1983

Canadian Eskimo Literature: The Development Of A Tradition

Robin Mcgrath

Follow this and additional works at: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/digitizedtheses

Recommended Citation
https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/digitizedtheses/1264

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Digitized Special Collections at Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Digitized Theses by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact tadam@uwo.ca, wlswadmin@uwo.ca.
NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SPC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formulaires d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RÉCEVE

ML 396 (Y 68/09)
CANADIAN ESKIMO LITERATURE:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRADITION

by

Robin McGrath

Department of English

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
March, 1983
One reason why there's very few Eskimo folk songs is they don't write Eskimo up there in the north pole, they just kind of draw on the ice with their fingers. It's hard to make a book out of ice—it melts!

Tommy Smothers:

We were stupid; we should have thought of writing on sealskins.

Peter Pitseolak
Abstract

Prior to contact with European culture, Eskimos in the circum-polar world had a highly developed oral tradition. The subsequent widespread adoption of Christianity in the Arctic region resulted in nearly universal literacy among Eskimo adults, and the oral tradition almost immediately began to develop into a written one. In Canada there is now a considerable body of Inuit literature available in both Inuktitut and English, and this thesis examines how this literature developed. A brief history of European contact as it affected literacy, a consideration of the movement from the oral to written tradition, and a description of early Inuktitut publications, lead to a discussion of the poetry and prose of both the oral and written traditions. A discussion of some of the themes and structures evident in the contemporary written literature indicates that there are strong ties between the old and new literature, despite fairly drastic differences in subject matter and language. Additions to the body of the thesis include an illustrated appendix of Inuktitut writing systems, an illustrated appendix listing over 100 relevant periodicals by and about Inuit, and a primary bibliography of approximately 750 books, articles, stories and poems by Inuit authors.
Acknowledgements

A list of the government agents, religious workers, and Inuit authors who helped me to obtain the books, magazines and newspapers listed in the primary bibliography, and who provided me with my field education over the last nine years, would be prodigious. I extend my sincere and humble gratitude to all my teachers "north of 60."

Of my teachers in the south, I would particularly like to thank James Reaney, who has always refused to recognize the conventional boundaries of Canadian literature and, by example, gave me the courage of my convictions.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINATION.......................................................... i
ABSTRACT....................................................................................... iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS................................................................... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS..................................................................... vi
PREFACE......................................................................................... 1
CHAPTER I - European Contact as it Affected Literacy.................... 6
CHAPTER II - The Movement From an Oral to a Written Tradition... 22
CHAPTER III - Early Inuktitut Publications.................................. 49
CHAPTER IV - Poetry in the Oral Tradition.................................. 73
CHAPTER V - Poetry in the Written Tradition.............................. 98
CHAPTER VI - Prose in the Oral Tradition................................... 115
CHAPTER VII - Prose in the Written Tradition............................ 137
CHAPTER VIII - Themes and Structures in the Contemporary Inuit
    Literary Tradition................................................................. 174
CONCLUSIONS................................................................................ 201
APPENDIX 1 - Eskimo Language-and-Dialect Maps...................... 206
APPENDIX 2 - Inuktitut Writing Systems.................................... 210
APPENDIX 3 - Inuit Periodicals.................................................. 215
PRIMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY.............................................................. 259
SECONDARY BIBLIOGRAPHY......................................................... 302
VITA............................................................................................... 310
Preface

European Canadians, born in this country but raised in traditions developed in foreign lands, have frequently found themselves unsympathetic towards their parents' culture yet out of harmony with the country of their birth, and over the last two hundred years, artists and writers have periodically turned to the native Canadian culture to try to develop a synthesis out of the two shattered traditions. All too often the result was that the native Indian was portrayed as violent, cruel and savage, and the Eskimo as noble, gracious and tragic. From Samuel Hearne's agonized account of the massacre at Bloody Falls, through to Purdy's lament for the legendary extinct Dorsets and Richler's satiric decapitation of the incomparable Atuk, Canadian literature abounds with admirable Eskimos who are also, incidentally, dead. Some of the best literature this country has to offer is liberally sprinkled with picturesque, artistic, clever Inuit who, unfortunately, fail to survive contact with corrupt European culture.

There is another way to look at the Eskimo in Canadian literature, however, and that is to look at him from his own perspective, to see how he sees himself, and to consider that literature which he has produced. In 1962, Kelichi Hirano examined the aborigine in Canadian literature and regretfully came to the conclusion that
native literature was only a peripheral part of the contemporary literary scene. Ten years later, Margaret Atwood noted in her chapter "Early People", in *Survival*, that until recently, Indians and Eskimos made their appearance in Canadian literature only in books written by white writers. In 1983, this can no longer be said; Eskimo authors have written dozens of books, Eskimo publishers have produced thousands of magazines and newspapers, and works such as Markoosie's *Harpoon of the Hunter*, which has been translated into eighteen languages, are beginning to draw a picture of the Eskimo that is quite different from the one readers have been used to.

