in which their lives were affected by missionaries, doctors, and educators. Neither of these books specifically mentions Marsh, however, elders lend insight into their interpretations of the changes these southerners had on their lives.

Secondary literature discussing arctic history, with emphasis on policy development in the north, provides the background and historical context for understanding the transformations taking place in the arctic during the period Marsh was living there, as well as when he resided in Toronto as Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic. Shelagh Grant's *Sovereignty and Security*[32], Tester and Kulchyski's *Tamarniit (Mistakes)*[33], and Damas's *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*[34] provide the background in the development of social policies. This material highlights the structure of government bureaucracy and the decision-

---

[30]Saullu Nakasuk. Eds. Jarich Oosten and Frederic Laugrand. Introduction: Interviewing Inuit Elders. (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College.1999)

[31]Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk. Eds, Jarich Oosten and Frederic Laugrand. The Transition To Christianity. (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999).

[32]Shelagh Grant. Sovereignty or Security

[33]Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski. Tammarniit.

[34]David Damas. Arctic Migrants/ Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic. (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2002)

making process as it applied to the arctic and the development of social policies.

*Tammarniit* [35] focuses on social policy making from a critical perspective using early government archival records as their main source of material. Tester and Kulchyski include compelling chapters about the arctic exiles, which Marsh comments on in his correspondence with the government, and the impact that these events had on the Inuit families involved. The chapter titled '*Social Welfare and Social Crisis in the Eastern Arctic*' is of particular interest because this is where Marsh was considered to be most outspoken regarding Inuit interests. Duffy's *The Road To Nunavut*[36], is primarily concerned with arctic policies in the post-war period. He organizes the book according to the chronological development of social policy. For instance he writes a chapter each dealing with education, shelter, health, providing a living, and relinquishing power. Duffy, to some degree, includes Inuit testimony –although they remain nameless- to counteract the voices of policy makers. Shelagh Grant's *Sovereignty or Security*[37] discusses arctic policy making from the perspective of securing sovereignty over the north through the government's implementation of social policies. The years she covers are limited in respect to this research because it does not cover the later period of Marsh's political involvement when he is Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic and there is, again, no trace of him evident in the sources she uses in her book. Morris Zaslow's

---

[35]Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski. Tammarniit.

[36]R. Quinn Duffy. The Road To Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988)

[37]Shelagh Grant. Sovereignty or Security.

*The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914-1967*[38], contributes to the relevant literature by offering a detailed account of the various changes which the north experienced prior to and immediately following the Second World War. Similar to Grant, he emphasizes the state's interest in asserting sovereignty over the north as one of the primary concerns. The significance of Zaslow's contribution to this literature is that he circumscribes northern history as a series of resource development projects. Various chapters detail in chronological order the exploitation of northern resources and the government policies that rationalized the logic for the development of the oil and gas industry. Most recently, Damas's[39] study of the development of arctic settlements includes excerpts from Marsh and his contributions to the debates surrounding Inuit settlements. Most of the passages which include Marsh position him as progressive, and liberally minded in the debate about how settlement altered the sustainable economies of northern people. Damas examines the government paper trail that eventually lead to permanent settlement of many people. Most interestingly, he discusses the problems government administrators faced regarding the poor planning and inadequate architectural savvy required to build long lasting good quality housing for a cold, and windy, arctic climate.

What is particularly important to highlight about much of the recent secondary literature is that it consistently positions Marsh as a voice of dissent in the quagmire of northern policy development. This limited use of Marsh's voice as a strong opponent skews

---

[38]Morris Zaslow. The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914- 1967. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988)

[39]David Damas. Arctic Migrants.

the contradictions in which Marsh was implicated as a colonizing figure. For example John Milloy's *A National Crime*[40], includes a chapter dealing specifically with the debates around the formation and running of arctic residential schools and the Anglican church's role in their creation and administration. Milloy's representation of Marsh as an advocate for a more culturally appropriate curriculum for arctic schools indicates that Marsh was deeply concerned about the curriculum taught in the schools at the time, and very critical of the assimilationist instruction that the government was pursuing through school curriculum. Milloy writes that Marsh was convinced that the text material prepared by the Department re-enforced the teachers assimilationist pedagogy. The texts did, he admitted, contain information about 'their old way of life', but nothing which would make a child feel that "this way of life was of any value".[41]

This is a sign of Marsh's political advocacy regarding the design of 'culturally appropriate' material. He was aware of the consequences of southern residential schools on Aboriginal peoples and did not want the same for 'his Inuit subjects'. According to Milloy, Marsh warned the government that the course they were pursuing was unwise and that if they continued they would "rue the day to our sorrow and in turn the sorrow of the Eskimo people."[42] The degree to which Marsh advocated on behalf of Inuit is in itself a contradiction.While he may have warned the government about its approach to northern

---

[40]John Milloy. A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879- 1986. (Winnipeg, Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999)

[41]Milloy 255

[42]Milloy 257

curriculum, he had little self- reflection when it came to what he actually did with regards to Inuit education. The curriculum which was taught was such that school reflected both the need, on the part of the missionaries, to protect Inuit children from the onslaught of incoming civilization, as well as the more paternalistic projection consistent with religious schooling. In Marsh's *Echoes From a Frozen Land,* he reveals his contradictions when it came to the importance of what should be taught in schools and the rigour with which it should be taught. There is counter narrative evidence which suggests that Marsh extolled the virtues offered by upper middle class European values and that through regularized church -operated schooling he could instil these values to Inuit. For example Marsh writes that;

> Teaching school was quite obviously not the only time when the Eskimo could learn. My sermons were often about the folly of spitting on the floor, about the ravages of tuberculosis or influenza and the way in which both diseases spread, and with advice as to how to best combat them. It was also a source of pride when I saw an Eskimo bring an empty can to spit in when he had a cold rather than using the floor or an open window or the stove top. This was quite an achievement, in my opinion. Gradually one saw cleaner faces, combed hair, repaired or new clothing neatly sewn (tradition and taboos forbade sewing caribou while a person was at the coast). So hygiene and the three R's went hand in hand in schooling.[43]

Hence while Marsh, according to Milloy, is concerned over the assimilationist policy implied in the northern curriculum, he was also engaged in attempting to assimilate Inuit.

Greygier's *A Long Way From Home*[44] also positions Marsh as a thorn in the side

---

[43] Marsh Frozen Land 31

[44]Greygier, P. A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994)

of the government bureaucrats. The Anglican church was effectively being threatened with becoming secondary players in the health care of Inuit because of the government's southern hospitalization program during the widespread TB epidemic. Her discussion of Marsh's positio to the southern hospitalization program accurately describes Marsh's opposition. However, reading more carefully Marsh's arguments for northern hospitalization reveals that there was tension between himself and the Health and Welfare division regarding the Church's shifting role in health care. This was an matter that Marsh considered to be among the primary responsibilities of the church, with the financial support of government funding. Greygier positions Marsh as one of the key players in opposing southern hospitalization. A reading of his episcopal letters from the Anglican Church publication *The Arctic News,* in the following chapter, tells a considerably different story and suggests that the Church's bias for northern hospitalization served the more insidious purpose of buttressing the power of missionaries to more effectively minister to Indigenous patients.

Regardless of recent scholarship's projection of Marsh as a voice of dissent to government policy, he remained insistent that the Anglican church play a larger, more important role in the development of the arctic both in regards to building more institutional control, as well as bringing a more 'civilized' version of morality. Although he may have accused the state of colonizing the arctic, his function in the 'moral upheaval' of Inuit, is in itself a colonizing practice; of which he had little self-reflection.

A rich repertoire of books, autobiographies, and scholarly works are available about Canada's arctic regions. Many radical changes have occurred in the last half

century. Arguably, little to no scholarly texts have been as widely distributed or influential as Diamond Jenness[45], Viljalmer Stefansson, Franz Boas, and the more contemporary influence represented by Farley Mowat. It is this era of scholarship that influenced Marsh's outlook on northern living as well as his criticisms of government policy. Marsh operated on the logic that what he saw and experienced, like his scholarly predecessors, were the authoritative versions of northern life and thus he was in a position to voice his opinions to try and alter the course of policy development in the interests of his Inuit parishioners. Geertz's critique of ethnographic authority is useful here. He writes that;

> The ability of anthropologists to get us to take what they say seriously has less to do with the either a factual look or an air of conceptual elegance than it has to with their capacity to have actually penetrated (or, if you prefer, been penetrated by) another form of life, or having, one way or another, truly "been there."[46]

What should be noted here is the notion that 'being there', 'penetrating another life form' and experience, were the conditions from which Marsh's self-perceived authority was produced. Geertz argues that experience, in fact, does not necessarily produce authority but rather an anthropological writing style that reflected what he characterises as "incorrigible assertions."[47] While experience was/is indeed valuable, it is not according to Geertz, invaluable. Therefore, the representations Marsh produced out of this experience are not above criticism even if at the time they were considered well informed and grounded by

---

[45]Jenness, who was employed as a government anthropologist, wrote extensively about arctic policy in the 1960's.

[46]Geertz, C. Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.) 4-5.

[47]Geertz 5

what he saw and experienced. In Marsh's case, his opposition to government policy making should be read within his position in a broader Christian colonizing ideology.

## Chapter Three: Situating Marsh:

I speak of the Christian religion and no one need be astonished. The Church in the colonies is the White people's church, the foreigner's church. She does not call the Natives to God but to the ways of the White man, of the master, of the oppressor.

Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth,1963. Pp.42.

There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism. And just as such a document is not free of barbarism, barbarism taints also the manner in which it is transmitted from one owner to another. A historical materialist therefore disassociates himself from it as far as possible. He regards it as his task to brush history against the grain.

Walter Benjamin, Theses on the Philosophy of History, 1968. Pp. 256.

This chapter situates Marsh's contribution to the popular discourse that circulated about Inuit during the late pre-war and early post-war eras. The images and texts produced by Marsh, I argue, legitimated the civilizing mission in the Canadian arctic in three distinct ways. First, Marsh's contributions to popular ethnography deployed powerful colonial tropes about Inuit society and culture that perpetuated and rationalized paternalistic mis-informed stereo-typical images. Secondly, Marsh's Episcopal letters from the Anglican publication *The Arctic News,* as well as his photographs, were spread strategically to gain continued ideological support and financial investment into specifically the Anglican mission project. Third, Marsh's textual and photographic images also were used to represent the missionary, and the missionary's project as an ultimately heroic endeavour.

Marsh's position as a non-government agent is of particular interest. Marsh's status as a non-government agent theoretically positioned him outside of state discourse. However, as we will see through out this chapter, Marsh ideologically embodies state

discourse at the same time that he vocally opposes state interventions in the arctic.

While Marsh may have opposed the rationale of many arctic government policies and advocated to Indian and Northern Affairs for Aboriginal interests, he was simultaneously inscribing Aboriginal peoples, to borrow from LaRocque, into a "civilization/savagery dichotomy".[48] His motivation for going to the arctic was to spread Anglican Christianity far and wide and establish the material structures that missionaries required to effectively minister to Inuit including permanent school facilities, hospitals, rehabilitation centres and so on. It is evident in many of his published writings that he held Inuit inventive abilities in high regard and had a fascination and deep admiration for Inuit people and culture. According to the archival records he did advocate for their interests concerning health and hospitalization, education and schools. However, he also simultaneously informed southern society explicitly, through his early photos and popularized ethnographic writings, that "this is the Stone Age."[49]

Rutherdale[50] and Christophers[51] argue that Anglican church discourse was substantially set apart from the colonizing discourse imparted by traders, administrators,

---

[48]Emma LaRocque. 'On the Ethics of Publishing Historical Documents.' Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson and Cree and Northern Ojibwe Religion and Myth, 1823. Eds. Jennifer Brown and Robert Brightman. (Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1988) 200.

[49]Donald Marsh. 'Canada's Caribou Eskimos' The National Geographic. (January-June: 1947, 87-97) 96.

[50]Myra Rutherdale. Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002)

[51]Brett Christophers. Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of cultures in Ninteenth Century British Columbia. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998.)

and other white people who had interests in the arctic. They argue that Anglican Church discourse was less saturated with 'racial discourse' and leaned more towards evaluating civilization in terms of how Christian an individual was. Is this really an important distinction to make in regards to the broad colonizing discourse that permeated the ideology for altering Inuit society in the first place? To what degree is making such a distinction important when the explicit motivations are to achieve the same ends, namely a mirror image of southern society both materially and socially? Anglican discourses around 'moral heathenism' and what appeared to many administrators and traders, and discussed above by Brody, as a lack of material prosperity were part of an ideology that legitimated government and church incursions into the north. Whether it was moral or material, both tropes are aspects of a colonizing discourse that legitimated altering Inuit society to reflect southern society.

During Marsh's tenure as Bishop, he was responsible for contributing to the Anglican bi-annual magazine called *The Arctic News*. *The Arctic News* presents to contemporary critical readers colonial tropes which present Inuit conversion to Christianity as a process that experienced virtually no resistance. This was an implicit literary strategy devised to draw readers, and financial investors, into both the text and the civilizing project as active agents of the missionizing process. Kathleen Venema, who wrote about the textual strategies of Alexander MacKenzie's diaries, offers here a very useful description of what also occurs in *The Arctic News*. She writes,

> [It] insensibly engage[d] the readers imagination and agreeably expand[ed] the readers conceptions so that they are invited to feel the appropriate aesthetic responses and adopt

the ideological stance of the text of heroic expansionism[52].

Marsh was a fierce competitor with the Catholic Church and, consequently, in his writing for *The Arctic News* he had to represent Anglicanism as the most successful of the religious denominations operating in the arctic. For example he echoes Archibald Lang Fleming's, the First Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic, words when he writes in a special edition titled Arctic Century published the spring of 1955, that;

> The Eskimo have fully broken their heathen practices and sorcery, and their countenances showed the cheerful character to change....They are eager to observe the Sabbath, counting the days, week by week, to the seventh day when they rest from work.[53]

This particular description relays to readers that the selfless toiling of the missionaries was indeed reaping great rewards. Another reason for this white-washing of Inuit resistance to Anglicans from *The Arctic News* is the fact that one of the central purposes of the publication was to secure funds to continue the work of the Anglican church, and that investors of both time and money could rest assured that their money was going to a successful cause. Marsh elaborates on the successes of the Anglican church for the Fellowship of the Arctic when he writes, "Therefore it is not surprising that, as a result of the teaching and service by Anglican missionaries, the census returns of the Dominion Government show 82.5 per cent of the

---

[52]Kathleen Venema. " 'He Never Harmed an Indian': Ethnographic Consequences of Alexander Mackenzie's Heroic Narrative." In Mosaic (35/3 2002: 89-107) 91.

[53] Donald Marsh 'Arctic Century' In The Arctic News. Spring 1955, 5.

Eskimo people as Anglicans"[54]. Reflecting on this particular percentage one must question the methodologies involved in a result so staggeringly in favour of the Anglican Church. Marsh goes on to claim that only 17 per cent are Catholic. This is not only a stab at the ineffectiveness of the Catholic church to compete with the Anglicans in their success, but it also suggests that by 1957 all but .5 per cent of all Inuit living in the Arctic were considered Christian of one denomination or another. This implies to the Fellowship that there has been virtually no resistance on the part of Inuit to abandon their own spiritual beliefs while at the same time it suggests to readers that the Anglican Church has been nothing but successful in its evangelising missions.

The readership of *The Arctic News*, who were financially supporting these missions, were supposed to engage as active, invested players in missionising the arctic and by reading their bi-annual issues of *The Arctic News* they could read both anecdotes and official census data about the success of their financial investments. Marsh's polarisation of Catholics to Anglicans overlooks the very real possibility that Inuit were in fact simultaneously practising their own spiritual beliefs at the same time as Christianity. It is also plausible to suggest that Marsh disregarded the possibility that Inuit were subverting Christianity and practising it in their own unique way. If this were in fact the case, then the missionary project would still not appear to be as successful as Marsh asserted it was to the Fellowship. Therefore, for the purposes of securing financial support from the Fellowship Marsh had to imply that the whole, but .5 per cent, of the Inuit population had abandoned their spiritual beliefs and turned to Christianity.

---

[54] Donald Marsh 'Arctic Century' In The Arctic News Spring 1957, 3.

Each issue is also a record of the dramas and political struggles missionaries had to overcome in order to continue their work. The struggle which Marsh most consistently comments on in virtually every issue during this period is the potential ill fate of Inuit society if DEW line maintenance crews became permanent fixtures in the north. The construction of the Dew line, which stretched from Alaska to Baffin Island, was the North American response to the cold war. The American government, in partnership with the Canadian government, funded the construction of Distance Early Warning satellites in order to detect missiles, bombers and other non-North American military attacks. Marsh is pointedly clear in his opinions about the fate of Inuit culture should the DEW lines interfere with the Anglican Church's ability to effectively minister to Inuit by drawing them away from the missions and into both wage labour and contact with the white men who worked on the lines. He characterises people from the south going north as 'invading'[55] both in terms of space, as well as influencing Inuit with secular or atheistic morality. He writes in an issue a year earlier "The Government of Canada should be commended for its plans to protect the Eskimos, as far as possible, from contacts with Dew line personnel."[56] Marsh's rather paternalistic rationale for supporting the protection of Inuit from southern influences was rooted in the belief that, if Inuit were too heavily influenced by southerners, they may turn away from their customary ways and become increasingly dependant on government relief programs. In an earlier issue, Marsh warns his readers that southerners threaten the church's moral monopoly in the arctic. He writes; "At Cambridge Bay the influence of the white man

---

[55] Donald Marsh.'The Bishops Letter' In The Arctic News October 1956, 2.

[56] Donald Marsh.'The Bishops Letter' In The Arctic News September 1955, 2.

is plain to be seen. Many of those working here are atheists and care nothing for the things of God. As a result, moral problems abound."[57] Marsh does not engage in his own self-reflection as a representative of the south and colonizing European ideology.

Marsh's emphasis and blame on atheists as the source of moral problems draws, by default, the readers into supporting his struggles over the threat to Anglican morality in the north. So in Venema's words, "both the reader and the writer had colonising work to do."[58]

There are also instances in Marsh's narratives where he reveals his anxieties about not being able to manage the behaviour of his flock. For example, in 1954, the Duke of Edinburgh made a brief visit to Coppermine. Bishop Marsh was clearly very excited and had organised for quite an elaborate reception where the Duke could meet local community workers and Inuit living in and around the settlement. He reveals, in the following narrative, his anxiety regarding an elderly woman smoking a cigarette while waiting to meet the Duke:

> Then, slowly he passed down the long line of Eskimo women and chatted with them one by one through a woman interpreter. The oldest women of the settlement, old Emma, could not wait all that time for a smoke so she rolled a cigarette and was contentedly puffing away while she talked to the Duke![59]

Looking at this quote retrospectively, it is clear that Marsh is unsettled by this woman's behaviour because of his reverence for the Duke. But he projects on to her that she too

---

[57]Donald Marsh.'Visit of His Royal Highness to the Eskimos' In The Arctic News October 1954, 10.

[58]Kathleen Venema " 'He Never Harmed an Indian' 91.

[59] Donald Marsh'Visit of His Royal Highness' In The Arctic News October 1954, 5.

should have reverence for the Duke. However, one must ask the question why should this elderly woman care who the Duke is? And possibly, in Inuit terms, it is he that should show respect to the elderly, instead of the other way around.

Marsh's anxiety is emblematic here of his particular colonial position. He wants his 'flock' to behave themselves. In *The Arctic News,* it is clear that he can control how they are represented. In unmediated encounters, such as that with the Duke, his control evaporates in a puff of smoke.

It is clear from reading many passages of *The Arctic News,* that Marsh was quite an outspoken critic of the southern population influx into the north. While his paternal approach, and his often quite contradictory rationales, are a testament to both his faith and role as a witness to the transitions Inuit were going through, his dedication and life's work should not be blurred, or erased by critical reading practices. However, a retrospective glance at the texts left to us from missionaries should be revisited if only to remind us that amidst the rhetoric, people's voices were regulated, mis-representations constructed and decisions made without the input or consent from the people who were impacted the most.

It is not sufficient to say that Marsh was a product of his era. Christian rhetoric about Inuit has a long textual history. Marsh was influenced by his predecessor, Archibald Lang Fleming. Fleming's text, *Dwellers in Arctic Night,* reads much like the Bishop's letters published in *The Arctic News*. For the purposes of comparison, both texts exemplify the Anglican missionary's primary purpose for being in the arctic. In 1928, Fleming writes this in *Dwellers in Arctic Night;*

Now the only effective way of safeguarding the situation for the future is first

> to control the white men who enter the country, and make them conform to the ordinary rules and regulations of decent society, and to punish offenders just in the same way that they would be punished in civilization. Secondly, to give the Eskimo the missionary who will be to them guide, counsellor, philosopher and friend, and bring them the spiritual strength and uplift of Christ[60]

In October 1956 Marsh wrote this in his Bishop's Letter;

> If wrong ideas are taught now and failure results, the marks left on the race will be ineradicable not just for this generation but for the whole race and culture in the future. Some slight misunderstanding may well change the outlook of the whole race so that it behoves us who love the Eskimo to make sure that in loving them we give them the best: independence, not relief; freedom, not fetters of white men's ideas as controls; the right to choose and make their own lives in terms of Christian charity...[61].

Both Fleming and Marsh sew themselves into the very fabric of Inuit life. They position themselves, no longer as innocent bystanders distanced from their subjects, rather, they became actively engaged in efforts to alter Inuit society. They suggest that their role was to mould Inuit moral and social infrastructure to protect them from the encroaching evils of civilization. Fleming and Marsh essentially differentiate themselves from other non-Inuit in the arctic by withstanding the rigours of arctic life for a moral purpose.

The narrative tone and style of *The Arctic News* is also worthy of discussion. Like many early explorer texts there is always an element of heroism. Missionary texts engaged in the same colonial discourse, possibly to a greater degree than explorers, because they had not only the 'harsh', 'barren', 'hostile' environment and the 'brute nature' of the people to

---

[60]Fleming, Archibald Lang. Dwellers in Arctic Night. (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Church of England, 1928) 81-82.

[61]Donald Marsh. 'Bishop's Letter' In The Arctic News. October, 1956 2.

'overcome' they had to fundamentally alter the spiritual foundations of peoples lives. *The Arctic News* bears evidence of Marsh's narrative tendency to heroise, glamorize and dramatise the work of northern missionaries.

Fleming and Marsh wanted to penetrate the social patterns of Inuit society as their guides, their philosophers, and their friends in order to direct and influence their cultural beliefs into the scope understood and ordered by western ideology. The sub- text operating throughout *Dwellers* suggests that Inuit are incapable of understanding and negotiating for themselves space within encroaching southern society and it is up to the missionary to provide the necessary tools and moral protection offered by Christianity. Fleming writes;

> It can be stated then that the Eskimo in his simple undeveloped state is totally unfit to withstand the impact of a highly developed civilization, latent with evil, unless he is under the guidance of wise leaders who, knowing the dangers before they come upon this unsuspecting child of nature, will prepare him to face the problems of the future.[62]

In an issue of *The Arctic News,* the Bishop's Letter of March, 1955 tells the following story;

> Rolling and tossing, never for a moment still, the Hudson's Bay Company ship, the 'Rupertsland' with her load of freight and supplies for the Mission and Hospital in Pangnirtung, fought her way through the storm. As her Bow smashed into each successive wave, sheets of foam appeared on either side, making the sea look like a gigantic washtub. She logged a mere two knots an hour. Her decks were covered with sleet as the snow whirled past, blotting out everything, even the towering cliffs of Cumberland Sound which should have been clearly visible as we were so near to them. My thoughts went back to the soldiers of the Cross (they could have been called the sailors of the cross) when in bygone days, they faced the arctic storms in much smaller and frailer sailing vessels.
> As we fought our way into the sound past Blacklead Island, I wondered how much remained of that first stronghold of the Church's mission to the Eastern

---

[62] Archibald Lang Fleming Dwellers 80.

> arctic.....Before my mind passed the shining army of men who pioneered at Blacklead, those men who gave their best – one even giving his life that the Eskimo might have life, and have it more abundantly.[63]

Here, Marsh employs some classic colonial tropes. This particular descriptive sequence of Marsh's journey by ship to Pangnirtung tells readers of the rigours of arctic work and the dangers involved in travelling the arctic seas, fiords, and coasts by ship through snow, wind and sleet. These supposedly hostile conditions leave the reader with the impression that the work of the missionary is dangerous and to some degree life threatening. Also in this particular sequence Marsh puts himself in the grander schema of the 'shining army of men' or the 'soldiers of the cross'. A description like this plays on the reader's assumptions that one of the most dangerous and life threatening jobs one 'man' could ever possess is that of a 'soldier', who, by definition is ready and willing to give his life. It is not accidental that such a description for missionary work in the 'wilds of the frontier' was permanently adopted into missionary rhetoric.

The myth of the missionary as hero was both an implicit and explicit invention to legitimise, ideologically and financially, the missionary movement. The heroic language from Marsh's text to the explicit narrative offered in Fleming's texts can tell readers much about the position which these missionaries afforded themselves in the lives of Inuit and the general public. However, the important voice which is erased from these texts are all too often the people who in the end are most affected by this hero's existence, the Inuit themselves.

---

[63]Donald Marsh 'Pangnirtung' In The Arctic News. March 1955, 4.

Any sound reflection on the relationship between Inuit spirituality and Christianity requires a general understanding of the broadly opposing world views between the two. The nineteenth century Christian code of ethics and morals emerges from what Jean Comaroff describes as; " ..the ideological forms of nineteenth century Protestantism [were derivative] of British industrial capitalism, projecting its values of individual spiritual democracy, and rational self improvement through labour."[64] Inuit spirituality, however, was/is involved in articulating an ideology founded on a wholly different set of precepts. Inuit engage/d in a spirituality which echoed not only the social conditions of a hunting gathering mode of existence but reflected a polytheistic physiognomy. Missionary alteration of the Inuit spiritual world was premised on the notion that Inuit beliefs were oppressive and restrictive. While this may possibly have been the case, the fact is that missionary understandings of Inuit beliefs as paganistic or uncivilized is the premise that legitimated the introduction of Christianity as a model which Inuit should follow in order to gain civility. According to Laugrand; "missionaries considered Inuit beliefs and practices as they existed before the introduction to Christianity as paganism and superstition. The *angakkuit* were often seen as conjurers who exploited and misled people. Their *tuurngait* were seen as demons."[65] and included in the missionary project was the task " of rooting out superstitions"[66]

The oppositional differences between Inuit spirituality and Christianity posed a

---

[64] Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff. Of Revelation and Revolution. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)10.

[65] Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk. Eds Oosten Jarich and Frederic Laugrand. (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999.) 3

[66] In Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk. Transition to Christianity. 3-4

problem for missionaries. Similar to Christianity, Inuit had spiritual leaders or *angakkut* who were responsible for communicating with the powers outside the mortal sphere. Instead of *angakkut* being recognized as spiritual equals to missionaries they represented the threat of opposition. And as Fleming writes " they presented the greatest possible obstacle to the success of our efforts."[67]

Jennings suggests that the threat posed by non-Christian religions to missionaries was premised on the notion that " Europeans, for the most part, did not expect to learn anything from heathen religions. The professed goal of European colonization was to convert the heathen doctrines of truth rather than to learn from them the errors of evil."[68] Consequently, *angakkut* became targets for missionaries to express their underlying anxiety about the success of the Anglican missions. *Angakkut* were represented in two distinct ways. First they are discredited by missionaries as unconvincing and untruthful. Secondly, they are portrayed as oppressive. In *Echoes From A Frozen Land* Marsh tells this story;

> One Eskimo described to me what he considered to be a strange event relating to when an *angagok* went inside a tent, while people were scattered around on the outside waiting to see what would happen. Presently there was a tremendous noise inside, such as two people fighting or struggling fiercely, and then from underneath the skirt of the tent blood flowed out, at first in a trickle and then in a stream. Everyone immediately imagined the *angagok* fighting with the spirits, and the groaning they heard convinced them that he was being killed. After a while the groaning died away, and presently the *angagok* appeared looking very sleepy, as if he'd just waken after conquering the spirit. When the Eskimos were invited into the tent, they saw blood on the floor but could see no other evidence of a battle or another being. This scene was rather typical of those

---

[67] Archibald Lang Fleming Dwellers. 40.

[68]Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indian, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1975) 53.

that *angagoks* conjured, and one wonders sometimes about the truth of their claims.[69]

Marsh doubts that this event could occur. His notion of truth only applies to the Christian faith, and all that lay outside of that should be looked upon with suspicion. In 1928, Fleming wrote this;

> The average Eskimo believes that the magician or *Angakok* is able to communicate with the unseen spirits who control life and death and the forces of nature, and hence, to save themselves from being exposed to the displeasure of the spirits, they obey his commands.[70]

There are two things of note here. First, is the sub text concerning Christianity. Is Christianity not founded on the belief that there are 'commands to obey', ten in particular, and that there are individuals who are capable of representing and communicating with God. Does Christianity not depend for its sustainability on the notion that people respect, and obey the words, of Jesus Christ?

Marsh, unlike Fleming, did have a more nuanced understanding of the function of *angakkut* in the community. He recognized that *angakkut* played a vital role in mediating conflicts, setting boundaries, and enforcing laws. However, while this may have been the case, Marsh did want them replaced with the representatives of Christian morals in order for Inuit to be set free from the oppressive 'taboos' Inuit spirituality supposedly imposed. For example; Marsh wrote that;

> Snow goggles were another taboo for women. It's a sad sight to see a little five-year old girl rubbing red-rimmed weeping eyes with a grubby fist, her red cheeks swollen

---

[69]Donald Marsh Echoes From A Frozen Land. 36.

[70]Archibald Lang Fleming Dwellers. 39.

> almost raw from the eye discharge, and to watch her stumbling along over the rocks almost unable to see her way, especially when you realize that if she had been a boy she could have worn snow-goggles. Being a woman, however, albeit, a young one, she must suffer.[71]

This quote is reminiscent of Spivak's trope; "White men are saving brown women from brown men."[72] Here Spivak equates a part of the imperialist project to the development of relations where women required the protection of white men. That is, colonialism is justified on the bodies of Native women. Current native and non-native theorists engaged in deconstructing the notion that Native women were sexual, exotic and desirable objects open for the musings of the colonial imagination have failed to include relevant representations particular to Inuit women. Embodied by a nationalist indigenous discourse in which Inuit women are included as 'Native' they are effectively circumscribed by a stereo-type which does not include them. Missionary representations of women are particularly transparent in this respect. Popular representations have for many years perpetuated the myth that Native women are as Janice Acoose notes " easy squaws whose only purpose was a sexual one."[73] Contrary to this myth, Inuit women were regarded by Marsh, and other missionaries, in a vein closer to what Ania Loomba describes as " 'Amazonian' or deviant femininity."[74] Deviant femininity is, as Loomba describes is "the notion of insatiable sexuality and brutality

---

[71] Marsh Echoes Frozen Land 143.

[72]Gayatri Spivak. A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason: Toward A History of the Vanishing Present. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press.) 284.

[73]Janice Acoose. Iskewak: Neither Indian Princess Nor Easy Squaws. (Toronto: Women's Press, 1995) 45.

[74]Ania Loomba. Colonialism/ Post-Colonialism. (London: Routledge, 1998) 154.

as opposed to the more subtle, wily women of the East."[75]

Marsh's visual imagery unknowingly engages in un-fixing the fixed stereotype of the scantily clad Pocahontas figure of popular consciousness. However, while they may, to some degree, cut Inuit women loose from endemic images of the desirable, exotic and sexual Native women, they circumscribe them in an equally disturbing way. Marsh's photographs and textual representations of Inuit women construct them as ravaged from the daily drudgery of male dominated labor and social relations. It is plausible and reasonable to suggest that in fact Inuit society had, and still has, a very blurred egalitarian division of labor. It was necessary for men to know how to sew, and conversely, it was very integral that women know how to hunt. In fact, some oral histories that I have transcribed from Baffin Island indicate that some of the great hunters were women, and that it was very common for men to learn how to sew in order to be able to both make and repair clothing.[76] It is possible to argue that these depictions are projections of Marsh's patriarchal assumptions regarding the proper places of both men and women. Marsh writes that "Sometimes, but not often, a child might be treated as a drudge and forced to get water and do chores, but in the main these were the women's tasks, though often the children enjoyed helping."[77] This very

---

[75]Ania Loomba. 154.

[76]I came to this general conclusion after transcribing a series of interviews conducted by Peter Kulchyski and Frank J Tester with Inuit men and women throughout the central and eastern arctic. The overall impression I was left with was that women were just as skillfull as hunters as men, and that there were many instances when men would describe how their mothers or fathers had taught them how to sew. These important skills, as they were often described, were necessary to know if one was going to be competent enough to take care of themselves.

[77]Donald Marsh. Frozen Land. 125.

deliberate depiction projects Inuit women as very oppressed and very 'other' in relation to European womanhood. The ideological underpinnings of such representations culminated in a movement where the sympathies of quasi-feminist Anglican settler women consolidating their efforts by raising monies to support the expansion of missionary work, and by extension releasing Inuit women from their seeming bondage to hard physical labor.

Marsh's projections leave the reader with the sense that women were oppressed labourers, rather than participating in an economy where her labor is equally important and integral to the smooth operating of a small family unit. Marsh writes this;

> What toil that fast- dwindling bundle of twigs represented! Weary, back aching toil- the jumping on the hard snow, the beating apart of lumps that cling to the smaller twigs, the scratching with mitted hands to scrape away the soft, sugar like snow, and then, one by one, the cutting of the six to eight-inch-long willow twigs. She would rather gather these into pitifully small bundles, tie them all together into one heavy load and lift it onto her back. Lastly there would be the long tramp home in the dusk and the cold, only to arrive knowing that most, if not all, of her labour will go up in smoke before she has even made a cup of tea.[78]

This type of construction is much more insightful in terms of how Marsh understood European labour relations between European men and women, than how it functioned in Inuit society. Another telling example is Marsh's understanding of polyandry. He writes;

> While polygyny (two or more wives) was a common form of polygamy in the Arctic, polyandry, or a wife's having more than one husband, wasn't unknown. This situation was caused usually by necessity. Perhaps a man had no one to sew his clothing or repair it, no one to look after food preparation and no home to return to, all of which, quite apart from sexual aspects, put pressure on a man to find a wife. Some men would search for years from one tribe to another but not find a wife. For polyandry to work to men had

---

[78]Donald Marsh. Frozen Land 125.

> to care about each other enough to share a wife - one can imagine her being very wise in sharing favours evenly - but such situations did exist for many men in the arctic.[79]

To Marsh's credit he does acknowledge that polyandrous relationships existed in the arctic. Much of the anthropological and missionary literature in this period did not even recognize the possibility of women having two husbands. It would be framed as though it was one women being 'exchanged' between two men. However, to Marsh's discredit he frames polyandry entirely within the masculine frame of reference. He does not suggest that possibly women were determining for themselves that they would benefit from having two husbands, but rather, keeps it as a male- oriented practice where women were drawn in only on the basis of male needs.

Much of the literature that examines arctic missionary images focuses on the missionary's ideological construction of Inuit moving from primitivism to civilization. Peter Geller's study of Archibald Lang Fleming's, the first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, lantern slide show photography, argues that missionaries projected Inuit moving from the darkness of heathenism to the light of Christianity by juxtaposing portraits that visually depicted what would be understood to European audiences as an 'unevangelised pagan' beside a portrait of 'Christianized' Inuk. Christianized Inuit were dressed in western garb with short-cropped hair, the unevangelized Inuit were fur clad with long hair.[80] These images, as Geller argues, were shown in order to visually correspond with the missionaries' success in bringing

---

[79]Donald Marsh Frozen Land. 125.

[80] Peter Geller. 'Pictures of the Arctic Night.' In Imaging the Arctic. Eds. J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi. (Vancouver: UBC Press,1998. 60-68 ) 64-65.

Christianity as well as European conceptions of cleanliness and order.[81] While Marsh's representations were not as explicitly marked in terms of primitivism and civilization in the same way as Fleming's he does participate in depicting Inuit whom he thought were dedicated Christians in photographs that correspond with the light/dark binary. For example, the picture below is of Marsh's friend and guide, Sam (see Figure One).

The caption at the bottom of the photograph situates Sam as an individual who has embraced Christianity. He is clean shaven, short cropped hair, and dressed in white. The background is light and the landscape in the background is non-descript. What is evident here is that Marsh developed a rapport with this man, and thus he could easily snap a photograph. However, many of his images are absent of women. This says one of two things. First that Marsh had not developed a comfortable enough relationship with any of the women so that he could easily take their pictures, or secondly, that women choose not to be photographed subjects and the few photographs that Marsh did take were stolen opportunities.

James Ryan takes authoritative visual constructions one step further when he suggests that the entire 'Victorian culture of the spectacle' was convinced that photographic renderings of non-European lands and peoples revealed truthful representations and were as a result, translated into social practices "whose meanings were structured through cultural codes and conventions."[82] Equally important to highlight with respect specifically to the

---

[81]Peter Geller 'Pictures' 65.

[82]James R. Ryan Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 17.

Canadian arctic is what Geller writes in his recently published *Northern Exposures*;

> Northerners and the land they inhabited were caught in the observer's gaze and, in the process, transformed. Contextualized with other images and written into authoritative, often simplified and readily understandable narratives, moving pictures and photographs of distant lands and unfamilliar peoples were inserted into a story of the advancement of the 'Canadian Nation', the 'British Empire' and 'Christian Civilization', themselves overlapping frameworks of a highly circumscribed and selective vision of the world.[83]

For example this photograph (see below), published in Marsh's *Echoes From a Frozen Land,* would have been typical for a lantern slide show because it embodies all of the elements of a successful missionary (see Figure Two).

There is a solid building structure available for regular lessons; the three R's as well as the lessons in personal hygiene. Marsh's narrative immediately preceding this photograph tells of how he was trapped in the twelve by sixteen school room with the 'aroma of ancient caribou skin, *putrid* seal oil and *unwashed* bodies'.[84] The ideological positioning of this particular picture is reminiscent of what is echoed repeatedly in Christian rhetoric; that 'cleanliness is closer to godliness'.