The task I set myself in this thesis was to document and briefly examine how Canada's Inuit moved from a rich and highly developed oral tradition of literature in Inuktitut to a written tradition in their second language, English. One of the difficulties of doing work on a body of literature that has never been examined before is that events of great importance cannot be given the attention they deserve and works of moment must be briefly dealt with and dismissed. However, the reward of discovering hundreds and hundreds of poems, stories and essays by the original people of northern Canada more than compensated for the limitations that time and money imposed on this piece of research. This is not the last word on Eskimo literature in this country but it is the first of many.
Notes


Chapter I

European Contact as it Affected Inuit Literacy

Little is known of the origin of the Eskimo people. Prehistorians speculate that ancestral Eskimos may have derived from a hypothetical "Eskaleut" population who are believed to have inhabited the Aleutian Islands 8500 years ago, or they may have migrated across the Bering Strait as little as 4000 years ago. Whoever they were, and however they arrived on the North American continent, they gave rise to a variety of Eskimo cultures, including the Independence and Pre-Dorset people of the Arctic Small Tool Tradition. Around 800 B.C. the Dorset culture emerges with its richer and more successful hunting tradition. As is evident from the many beautiful and haunting bone and ivory carvings found on the sites of their dwellings, magic was practiced almost as an art form among the people of this culture, but they needed more than magic to resist the encroaching Thule people, the ancestors of Canada's Inuit population.

The ascendancy of the Thule culture is something of a puzzle. The Dorset people, generally thought to be the gentle Tunit giants of legend, had frequent and friendly contact with the whale-hunting Thules, yet the Thules are believed to have been responsible for the disappearance of the Dorsets, and it is true that few, if any, of the Dorsets survived beyond 1000 A.D. Eric the Red found traces of Dorset
occupation in Greenland in 982 A.D., but he met no living Dorset people, who by then had either starved or been conquered by the Thules. It was not until some time in the thirteenth century that the Thules moved south along the west coast of Greenland and settled near the Norse. The Thules and the Norse are reported to have got on relatively well and carried on a mutually advantageous trade, yet before long the Norse colonies had also been wiped out and the Thules were somehow believed to have ultimately contributed to their extinction. The Thule people, with their skin boats and their highly developed hunting tradition, had prevailed, and when Martin Frobisher sailed into Baffin Bay, it was an iron-tipped Thule arrow that struck him.

The date of the first Frobisher voyage, 1576, is an important date in the history of Canadian Inuit written literature, for the history of the Inuit press is the history of European contact, and Martin Frobisher was the first modern explorer to set foot on the barren wastes of Baffin Island. Funded by Michael Lok, a London merchant and ship-owner, Frobisher set out to find the Northwest Passage, and found, instead, a quantity of "fool's gold" and a handful of Eskimos. George Best reported that first historic meeting:

On one occasion Frobisher was on top of a hill when he saw a number of small things floating in the sea a long way away. He thought they were porpoises, seals, or some kind of strange fish until they came closer, when he discovered that they were men in small boats made of leather. Before he could get down from the hill, some of them had almost cut him off from his boat, having sneaked through the rocks for that purpose. But our Captain hurried to the shore, pulled on his hauberk, and just managed to save both himself and his boat.

Further encounters and eventual fraternization with the natives resulted in five of Frobisher's men being carried off by these "subtle
traitors, but the intrepid Captain managed to lure one Eskimo hunter back to his ship and made him a captive. As Best reports:

This new prey was a sufficient witness of Frobisher's distant and tedious voyage to unknown parts of the world. For no one had ever before seen or heard of such a strange infidel, nor could anyone understand his language. So with this proof of his discoveries, Captain Frobisher sailed for home, arriving in England in August 1576, where he was highly commended by everyone for his great and noble effort.

The rocks Frobisher brought back were worthless and the captive Eskimo died of a cold upon landing in England, but the isolation of the north was broken forever. Davis, Hudson, Button and Baffin all followed Frobisher's route north in a fruitless search for the passage to the Indies, and each of them managed to add a little more to European knowledge of the Arctic and its inhabitants. By 1631, when Foxe and James sailed for Hudson's Bay, the initial surge of interest had been dampened by repeated failure; a period of comparative inactivity in contact history followed. Their failure was in large part a result of unusual weather conditions, and Robert McGhee explains why:

Evidence from glaciology and palaeobotany combined with European historical records indicates that Arctic climates began to cool by about 1200, reaching a colder peak known as the Little Ice Age between roughly 1600 and 1850. Glaciers advanced on the islands of the eastern Arctic, the tree line retreated to its present position, sea ice increased in area and duration in the North Atlantic and probably throughout the Arctic, and the populations and ranges of many animal species probably changed markedly.

The Thule responded to the Little Ice Age by developing a series of local cultures adapted to their specific areas, and Europeans responded by redrawing Frobisher's maps to show land masses well down into Baffin Bay and Davis Strait.

During the eighteenth century, however, polar exploration became
popular again. The commercial activities of the Hudson's Bay Company and Arthur Dobbs's publication of the Northwest Passage scheme occasioned considerable controversy in the press in England. When the California sailed over hundreds of miles of what had been designated "land" on the reworked maps, and wintered among the Polar Eskimos, even Dr. Johnson took a great interest. The explanation was simple; the weather had warmed up, the ice blockade in the Baffin Strait had broken up, and ships could sail higher into Baffin Bay than had been possible in several hundred years.