The framing of this picture in the context of his book, propagandizes to southern audiences that the mission project to the north succeeded in bringing Inuit into the elevated and protective folds of European standards of hygiene. However, this implication remains; that hygiene was and remains a social construct that regulates and classifies persons into systems of social and cultural hierarchy. According to Anne McClintock, soap was the

---

[83]Geller, Peter. Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Candian North; 1920-45. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.) 11

[84]Donald Marsh Echoes From a Frozen Land 54.

means by which to wash off the cultural difference represented by non-white skin coloring.[85] This is particularly reminiscent of the missionary's drive to bring civilization and European conventions to people who were thought to oppose both ideologically and in practice all of the ideals that made for good, civil, and ordered society. Introducing soap, and by extension, what missionaries thought to be healthy living, was one of the specificities that missionaries brought to the colonial encounter. Trott argues that for missionaries, in order to depict movement from primitivism to civilization, outward signs of this move had to be visible; "European clothing for cleanliness, hospitals for health, smiling babies for happiness, and schools for education."[86] While he does not include soap specifically, it is embodied by the same classical missionary rhetoric of civilization- 'cleanliness is close to Godliness'. Figure 6 (above) also depicts all of these elements as a missionary achievement. There is a school, a young child with cotton clothing, she is washing her hands with soap before she sits down to her lesson. Trott argues that it is likely that Archibald Lang Fleming, the first Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic, turned to using Marsh's photos because they represented a 'more primitive' version of Inuit society than was evident in his own photographs[87]. Much of Marsh's photography, according to Trott, depicted an "idealized primitive version of

---

[85] Anne Mclintock Imperial Leather. (London: Routledge, 1995) 212-213

[86] Christopher Trott. 'Projecting an Image: Lantern Slide Shows as Anglican Missionary Representation of Inuit' In Aboriginal Health, Identity and Resources. Eds. Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe, Skip Koolage et al. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000. 246-258) 251.

[87] Christopher Trott. 'The Dialectic of 'Us' and 'Other': Anglican Missionary Photographs of the Inuit' In The American Review of Canadian Studies. (Spring/Summer: 2001, 171-190) 185.

Caribou Inuit".[88] He goes on to argue that, "It may be for this reason that Fleming chooses to use Marsh's photographs of the more 'primitive' Caribou Inuit rather than his own fine collection from Lake Harbour".[89]

It is not accidental that imagery which emerged and was circulated throughout colonial Europe during the mid-nineteenth century until when Marsh was actively publishing his photographs in the *Beaver Magazine*, *Canadian Geographic*, and so on, was a mechanism for communicating imperial discourse enforcing and re-enforcing European ideals of the 'European self' against the 'non-European other'.[90] Williams argues that "Photography was employed as a device to scrutinize social and cultural difference between the self and *others* unlike the self."[91] Take for example the picture of Marsh (see Figure Three). This is a classic photograph. It corresponds and consolidates upper middle class European understandings of the self. He is a posed subject fully participating, interacting and exchanging with the photographer. He is poised and looking very civilized. The picture constructs Marsh as a bearer of civilization. In the background there is a tall stone building, possibly a school, seminary, or library - structures that represent a civilized world. His glasses mark him as an intellectual, and his clothing positions him socio-economically. He is a bearer of intellect, control, order and class.

---

[88]Christopher Trott 'Dialectics' 185.

[89]Christopher Trott 'Dialectics' 185.

[90]Ryan. Picturing 54.

[91]Carol Williams 'Race, Nation and Gender: 19th Century Representations of Native and White Women in the Pacific Northwest." In Crosscurrents. (Vol 8, 1996, 34-48) 35.

The images produced by Marsh arguably heroized him and the missionary project in two distinct ways. One, that he faced taming the 'heathen souls' of his Inuit subjects and two, he had to do it in a harsh and unforgiving environment. The arctic was an environment, as discussed earlier, that was the antithesis of the urban setting where the majority of his readership dwelled. Hugh Brody sums this up quite eloquently: "[T]hese pioneers into remote arctic regions are today regarded as heroes for the privations they suffered, the distances they covered and the isolation they endured."[92] He goes on to note that " [T]he descriptions of these southerners as men of distinguished personal strength and integrity generally ignore the fact that their attitudes and roles inevitably made them hostile to much Inuit life."[93] By studying the imagery, both textual and visual of arctic missionaries we can begin to articulate the many complexities that made up a great deal of the mission encounter and begin to understand the many ways that missionaries were hostile to Inuit life. To echo the words of Trott, it is not enough to just say it existed, rather it is integral to the project of Canadian history to learn more precisely the nuances and details of the encounters themselves.[94]

I would argue that Marsh fundamentally believed that Inuit and other Native peoples of the north were threatened with extinction if too many whites settled in the north. His self- perception was that of protector. Many of his textual and visual images aligned with

---

[92] Hugh Brody The Peoples Land. 35.

[93] Hugh Brody The Peoples Land. 35.

[94]Trott, Christopher. 'Projecting an Image: Lantern Slide Shows as Anglican Missionary Representations of Inuit' In Aboriginal Health, Identity and Resources. Eds. Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe et al. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2000) 246.

the 'vanishing race' theory and the happy, pure, hearty northern survivors unable to resist white man's culture. While this may have been a way to justify and legitimize his role, his contradiction lay in his resistence to government settlement ideology because he was simultaneously urging Inuit to minimize travel in order to receive western style education, training programs, and religious instruction. Indeed, there is no one way to read this particular colonial project. There were layers upon of layers of contradictions embodied by both the government and church institutions at the time. The government programs developing in the arctic were fractured in how to efficiently draw Inuit into them with little to no financial investment or commitment. However, critical to this is that these contradictions, and contestations, drew Inuit into them by the mere fact that missionaries, traders and RCMP detachments were strategically located in spaces and places that Inuit regularly visited, lived or travelled to therefore Inuit and government agents necessarily collided.

Mary Louise Pratt's description of the 'anti-conquest' is particularly resonant in this respect. The term 'anti-conquest', as outlined by Pratt, refers "to the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony".[95] This concept contributes to the analysis by giving a language to discuss Marsh as a representative of European hegemony, at the same time that he resisted and criticised his colonial couter-parts; the government administration in the arctic. Many contemporary scholars have a tendency to use Marsh as

---

[95]Mary Louise Pratt. Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. (New York: Routledge, 1992) 7.

an example of the voice of opposition and criticism. However, the way Marsh represented Inuit to southern society was extremely powerful. Not only did Marsh possess the power to produce images of Inuit, under the legitimated auspices of popular ethnography and anthropology, he had, and very efficiently wielded, the power to authenticate, primitivise, and homogenise, Inuit people and the arctic landscape. Edward Said is useful here because he articulates how European representations of 'others' were necessary for Europe's definition of itself, which I would argue is at the very heart of the Christian mission to Aboriginal peoples to Canada, Canada's north, and globally. Said writes;

> The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is the place of Europe's greatest riches and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations, languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.[96]

Another possibility for examining Marsh's rhetoric on exoticism is from the position asserted by John Tagg in The Burden Of Representation.[97] He argues that during the era of European capitalist expansion the state represented a hierarchical bourgeois social structure which designed public institutions to absorb all, including non-European cultures, in its wake. Tagg explains;

> Gramsci saw that the state had undergone a crucial change of function in Western bourgeois democracies, so that its real strength could no longer be understood only as the apparatus of government, the politico- juridical organisation, but demanded attention to the private apparatuses of 'hegemony' or civil society through which this bourgeois class sought to assimilate the entire society to its own cultural and

---

[96]Edward Said. Orientalism. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) 87

[97]John Tagg. The Burden Of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories. (London: McMillan Press Ltd., 1988) 68.

economic level.[98]

If this is a plausible approach to understanding Marsh and his role in the economy of popular ideology and church/ state power, how does this affect his ability to advocate for the wants, needs, and political aspirations of the Indigenous people he ministered to?

There is always room for debate and opposition concerning the degree to which missionaries did fundamentally alter Inuit society. Their effort, however, at attempting elemental societal change was one of great magnitude, and they are the first ones to admit the difficulties they encountered. In fact, many of their stories and personal journals are rife with ruminations about the difficulties they endured. It is not enough to dismiss missionary encounters as colonialism to a sweeping generality, but rather to look for the unique aspects of what missionaries brought to these encounters.[99] Arctic missionaries did produce a plethora of images, both textual and visual, that deserve close attention in order to have a richer understanding of the complexities of Canada's colonial past.

Marsh not only brought cultural baggage along with him to the north, he also exported and elaborated that baggage to others. The following chapter examines Marsh's correspondence with various government administrators to the arctic to exemplify the ways in which Marsh both opposed and aligned himself with government colonial ideology.

---

[98] John Tagg Burden of Representation. 68.

[99] Christopher Trott 'Lantern Slide Shows' 248.

## Chapter Four: Church /State Relations

This chapter lays the groundwork for understanding the ways in which the Anglican Church, and Marsh as its representative, shared common ideological interests in the arctic. Through a series of correspondences with the northern administration I trace Marsh's ideological collusion with the state with regards to the ways in which north should 'develop' socially. I give an example of Marsh's involvement in supporting the hunting sanctions placed on Inuit shortly following a flawed report indicating a serious decline in the caribou population. Broadly, in this chapter I set the tone for understanding the newly forming relationship between the state, and the ways in which Marsh positioned himself in that debate as a 'voice' for Inuit interests.

On December 16, 1957, R. A. J Phillips, the newly appointed Chief of the Arctic Division, wrote a lengthy, albeit important, and detailed letter to Bishop Marsh outlining the government's roles, responsibilities and aspirations for the social and political development of the Arctic regions.

> I am sorry that we must imply such an active role in altering Eskimo civilization or even private Eskimo outlooks. In the real circumstances of the present this must be so, even though we hope that the kind and degree of direction which we variously give will be temporary. We administrators are worried about giving direction and taking responsibility for the future of the people.....What we can do is to try to give some help to prevent the Eskimos from suffering the degradation that has so often occurred when a sophisticated civilization is suddenly imposed on a primitive one.[100]

---

[100]Anglican Archives (A.A) N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to Bishop Marsh', [from] R.A.J. Phillips, 16 December 1957.

Aside from the blatant expression of the civ/sav[101] dichotomy to describe Inuit society, and simultaneously legitimize past government actions with age old enlightenment rhetoric, what is ironic about this particular passage is that much of what Philip's refers to as 'to real circumstances of the present' were the consequences of badly informed, hastily implemented social policies that created a large population of dislocated people. By the mid 1950's policies regarding, residential schools[102], Dew line[103] construction, resource development and extraction as well as training programs -all of which were results of prior government policy - had begun to have serious impact on the patterns of people's lives. Phillips' goes on to outline the Northern Service's role in the Arctic;

> ...there are two reasons for our particular role in the arctic.
> The first is that the sudden influx of southern Canada in the mining and transportation industries, in defence, in administration, has resulted in a rapid and confusing meeting of two cultures. If this were the only problem, we might have had recourse to the solution that Greenland adopted, that is, isolating the local residents, from many of the new developments. But we have a second problem. It is that materially the Eskimos urgently need the economic opportunities which this new civilization can bring. The Eskimos, to greater or lesser extent depending on their talents, their inclinations and the area of their residence, are, therefore, positively rather than negatively coming into this new world. [104]

According to Phillips the government was taking very seriously their effort to elevate the

---

[101]Emma LaRocque. 'On the Ethics of Publishing Historical Documents' In The Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson and Cree and Northern Ojibwe Religion and Myth, 1823. Eds. Jennifer Brown and Robert Brightman. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988).

[102]See Milloy's A National Crime Chapter 12 for a discussion of the Arctic Residential school system.

[103]See The Arctic News Editions from 1954-1959.

[104]A.A N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to Bishop Marsh', [from] R.A.J. Phillips, 16 December 1957.

material and economic prosperity of Inuit. However, the only way in which the administration could see doing that was by incorporating Inuit into a wage labour economy where they would hold the jobs that southern whites were unwilling to do themselves. What Phillips' couches in this statement is that in order for Inuit to 'positively enter civilization' they must be as independent from the government as possible, and the only means by which they were to do this was by being low income wage labourers. Philips also goes on to rationalise this process by framing it in a language of wisdom from learned experiences of the past.

> In Canada we have the advantage of caring about what happens in that kind of clash, and we have the advantage of the experience in other lands. Even though we do not know all the answers we know many of the dangers. In this temporary phase, until the Eskimos are ready to work out their own lives, it seems to me that we have a responsibility for this sort of holding action. In some measure it is protection, in some measure it is an up-lifting, both materially and psychologically, to hasten the day when in every respect the Eskimo can take their own places in the new kind of civilization which we - and they- are building in their country.[105]

What is also interesting here, is the way that Philips includes Inuit as active players in their own colonization. He draws them in as players assisting the government's plans to fundamentally alter their social, material and political culture. Philips continues in his letter to Marsh to suggest ways in which the Northern Service Division of the government may be able to work with the Churches to more effectively aid in this transition.

> It will be better, that is, if while making the transition, the Eskimos are given enlightened and selfless guidance. That is of course, an important job for the

---

[105]A.A N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to Bishop Marsh', [from] R.A.J. Phillips, 16 December 1957.

> missionary and, within our limitations, for us. Our job is not to take them from the old life and push them into the new; it is far more difficult. It is to provide the necessary opportunities for a proportion of the population to find new outlets and, while doing so, to give that guidance and direction which will reduce the upsets and the dangers of change.[106]

Phillips' recognized that the churches played an important role. However, he was implying to Marsh that the Anglican church's role is to use their relationships with community members and fellow parishioners to assist in the implementation of government policy by way of 'guidance and direction which will reduce the upsets and the dangers of change'. In effect, the Arctic Administration wanted the churches to assist in restructuring Inuit society but also to do it complicitly. An issue such as the necessity of invented settlements, which is among the more destructive changes that could happen to hunter-gatherer society, was especially noted as one of the more important aspects to the success of Inuit independence.

> Were these people not to come into towns, many would face either sub-marginal nutritional standards which is the new way of saying starvation, or dependance on government relief hand-outs with all its tragic social consequences. If a certain number can find a full and meaningful life without dependance on the inadequate resources of the land, then not only for them, but for all those who remain in the old way, both living and life will be better.[107]

He goes on to outline how the co-ordinated efforts of the missionary and the state should operate to sustain the state's effort to industrialize the arctic and he calls for a mutual co-

---

[106]A.A N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to Bishop Marsh', [from] R.A.J. Phillips, 16 December 1957.

[107]A.A N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to Bishop Marsh', [from] R.A.J. Phillips, 16 December 1957.

operation between the church and the state.

> In all this I know that you will not think I am suggesting any diminution of the role of the missionary. Rather I think it can be more effectively exercised by close collaboration with the secular authority and the mutual strengthening of the role of the secular authority and the spiritual rather than a conflict or competition which we risk if people go their separate ways.[108]

One of Marsh's contributions to establishing a church-state partnership and by proxy an Inuit-state relationship, was by using the mission stations to facilitate communication between Inuit and government. The remote locations of mission stations and the cooperation of missionaries made it easier for government administrators to communicate news, send messages and apply policy initiatives. Marsh contributes to the formation of a stronger church-state relationship in two particular ways in the following example. On the one hand, following government rhetoric, Marsh suggests that Inuit are to blame for their own demise, and on the other he uses his access to mission schools and churches to implement colonizing government initiatives.

In the mid 1950's a report was distributed to the provincial governments of Manitoba and Saskatchewan and the territorial government of the NWT claiming that the caribou population was in serious decline. A.W.F Banfield, a wildlife biologist employed by the Canadian Wildlife Service five years before, reported that the barren land caribou herd, if extreme measures were not taken to protect it, would no longer be a viable resource. The government scrambled to produce a plan for conservation. This policy

---

[108]A.A N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to Bishop Marsh', [from] R.A.J. Phillips, 16 December 1957.

initiative deeply affected the Aboriginal people in the area because the way that the government decided to deal with this was by limiting the amount of caribou people were allowed to hunt. People were effectively ordered not to hunt a resource that for millennia they had successfully managed and utilized. Marsh's contribution to this effort was to produce a film that would be shown in all the mission stations, schools and hospitals to teach Inuit that hunting too many caribou would ruin their livelihood for themselves and future generations. Marsh writes in a letter to R.G Robertson, then Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs and Natural Resources, dated December 12th, 1955 that the best way to convey the caribou conservation project to Inuit is in a 'self explanatory film' with pictures that outline the consequences of hunting too many caribou. He gives a preliminary list of possibilities that could be used so that Inuit best understand the message.

He lists;

- A group of possibly ten caribou with Eskimo characters (or syllabics) written across the picture: Four years ago.
- A group of five caribou with Eskimo characters (syllabics) written: Now or present time.
- Just the word why?
- Picture of man slaughtering many caribou
- wounded animals left to die with the word Seunak this means bad.
- Showing a mother shot, leaving a fawn to die
- Wolf chasing caribou - this and previous picture with Seunak written across them
- Picture of a dead wolf and a man digging out wolf den, with good written across it.[109]

There is a plethora of implications for Inuit in this list. But most noteworthy is that the

---

[109]A.A N92-023 17-7, 'Letter to R.G. Robertson [from] Bishop Marsh, 12 December, 1955.

so- called decline in caribou was understood as due to bad hunting practices; something that both the church and state agreed upon, and therefore Inuit were to blame for the problem. Secondly, Marsh implies, Inuit should reduce the amount of caribou they hunt, and turn their attention to hunting what the government perceived as adding to the rapid decline of caribou- the wolf. To further add to this problem, Marsh six months later wrote a letter to Robertson, where he suggests that the problems faced by the Inuit in the area were due to the amount of caribou meat people feed their dogs. He suggests that they be made to reduce the number they keep for their teams.

This classic blame- the- victim trope is seen over and over again in much of the government policy decisions and reveal a common ideology shared by the church and state in their effort to form a relationship with each other in the arctic.

Three years later, in December 1958, Marsh and Phillips met in Ottawa. During this meeting Marsh suggested that Phillips write a critical response article to Farley Mowat's book *People of the Deer* which had been receiving wide critical acclaim as well as leading to a public outcry concerning the government's neglectful treatment of Inuit.

Phillips takes Marsh's, as well as his superior's advice, and publishes an article titled '*Slum Dwellers of the Wide Open Spaces*'[110]. In this article Phillips' describes how 'the tides of civilization swept across the Canadian map, and Inuit were forgotten[111]'. He very carefully outlines the slow and steady colonial process by laying out the

---

[110]Philips, R.A.J. 'Slum Dwellers of the Wide Open Spaces'. Weekend Magazine Vol. 9 No.15, 1959.

[111]R.A.J Philips, 'Slum Dwellers' 20.

elements that contributed to the problems faced by Inuit during this period. He is very careful not to reveal that many of the government polices prior to the release of Mowat's book are among the primary reasons that Inuit were having difficulties to begin with. He explains;

> Then came the white man. The mighty hunter became a trapper following lines through the blizzards, the servant of the fox. This was the first revolution of the Arctic, and in some ways things were better. He liked the tea and the tobacco, his wife enjoyed the calico and thread, the kettle and the cooking pot. He got the rifle which eventually was almost to destroy him, for the man who sold the rifle did not sell conservation.[112]

Two striking observations should be noted. First, that again years later, Inuit are still accused of bringing about their own demise. By their selective appropriation of useful material on-the-land implements, they are blamed for no longer keeping their 'traditional ways of life'. By this period Inuit were very active participants in appropriating chosen aspects of European goods. Selective appropriation should not be confused with assimilation. There is a fine distinction that should be observed. On the one hand, there is the notion that cultures do not remain static, they change, adapt, and shift. This appropriative element of cultural dynamics does not mean that a culture, by way of material appropriation in the way Inuit were in this case were, are a colonized people. They are however, undoubtedly, subjected to colonial processes. A more abstract example of this is the notion that appropriation of useful material objects is a way of measuring the degree to which one is colonized. Less abstract examples include; the

---

[112]R.A.J. Phillips 'Slum Dwellers' 21.

labelling of people according to number; the plan implemented by government in order to better identify Inuit for the purposes of census taking, unconsented relocations to southern sanatoria, residential schools and so on. The use of guns for hunting, pots for making tea, or cooking stoves are considerably less threatening to Inuit society than the damaging social policies imposed by government and church.