Polar exploration appealed strongly to the rather sensationalist taste of the English public of the time, and two very interesting incidents of Inuit contact occurred to increase the natural curiosity of Europeans. In 1722, Hans Egede, who had headed a Danish Christian expedition to Greenland the previous year, sent two Greenland natives, Poek and Qigerok, back to his homeland, where they took part in kayak races on the canals and upset the Danish king by harpooning the ducks on his palace pond. At the time, the story amused people all over the continent of Europe. Six years later, possibly after escaping the attentions of a whaling crew or perhaps having been trapped in the pack ice which was drifting south, an exhausted Eskimo paddled up the River Don in Aberdeen; catching cold, he died a few days later and his kayak was placed in the Aberdeen museum. Fuelled by occurrences like these, demand for exploration journals grew; fifteenth and sixteenth century accounts by Hakluyt and Foxe were reprinted, Henry Ellis wrote A Voyage to Hudson's Bay and Charles Swaine produced An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage. In
1743, Christopher Middleton took to print to defend his failure to find the Passage in An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay; such apologies were to appear regularly until the St. Roch finally made it through in 1942 under the command of Captain Henry Larsen.

However, in the same year that Middleton's work was published, another publication that was more important for Eskimo literature also appeared. Samuel Johnson, as virtual editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, printed "A New Account of Greenland from a Danish Book in Quarto, by M. Egede" and in July of 1745 there appeared in the same periodical a "Greenland Ode," an Eskimo language poem with an interlinear English translation. This ode, a celebration of King Christian's birthday, is the first original work of literature by an Eskimo to have been published in English. Johnson's insistence on bilingual publication was firmly based on his belief that it is impossible to understand a man if you do not understand any of his language. Later, James Boswell wrote in The Life, concerning one of his many disagreements with Johnson:

He did not give me full credit when I mentioned that I had carried on a short conversation by signs with some Esquimaux, who were then in London, particularly with one of them who was a priest. He thought I could not make them understand me. No man was more incredulous as to particular facts, which were at all extraordinary, and therefore no man was more scrupulously inquisitive in order to discover the truth.

It is obvious that Johnson gave Egede's notes on Greenland Inuktitut, the Thule Eskimo language, considerable attention when he was writing his Greenland love story of Ajut and Anningait for Ramblers 186 and 187, and his scrupulous treatment of the "Greenland Ode" is an excellent start to the tradition of Eskimo literature in English.
Fifteen years after the "Greenland Ode" appeared in print in England, Hans Egede's son Paul published his *Grammatica Gronlandica Danic Latina*. The first appendix of this volume is entitled "Coolo- quium quoq com con terraneis suis instituit Poekus Gronlandus Hafnia domum reversus" and is the trilingual text of an interview of a Greenlander who had just returned home from a trip to Denmark. It is not known if the conversation was recorded verbatim or was reconstructed from memory by Paul Egede, but this is the first example we have of the transcribing of Inuit oral material by non-Inuit. Technological developments in this century have had the effect of purifying transcriptions from the spoken word, so that now "as told to" literature is not offered to the public as Inuit literature, but Egede, by publishing the text in Latin, Danish and Greenlandic, set an excellent precedent. The introduction to the English translation of this conversation with Poek, which only appeared in 1971, notes that the Latin translation is sometimes a paraphrase of the Eskimo version and it is necessary to follow the Greenlandic text in order to assure accuracy. Bilingual and trilingual publication of Inuit literature has allowed the true quality of the material to survive some very liberal translations.

Very little Eskimo literature was published in English in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as the use of Latin as an international language of scholarship declined, Greenlandic material became less and less accessible to English readers. There was certainly a manuscript tradition, but in Canada these works were generally in the hands of missionaries, many of whom spoke French or
German or Flemish as their first language. The full extent of this manuscript tradition is not known; apocrypha has it that it was widespread, but this has not yet been proved. One hears, when travelling in the Arctic, that the French Oblates, the Moravians, or the anthropologists at Laval, have attics full of manuscripts and diaries, fiercely guarded by jealous octogenarian keepers, but all these reports cannot possibly be true or all Inuit over the past two centuries would have had to be employed in scribal activities. There may, however, be some grain of truth in the myth.

The earliest extant diary by an Inuk that is known was found only a few years ago by J. Garth Taylor among a collection of 80,000 pages of documents in the archives of the American province of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The author, Abraham, was one of eight Inuit who visited Europe in 1880 and, when all the native members of the party died of smallpox, Captain J. Adrien Jacobsen sent the diary and the other personal possessions of the Inuit back to Labrador. When the diary arrived at the mission in Hebron, it was translated from Inuktut to German by a missionary, Brother Kretschmer, and both documents eventually found their way into an uncatalogued bundle of reports on early Labrador missionary journeys. As many as 16,000 people a day came to see the Inuit when they were at the Berlin zoo, and the English translation of the Kretschmer manuscript, which was done by Dr. Helga Taylor, gives some fascinating glimpses of the life the Labrador Inuit led. When curious visitors broke down the fences designed to protect the 'exhibits', Abraham was forced to chase them out with his whip and harpoon, and during a visit to Prague, the
intrepid hunter was able to demonstrate his skills on a seal brought from Holland especially for that purpose.

It is possible that there are other diaries like Abraham's still in existence, but the state of archives devoted to Eskimo related material is such that it is impossible to be sure. When Reverend William Peacock, the Moravian missionary and linguist, retired in the mid 1970's, he was unable to find a library which would accept his records of a lifetime of work in Labrador, records which included invaluable word lists, genealogies, and Inuktut translations. Sven Frederiksen's papers on East Greenlandic culture, which were deposited in an archive in Paris, have only recently received attention because only recently has a scholar emerged who was capable of interpreting them. The cost of transporting and housing Inuktut manuscripts was so great in the early days of mission and trade contact that most would have been destroyed, but there is still a prodigious number of uncatalogued documents relating to Inuit currently resting in American, Danish, French and Canadian archives. Perhaps more diaries by eighteenth and nineteenth century Inuit will eventually surface.

Explorers and missionaries were certainly responsible for initiating and preserving the majority of original Inuit documents to have survived into this century, but there were relatively few explorers and missionaries travelling into the Arctic compared to the number of European traders who went there. One of the oldest jokes in Arctic contact society is that H.B.C. stands for "here before Christ", and while that is not quite true, it is to the extent that the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were working in the north before the
missionaries were.

Northern trading began long before even the Hudson's Bay Company moved into the Arctic and even before the company was established in 1670. Until they discovered how to use mineral oil for these purposes, Europeans were dependent on whale oil for their lamps and machinery, and according to Keith Crowe about 350 European ships were hunting whales near the ice pack between Greenland and Baffin Island by 1590.19 The Hudson's Bay Company tried to establish whaling near Marble Island in the late 1700's and Scottish and American whalers had reached Pond Inlet and Cumberland Sound in the 1800's. Inuit supplied fresh meat, ivory and fur clothing to the whalers in exchange for knives, needles and cloth, but they also brought away new ways of singing and dancing, new words such as panniki for a pannikin or cup and uasikat for waistcoat or vest, as well as newly impregnated wives and previously unheard of diseases.

The Inuit hunted whales in Arctic waters long before the Europeans did, so it was not surprising that many hunters joined European ships as crew members and travelled around the world as guides and harpooners. One such whaler, Inulooapik of Cumberland Sound, deserves special mention here because his rapid acquisition of the fundamentals of literacy have been fully documented in Alexander McDonald's book A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik, A Young Esquimaux, published in 1841. Eenoo, as he was called by his European friends, was disabled with a severe cough during his voyage to Scotland with Captain Penny on the Neptune, and as he recovered he began to learn to read. McDonald reports that:
He mastered the alphabet with great readiness, but here his literary attainments terminated. He had evidently no relish for such pursuits, for he could not perceive any advantage which would afterwards accrue to him from the knowledge of letters.20

When the Neptune stopped in Greenland, however, Inuluapik's competitive nature was piqued by meeting Inuit he considered inferior to his own people in terms of personal appearance and language:

He listened with great attention to one of them reading some passages from the Esquimaux Bible [Egede's translation presumably] and admired some specimens of their handwriting which was shown him; and to prove that in that respect he was not behind them, he took a pen and wrote his own name with great correctness; considering that a few weeks before he could not form a letter.21

By the time Inuluapik returned to Canada aboard the Bon Accord, McDonald was able to record that:

Enoolooapik's education was now so far advanced that he understood the method of conveying his thoughts in writing, and for some time back he had been contemplating writing a letter to Mr. Hogarth [his patron in Aberdeen]. Although the resolution which he had formed of immediately departing with his countrymen left him little time for this purpose, nevertheless, he set about it and produced the letter, of which we here present our readers with a facsimile, and a translation; as, besides being a literary curiosity, it will enable them to judge of the rapid progress which he made in that department of learning.22

Inuluapik's handwriting is a model of elegance, accuracy and clarity (see Appendix 2, Example 5), and the ease with which he learned to write is typical of the way modern Inuit have acquired literacy as a useful skill on a par with carving soapstone or repairing an internal combustion engine.

The trade established with the whaling fleets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had a considerable effect on Inuit culture; tribes mixed in a way that had been unknown previously, traditional patterns of migration were disrupted and, as whales became scarce,
other forms of wildlife were overhunted to compensate for the loss of whale products. A dependence on manufactured goods among all but the Central Eskimos became the norm, and when the whaling industry collapsed in the early twentieth century, most Inuit found it impossible to return to their former way of life. The gap left by the whalers was quickly filled by the fur traders who until then had not tried to open permanent posts in Inuit territory. The fur traders were accompanied by missionaries and police, and by the 1920's virtually all Inuit had relatively easy access to trading posts.

The Hudson's Bay Company monopoly ended in 1869 when the newly-declared Dominion of Canada bought Rupert's Land from the Company, but few other traders took advantage of the right to do business with the Inuit until the fur boom in the 1920's. At that time, many ex-whalers began trading from schooners in the Mackenzie region and large companies such as the Canaïaska Trading Co. and Revillon Frères Ltd. moved in to give the Hudson's Bay Company a run for their money. A great many Inuit and part-Inuit owned or operated trading posts in the 1920's and 30's and according to Keith Crowe there were, at different times, over twenty Inuit traders around the northern coast of Quebec alone. A few Inuit traders managed to do business by using tally sheets and memories trained in the oral tradition, but most were literate as were many of their customers. At a time when the average Canadian earned less than $1000 a year, some Inuit traders were ordering up to $50,000 a year in supplies. Business on such a large scale could not have been conducted without pens and paper, and trade certainly encouraged literacy.
Neither whalers nor traders were primarily responsible for the spread of literacy in the Arctic, though. It was the missionaries who were responsible for universal literacy in the north and even where Christianity did not dominate culture and habits of thought, it did dominate formal education. In Labrador, Christianity and trade were generally two strings to the same bow; after 1771 the Moravian Mission began establishing stations along the coast which included trading stores. Profits from trade were used to pay for the cost of the stations which comprised a mission house, a school, a church and a store.25