Secondly, and very importantly, Phillips implies Inuit are to blame for the decline in the caribou population because of their so called tendency for wanton slaughter; which Marsh alluded to three years earlier. Inuit appropriation of the gun, an exquisitely useful on-the-land tool became the tool by which the Northern Administration Branch believed the Inuit had both produced their own dependency and brought about the rapid decline in caribou populations.

In a follow up letter on May 20th 1959, Marsh wrote to Phillips regarding this article. Marsh makes quite clear that he feels that the article "seemed to miss being a true picture of the Eskimo people."[113] Marsh was 'appalled' and felt that the article represented Inuit as 'a race of lost people whom you almost despair in bringing within the realms of our everyday life.'[114] Marsh really makes a dig when he continues to say that " I must admit that this past year as I travelled over the North, I feel exactly the same way - not because of the Eskimo people but because of the policies. The people are

---

[113]NAC RG 85 Vol 1381 file 1010-8, 'Letter to R.A.J Phillips' [from] Bishop Marsh, May 20 1959.

[114]NAC RG 85 Vol 1381 file 1010-8, 'Letter to R.A.J Phillips' [from] Bishop Marsh, May 20 1959.

worthy of so much more."[115]

While Marsh is corresponding with Philip's about his article, he is also in correspondence with Farley Mowat. On January 8 1959, Marsh wrote a letter to Mowat explaining how misinformed and wrong *People of the Deer* is to the real situation. He opens the letter by attacking Mowat. Important to note also is that Marsh simultaneously makes the claim that he knows better because of his lived experiences in the north.

> Oh how I envy your detachment in being able to make a flying visit into the north and to come out, and with the stroke or two of a pen, solve and settle on paper all the problems of the Arctic which others, who have lived for many years in the north, have earnestly sought in vain and long to answer for the Eskimo whom we have loved for many years."[116]

Marsh was clearly was not pleased with the attention that *People of the Deer* received and in response to it writes and presents a speech, that subsequently was published in the *Niagara Anglican*, April 1962, titled; 'Eskimo Dilemma: Bishop Condemns Government Policy'. This speech addresses both Phillips and Mowat. Marsh also adds his own agenda to the article. He suggests that if government authorities would have only consulted with the missions then the quagmire in the north could have been avoided. Marsh states;

> Unfortunately the popular writer poured out a spate of literature regarding a certain small area of the Arctic wherein conditions could not be duplicated elsewhere. Policies were then formed, based on fictional premises. What has resulted for our Eskimo people we will see. The Department of Northern Affairs [was so new] that there was no one with experience in the Arctic to advise them otherwise so that this popular writer by his writing poisoned the authorities[sic]

---

[115]NAC RG 85 Vol 1381 file 1010-8, 'Letter to R.A.J Phillips' [from] Bishop Marsh, May 20 1959.

[116]NAC RG 85 Vol 1381 file 1010-8, 'Letter to R.A.J Phillips' [from] Bishop Marsh, May 20 1959.

> minds in respect to those organizations whose officials could and would have advised them more wisely.[117]

The backlash from this article was swift. Shortly after the article appeared in the *Niagara Anglican,* the Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs, R. G Robertson, contacted by letter the Archbishop of Rupert's Land and Primate of Canada, H.H. Clark, inquiring if Marsh represented the official opinion of the Anglican Church. He was very concerned that the public would not able to distinguish between Marsh's 'personal point of view', and what he assumed was the official position of the Anglican Church. Robertson was clearly worried that if the Anglican Church publicly opposes northern government policy it may show the public, as Farley Mowat's book did, that the government was making serious mistakes in the north. It would also show the public that the forces operating in the north were divided in their opinions which could cause reason for greater public scrutiny; something that the government did not want.

Clark's response was nothing but diplomatic. He appeased Robertson's fear that in fact Marsh was speaking from a personal point of view, however he declined Robertson's request to write a counter article on the grounds that he did not wish to publicly repudiate Marsh.[118] Because of this Marsh was able to continue to speak out against the Northern administration's policies. Since Marsh disagreed with Mowat, and even goes so far as to suggest that government policy regarding the north was in part a hasty response to *People of the Deer*, the Anglican Church refused Robertson's requests

---

[117]NAC RG 85 vol. 1381 file 1010-8 'The Niagara Anglican' April 1962.

[118]NAC RG 85 Vol 1381 file 1010-8. Letter to Robertson [from] Clark

to publicly disagree with him. Marsh, now, had free reign to continue to criticise the northern administration. This reflects well on him, and more broadly the Anglican Church. However, while this may appear to be the work of a good advocate and supporter, Marsh's rhetoric about how Inuit should cope with these new problems and how the government should amend policy initiatives, was still very much in line with the logic of colonization.

When Memmi writes that, " He [the colonizer] never forgets to make a public show of his own virtues, and will argue with vehemence to appear heroic and great. At the same time his privileges arise just as much from his glory as from degrading the colonized"[119] he reminds us that the contradictions that appear to make complex the colonizer's position in relation to the colonized are in fact an inherent part of the colonizer. If we apply Memmi's assertion to Marsh, we can see that the language and rationale for many of Marsh's out-spoken criticisms of the government, and the other white people who in were in the north, are firmly in line with what Memmi terms the 'portrait of the colonizer'.[120]

Memmi paints quite a close resemblance to Marsh in his description of the 'portrait of the colonizer' when he writes that;

> ...against this accusation [of being a colonizer], implicit or open, but always there, always in readiness within himself and in others, he defends himself as best he can. Sometimes he stresses the difficulties of his life abroad: the treacherous nature of an insidious climate, the frequency of illness, the struggle against

---

[119]Memmi, A. The Colonizer and the Colonized. (Boston:Beacon Press. 1965) 54

[120] Memmi Colonizer and Colonized.57

> unfertile soil, distrust by hostile populations. Other times furious, aggressive, he reacts clumsily, giving scorn for scorn, accusing his homeland of cowardice and degeneracy."[121]

Marsh very much engages in the debates over northern development both in public and privately. His disdain for government involvement in Inuit lives in many aspects of policy development is well documented in both the government correspondence within the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Church archives and Marsh's published and unpublished journals and magazine articles. However, while this may have been the case, how Marsh articulated and thought through the colonial projects he was engaged in is worth closer examination.

The government in this period was concentrated on building communities, or as Tester and Kulchyski term them, "northern suburbs"[122], to establish long term southern institutions and eventually draw Inuit into 'full Canadian citizenship' by way of schools, churches, hospitals, training programs, and so on. For example, Inuvik, in the west, was a strategically chosen location because it was possible to draw people from an equal perimeter in all directions. Inuvik is presently a town with a population of 3500 people. It has grown considerably over the years with white settlers from the south, Gwich'in, Inupiat from Alaska and Inuit from the central arctic, and Inuvialuit from the west. What is particularly interesting is that Inuvik was intended to replace Aklavik as the church, administration, RCMP, and trading centre of the western arctic. The community of

---

[121]Memmi Colonizer and Colonized 57

[122]Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski. Tammarniit (mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994)7.

Aklavik, thirty kilometres to the west, which presently has a population of 700, has a town motto. Their motto is 'never say die'. During field research I learned that many of the residents of Aklavik would have moved, as the government wanted, but the government did not listen to the people when they said that site E-3, now Inuvik, was too far from their hunting grounds and trap lines. This experiment in 'modernization', did not achieve its anticipated end results; but not for the lack of a consolidated effort by the Anglican church and the government. For example, in April 1961, the First Synod of the Diocese of the Arctic, since its inception in 1933, was held in Aklavik, NWT. The minutes of the three day gathering and Marsh's speech were published in the Journal of the First Synod of the Diocese of the Arctic. Marsh makes clear that the church's greatest undertaking is in the ongoing evangelization to every person in the north, including white people. Marsh specifically remarks that; "the evangelization of our people is not complete; it never can be. It is a task which ever must go on..."[123] Note the classical evangelical rhetoric at play here. The journal continues to describe that the greatest task faced by the Anglican church is in dealing with the turpitude of whites who live in Inuit communities. Their behaviour, according to Marsh, put the welfare of the community at increasing risk. He goes on to suggest the way to make this inevitable transition is to "help Inuit to face and live a new way of life as Christians."[124] Marsh may be critical of the state, but he aided in its facilitation by subscribing to the notion that Christianity is

---

[123]NAC RG 85 Vol. 1381 File 1010-8 'Speech delivered by Bishop Marsh in Journal of the First Synod' April 9-23 1961.

[124]RG 85 Vol 1381 File 1010-8 'Speech delivered by Bishop Marsh in Journal of the First Synod' April 9-23 1961.

the only way in which Inuit were to deal with the changes with which they were confronted.

In a report made by the Synod Committee, they suggest that one of the major impediments to the expansion of the Anglican church is that, on the community level, the divisions between the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, because of their fierce competition for souls, is having an impact on their efficiency and productivity with regards to attaining more Inuit membership. The Committee suggests that;

> ....to break out of the isolation and introversion of much of our church life, and to seek, by every means at national and local levels, to establish brotherly relationships and contacts and to share perplexities and burdens that we may be one with our Christian brethren of other traditions in Christ's mission to the world.[125]

It is surprising that this recommendation was made considering Marsh's sometimes vehement disapproval of the R.C Church. He was, at many points, known to accuse the government of favouring the R.C church over the Anglicans and this produced confusion among Inuit. In many of his writings he points out to the northern administration that the Anglicans had successfully converted 'eighty-two and a half percent' of the Inuit residents in the arctic. In an interview with Bob Williamson, a former northern welfare worker, he described Marsh's ire if he saw somebody wearing an R.C crucifix. Marsh's reaction to this religious symbol was, as Williamson describes, very childlike. Williamson remembered one time when he heard that Marsh had gone up to somebody and ripped it

---

[125]RG 85 Vol 1381 File 1010-8 'Speech delivered by Bishop Marsh in Journal of the First Synod' April 9-23 1961.

off their neck, tossed it into the snow and stamped on it like a child. [126] This very much attests to, and confirms, the tone and volume of letters from Marsh about the R.C Church complaining to the government over what Marsh perceived as unequal treatment.

Marsh's position in the colonial process did not stop at spiritual conversion or opposition to government initiatives. He actively injected his opinions and suggestions to government about how Aboriginal people in the north should attain independence from the government. In a guide written by Marsh, and distributed to the northern parishes, he explains that in order for Inuit to become full, active, and responsible members of society they should mimic the habits, values, and actions of southerners. He made a call for ministers to more actively train Inuit to take their places as laymen, preachers and ministers. In a letter to fellow white Anglican ministers in September 1956, he writes that while this is good for the long term stability of the church, Inuit must also learn how to live 'community life'. He writes;

> ...there is also a need for such Eskimos to be able to handle their own affairs where possible. In the past this has been possible in Aklavik and the Mackenzie River areas and elsewhere. However, at the most remote settlements, the organization of the community efforts (for example, in such things as garbage clean-up) should be done, not by government officials, but by Eskimos without pay, relief or hand-outs. Their participation may not produce spectacular results but they can build up and maintain a community spirit which is vitally necessary in their new way of life.[127]

Marsh's paternal tone and politic is standard in his letters, articles and speeches. He declares on many occasions that the spiritual well being of the people is his first priority.

---

[126]Interview with Bob Williamson. Calgary, Alberta. May 2002.

[127]A.A. M 71-4 Box 16 'Letter to Fellow Northern Workers by Bishop Marsh' September, 1956.

Marsh had an acute sense of the impact that government settlement policies, such as Inuvik and Frobisher Bay[128], were having and was critical of the propensity of the government to deal with social problems by throwing money at them. It is here that Marsh and the government diverge in opinion as to how best to colonize the arctic.

Marsh writes that "[T]hese new problems[129] are increasingly with us and not one of them will be answered by the expenditure of a greater budget or the purchase of fresh equipment. They are problems that can only be solved as men's heart's are right with God."[130] Marsh, in effect, positions himself and the objectives of the church in the wake of government intervention. Marsh's criticisms of government, however important, were not in opposition to government intervention, but rather to the methods used by the government to regulate Indigenous northerners. How does this change Marsh's ability to really advocate, as he so often claimed to do? The following chapter is an example of the ways in which Marsh was involved in debates with government officials about the best way to deliver health care.

It is clear that Marsh, despite his own best efforts, was indeed involved in the process of northern colonization. His correspondence with Phillips and Mowat were rhetorically in opposition, but there are also some very powerful examples where he was a proponent of government policy. The following chapter on health and hospitalization,

---

[128]Now called Iqaluit

[129]He is specifically referring to liquor, divorce, prostitution, theft and juvenile delinquency.

[130]A.A. M 71-4 Box 16 'Letter to Fellow Northern Workers by Bishop Marsh' September, 1956.

two important and relevant instances of government and church involvement in Inuit lives, reveals that, aside from Marsh's often vehement opposition, he in fact contributed in his own ways to the colonial approach that was taken to deal with the tuberculosis epidemic that swept across the north.

## Chapter Five: Health and Hospitalization

Marsh walked a tightrope of contradictions. The following chapter discusses three specific examples where Marsh was involved with trying to alter government policy regarding Inuit health and hospitalization. The first example took place early in Marsh's career when he was stationed in Arviat (formally Eskimo Point) and a young women gave birth to a child who died shortly thereafter. Marsh intervened and attempted to abolish traditional birthing practices claiming that midwives were potentially responsible for the death of the child. The second example comes much later in Marsh's career when he was stationed in Aklavik. This example portrays Marsh's advocating for more northern hospitals to house TB patients and the problems he faced trying to have the government more effectively deal with communication between family members who had been transported to southern TB sanatoria. The third example details Marsh's contribution to trying to change the government's policy of taking people out of their communities and the ensuing problems that arose in the community after family members had been taken to the south for treatment. While the latter two examples can be read in a favourable light, the degree to which Marsh's suggestions would aid in continued colonizing church involvement at the community level should not be lost sight of. I argue that Marsh was not only contradictory in the sense that he opposed, on many fronts, his colonial counterparts, but his opposition to government policy was firmly grounded in the maintenance and continued facilitation of his evangelical project.

In 1936, Marsh called on the government to intervene and abolish midwifery among Inuit women. It was a practice they, the RCMP and Marsh, had little understanding of, and no business trying to change. When Marsh was the missionary- in -charge of the Anglican Church in Arviat he was quick to precipitate a full scale investigation into the death of an Inuit child. What I want to highlight by this example is that Marsh took this opportunity to invoke suspicion surrounding the birthing practices of women. Marsh opens a letter to the corporal in charge, of the Eskimo Point RCMP detachment dated August 13, 1936; "About an hour ago I learned from a Native of a birth of a child which seems to be in suspicious circumstances."[131] It took Marsh only one hour to arrive back in Arviat, hear a story from an anonymous Native person about the details of a child's death and write a letter inquiring into what should be done. What is important here is that there is no indication in the correspondence that indicates the method of childbirth, by the use of a seal skin binder[132], was a contributing factor to her death. Marsh wrote the following in the first police report;

> Oeyepek the Mother of the Child gave Birth to the child while we were at Tavane. She suffered great pain at the birth and the child when born had a small leg on the right side and a long one on the left. From the forehead there was a long protuberance like a horn. The mother did not like the look of this and so she cut it off. The child was born alive and soon after it was born it was taken and buried,

---

[131]NAC RG85 c-1-a Reel T15908 Vol.888 File 9311 'Letter to RCMP Corporal [from] Archdeacon Marsh, 13 August 1936.

[132]A seal skin binder was a common tool used by Inuit midwives to help the baby through the birth canal. Two pieces of seal skin were tied on either side of the woman's abdomen. The midwife would then pull on the rope to help the baby through during contractions. Many southerners, both missionaries and doctors, who witnessed the use of the seal skin binder had a tendency to think that this method was responsible for the death of babies, although there is no empirical evidence to suggest that they were right.

> and my informant stated that the other Eskimos say that the crying of the child could be heard a day or so after the baby was put into the grave. (From informant I gather that the child was born about the end of July). Something was also said about the child not having a father and how unhappy it would be like that. (This will be clear to you later on).[133]

Marsh's suggestion of the possibility that the child could have been harmed during birth precipitated a full scale investigation. The investigation into the death of this child almost reached the point where the RCMP considered exhuming the body of the child to determine if the child's chest had been crushed during birth. Marsh's involvement in this investigation obscured the initial suspicion about the child's death because of his questions about how the child may have died. The first police report does not indicate that a seal skin binder was used during the birth. Furthermore, the subsequent reports do not even indicate that the police asked the mother if a seal skin binder was used during the birth. In fact, the records show that the birth of the child was smooth and the mother and child were healthy during birth. Regardless, in an investigation that went from August 13th, 1936 to June 23, 1938, Marsh tried to have Inuit traditional birthing practices curtailed in two respects. In the first police report Marsh writes;

> I might add here for your edification that the Huskies here have a habit of forcing the Birth of a child by tying a rope around the waist of a mother and four women force down on it while two hold the women's arms outstretched. This is done as normal procedure of the births, and one responsible fo several deaths down this coast of both mother and child, and also of a lot of the crushed chests of children. (I can show you at least three or four at Tavane.)[134]

---

[133]NAC RG85 c-1-a Reel T15908 Vol.888 File 9311 'Letter to RCMP Corporal [from] Archdeacon Marsh, 13 August 1936.

[134]RG85 c-1-a Vol.888 File 9311.'Letter to RCMP Corporal [from] Archdeacon Marsh, 13 August 1936.

The details of the inquiry became centred around trying to determine if the way in which the child was born, by the use of a seal skin binder, was the main contributing factor to her death. Marsh did not stop there in his critique. Marsh questioned the practice of confinement of pregnant women prior to birth. He suggested that the practice of confinement just prior to child birth could also have induced the child's death, as well as the deaths of many others. It is reasonable to question the suspicion that Marsh reveals when he questions the safety of the seal skin binder and confinement during birth; two practices that had been safely and successfully practised for millennia. Were his suspicions grounded on his association with confinement as a non-Christian practice, and seal skin binder's as a non-western invention? These are difficult questions to answer. It is safe to say, however, that Marsh in his own way was responsible for the direction of this particular investigation in two particular and related ways. Originally the investigation was more concerned with the 'suspicious circumstances of the child's death'. Marsh's questioning of birthing practices blew it out of proportion and it became a question of all births being potentially dangerous and harmful. The original point of the investigation was obscured by colonial presumptions regarding the ingenuity and safety of the more 'genteel' nature of western medical interventions. Secondly, it is possible that this is one of many instances where Marsh's Christian ideology necessarily positioned him in opposition to Inuit traditional birthing practices, regardless of his public rhetoric about his support for Inuit customary life-ways. Confinement during pregnancy and birth were particular to the Inuit birthing process prior to both government and missionary interventions and Marsh's

suspicion and ability to intervene deserves to be highlighted as one of the many contradictions Marsh reveals.