The Moravian approach to Eskimo Europeanization was unique because the aims of missionaries were usually in conflict with those of traders. Traders disrupted traditional life by fostering a dependence on manufactured goods and by encouraging trapping for fur rather than hunting for food, fuel and clothing, but it was still in the best interest of the traders to see that Inuit maintained a nomadic way of life. Missionaries, however, preferred people to settle in permanent communities where attendance at church and school could be regularized and backsliding firmly discouraged. The Moravians reconciled the disparate aims of Christianity and trade by introducing net fishing for cod and seals, and the export of baskets and ivory carvings, thereby making it possible for the Inuit to earn a living without travelling so much.26

By the turn of the century, permanent settlement and literacy were firmly established among Labrador Inuit, and they could read from newspapers and over twenty books in their own language.27 Sir Wilfred
Grenfell, founder of the International Grenfell Mission, wrote that when he first began working in Labrador at that time, chapel services at the Moravian mission were particularly popular:

Nearly all had been taught to read and write in Eskimo, though there is no literature in that language to read except such books as have been translated by the Moravian Brethren. At that time a strict policy of teaching no English had been adopted. Words lacking in the language, like "God", "love", etc., were substituted by German words. Nearly every Eskimo counted "ein, zwei, drei"... as the Eskimos had never seen a lamb or a sheep either alive or in a picture, the Moravians, in order to offer them an intelligible and appealing simile, had most wisely substituted the kotik, or white seal, for the phrase "the Lamb of God." 28

Most missionaries, though, were unable to introduce such changes in the economy of their flocks and were initially forced to compromise by founding boarding schools for the children and encouraging the parents to disrupt their normal hunting cycle to come into the mission for religious celebrations such as Christmas and Easter. The Catholic missionaries, primarily represented by the Oblate Order of Mary Immaculate (founded in France in 1814) and the Protestants, represented by the Church of England's Church Mission Society (founded in England in 1799), disagreed with the fur traders and one another, forbade drum dancing, and contributed tragically to the alienation of Inuit children from their parents. But they were also responsible for controlling liquor, recording language and customs, providing medical help and softening the inevitable effects of Europeanization on their parishioners. As Crowe points out, "a great deal of knowledge, perhaps the survival of northern native language, is the result of missionary work." 29

Just as the missionaries followed in the wake of the whalers and fur traders, government followed in the wake of the missionaries. Sovereignty of the Arctic Islands had been transferred from Great
Britain to Canada in 1880, but both Greenland and the United States were challenging this sovereignty by the turn of the century. The discovery of important mineral resources made it important for the Canadian government to demonstrate firmly possession of its northern territories, so the Royal North West Mounted Police began to establish Arctic posts and patrol Arctic waters. There were other, more altruistic, reasons claimed for government involvement in the north; animal herds were declining, disease and alcoholism were ravaging the native population and it was clearly time for the long arm of the law to assume the white man's burden and assert itself for the welfare of the Inuit and Indians of the north.

In 1933, there were twelve Mountie posts on the Arctic coast and the police who manned them acted as game officers, medical practitioners, census-takers and explorers as well as law enforcement officers. Diamond Jenness pointed out that in 1939, the Canadian government spent on police $17 per head for every Inuk in the north, and only $12 per head on health, education and welfare; five of those twelve dollars were contributed by Inuit through taxes paid on furs they sold. That year, the war began, and American Air Force bases built in the Canadian Arctic soon drastically changed the economy of the region. Both the Canadian public and the various governments began to be aware of the country's Inuit and by the time the war was over the isolation of the north was shattered forever.

In 1944, when Dr. Andrew Moore began to investigate the condition of native education in the north, three quarters of all native northerners were without formal schooling. The government began to build day schools near missions and trading posts, and some residential
schools were established in larger settlements; the results, as Crowe puts it, were "only fair educationally and terrible socially." Probably the only positive result to emerge from the "English only", European style schools was that they were so disruptive socially that the students who came out of them in the 50's and 60's began to struggle for control of the education system themselves as soon as they had children of their own. In the 1970's, the number of Inuit teaching assistants and teachers was increased and Inuktitut material was included in the curriculum so that by the 80's, the best of the day schools were primarily staffed by native educators and children were learning in their own language from kindergarten up to grade four.

One of the greatest of the many mistakes made by government in its misguided attempts to establish educational institutions after the war was the neglect of adult education. Back in the early mission days, it had been the practice to teach the adults to read and write, and then the adults taught their children. This system tended to reinforce the bonds between parents and children, unlike the government day school and residential school system which drove such a wedge between the young and their elders that parents and grandparents virtually abnegated responsibility for the grief that resulted. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, government began to establish adult education programs which provided information on northern co-operatives, game control and housing, and organized classes in literacy, budgeting, and English as a second language. One of the most important aspects of this adult education program was that most of the publications aimed at disseminating information and encouraging literacy were in Inuktitut as well as English; this at least indicated a genuine desire at last.
on the part of the government to communicate with the Inuit and recognized the Inuit language as capable of serving a modern Inuit society.

Finally, after 230 years, European settlers and administrators in the north have begun to give credence to Dr. Johnson's evident belief that to understand and respect a man you must understand and respect something of his language. The principles which Dr. Johnson applied when he published the "Greenland Ode" are finally being applied to modern Inuit literature and, predictably perhaps, the quality of Inuit publications in English is improving at the same time.
Notes


2 McGhee, *Canadian Arctic Prehistory*, p. 25.


5 McGhee, *Canadian Arctic Prehistory*, p. 108.


7 Kenyon, *Tokens of Possession*, p. 41.

8 McGhee, *Canadian Arctic Prehistory*, pp. 103, 105.


16 Egede, "The Kingdom of Denmark," p. 3.


21 McDonald, *Enoolooapik*, pp. 50-1.

22 McDonald, *Enoolooapik*, p. 102.


Chapter II

The Movement From an Oral to a Written Tradition

"In the beginning the only word was the spoken word," says David Riesman, and the spoken word was capable of killing enemies, luring animals onto the point of a harpoon, calling a baby safely out of its mother's womb, controlling the weather, and appeasing the spirit. Stories and memoirs conveyed tribal histories and creation myths, they prepared children for adult responsibilities, they developed and conveyed a love and affection that had no overt outlet in adult relationships. As Maurice Metayer wrote in the preface to Tales From the Igloo, "to narrate one's experiences is to share them with all." Time and again in Inuit memoirs, one finds recollections of people sitting or lying in dim or dark tents and igloos, listening to the voice of the storyteller, the song of the poet, the incantation of the shaman. That voice transcends individual personality and becomes something that is as concrete to its hearers as a book is to its readers. The importance of the spoken word is not unique to Eskimos but is shared by all pre-literate people. When Mary Panegoosh wrote in "Where Are The Stories of My People?" about the old hunter with the Stone Age heart who was "homesick above all, not for his people, not for his country, even, but for the stories of his people," it was a Bantu hunter she was talking
about, and an Eskimo one she was thinking of.

Europeans have come to think of books as doorways to other worlds, passports into the "realms of gold," but as Riesman puts it in his Explorations article "The Oral and Written Traditions," books, like doors, are also encouragements to isolation:

As long as the spoken or sung word monopolizes the symbolic environment, it is particularly impressive; but once books enter that environment, it can never be quite the same again. Books are, so to speak, the gunpowder of the mind. Books bring with them a detachment and a critical attitude that is not possible in the oral tradition.

The voice of the poet can hypnotize in the smoky glow of a seal-oil lamp, but when fixed on paper under the fluorescent lights of a library, it is likely to send its readers into a more natural somnolence.

Obviously, the written tradition will be different from an oral one even within the same culture, for the mere act of fixing words onto paper changes the words, but at this point in time, the two traditions in Inuit culture are still very close. Raymond Gagne wrote in 1962:

It is a truism to say that modern literary English is not the same as spoken English. The difference is one of symbolization and of style and content. The graphic symbols only inadequately mirror the phonemic reality and there is a big gap between the style and content of literature and everyday conversation. This gap did not happen overnight. It is the work of centuries. In the early stages of development of an Eskimo literature the gap between written and spoken Eskimo will be small but it will widen as the literary output grows and the spoken tongue transforms itself. This is an inevitable process, for speech-patterns are bound to change while their graphic representation remains static and the literary style and content becomes more specialized.

Twenty years later, the gap is widening somewhat. We can see trends developing in the written literature which say a great deal about the oral tradition from which it is growing, and about the written English tradition which has provided it with a paradigm for development.
However, the oral tradition still dominates and there is still the problem of the somnolent reader to consider.

Repetition, one of the earmarks of oral literature, is responsible for a great many heavy eyelids. William Brandon, writing about Amerindian poetry, admits that:

Some images otherwise beautiful to us are buried all but out of sight in repetition, perhaps each line being repeated as many as half a dozen times. Our ears can get the same effect of hypnotic repetition with considerably less actual repeating. Or in some cases a suggestion of ritual might be conveyed in English by three repetitions—our mystic number—rather than four or five or six or seven called for by the original ritual directions. In the buffalo songs, for instance, it would not only be wearisome to follow faithfully all the magic numbers, but we might also, who knows, materialize a buffalo. We don't really want the buffalo.6

Delightful as the concept is, the buffalo is only likely to materialize in the reader's dreams; it is generally agreed that the repetitions in oral literature are the concern of native speakers and ethnographers. Oral poetry in translation is not compromised by a little judicious editing.

Over the years, readers have come to accept that there is more to getting oral poetry or prose on paper than simple transcription. In the case of Inuktitut, where there are a dozen different orthographies for one language, transcription is a complex problem, but the translation is an even more difficult task. Some of the older material which was published bilingually by missionaries or anthropologists is now being retranslated, but in some cases, readers must rely on the original works. Bad translation easily turns good work into bad, as John Greenway points out, and translators often followed the styles currently popular in English culture so that "what seems to be bad
primitive literature in the books of the early ethnographers is really bad nineteenth century literature." The material in early periodicals such as The Messenger, like that found in ethnographical works, is frequently literal translation and suffers for it. The stories often seem stilted, vague, and confused because the translator has only partially understood the Inuktut or has a limited command of English. In cases like this, the advantages of bilingual publication become obvious; at least one trustworthy text is preserved for future, more accurate retranslation.