Fortunately, in the end, the government's position was determined on the advice of doctors and not Marsh. The questioning and reports from this investigation span over a year and were eventually brought to a close by both Dr. Livingstone, M.D and J.J Haegerty, the Chief Medical Assistant to the Northern Service division. A letter from Dr. Livingstone dated April 1936 explaining the success and ingenuity of midwifery suggested that abolishing the use of mid wives should "not be a policy of this department."[135] In the same letter he offers this perspective;

> The women are quite apt midwives and it is only in abnormal births that they have any trouble. In any confinement work that I have had among them I allowed them their customary procedure and they invariably used the abdominal binder which to me was quite a good idea. These police and missionaries are not trained in obstetrics and, therefore, have no reason for their criticism.[136]

Livingstone's paternal 'I allowed them their customary procedure' should be noted here. He makes the wise decision to not intervene, but also realizes that if he wanted to, or felt it necessary, he had authority to do so. Dr. Livingstone was sympathetic, but not to the degree that one would expect because he also states that it should not be abolished unless the government is prepared to replace it with something else.[137] It was not, for Dr.

---

[135]RG85 c-1-a vol.888 Reel T13908 file 9311. 'Letter to Archdeacon Marsh [from] Dr. Livingston

[136]RG85 c-1-a vol.888 Reel T13908 file 9311. 'Letter to R.A.J Phillips [from] Dr. Livingston

[137]RG85 c-1-a vol.888 Reel T13908 file 9311. 'Letter to R.A.J Phillips [from] Dr. Livingston

Livingstone, a question of abolition, but rather about the lack of suitable northern medical facilities in which to make the transition. Regardless, he did manage to slow down the intended impact of Marsh's actions. In a letter to R.A.J. Phillips, which ultimately closed the case, Dr. Haegerty writes according to the advice and knowledge of Dr. Livingston that;

> Apparently the only evidence on which there is any agreement is that the child was abnormal. The operation performed by the mother on the tumour on the child's head may possibly have been the cause of death. It is very unlikely that the abnormality of the child or the tumour was caused by the binder that was used on the mother at the time of the birth. This statement that the use of a binder is a factor in crushing the chests of children during delivery is contrary to our knowledge of the mechanics of childbirth. I am quite in agreement with Dr. Livingstone's comments in regard to the use of the abdominal binder during delivery and also in regards to his remarks concerning the abolition of Native methods of confinement.

Marsh's effort to abolish Inuit birthing practices was successfully thwarted. It is worth noting that Marsh's intervention on this issue is particular to Inuit women. His attempt at re-organizing, and regulating how women gave birth by imposing western medical interventions is a fundamental element to the colonizing mission which he insists he was not a part of. He wanted to separate himself from the government colonizing discourse, however, his involvement in this issue clearly positions him within the colonizing discourse of both the church and the state. This is an area of his lifework where regardless of his experience among Indigenous peoples, and his insistence that he was an advocate for Inuit against government policy, it was the government sponsored doctors who were able to stave off Marsh's potentially dangerous presumptions about how women should treat their own bodies.

Later in Marsh's career, the field of Inuit health took a sharp turn. After World War Two a TB epidemic swept across the north and produced problems for both the government and the churches about how to most effectively deal with the increasing deaths among Indigenous peoples in the arctic. Prior to 1944, the government felt it was under no obligation to provide health care for any northern Indigenous peoples. Government responsibility toward northern medical facilities extended only so far as to provide funds for religious denominations to continue in their efforts in providing health care facilities.[138] The TB epidemic represents a point at which the government was called upon by the churches and a critical public to deal with the increasing need for more medical facilities, medicine, medical personnel, and space. The way in which the churches suggested this happen was to construct more northern facilities; the government unfortunately, had a different plan of attack. Greygier suggests that following WW2 the government began a full scale effort at giving X-rays to all people in the north. What is important here is that WW2 ended in 1945, and still by 1956 "one out of every seven Inuit was infected with the disease and transported to a southern sanatorium and that at least one-third of the Inuit population of the 1950's was infected with TB."[139] The government's reaction to this left much to be desired. The way in which the government proposed dealing with the TB epidemic was not to construct more northern facilities, but rather to transport both infected and potentially infected people to the south for care. As the Health and Welfare

---

[138]R.Quinn Duffy. The Road To Nunavut. (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988) 51

[139]Pat Sandiford Greygier. A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press.) xxi

Department continued to re-locate Inuit from the north to the south for treatment of tuberculosis, Marsh became more vocal about the need for the construction of northern hospitals. By 1954, approximately nine years after the rapid spread of TB among northern people, there remained only two hospitals available for housing TB patients in the north; Saint Luke's Anglican Mission hospital in Pangnirtung, NWT and the All Saint's Anglican Hospital, in Aklavik, NWT. They were filled to capacity with Inuit and Gwich'in and Inupiat TB patients. The government, rather than building the necessary facilities, decided the course of action was to continue re-locating people to the south. Patients from the western arctic and Mackenzie -Delta region were taken to the Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, and patients from the east were sent primarily to Mountain Sanatorium in Hamilton, Ontario.[140] The result of this patient transport policy was severe. Among the more pronounced, and one that Marsh had much to say about, was the loss of contact and communication between family members.

First, however, it is important to note the two ways in which to read Marsh's reaction to the government's refusal to build more northern hospitals. On the one hand Marsh's insistence to build more hospitals is related to how effectively people's spiritual (meaning Christian) needs could be met if they remained in southern hospitals. Marsh's ability to effectively minister to people in the south would have been severely curtailed if people whom he perceived had committed to Christian spirituality would no longer be readily and consistently accessible. Secondly, he was concerned that people who spent too much time in the south would not want to return to their homes in the north. He argues that

---

[140]Pat Sandiford Greygier Tuberculosis Epidemic xi.

the placement of Inuit in these sanatoria was emotionally, spiritually and socially destructive. It is reasonable to suggest that Marsh may not have been so worried about the transportation of Inuit T.B patients if there was adequate active 'spiritual care' offered in southern sanatoria during this period. This was not the case. According to Trott, the southern churches were unable to provide for Inuit Anglican parishioners, and it remained so into the eighties.[141]

As a result, Marsh appealed to northern administrators to build more northern hospital accommodations so that people could be close to their family and friends. This, I believe, reflects well on Marsh. However, a closer more theoretically inclined reading, of Marsh's rationale for having Inuit remain in the north is not so admirable since he reasons that "after the long period in a sanatorium during which they have become accustomed to the comparative luxury of the white man's land, they resent having to return to their former austerity"[142] He goes on to say that; "For years they have been living in a dream world amidst every modern comfort a hospital patient can enjoy; now they are thrust back into their old life of hardship."[143] Marsh's rationale here is reflective of the colonial belief that going back to Inuit land ways after experiencing 'civilization' would be regressive and after experiencing the comforts of modern living people would not want to return home. The notion that southern society is a 'dream world' in comparison to Inuit lifestyle positions Marsh on the periphery of Inuit society. Furthermore, he implies that

---

[141]Personal communication with Dr. C. Trott, 3 November, 2004.

[142] Donald Marsh The Arctic News 'Pangnirtung' March 1955, 12

[143] Donald Marsh 'Pangnirtung' 12.

more northern hospitals would allow the Anglican church to both expand, maintain, and more effectively minister to, and keep tabs on Inuit if they were housed in community-based facilities. Marsh's ability to minister to people would have been curtailed if people were sent to southern sanatoria. It is also reasonable to suggest that because of the secular nature of these sanatoria, people would be placed among people who were of a different denomination - something that Marsh vehemently opposed. Marsh did oppose transforming northern health facilities. He wanted the churches to remain in control of the style of health care offered to people with the aid of large subsidies provided by the government.

While this may have been the case, Marsh did have very important and legitimate criticism of government policy regarding northern hospitals or lack thereof. Like Marsh's reaction to the child's death in 1936, where he took the opportunity to raise issues broader than the ones directly at hand, in 1954 he attempted to amend the government's policy on hospitals.

The first to be discussed is Marsh's fight to have hospitals in the north remain non-secular facilities. Marsh was opposed to having the government involved in what Marsh considered territory of the Anglican church. Marsh wrote to the Health and Welfare Department concerning what he perceived to be favouritism on the part of the government towards the Roman Catholic Church. In the mid-fifties the government decided to move the community of Aklavik thirty miles east to the present site of Inuvik. This posed many problems concerning the hospitalization of Gwich'in, Inuvialuit, and Inupiat patients who were being treated for TB in the All Saint's Anglican hospital in Aklavik. The government

agreed to moving, at their expense, All Saint's hospital to the new site. Marsh agreed to this move under the condition that the new hospital would accommodate more patients than both the Roman Catholic (R.C.) hospital and the Anglican hospital combined in Aklavik. However, the government was not prepared to meet this demand and instead was prepared to move the hospitals, but not build a facility that would accommodate as many patients. The Health and Welfare officials at the time thought that the TB epidemic would eventually be taken care of by both southern hospitalization and medical advances. In retrospect they were right, however, that does not legitimate severely inadequate health care facilities at a time when hospital facilities were in the highest demand. State rationale was such that if they invested in building what they considered oversized facilities, they would be spending more money than was necessary. The hospitals in Aklavik had the space to accommodate 160 patients, all of which were being utilized at the time. Marsh was suspicious of their motives and was careful to consider shutting down the recently renovated All Saint's Hospital because of the government's previous arrangement to subsidise building a 130 bed facility in Fort Smith for the R.C.'s. Marsh was quick to point out in a letter to Jean Lesage that the hospital was in effect serving an "almost a totally white population."[144] Marsh remained suspicious of the government's arrangements with the R.C Church and was vocal about his disapproval. Marsh contradicts himself in this respect because he positions himself in the debate solely on the basis of having medical facilities provided to treat patents regardless if they were secular or non-secular. In the same letter he stated that; "The Church established hospitals because of a great need

[144] A.A. M71-4 Box 16. 'Letter to Jean Lesage [from] Bishop Marsh. 12 May 1954

many years ago, which the government was unable to cope with. We are still interested in the welfare of the Eskimo now as then, and our main concern is their care."[145] Marsh was indeed concerned for the welfare of patients, however, he was equally concerned with which church was going to provide the most care. He wanted the Anglican church to be the primary caretaker of patients and angled to have the government either completely secularize patient care, or provide the Anglican church with a stake equal to what he perceived the government was giving to the R.C church. The government suggested that they would erect a hospital that would have a wing dedicated to 'Protestants' and on the other side a chapel for R.C's. While this was a reasonable suggestion made by the Department of Health, it raised problems for Marsh concerning who would then staff the hospital. He did not think it would be possible or wise to have R.C staff working alongside Anglican staff and that it was a "reversal of their policy of never running a hospital in the North as they claim that they could never find staff for such a project."[146] This presented a conundrum concerning health care in the western arctic. The government was unwilling to provide adequate funding, Marsh was unwilling to consider working alongside the Catholics even though he was in his own words "concerned only for the welfare of the Eskimo"[147]. In the end, neither party was able, nor willing to find a solution.

Another of Marsh's concerns regarding northern health had to do specifically with the incredible social disruption within the communities because of the government's

---

[145] A.A M71-4 Box 16. 'Letter to Jean Lesage [from] Bishop Marsh. 12 May 1954

[146]A.A M71-4 Box 16. 'Letter to Jean Lesage [from] Bishop Marsh. 12 May 1954

[147]A.A M71-4 Box 16. 'Letter to Jean Lesage [from] Bishop Marsh. 12 May 1954

removal policy. Marsh, to his credit, did remain active in travelling around the north to visit his parishioners. According to the records it appears that many people went to him for advice on how to best deal with the difficult situations of lost communication among family members who were taken to southern sanatoria. On Sept. 18, 1959, Marsh wrote Phillips asking specifically about a child who had been taken out of her community and her mother had no idea where she was or how to contact her. He asks Phillips to find her. He also took this opportunity to say that this is only one of many similar situations and suggests that " in spite of the terrific sums of money spent on minute houses, hostels, government personnel and homes for them, the individual Eskimo is just as forgotten as ever."[148] Marsh had made a suggestion that could have solved the lack of communication problem, even if only temporarily. Four years earlier, Marsh asked Jean Lesage the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources in a letter on August 31, 1955, if it would be possible to send a card with the hospital address to the family of patients who were in southern hospitals. He argued that it would enable families to communicate amongst themselves without the aid from others. Marsh continued to objurgate government southern hospitalization policy. In a cleverly worded accusation he implied that they were not concerned with the best interests of Inuit health. He wrote;

> You mention the incident about which I wrote to the Honourable Paul Martin. This was one of many which I could have mentioned...., but I have come to the conclusion that the Department of National Health and Welfare are not concerned with the real meaning of the two words (as far as the Eskimos are concerned) which make up the title of the Department, but are concerned purely on the medical grounds with treatment of TB...I regret this for there have been no

---

[148]A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to R.A.J. Phillips [from] Bishop Marsh' 18 September 1959

improvements made under your administration, but one can hope for miracles.[149] There is no evidence in the literature or records to suggest if Marsh's advice on this issue was taken. However, since four years later he was still writing the same letters and still arguing for more communication between family members, its clear that the government was not facilitating communication between families in the way Marsh envisioned or had suggested.

This obstinance from the government inspired Marsh to shift his rhetorical strategy from 'issues of communication' to pleas in the name of 'humanity'. He wrote an impassioned letter to Philips saying that "Countless times this matter has been raised with the Department, but staff is always said to be too short to care about the welfare of those Eskimos wrested from their homes."[150] He dramatises a little and writes that; "A phrase keeps recurring in my mind 'man's inhumanity to man'. This attitude is growing, soon it will be vocal to the press and elsewhere. Can you not in the name of humanity do something at once."[151] Less than a week later Marsh received a six page response from Philips berating Marsh for his accusations and inaccurate portrayal of government action. Philips rationalises the government position when he writes that;

> We cannot put the clock back to the days of the Arctic preserve whether or not it would be better for the people. They are a part of Canada now, through forces bigger than any of us can influence. I confess to the simple pride in citizenship of Canada which makes me confident that this will be good for the Eskimos for they

---

[149]A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to Jean Lesage [from] Bishop Marsh' 31 August 1955.

[150]A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to R.A.J. Phillips [from] Bishop Marsh' 18 September 1959

[151]A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to R.A.J. Phillips [from] Bishop Marsh' 18 September 1959

> can share and add to the great heritage when they emerge from the darkness of disease, destitution and ignorance. I would like to help them as they emerge. Even if I am wrong in thinking that the new Canadian life can be a better one, what can we do but help them in their change, and support others who work sincerely for them.[152]

Again Marsh responds and reminds Philips that the issue at hand was still not being properly addressed by government officials.

> You feel my language was strong about the non-notification of patients in a letter of Sept. 18th. It was so because I feel very strongly upon this subject. I am still repeatedly, across the north, asked about children, parents, brothers or sisters who have not been heard from for some weeks or months. With modern radio facilities, surely a monthly message to the relatives is not too much to ask.[153]

It is clear from the government's responses to Marsh's opposition, that there were very conflicting ideas of what was best to do and in the end Marsh was, again, curtailed by government.

The problem of communication was not only confined to the government's policy of moving people out of the community but it also caused immense problems within the communities. On Sept 17, 1954 Marsh responded to a letter from Rev. C.H. Jenson regarding the church's policy on adopting an Inuit child out of an Inuit home and into a white one. The circumstances that precipitated the question of adoption arose because the child's mother had been taken south for treatment of TB, and the child was left with her step- father whom the missionary thought unable to properly care for her. Marsh responded, " there is general agreement on the principle that no child should be separated

---

[152]A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to R.A.J. Phillips [from] Bishop Marsh' 18 September 1959

[153] A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to R.A.J. Phillips [from] Bishop Marsh' 14 October 1959

from its parents except where the circumstances make it impossible for the family, or even part of the family, to stay together."[154] Marsh's position on moving people out of the community for treatment remained consistent with his argument as to why the government should be building northern accommodations. In a letter dated 27 October, 1954 to B.G. Sivertz, the Director of the Northern Administration Branch of DIAND, to whom this issue had been referred, Marsh writes that the people in Goose Bay did not want the child adopted out and that the step-father was committed to taking primary care.[155] Marsh did not stop there in his critique of government removal policy. In the next paragraph he says "While we maintain this absurd situation of wresting children from their homes (and adults also for that matter), we are still going to have this problem."[156] Marsh was rightly suspicious of the ministers' quick reflex to take the child away from the family, and implies this in his return letter that in the long run is not in the best interests of the child, or more broadly, Inuit society. Marsh's position on removal to is best explained, and in more detail, in a letter he writes directly to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, less than a month later. He writes;

> I have just returned from my sixth trip this year in The Arctic and at every outpost I heard that the Eskimos fled inland before the arrival of the ship with the medical officers onboard, for fear that they would be wrested from their homes and shipped outside never to return, as has happened to so many of their friends and relatives.[157]

---

[154] A.A. M71 - 4 Box16 'Letter to Marsh [from] Rev. C.H. Jenson' 17 September 1954

[155]A.A. M71 - 4 Box16 'Letter to B.G.Sivertz [from] Bishop Marsh' 27 October 1954

[156]A.A. M71 - 4 Box16 'Letter to B.G.Sivertz [from] Bishop Marsh' 27 October 1954

[157] A.A. M71 - 4 Box16 ' Letter to Primes Minister Louis St. Laurent [from] Bishop Marsh' 10 November, 1954.

Marsh berates the government's tendency to spend 'great sums' of money on building new towns, i.e Inuvik and Frobisher Bay, and rehabilitation centres that " would not be necessary if people were hospitalized in their own country."[158] In the end Marsh was again curtailed by the government with regards to constructing more hospitals. The way in which the government appeased its critics was by creating a position on the Eastern Arctic Patrol for a social worker whose primary job would be to facilitate the smooth removal of people both out of and back into the community.

The Health and Welfare Department decided in 1957 for the first time to include a social worker, Ruth Banffy, on the Eastern Arctic Patrol under the authority and guidance of Walter Rudnicki, the newly appointed supervisor of the Welfare Department.[159] The decision to do this was because of the concerted effort of many people; one of whom was Marsh. The decision to have a social worker on the Eastern Arctic Patrol was a good idea in theory, but the job was much bigger than one person could co-ordinate. Banffy lasted one tour. The report she produced that suggested "streamlining the Welfare Section's operations with regard to the follow-up of patients, the administration of relief in the settlements, and arrangements on board for Inuit"[160] was rather controversial, and she was soon after replaced by Betty Marwood. Marwood was also disturbed by what she experienced the first year she travelled aboard the Eastern Arctic Patrol[161]. In an interview

---

[158]A.A. M71 - 4 Box16 ' Letter to Primes Minister Louis St. Laurent [from] Bishop Marsh' 10 November, 1954.

[159] Pat Sandiford Grygier A Long Way From Home 95.

[160]Greygier100.

[161]Greygier. 100.

with Grygier she is quoted as saying "it was a really shattering thing to see what was actually going on in my own country. You just don't treat people like that."[162] Marwood referred to what she thought was neglect, and poor treatment of people who were being sent south. She was also disturbed by the government's treatment of people who were being sent back from the south with inadequate clothing and shelter. There were also many cases in which the government had lost important documents detailing the locations where patient's families were, and the communities to which the people were to be sent back. This resulted in many cases where children, who had been gone for years, were sent back to the wrong places or temporarily misplaced.[163] In fact on one situation a man committed suicide after having been sent to the wrong community[164].