Not all the translation is bad, and even translation which is imperfect has something to offer the English reader. Current Eskimo translators are on the whole a sensitive, painstaking group of people either Inuit, born and bred, or non-Inuit who have immersed themselves so totally in the culture that they frequently have a greater understanding of Inuktut than many young Eskimos who have grown up in the settlements and attended federal schools. Some translators are exceptionally good; Knud Rasmussen, whose translations of Canadian Eskimo poetry drew wide popular acclaim when they appeared, had an almost traditional Greenlandic childhood to draw upon, as well as a doctorate in ethnography, as well as a natural ability to make the poems work in translation. Instinctive ability, rather than simple linguistic precision, has a certain amount to do with determining the fine line between translation and the more complex aspects of interpretation.

Just as good oral literature frequently manages to survive even when conveyed through the medium of an imperfect interpreter, literature
originally composed in English by Inuit using the language imperfectly can also carry with it a great deal of the strength and beauty of the oral tradition. There are certainly problems though. If the original text is in English, the language will often be ungrammatical and may even conform to Inuktitut language rules rather than English ones. For example, a writer may say "fox she caught" instead of "he caught a fox" because in Inuktitut there are no articles, there is no distinction of gender in the third person, and in Inuktitut, object markers, indicating which noun is the object of the sentence, allow for much greater freedom of word order than English has.

Work by Inuit using English as a second language is not necessarily poor. Certainly some of it is in what we think of as "pidgin" English, but often the author will work within the limits of his language skills and produce writing of great simplicity and strength. At other times, the author will refuse to recognize the boundaries of English and, in an attempt to express Inuit concepts that are foreign to non-Inuit, will push English words to the limit of their meaning and so enrich the language. Eskimo English, or "village English" as it is called in Alaska, is not the same as the language spoken in Toronto or Victoria; it is as unique as the English spoken on Fogo Island or in any other isolated area with a strong regional culture. The distinction between English that is grammatically incorrect, but otherwise rich and colourful, and English that is simply clumsy and bad is not just in the eye of the beholder; if the author is gifted and imaginative, then the literature he produces will rise above the limitations of the language.
Inuit literature in English, whether original or in translation from Inuktitut, is obviously a greater step away from the oral tradition than Inuktitut material that has been transcribed from voice or composed directly onto paper. This distinctly contemporary literature still has ties with the oral tradition though. Shirley Hill Witt, in examining contemporary Amerindian literature, claims that transcribed speeches and written articles by Indians are not two separate forms, but are both "spoken," and this is certainly true of a great deal of Inuit literature as well.

Here is a clear survival of an oral tradition. Anything written "reads" well aloud. In fact, the words are mentally "said," then written down. Here, we think, is a distinct contrast with most other English writing. "Hearers," not "readers," are the audience. This is very old. It is also very new.8

The comparison she is making is, presumably, between the reading of medieval illuminated manuscripts, where reading was originally done aloud to an audience, and the reading of a contemporary aboriginal composition on paper, both transitional steps between the spoken and the silent word.

The comparison between medieval English literature and contemporary Inuit literature is not as outlandish as it sounds. H.J. Chaytor's description of the medieval reader, with his capacious memory capable of retaining and reproducing lengthy epics, his whispered treatment of each written word as a separate entity, and his slow consumption of enigmatic manuscripts, is a lot like the modern Inuktitut reader, struggling with dialect, orthography and lexicon to understand a relatively small body of literature. As Chaytor points out:

Of the few who could read, few were habitual readers; in any
case the ordinary man of our times probably sees more printed and written matter in a week than the medieval scholar saw in a year. Further, as readers were few and hearers numerous, literature in its early days was produced very largely for public recitation; hence it was rhetorical rather than literary in character, and rules of rhetoric governed its composition. 9

When looking at Inuit literature in its early days, the image of the medieval reader and writer helps to underline the importance of the achievement of every Inuk who has ever read or written a book.

W.T.H. Jackson, in The Literature of the Middle Ages, examines what prompted medieval authors to write literature, and suggests a number of motivations; some wrote largely at the behest of patrons, Christian writers wrote in the service of God, certain other authors felt that society needed their help in overcoming its evils, while others were basically compilers and copiers whose chief activity was conserving what learning was available. These are the same things that motivated the first Inuit writers. Christianized Eskimos, anxious to impart the fundamentals of religion to their pagan countrymen, helped with the translation of hymns and prayers, and composed testimonials to the superiority of life as a Christian. Other Inuit wrote in response to requests from patrons; government agencies anxious to justify established policies or to develop new ones, anthropologists needing material to analyze, religious groups wanting to publicize their multitude of causes. Many older Inuit, who had a very practical bent, could see the old traditions dying out and tried to record some of the technical and spiritual knowledge that they had received through the oral tradition. And there were also a few writers who were anxious to assert their leadership as effectively as possible and saw print as the most effective way to communicate across the vast distances of the
Arctic. Some Inuit writers today are still motivated by these considerations.