The role of the social worker was not exactly what Marsh had in mind. Marwood's primary purpose as the northern social worker was to assist in facilitating the re-location process and easing the transition from the land to hospital and vice versa. It was clearly not in her mandate to question or criticise the relocation policy. Rather, according to her, it was produced to "pick up from the medical people and deal with the social problems created by the system."[165] This meagre attempt at facilitating relocation and communication did not, however, work as effectively as it was originally intended.

To add to this quagmire of dis-organization and apathy, on numerous occasions

---

[162]Greygier, 100.

[163] Greygier, 121

[164]Greygier, 121.

[165] Greygier. 121.

during the 1950's and 1960's Marsh wrote R.A.J Philips, B.G.Sivertz and the Prime Minister relating stories of perturbed Inuit seeking the whereabouts of their family and friends. As outspoken and annoying as Marsh was to the government, his position was not entirely a single- handed project. Many of the examples he quotes to defend his objections were told to him by other Anglican missionaries in the field. In a letter to Marsh from the minister stationed in Lake Harbour in 1959, he writes that nearly every family in the community of one hundred has been broken up, people are beginning to be suspicious of government activities and also feel that they are treated like feeble- minded individuals.[166] The minister suggests to Marsh, that in his next meeting with the Council of Eskimo Affairs, he take this problem to the committee and suggest that they do something about communication between families before it causes further "mental and spiritual damage."[167] It is safe to say that Marsh did take this problem to the Council of Eskimo Affairs, and it is also safe to say that the government did nothing about it because as Greygier suggests, many people completely lost contact with their families. Parents lost contact with their children, and children lost contact their parents all the way through this epidemic.

Marsh not only played mediator between missionaries in the field and the government, but he also performed as the conduit between Inuit and government. The question should be asked then; Was Marsh appropriating the role that Inuit should have taken for themselves? While this is an important and legitimate question to ask in retrospect it remains impossible to know from the secondary literature and the archival

---

[166] A.A. M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to Bishop Marsh [from] Minister in Lake Harbour' 1959.

[167] A.A. M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to Bishop Marsh [from] Minister in Lake Harbour' 1959.

documents the degree to which Inuit were given the opportunity to act as their own advocates. It is clear from Marsh's records that Inuit did in fact try to flee when they saw the Patrol boat approaching. That is in itself an act of resistence. However, the technology available to the government to reach people, the language barriers on both sides, left Marsh in a position where he could advocate for Inuit interests. This is a powerful position to be in. Marsh, in the end, did raise some important issues, but it left little to be desired if we consider that he remained steadfast in creating a space for the church to continue in its civilizing mission.

The field of Inuit education is, on the other hand, a space where Inuit were active in advocating for their own interests, as we will see in the following chapter.

## Chapter Six: Education and Schooling:

'The government gets in the way. We can teach our children ourselves. We're good parents'

Sheeba Selamio, Inupiat Elder, Aklavik, NWT. June 18th, 2004.

'Children gone for the whole year [in school]. Only two months in the summer to teach children all the things they need to know'.

Sheeba Selamio, Inupiat Elder, Aklavik, NWT. June 18th, 2004.

This chapter gives a brief overview of the ideology of northern educational policy following the Second World War when the government began taking an active interest in building school facilities. There is an emphasis on the relationship between the churches and the state and the ways in which they assuaged each other's interests regarding what should be taught and the manner in which the curriculum was delivered. This chapter is also an example of the degree to which educating Inuit was not only in the formal sense of building schools and sending children away from their families, but also in the ideological sense. The *Book of Wisdom* represents another form of education that was pervasive in the north. The government, with the help of religious informants for both its production and distribution, developed 'educational pamphlets' for distribution to northern residents. I show how closely aligned Marsh was with the propaganda produced by the government in his own teachings. The final section of this chapter deals more specifically with Marsh's role as an advocate for Inuit of Igloolik in the mid 1960's when they opposed sending their children away to the residential school in Iqaluit (formally Frobisher Bay).

Through out this chapter Marsh reveals his very colonial perceptions about Inuit

society and Indigenous peoples perceived need for western-style institutional education. Granted there were many attempts on the part of Anglican missionaries who, in the onset, attempted to travel to out-post camps to teach the western basics such as the ABC's and practical mathematics (which were specifically devised in order to facilitate trade with the HBC company among Inuit and teach how to read the Bible).

Prior to government control of Inuit education, churches took on the responsibility for providing education. Residential school facilities operated by churches began in the 1920's and existed through to state intervention of educational policy in the mid 1950's. Schools set up by churches were located in places close to camps. For example, the Anglican Residential school at Shingle Point was both located close to a trading post and whaling centre where people from the area customarily camped during particular times of the year. By the mid 1950's when Marsh was Bishop this approach had begun to wane because of the government's take over of educational policy.

With pressure from American military personnel who were stationed in the arctic during the war,[168] and the Anglican Church of Canada, the Canadian government took an active interest in providing 'schooling' to Inuit in the arctic after the Second World War. Prior to the end of WW2 during the 1920's through to the 1940's the Catholic and Anglican mission stations had taken the full responsibility of looking after schooling to the Inuit. According to Duffy, only "four residential schools existed in the arctic. Three R.C schools, one in Aklavik, Fort Resolution and Fort Providence, and the Anglican school in

---

[168]R. Quinn Duffy. Road To Nunavut. (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988) 95

Aklavik."[169]

Following much public scrutiny from both Americans and Canadians, the government was compelled to begin developing a policy through which they would begin building residential schools for northern residents. Similar to the debates over hospitals, Marsh was critical about the government intervening and taking control of education. According to Milloy, Marsh was cognisant of the colonizing ideology embodied by the government's, as well as the churches, involvement in providing education for the Inuit. Milloy, again, positions Marsh as a critic of educational policy in the north when he writes that, "Marsh, meant that the churches as well as the government realized that all of them - church, state and industry - were a part of a colonizing project that had been 'thrust' on Aboriginal communities of the north."[170] While it is indeed true that education was 'thrust' upon Aboriginal peoples in the north, as it had been in the south, the degree to which Milloy positions Marsh as a critic to the government's ideology is over- inflated. We will see in the course of this chapter, that Marsh does have some critical analysis of the government, but not nearly to the degree that Milloy would have us believe. Marsh was a strong advocate for not only pursuing the basic curriculum instituted by the government, but he also brought with him the ideology that northern peoples needed to be civilized in order to smoothly make the transition from the 'old' way of life to the 'new' way of life. The documentary record reveals that Marsh was less concerned with the impacts of

---

[169]R. Quinn Duffy. Road To Nunavut.

[170]John Milloy. A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986. (Winnipeg: University of Press, 1999.) 257.

residential education, as he was about how the Anglican church would continue to be a primary provider of the education that the government was in the business of imposing. This is revealed by Marsh's constant harassing of government officials over continuing to provide funds for the Anglican church to keep their schools operational, as well as his liaising to make sure that the Anglican church was given an equal amount of funding as the Roman Catholic church. This is very reminiscent of the debates Marsh had with government over hospital facilities.

The Catholic Church and the Anglican Church, who were both competing to keep and expand their own schooling facilities at government expense, were now in a situation where they had to compete with secular institutions. The Government felt that it was forced into a position where it was not ready to take on the huge financial responsibility of providing education, hiring teachers, and building new schools, therefore, in order to keep the schools already operating in the north it had to appeal to both the Catholic and Anglican churches. The result of the compromises made between the Anglican and Catholic churches and the state made the mission project a totally supported part of the schooling experience in the north. Milloy suggests that;

> The result of such a compromise was not only the continuation of church participation in Aboriginal education but the placing of degrees of 'secularization' that Northern Affairs could achieve within the schools themselves. The religious composition of staff, student body and curriculum all remained denominational in significant ways.[171]

To intensify the religious stronghold, and competition between the two main northern denominations, the government structured policies around the notion that each church could

---

[171] Milloy A National Crime 244

operate exclusive from each other. The government made sure that: "it would be possible to provide education for all Eskimo and Indian children requiring schooling without Anglican children having to attend a Catholic school or Catholic children having to attend an Anglican school."[172] In a letter to Marsh, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources R.G Robertson on January 16, 1956, stated that;

> It would be the intention of this Department to provide at Great Whale River residential facilities for Anglican children only, and if a hostel were built (to replace the one at Fort George) there it would be constructed by this Department, and a request would be made to have your church authorities operate it.[173]

The significance of such policy is that, aside from the government support for the missionary project, the government upheld religious doctrines as well as infused schooling with a support system that was inherently designed to transform Inuit and Aboriginal society into a set of social relations contradictory to the patterns of hunting lifestyles.

In a letter to Marsh dated December 28, 1956, R.G. Robertson, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs, responds to Marsh;

> With reference to the type of education to be provided in this area, I think you will agree that we must give top priority to providing education facilities to educate those Eskimos for whom opportunities for employment in the white economy exist. A considerable amount of study has been carried out over the last few months in an attempt to forecast employment opportunities for Eskimos in the Arctic in the next ten years. This survey indicates that employment opportunities will exist for at least 1,000 Eskimos in the Arctic. Providing they are equipped with the necessary education to take advantage

---

[172] Milloy, 244

[173] NAC RG 22 Vol 859 File 40-2-17 'Letter to Marsh [from] R.G. Robertson' 16 January 1956.

> of these opportunities...we should concentrate on providing education at least up to grade 8.[174]

According to Mary Simon, who writes this many years later, the curriculum used in the northern schools reflected the mandate to transform Inuit and begin a process of change that revolved around southern patterns of wage labour and consumption;

> Once this process was set in motion and the centralized communities began to grow, a whole new era of educational policy and programs began to emerge. The various curricula used in the Arctic were derived totally from those of southern schools, but with a primary objective of training and upgrading such basic skills as the government thought appropriate to their assumptions that wage employment would replace the fur economy in the Arctic[175].

The success of institutionalised community schooling depended on the creation of permanent settlements. Pressuring Inuit out of land- based economies allowed the government a system of surveillance unfettered by the transient nature of Inuit life hunting and trapping.

The government did not want to explicitly reproduce the reserve system, that at the time was responsible for generating in the south more commitment than the state wished to be responsible for, so in the north they decided that:

> [i]stead of reservations, they wanted 'northern suburbs.' They wanted Inuit citizens who would be self-reliant, but integrated into a broader Canadian social reality. They wanted a material infrastructure that could provide Inuit with a degree of material

---

[174]A.A M 71-4 Series 5-1-1 Box 16 'Letter to Bishop Marsh [from] R.G. Robertson' 28 December 1956.

[175]Mary Simon. Inuit: One Future - One Arctic. (Peterborough, Ontario: Cider Press, 1996)63.

security and well being that, they believed, had not previously existed [176]

All this policy making and intense government interference was premised on the notion, as Tester and Kulchyski suggest; " ..the dominant social order perceived Inuit as a marginal social group. They were an outside, an 'Other', an excess, an unincorporated remainder, and a remainder of the limits of Canadian 'dominion'."[177]

Instead of creating self-sufficient suburbs close to hunting grounds and lands familiar to the Inuit the locations of the 'suburbs' were often distanced far from game and resources. The product of the re-locations was "[T]he housing, sanitary, and other conditions in Arctic settlements [at this time] were appalling. The state moved to integrate Inuit with Canadian society, believing the old hunting and trapping economy could not support them".[178] This remarkable shift in initiatives from attempting to support the hunting way of life to the notion that hunting could no longer support Inuit positioned the Inuit into the folds of regulatory government agencies. The sedentary nature of settlements gave unfettered access to Inuit to missionaries and educational bureaucrats. This slow, but steady transition created the conditions for the state and churches to begin forming both political and financial partnerships for running the schools. As much as the government was rhetorically attempting to avoid reproducing southern residential schools, that by this time had come under attack by the southern public, their concern and approach to schooling in fact mimicked the model

---

[176] Frank J. Tester & Kulchyski Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-1963. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994) 7

[177] Tester and Kulchyski, 5

[178]Tester and Kulchyski, 5

for residential schools deployed in the south. Milloy captures the nature of northern schooling when he says;

> The official presumptive scenario of the 1955 Cabinet submission for the introduction of a general schooling system for northern people, its expressed educational philosophy, and its vision and attitudes towards Aboriginal people, were much like the southern civilizing logic of the latter half of the nineteenth century.[179]

However, the government's logic for instituting rigorous schooling models to draw northern Aboriginal people into southern social relations laid the responsibility necessitating schooling far outside the jurisdiction of the government's intended degree of responsibility. Forced government re-locations never entered the argument as to why the Inuit grew dependant on state welfare agencies, rather the legitimations informing government justifications was population growth and resource limitations, issues the government felt lay outside of its control. However, with little realization that each of these arguments is intimately related to the reality that Inuit were now being enticed into settlement areas unable to sustain hunting as a principal economy because of the distance from known hunting grounds. This type of reasoning consistently laid the responsibility outside of the government and allowed it to continue its bureaucratic assault. In terms of schooling it came to be reasoned according to the education minister Jean Lesage that "[Aboriginal people] be assisted in every possible way to face the future in a realistic manner - in a way which will result in their becoming true Canadian citizens, while at the same time maintaining their racial pride and independence of spirit.[180]" Such racial pride and the ability to face the future

---

[179]John, Milloy A National Crime 244

[180] Milloy, 245.

was only to be provided through, according to Milloy: "'an extensive program' of schools and hostels to provide better education...[181]" Unfortunately the outcome of the schools only rhetorically dealt with the notion of 'racial pride' and 'freedom of spirit'; words consistent with Marsh's position in the debate. Like the southern model, the schools were simply designed to 'domesticate' women and train men for wage employment. Residential schools were divided in responsibility by the church denomination and the government in the same manner as in the south, and severe under-funding plagued the physical condition and maintenance of the schools. As is noted in Milloy, John Parker, a member of the Northwest Territories Council, made this comment upon visiting a school:

> To me this is nothing short of appalling, Between the centre of each bed and each neighboring bed there is a distance of less than four feet. An adult can move between the beds only with difficulty. I had rather thought these conditions disappeared soon after the Industrial Revolution. I feel that we have been long amiss in tolerating this situation for so long. A less charitable person than I might infer that the persons running the school were cramming in as many bodies as possible in order to reap the greatest benefits. [182]

Similar to the system implemented in the south, school funding was not based on overall running costs, which were especially high in the north, but rather on a per capita basis. This systematic neglect was doubly concentrated with the fact that students had to be transferred out of their communities and transplanted somewhere entirely alien to them.

Marsh argues vehemently with arctic administrators to build more schools in places where people could more easily access them. He did not oppose on theoretical or practical terms the colonial impositions embodied by building southern style schools and imposing

---

[181] Milloy, 245.

[182] Milloy, 243

mandatory school attendance policy, rather, he opposed the location and distribution of the government schools that had already been designed and constructed. If distributed evenly, schools would facilitate and possibly expand the church's role in the arctic; something that the church was feeling threatened about in this period. It was difficult enough trying to attract southern government teachers to the north, let alone to small, isolated, all-Inuit communities. The government's model of centralized schooling would allow for more students to be housed, bigger classrooms, and fewer teachers to employ; hence fewer salaries to pay. The financial burden the government lamented was enormous. The church appealed to their sense of prudence and Marsh offered to continue to run the mission schools that had already been active and were under threat to shut down if the government did not invest small sums of money to keep them open. Marsh was also avid in making suggestions to the government about the strategic locations where experimental schools could be located. What is interesting about his suggestions are that they were almost always located in places where Marsh knew the Anglicans had a stronghold. For example, in 1956 Marsh questions the government's reluctance for building permanent schools on the basis of the overall cost associated with their construction and maintenance and suggests that an experimental hostel be built in Pangnirtung. Marsh writes this in a letter to R.G. Robertson;

> What is the reason for the non-expansion of hostels across the arctic? Is it the cost of the original building, or is it the overall cost of educating the children once the hostels are built? This is a vital factor in decisions as to how and when we expand, and I had meant to discuss this with you but in our rush neglected to do so.[183]

In the following paragraph Marsh suggests that the government consider building a hostel

---

[183]A.A. M71 Series 5-1-1 Box 16 'Letter to R.G. Robertson [from] Bishop Marsh' 1956.

in Pangnirtung.

> Would it be a good idea if an experiment were made at a place somewhere like Pangnirtung, on a small hotel idea, taking in children who had had no educational facilities to see what education would do for them, rather than putting in a big centre like Frobisher Bay. I mention this because the differences between the Western arctic and Baffin Island are so great at the present time that they almost are irreconcilable. In some measure the opening of a school at Pangnirtung will cover this situation and I hope will give us some indication as to future steps.[184]

The government's idea at the time was to build a few strategically located schools, like hospitals, and bring people from all over. Marsh, as in the hospital debate, argued that people should be 'closer' to their own communities, families and people. The government's model for institutional education was akin to their approach to hospitals. The government wanted big, all encompassing and far reaching facilities, and Marsh wanted smaller, closer and more practical facilities located in places where the Anglicans were the predominant religious denomination among the people. Marsh did not oppose students being sent out of their communities, he questioned how far students should be sent from their communities. There is one rationale to Marsh's argument that suggests he was concerned for children being away from their parents. However, similar to the hospital debate, schools distributed more evenly would allow for more efficient evangelical missionizing. Much of the correspondence is sniping at the government over the degree of funding the Catholic church was continuing to receive to build schools in the north with state financial aid. Marsh's position is also made clear because he was very reluctant to agree to the secularization of the already church-operated schools. He knew that total government take-over of the schools would reduce the

---

[184]A.A. M71 Series 5-1-1 Box 16 'Letter to R.G. Robertson [from] Bishop Marsh' 1956.

possibility of the church's expansion and maintenance.

The government was quite willing to allow churches maintain their position as the primary educators during this period by suggesting a more equitable economic arrangement. The government proposed to spilt the costs of providing educational facilities. On November 24, 1954, a letter to Marsh from Jean Lesage proposes that;

> In the case of Chesterfield, the decision was taken by church authorities concerned to build a permanent hostel before the experimental hostel had actually got underway. In the case of Coppermine, whenever the Anglican Church is prepared to construct a permanent hostel, my Department will pay the cost of transporting children to and from it and of maintaining the children in the hostel, on the same basis as it is in Chesterfield.[185]

The debate over church involvement in education stretched over ten years. Still, in 1963 Marsh was complaining about unfair treatment of Anglicans with respect to the Roman Catholic Church. In a letter dated December 1966 to C. Bolger, the Director of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Marsh points this out;

> As I have before pointed out to the Department, we regret exceedingly the discrimination which the department exercises on the matter of religious faith in the arctic. It is noted that the Roman Catholic Church is considered to have a priority of rights, and that everyone else is lumped into one class - Anglicans, and whether Christian or not are classed under the term Protestant...I would like an explanation as to why this discrimination is exercised? Many years ago, when we discussed the question of religious affiliation of teachers and principals, it was agreed upon and understood that teachers must be first of all Anglican.[186]

In the end, this was a debate in semantics since the response to this letter indicates that the

---

[185]NAC RG 22 Vol. 859 File 40-2-17 'Letter to Bishop Marsh [from] Jean Lesage' 24 November, 1954.

[186]NAC RG 22 Vol. 859 File 40-2-17 'Letter to C. Bolger [from] Bishop Marsh' December 1966.

government used the term Protestant to mean non-catholic. Marsh took this quite hard. He wanted the government to recognize the fundamental difference between the 'Protestant class' and the Anglican faith. His reaction to this argument is insightful in terms of how education should be approached. In the same letter Marsh raises the question of teachers who are teaching in what Marsh considered to be an Anglican institution, the teachers must 'be a part of one of the major Canadian denominations' and, if they are not, then they should be 'confined to purely educational subjects'. However, Marsh was still suspicious of their ability to not infuse their own personal beliefs into their teachings.[187] Again, a month later to Bolger in a letter dated January 9, 1967, Marsh writes that; "I am quite sure that our Roman Catholic brethren would be perfectly in agreement with me that children in the Arctic should not be taught by people other than their own faith, and that the thought of children being taught by non-Christian, would not be agreeable in their eyes."[188]

It appears from these letters that the government had found itself in a position where, because of its reluctance to completely take control of educational facilities, and its continued reliance on religious denominations to provide education in the north, it had to compromise. While this may have been frustrating for bureaucrats responsible for northern education, the fundamental ideology shared by the church and state regarding what should be taught and how it should be delivered far outweighed the minor disputes it found itself in with Marsh.

By the time missionaries were in partnership with the state over providing education,

---

[187]NAC RG 22 Vol. 859 File 40-2-17 'Letter to C. Bolger [from] Bishop Marsh' December 1966.

[188]NAC RG 22 Vol. 859 File 40-2-17 'Letter to Bolger [from] Bishop Marsh' 9 January, 1967

pervasive European values and religious connotations were so deeply embedded in educational discourse that it was evident the schooling in the arctic was premised on 'order' and 'obedience' and learning habits that would draw Inuit into civilization. Education in the north was not only about providing the three R's, but it was extended to provide what in the end would teach Inuit to be mirror images of the southerners who taught them. Marsh's experience living in the arctic furnished him with a more nuanced understanding of customary Inuit education. However nuanced though he remained steadfast in his colonizing approach.

For example, the Padlimiut Inuit of the eastern arctic travelled great distances to hunt seasonally. Often camps were set up and coming back into the settlement area happened only once in order to trade for basic supplies. The amount of baggage which they carried was very limited. Marsh was aware of the limitations of hunter gatherer travelling but he insisted on 'teaching' the Inuit about the value of cleanliness as though the way in which Inuit present themselves was below his acceptable standard of 'civilized' hygiene. He insisted that Inuit learn the value of soap. Marsh writes this; " It wasn't uncommon to see an Eskimo house wife lick a plate or cup to remove grease then wipe it on her clothes"[189].This seems like a rather logical method of cleaning considering the amount of fuel, or time involved in melting snow to make water as well as recognizing that hygiene is a construct to regulate and classify persons into systems of social hierarchy. However, Marsh insists that the 'proper' hygiene is one that is associated with the British way, and that it be incorporated into the larger scope covered in schooling. Agreements between the government and the churches to allow for the

---

[189]Donald Marsh Frozen Land. 29.

churches to continue their role in providing schooling with the financial assistance from the government produced a style of schooling that reflected what Coates calls the "extension of Canada's colonies."[190] Regarding the partnership between the church and state in the development of institutional education, as Rutherdale notes, " educators hoped to transform the children into 'better and cleaner' Canadians, offering the intellectual and technical skills deemed necessary for fuller participation in the larger Euro-Canadian society and the Christian values required to separate children from their 'heathen' past".[191] Marsh's full alignment with this colonizing ideology is evident when he writes that;

> The introduction of soap for washing was a new idea, for in the past soap had been used as perfume, kept in a ditty box and not associated with water. My pupils enjoyed using our turkish towels, which they thought to be much nicer to use than a chunk of caribou skin, which usually served as a wiper for dirty hands.
>
> White people's custom's were very strange; we even washed dishes![192]

For Marsh, the overcoming of traditions and taboos in order to follow the doctrine of proper cleanliness was considered a source of pride and achievement. Spitting in a can as opposed to out the window, or departing from traditional ways, in order to have 'appropriate' clothing and washing instruments represented to Marsh the success of his 'civilizing' mission.

Institutional approaches to education were not the only method involved in 'educating' Inuit. The government, with the aid of field missionaries, began to produce

---

[190] Coates Qtd in Myra Rutherdale Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002)xx

[191] Myra Rutherdale Women and the White Man's God. xx

[192]Donald Marsh Frozen Land. 29.

propaganda to be distributed to all Inuit living in out-post camps. This drastically changing power dynamic in the arctic manifested in the form of 'educational' pamphlets'. According to Tester and Kulchyski;

> The *Book of Wisdom* contained sections dealing with clean camps, clean igloos, clean air, clean water, clean bodies, clean pots and pans, clean everything. It also contained sections caring for babies, lung sickness, family allowances, caring for rifles, conservation of game, and 'planning for periods of scarcity'. According to Marjorie Hinds,....the paternalistic section on 'conservation of game' was least appreciated[193]

The *Book of Wisdom* was colonialist propaganda produced by the Department of Mines and Resources in 1950 outlining various educational doctrines to be stressed by northern educational workers in their work with Inuit. The book, written in Inuktitut, covered topics from proper cleanliness to the importance of wildlife conservation. Its official objective was that it was designed as an educational tool that would assist Inuit in the of transition to civilization with ease.[194] One thing was clear, that *The Book of Wisdom* vituperated Inuit lifestyles and consequently attempted to aid in the transformative process of turning Inuit into European subjects through the process of objectification. The text of *The Book of Wisdom* is also significant because it reveals that, according to the Department of Mines and Resources, it was essential to be clear and simple and the text must be 'written in simple language' in order to avoid any mis-communications. This leads one to believe that the government thought that Inuit were of a 'simple mind' unable to grasp the 'complex' suggestions written into the text.

---

[193]Tester and Kulchyski Tammarniit 84-85

[194]Tester and Kulchyski, 84-85

The *Book of Wisdom* not only signifies one of the ways the government was involved in Inuit 'schooling', but it also signifies profoundly Christian fundamentals the government implicitly embraced. The *Book of Wisdom* was consistent with the notion that 'cleanliness is close to godliness' and it espoused the view that cleanliness and sterility was fundamental to entering into social relations premised on European values. The church was drawn into this project not only by the state's espousing of Christian doctrine, but because mission stations were conveniently located close to Aboriginal peoples. Missionaries contributed their services as the mailmen (and women) for the books.

Not only Christian doctrine informed the production of such 'instructional' material. The governments' collapsing of Christian dogma alongside the process of drawing Inuit into social relations using materials such as the *Book of Wisdom*, was entirely consistent with 'images of primitivism' embedded in and supported by southern discourse. Images taken by photographers, and often missionary's visiting the arctic, played a major role in arming the government with justifications and legitimizations for taking action concerning the 'impoverished' state of Inuit society. Marsh's contribution to the government's image of impoverishment is revealed when he goes on to describe the 'intellectual impoverishment' of his Inuit students. Marsh writes;

> I taught these local Eskimos during the Sunday services and twice a week in the evenings, and also held school every morning for two or more hours. Often in the afternoon I visited in their tents. I had to start basically from scratch in practically all subjects including religion (beginning with the creation) and the three R's, and teach all things upward from there. *But before I could get their interest, I had to instill a desire to learn. On the whole they tended to be slow learners, but that was probably because their value system compared to my kind of education was unimportant. They didn't stick to reading or listening for long, perhaps because they were so used to a free and*

*easy life. Everything seemed to need endless repetition before it would sink in.*[195] (Emphasis mine).

This revealing passage demonstrates two things. First, that Marsh was on an active mission to school Inuit and that even though he may have had some insight, although not much, into their response for this type of 'schooling' he nevertheless makes no attempt to shift it to a more culturally relevant approach. This, even though on numerous accounts he blasts the government for their assimilationist approach. The rigour attached to his teaching method can be associated with the mission to civilize no matter how difficult and demanding the process may be, an instinct predicated by various government policies as well as European beliefs regarding racial and social hierarchy. Second, that the obvious expectation for Inuit in this scenario to learn is not construed as cultural difference, rather it is translated into their inherent 'inability to learn'.

Marsh's position on education is an area where he proved to be extraordinarily contradictory. According to Milloy, Marsh opposed the assimilationist model used in the south for Aboriginal people. However, through a series of interviews I conducted in Aklavik, NWT this spring I learned that Marsh, in fact, implicitly supported the use of corporal punishment against students who spoke their own language while attending the All Saint's Anglican Residential school in Aklavik in the mid 1940's. During an interview with Donald Aviugana in Aklavik, NWT, in June 2004, he related this memory of the Anglican Mission School operating in Aklavik during the period that Marsh was Archdeacon in Aklavik. In an interview with Elizabeth and Donald Aviugana he remembered attending All Saint's where

---

[195]Donald Marsh Frozen Land 28.

the food was bad and children were discouraged from speaking their own language. An excerpt from the transcript reads as follows;

K: So how was it in school for you?
D: The food wasn't good.
K: Were you sad to be there?
D: I didn't like the food at all and I used to complain (laughs)
E: That long ago they have no deep freeze. They don't have no deep freeze. Now we have deepfreeze. We freeze everything.
D: They used to use ice-house to put to keep their ice and their food. We didn't have no coolers.
We use to have ice house all summer long.
K: Were you allowed to speak Inuvialuqtun in school?
D: No. They wouldn't let us speak in our own language cause they thought we were talking about them. We would get a spanking for speaking our own language.
K: From the ministers or the teachers?
D: Not the ministers, that principal. Nowadays they want our language back. Them days we get a spanking for it, for speaking our language.[196]

Aviugana lamented about why there is so much current emphasis on the younger generations' loss of their Indigenous language. He questioned how it was that at one time people were not allowed to speak without physical punishment, and now everybody is expected to speak. He raises the important contradiction in which Marsh was himself implicated. Marsh was living in Aklavik during the time that Aviugana attended the All Saint's Anglican Residential School. Marsh's position on schooling was considerably different than Aviugana's experience in All Saint's Anglican Mission school from 1946-1949. In Marsh's journals and archival correspondence he opposes the idea that children should be discouraged from speaking their own language. How could he have not known that this was taking place in the school over which he was the authority? This question is

[196]Personal Interview with Elizabeth Aviugana and Donald Aviugana, Aklavik, NWT. 16 June, 2004.

impossible to definitively answer since Marsh is not alive to explain the incongruity of Aviugana's experience and Marsh's residence in Aklavik at the time. However it is safe, and reasonable to assert that Marsh contradicts himself in this respect. While Aviugana is reaching far back into his memory,[197] it is important to note that his experience in the All Saints School juxtaposed with Marsh's rhetoric about the need for educational facilities provided to northerners in order for them to make the necessary transitions to civilization, it is fair to say that Marsh was implicitly involved in supporting what Aviugana describes as 'not being allowed to speak our own language'.

In May of 1999, in Peterborough, Ontario I had the opportunity to spend the day reminiscing with David Marsh, Donald Marsh's eldest son, about the work of his late father. While what follows should be recognized as both far reaching memory and nostalgia there is value and relevance in understanding the perspective of Marsh's son regarding his father's life work. David Marsh was himself a retired teacher by the time we met. He taught in the Durham School Division for over twenty years and during an interview in 1999 was willing to share with me his perspective of the attitudes of his late father. In his own words he said;

> Children taken at an early age from their parents do not get the cultural, spiritual and moral outlook of their parents. If this is not replaced in some specific way problems and maladjustment will result. The home is and should be with such fine people as the Inuit are the ideal for the upbringing of a child and if this is missed who knows what will result. There are many subtle influences which we cannot portray to the individual save those with high ideals. Material changes in the life of a people such as the Eskimo are easy to achieve. With the good commonsense of the Eskimo he finds it easy to know which lever to pull on a tractor it is not hard to trace which portion of the machine which is not functioning and needs correcting or replacing. These are obvious to him because of the practical application of his mind and

[197] Please note this does not necessarily undermine the legitimacy of his words or experience.

outlook.[198]

This particular insight is reminiscent of Donald Marsh's unwavering respect and admiration for Inuit simplicity of mind and practical knowledge of tools. The colonial spin, which still survived in David Marsh's mind, was the image that Inuit are 'simple minded and practical'. He goes on to say that;

> The things of the spirit cannot be seen so easily, however methods of behaviour are easily copied and because the Eskimo is intelligent he watches the way knives and forks are used in modern society and copies it. But he cannot see the workings of the mind. He cannot comprehend the differing values which the white man have with all the multiplicity of outlooks. It is here that the Eskimo needs help to understand that he may see, accept and believe. He has a faith now so that the church's work is not merely to teach him but to help him to adjust his view to a totally different one and to hand him a comprehensible outlook.[199]

The tone and implicit message here is very similar to the attitudes of mid-twentieth and earlier, colonists living in the arctic. This is an example of one those rare moments when the cliche 'the apple doesn't fall far from the tree' is particularly fitting.

One of the ways which the government, with the assistance of the church, compelled people to leave their children in school during the school year was to only give relief payments if parents were willing to leave their children in the residential schools. The degree to which people were able to resist sending their children to school is worth pondering while reading this particular passage. Apphia Agalakti tells this story of how her husband went to the school in Pond Inlet to take their eldest son out of the school. They already had four

---

[198]Personal Interview with David Marsh. Peterborough, Ontario May 1999.

[199]David Marsh, Interview, May 2004.

children spread out around the arctic attending different schools, and they wanted only to have their eldest son stay with them in order to learn Inuit life- ways. Agalakti tells this compelling story of how the government cut off their family allowance because they took their eldest son out of the residential school in Pond Inlet;

> He was the only one of all of our sons that my husband didn't want in school. When my husband went into the school and found him there, he told the teacher that Solomon wasn't going to go to school, that he was going to stay out in camp. The teacher got very, very angry. My husband asked the teacher if he could take his son out of the classroom, and the teacher said no, so they started arguing. They got into a big argument, and then my husband just took Solomon by his hand and walked him out the door. He was very, very angry. He didn't even stop to get Solomon's parka. My husband gave Solomon his own parka to wear back to the camp. Solomon was crying at the time. He wanted to be at school with older children.
>
> After this the teachers told my husband that Solomon didn't go to school, they would cut off the family allowance that we were getting for him. My husband said that was okay, and that is what the government did. They cut off our family allowance. We were poor back then.[200]

What has not been pointed out in the current literature about the development of a partnership between state and church to direct educational policy is that this powerful duo transformed the experiences and struggles people had with the church and the state. Enforced educational policy had the impact of breaking up families for long periods of the year. Parents went to out-posts camps, and their children stayed in the schools. This affects of this have been well documented in the recent literature on residential schooling. What occurred through out the mid-sixties was that an increasing number of Inuit, on both a community and national level, became more politically organized in an organizational form southern

---

[200]Wachowich, Nancy. In Collaboration with Apphia Agalakti, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak and Sandra Pikujak Katsak. Saqiyuq: Stories From the Lives of Three Inuit Women. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill- Queen's University Press) 108.

bureaucracy could recognize and understand, and would eventually have to listen to. The development of the Igloolik Community Council and Community Association is just one such example.

The documentary record also tells a compelling story of resistence and advocacy. Marsh's contribution to state involvement in Inuit schooling suggests that on occasion he acted as a conduit for expressing Inuit opposition to the state's educational policy . In November 1968, the Igloolik Community Council wrote a letter to Marsh indicating their disapproval of a high-school and hostel being built in Frobisher Bay where their children would be sent after it was built. The community council leader, Nasook, writes that;

> The community council doesn't [sic] like the idea having young people in Frobisher Bay. If we have a school in Igloolik. We don't want them to go to school in Frobisher Bay. Even they'll[sic] be well looked after. The young people are not going to Frobisher Bay. Most people understand about the people in Frobisher Bay.[201]

This letter is very clear. People in Igloolik were against having a school in Frobisher Bay, and were opposed to sending their kids to the school. In a lengthy, albeit important, letter sent to Marsh a month earlier the rationale for their request was stated. Why they sent a second letter to Marsh is worth asking. Had they spoken to Marsh personally, sent him a letter and with no response sent him a more comprehensive letter further indicating their displeasure. How desperate was the situation that they produced and signed a petition of which they sent a copy to Marsh. The Community Association President[202] wrote that;

---

[201]NAC RG 85 Vol.18 Box 232. file 1010-8 'Letter to Bishop Marsh [from] Nasook'13 November 1968.

[202]The name of the Community Association President was illegible on the letter. Not inadvertently forgotten by the author.

> The community council held a meeting including all of the people of Igloolik. The council was trying to find out how the people Igloolik think of sending their children to Frobisher Bay. Almost all of them disagreed [sic] to send their children to Frobisher Bay. The life of the children would change if they were gathered from many different places and if they were not with their parents. After the children were in school they will not care what their parents say. The people of Igloolik want their children to grow up in their own home. The people of Igloolik if there were too many children from different places, some of them would forget what their parents have taught them about home life. This doesn't mean that we are against school. What we think is that, if there were was a big school in Frobisher Bay and many children from many different places or settlements the children would not get any better. What we think would be better is if their [sic] were smaller high schools in various places where the children are much closer to their own people. The idea of having schools in some places is hard where there are no landing strips in those places.
>
> We know that our suggestions will not work out, but we like you to know that some of those people are against the high school in Frobisher Bay. We want your help to let government know these. We are just trying to see what answer we would get. We are not against the government plans. The people were not being asked whether [sic] they want the highschool in Frobisher Bay or not. The [sic] probably had just picked the place and plan it there. The letter to us would be much appreciated. The people who do not want this had signed their names.[203]

There are many things to be said about this letter. The people involved in this letter clearly had some sense that the government was not going to alter their plan to send children to Frobisher Bay, regardless of their opposition. There were no corresponding letters in this file indicating what happened. What is most important to point out is that Inuit had some degree of faith that the government was going to heed their request. What, in particular, Marsh did is unknown since the record is incomplete. However this still reveals that Inuit had some degree of faith that Marsh would help them. His relationship with the government may have been in the vein of dissent, but for Inuit of Igloolik he represented some degree of hope.

What is also important to point out is that this letter also represents the politicization

---

[203] NAC RG 85 Vol.18 Box 232. file 1010-8 'Letter to Bishop Marsh [from] Nasook'13 November 1968.

of Inuit during this period. They had by this point already seen the impacts of both government schooling and religious schooling, hospitalization debacles, and they were privy to the impacts that these policies were having on their families and friends. The era of talking back, Inuit political organization, a fight for Inuit governed land, in the form of a territory was now in the midst, and the only choice left to the government and the churches, finally was, to listen.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

> Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostrate. According to traditional practice, the spoils are carried along in the procession. They are called cultural treasures, and a historical materialist views them with cautious detachment. For without exception the cultural treasures he surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplate without horror.
>
> Walter Benjamin, Theses on the Philosophy of History, 1968.Pp. 256.

By way of conclusion, I would like examine a small story of Marsh's which encapsulates many of the themes discussed in this thesis. In the quote above, Benjamin turns our attention to objects as texts of history. Benjamin's 'spoils' are the showpieces of the ancient Roman triumphal procession where following victory the victor displays the 'spoils' of battle. In the current given context of this thesis; the post-war arctic, the objects of our attention, which Benjamin says we must view with suspicion, are the remainders, the excesses of what is left after the triumphal procession has marched through. How do we, for example, view a pile of soap with 'cautious detachment'? Benjamin asks us to read these remainders with interest so that we may 'brush history against the grain.' But first a brief summary of this thesis is necessary.

It has been one of my objectives throughout this thesis to examine the ways in which Marsh was both a collaborator with the state in importing colonial policies, at the same time he opposed many of the government's approaches to policy development and implementation. Many of his correspondences with northern administrators, if taken as isolated instances, could contribute to the representation of Marsh as a singular voice of dissent as in the recent scholarly literature. It is the case, as I argue in chapter five, that he did advocate for Inuit interests with regards to northern hospitalization, and lack thereof, and

the governments' apathy towards people who were transported to the south for care. His acts of resistence are noted. It is also noted that in each confrontation, for example education and hospitalization, between him and the northern administration Marsh's missionizing project was under economic siege and threatened with government take-over.

Marsh was ideologically aligned with a mission that was indeed founded on the notion that the Indigenous people he encountered needed to change in order to deal with 'civilization' while he simultaneously publicly chastised the government for inhumane treatment of Inuit. Recall his statement from Chapter Five during his battle for northern hospitals - "A phrase keeps recurring in my mind 'man's inhumanity to man"[204]. Do these two opposing acts make Marsh's role as political advocate and missionary contradictory? Much of the current scholarly literature and the archival correspondence, reveals that, in fact, Marsh did attempt to bring to the policy debates a voice of dissent. This implies to some degree a contradictory role.

However, Marsh's 'experiential', and thus supposedly authentic, knowledge and role as 'care taker' became the voice in which his own Euro-centrism reveals itself. For example, in education, spiritual growth, alongside the move towards a better, healthier, cleaner self were fundamental to Marsh's curriculum. The government supported this, and acting in tandem, the Church and state produced a school system that contradicted their rhetoric of care and well- being for their Inuit students. The relationship between the *Book of Wisdom* and Marsh's educational model as discussed in chapter six detail how the Church and state played off one another in order to legitimate their continued ideological and economic

---

[204]A.A M71-4 Box 16 'Letter to R.A.J. Phillips [from] Bishop Marsh' 18 September 1959

partnership. Colonial rhetoric in texts such as *The Arctic News* and *The Book Of Wisdom* created the conditions where the Church and state reproduced colonial relations with a myriad of value statements about Inuit, their 'state of nature', their lack, and their immoral spiritual beings. Popular articles in magazines such as *The Beaver Magazine*, *Canadian Geographic* and *National Geographic* all played roles in disseminating to the public the stereo-types depicting happy, smiling Eskimos, deprived of citizenship, proper housing and spiritual care. Missionary slide shows depicted a series of similar images. However, their presentation was inflected with a narrative about the 'success' of winning Inuit over to the other side of moral order. This ensured, as I examined in chapter two, the continued financial investment in the expansion of the Anglican church. I would argue that the Catholic church in the north treaded on the same economic terrain. This would explain, in one way, the fierce competition among the Anglicans and Catholics for spiritual and geographic territory.

As I discussed in Chapter Three, Marsh's moral order was premised on the notion that 'cleanliness was next to godliness'. The picture of the young girl (figure two) is one example of how Marsh represented both the success of his mission and the moral institution he, alongside others, imported to the arctic. The little girl was washing her skin, getting ready to sit down for her lesson. She was dressed in western-style garb, hair neatly combed, and face clean. She represents to Marsh, and to the rest of his readers, that he has been, according to this representation, successful. For Marsh soap was the material embodiment of the triumphal procession described above by Benjamin. In Marsh's *Echoes From a Frozen Land* he tells this story;

> One of the things I remember about [the] Eskimo Point store was that no matter how many trade goods were gone by the end of the year, always in the left- hand corner

> of the store was a stack of probably twenty-four cases of soap. These were piled to the roof, but every year two more cases of soap would arrive because the district manager considered that if soap hadn't been requisitioned it must have been forgotten. No Eskimo ever bought soap to wash with, but one or two packages of highly scented soap could be tucked into a box of one's belongings to make it smell nice. The soap wasn't for washing, only for smell.[205]

What we know of Christian practice during this period is that part of the missionary project, Catholic and Anglican alike, was that it centered around instituting standards of hygiene that Europeans inflected with a logic both Euro-centric and patronizing. Its racist overtures operated in a way that assumed non-Europeans were 'dirty' and that Europeans were in a position 'clean them up'. The absurd degree of presumption reflected in the notion that Europeans owned all standards of cleanliness, alongside state economic and ideological legitimation of such presumption, lay at the heart and historical experience of colonial violence. The notion of contradictions within any colonial project, on any level, is in my view, another rhetorical strategy to lessen the blow of how colonization constantly, both now and in the past, effected the peoples it encountered. However, this is not a blanket statement in the sense that there are no strategies in which to both read these, or read this passage in particular, within contemporary theoretical frameworks available for understanding the past.

Colonial logic turns the rather banal statement- 'they did not use it to wash with, they used it for smell'- into a value judgement. This evaluative, judgmental element lay at the heart of both state and Christian colonial ideology during this time, in this place.

When Marsh writes ; 'they didn't use soap for washing, they used it for smell' he reiterates

---

[205]Donald Marsh. Echoes From a Frozen Land. Ed. Winnifred Marsh. Edmonton, Alberta: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1987) 105.

* "Few will be able to guess how sad one had to be in order too resuscitate Carthage."

that he wanted them to wash. He wanted them to change. He wanted them to reduce their 'otherness', and evaporate into something he could understand, relate to and feel triumphant about. His supposed knowledge and 'experience' positioned him strategically to persist un-reflexively about his own contributions to the 'civilizing project' he so often publicly repudiated.

There is a tension revealed in this passage regarding the north's relationship with the south. There is a distance, a gap, between what the south assumes about the north and what is actually taking place. The district manager 'considered that if soap hadn't been requisitioned it must have been forgotten'. The district manager represents a muted southern presumption that Marsh and his colonial counterparts are successfully instituting 'standards of hygiene', but clearly are being met with unexpected, and to them unreadable, acts of resistence.

Marsh's categorical statement 'No Eskimo ever bought soap' is directly contradicted in the last line, where he writes that ' Eskimos bought one or two packages of highly scented soap'. What is highlighted here is that Inuit, according to Marsh, did not acquiesce to the moral order by using soap the way Marsh thought it should be used. Rather, they transformed its use into something more culturally appropriate, and use-ful. Thus, Marsh's failure is revealed. The soap is piled high in the corner, the location of the soap represents a physical reminder that Inuit were resisting the colonial order. The soap is the literal marginalized excess of the colonial order to which Inuit actively resisted over and over to the point where it took up physical space.

Inuit continually resisted the colonial logic literally and triumphally presented before

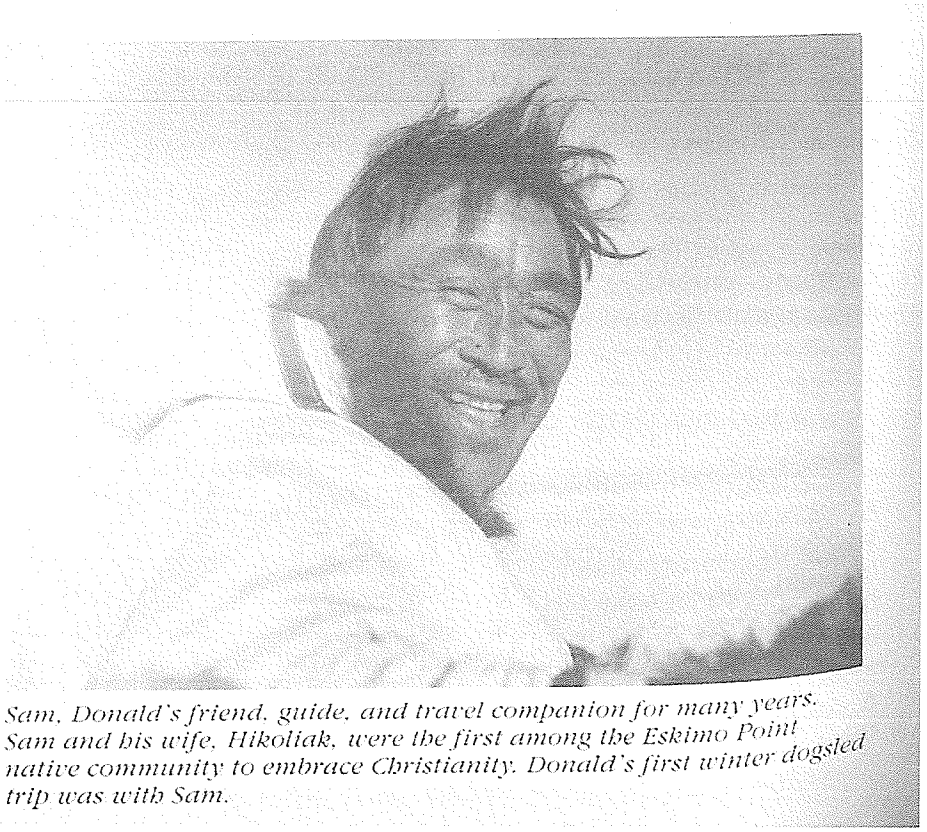
them. Soap was the material representation of a colonial and moral logic that did not understand how easily reduced its power was by the people it encountered. Inuit did not buy soap for the reasons it was made available to them. Rather, in more subversive form they resisted, as I noted above, by transforming its intended use. They were the mediators and inventors of a resistence that Marsh unknowingly reveals by documenting this passage in his diary. Therefore, Marsh is unknowingly revealing his own failure to 'change' the people he encountered in this particular respect.

Marsh's role as 'protector' and 'advocate' and ' 'authentic voice' should not be treated with harsh unforgiving criticism. It should however, be read decisively, and called upon, and taken to task through a reading that will position it critically. Retrospectively, Marsh's role as 'care taker' necessarily lead him down the road where if we follow the logic, he wanted to wash Inuit away. Wherein then lays the contradiction? How does one reconcile these very deliberate and intentional acts within a frame where they can be read as contradictory? They are not contradictory. These examples are, contextualized regarding their time period, their place of enactment, the people involved; both oppressor and oppressed, but most importantly they form a fundamental element to the colonizing ethos. If this is the case, and embedded in this structure, there are random acts of resistence and subversion, then all has not been lost. My two different, but equally powerful, examples of Inuit resistence in chapter six are just two fine examples of the tenacious and on-going struggles against colonialism.

Decolonization is often 'periodized' as a newly formed larger scale political framework where Indigenous people began to be heard. Decolonization as a political

discourse emerged in the last sixty years, and certainly not just following the White Paper of 1969. However, I would argue that acts of resistence and subversion have been ongoing, perpetual, and un-stoppable. These acts are formed through language, values, and ethics, world-views, and experiences. It is only in the last few years that southern bureaucracy could recognize it and react accordingly. It was only when Inuit formed community councils and wrote petitions that the state and church could understand and respond to what had been before its eyes in many ways and forms - that Inuit resisted.

Figure One:



*Sam, Donald's friend, guide, and travel companion for many years. Sam and his wife, Hikoliak, were the first among the Eskimo Point native community to embrace Christianity. Donald's first winter dogsled trip was with Sam.*

From:

Marsh, Donald. Echoes From a Frozen Land. Winnifred Marsh (Ed.) (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987) 34.

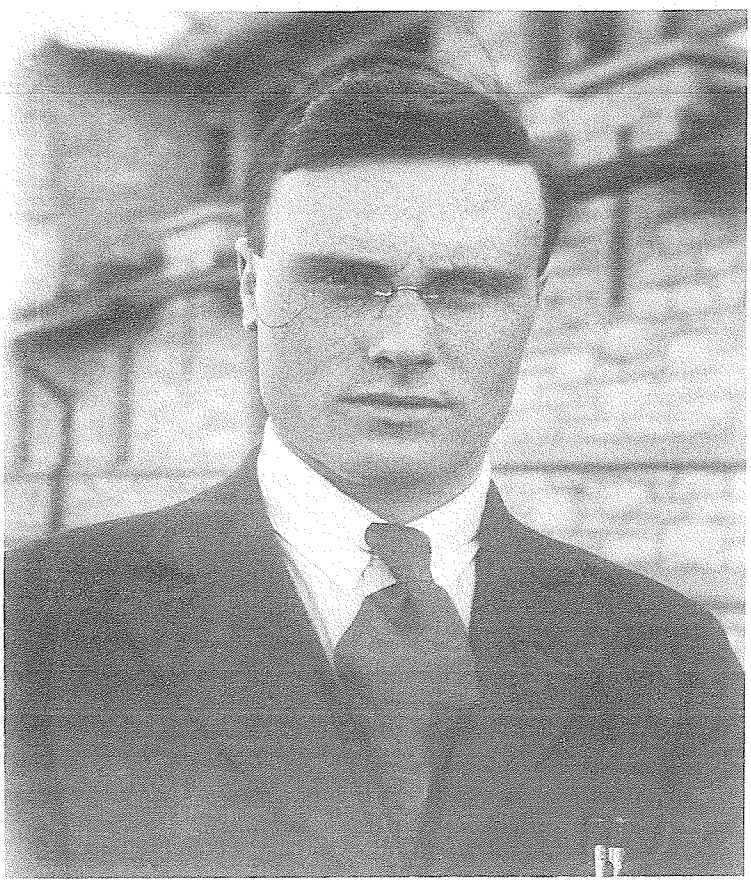
Figure Two:

*A little girl scrubs with soap and water before school classes begin. School lessons, like church sermons, were as much about hygiene and health as about religion and the three Rs.*

From:

Marsh, Donald. Echoes From a Frozen Land. Winnifred Marsh (Ed.) (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987) 30.

Figure Three;



*Donald Marsh when he left for Eskimo Point in 1926 to establish a Christian mission. He stayed at Eskimo Point for eighteen years, subsequently becoming the second Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic.*

From;

Marsh, Donald. Echoes From a Frozen Land. Winnifred Marsh (Ed). (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing, 1987) 10.

## Bibliography

Secondary Literature


Acoose, Janice. Iskewak: Neither Indian Princess Nor Easy Squaws. Toronto: Women's Press, 1995.

Benjamin, Walter. Illuminations. Intro. Hannah Arendt. New York:Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1968.

Blackburn, Carole. Harvest of Souls. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2000.

Brody, Hugh. The People's Land. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1975.

Comaroff, Jean and John. Of Revelation and Revolution. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

David Damas. Arctic Migrants/ Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2002

Duffy, R. Quinn. The Road to Nunavut. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1988.

E.H. Carr. What is History? London, England: Penguin Books, 1961

Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press Inc, 1963.

Fienup- Riordan, Ann. Eskimo Essays: Yup'ik Lives and How We See Them London: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Fleming, Archibald Lang. Dwellers in Arctic Night. Toronto: Missionary Society of the Church of England of Canada, 1928.

----------. Archibald the Arctic. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956.

Geller, Peter. 'Pictures of the Arctic Night' in Imaging the Arctic. Eds. Henrietta Lidchi & J.C.H King. London: British Museum Press. 1998, 60-69.

----------. Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Candian North; 1920-45. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Geertz, C. Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author. Stanford, California:

Stanford University Press, 1988.

Grant, Shelagh Sovereignty or Security: Government Policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950. Vancouver:UBC Press, 1988

Greygier, P. The *Tuberculosis Epidemic Among The Inuit.* Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994.

Tungilik, V. and Rachael Uyarasuk. The Transition to Christianity. Eds. Jarich Oosten and Frederic Laugrand. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999.

LaRocque, Emma. 'On the Ethics of Publishing Historical Documents.' Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson and Cree and Northern Ojibwe Religion and Myth, 1823. Eds. Jennifer Brown and Robert Brightman. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1988

Loomba, Ania. Colonialism/Postcolonialism. London: Routledge, 1998.

Marsh, Donald B. Echoes From A Frozen Land. Winnifred Marsh Ed. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1987.

----------. Echoes into Tomorrow. Winnifred Marsh Ed. Three Hills, Alberta: Prairie Graphics and Printing, 1991

McClintock, Anne. Imperial Leather. London: Routledge, 1995.

Memmi, Albert. Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

John Milloy. A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986. Winnipeg, Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999.

Pratt, Mary Louise. Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. London: Routledge, 1992.

Rutherdale, Myra. Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.

Ryan, James R. Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997

Said, E. Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Simon, Mary. Inuit: One Future - One Arctic. Peterborough, Ontario: Cider Press, 1996.

Sperry, John R. Igloo Dwellers were My Church: The Memoirs of Jack Sperry. Calgary: Bayeux, 2001.

Spivak, G. A Critique of Post-Colonial Reason: Toward A History of the Vanishing Present. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Trott, Christopher. 'The Dialectics of 'Us' and 'Other': Anglican Missionary Photographs of Inuit. The American Review of Canadian Studies . Spring/Summer. 2001. 171-190.

----------. 'Projecting an Image: Lantern Slide Shows as Anglican Missionary Representations of Inuit' in Aboriginal Health, Identity and Resources. Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe et al. Eds. Winnipeg: Native Studies Press, 2000. 245- 258.

Tagg, John. The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1988.

Tester, F.J and Peter Kulchyski. Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994

Kathleen Venema. " 'He Never Harmed an Indian': Ethnographic Consequences of Alexander Mackenzie's Heroic Narrative." Mosaic 35/3 2002: 89-107.

Wachowich, Nancy. In Collaboration with Apphia Agalakti, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak and Sandra Pikujak Katsak. Saqiyuq: Stories From the Lives of Three Inuit Women. Montreal and Kingston: McGill- Queen's University Press, 1999.

Williams, Carol 'Race, Nation and Gender: 19th Century Representations of Native and White Women in the Pacific Northwest.' Crosscurrents vol(8) Autumn, 1996, 34-48.

Zaslow, Morris. The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914- 1967. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.

Archival Sources

Anglican Archives of Canada

M71-4 Box 16 Series 5-1-1 D.B.Marsh Collection

National Archives of Canada

RG85 Vol.888 File 9311

RG 85 Vol.18 File 1010-8

RG 22 Vol.859 File 40-2-17

Oral Sources

Interview with Bob Williamson. Calgary, Alberta. May 2002.

Personal communication with Elizabeth Aviugana and Donald Aviugana. Aklavik, NWT. June 2004.

Personal Interview with David Marsh. Peterborough, Ont. 1999.

Personal Communications. Eva Gordon and Andrew Gordon June, 2004 Aklavik, NWT

Personal Communications with Sheeba Selamio, Aklavik, NWT. June 18th, 2004.

Personal communications with Mary Kendi, Aklavik NWT. June, 2004.

Magazine Articles

Bound Compilation of The Arctic News. 1954-1959.

Marsh, D. 'Canada's Caribou Eskimos' The Beaver Magazine. (January-June: 1947) 87-97

----------. 'Life in a Snowhouse'. The Beaver (February: 1951) 64-67.

----------. 'White Whales in the Arctic' The Beaver. (July:1950) 34-40.

----------. 'White Whales in the Arctic' The Beaver. (July:1950) 34-40.

----------. 'How to Skin A Seal.' The Beaver. (December: 1941) 50-51.

----------. 'Mudding a Sled.' The Beaver. (March:1942) 44-45.

----------.. 'Action! Camera!: Two Spirited Eskimos at Play.' The Beaver. (September: 1943)38-39.

Donald Marsh. 'Canada's Caribou Eskimos' The National Geographic. (January-June: 1947) 87-97.