Ultimately, however, the main reason Jackson offers as an explanation for why medieval literature was written was that "the author had an urge to write and the ability to put that urge into practice." The same explanation holds true for Inuit authors with one difference; universal literacy was achieved among Inuit at about the same time that technological progress had made literary reproduction available to even the most remote communities at very little cost, and unlike their medieval counterparts, Inuit authors have not had to struggle against religious, social and literary conventions which might have prevented them from striking out in new directions in literature.

Obviously, literacy is not an overnight phenomenon; simply teaching a person to read does not turn him into a reader, and teaching him to write does not turn him into an author. Both cultural proclivity and personal inclination must combine with the mastery of the mechanics of reading and writing to produce literate people. When enough individuals are literate, they constitute a literate society. For Inuit, the time was right in terms of technology, but more important is the fact that their culture was one which was perhaps already predisposed to literacy.

The widespread use of both realistic and symbolic-illustration related to the material culture and the oral literary tradition suggests that although Inuit were not in the early stages of developing a fixed hieroglyphic or pictographic system of recording, they were easily able to develop one as soon as the need arose, and the rapid development of
picture writing systems in the Western Arctic support this view. The examples used here to indicate the trends in illustration and illustrative writing are drawn substantially from Alaskan culture because the early introduction of the syllabic writing system in Canada meant that the spread of true literacy came hot on the heels of European contact in the Central and Eastern Arctic. Some of the preliminary stages of literacy development were skipped by Inuit east of the Mackenzie Delta, but it is probable that if they had been in greater contact with Europeans in the nineteenth century, they would have used some form of picture writing also.

Illustration can be seen to some extent as a stepping stone from the oral to the written tradition, and the strong narrative quality of modern Inuit illustration suggests that there are strong ties between the two. The Inuit have a long history of illustrating stories, despite the fact that in their traditional society the production of works of art was always secondary to the production of strictly practical and useful household and hunting aids. Ivory was shaped first for use, and only incidentally for beauty, so net gauges and harpoon heads never had decoration that interfered in any way with the efficiency of the tool. Even masks and amulets served a practical purpose, though in many cases these things served their function best by being visually as appealing or terrifying as possible. Many bone and ivory objects were decorated with geometric patterns or simply representations of animals, but others were decorated with magical themes such as shamans turning into caribou or animal spirits becoming birds.

Illustrative decorations generally acted as reminders of ancient
Stories or religious truths. For example, a Thule culture bow drill that was found on Baffin Island is decorated with incised pictures of people and animals engaged in summer activities and is considered by prehistorians to be that culture's most informative single artifact. The engravings give the outline of the story of traditional migration, and presumably an adult looking at the picture would fill out the story from his own memory and perhaps pass the story on to any child or stranger who might inquire about the engravings on the bow.

As was the case with people of many nomadic cultures, Eskimos did not have a true writing system until it was introduced by Europeans, but they did have a variety of pictographic systems which helped bridge the gap between telling a story and writing it. "Storyknifing," a form of play common among southwestern Alaska Eskimo girls since at least 1690 AD, is one of the oldest surviving examples we have of this. (See Appendix 2, Example 1.) Lynn Price Ager describes storyknifing as "a form of play in which girls tell each other stories and draw pictures or illustrations in the mud or snow with sharp pointed objects called 'storyknives'." The contents of knifestories, which are usually accounts of village life or tales passed down from friends or family, are not unique except that the use of the knife distinguishes them from other types of Eskimo oral literature. Ager describes the storyknifing process, from the point at which the girls have gathered and prepared a flat surface of snow or mud, as follows:

The drawing is begun by outlining the setting of the opening scene, usually a house, in a kind of crude "blueprint" style. Furnishings such as beds, chairs, stoves, and tables are also sketched in outline form. As she draws each item, the narrator identifies it. "Here is the house, with the stove, the beds, and here's the cupboard," and so on. Once
the scene is set, the characters are introduced. "This is grandma and a girl." Or "Bernie's mother was sitting on the bed." The characters, unlike objects in the setting, are drawn in only as they are introduced in the story context. Characters are represented by special symbols. When a character in the story speaks or when he is the focus of narration, a V-shaped "head" or several tiny straight lines are added to the initial symbol for that character, and as he continues to speak, the narrator keeps her knife moving by adding more straight lines, like a series of quotation marks, above or beside the symbol to indicate who is speaking. In this manner, the knife is kept moving almost constantly during the narration of the story.13

Storyknifing is still obviously well entrenched in the oral tradition, but was perhaps a first step into the world of print.

Picture writing, another primarily Alaskan phenomenon, takes one more step in that direction. Picture writing was a system of documentation whereby drawn figures represented objects or ideas, but not necessarily the objects drawn. (See Appendix 2, Example 2.) Dorothy Jean Ray points out that a drawing of an eye did not mean 'eye' but stood for the concept 'astonished' because "the eye has an astonished look."14 The systems were first devised towards the end of the nineteenth century and are a minor but interesting aspect of the development of Inuit literature. Ray writes that

Picture writing came into being in direct response to non-native trade and religion, and though the ivory engravings and paintings on wood were obviously antecedents, this writing was largely influenced by the books and magazines brought by traders and missionaries. The picture symbols represented foreign objects, words and ideas—not episodes of Eskimo life—and were executed almost entirely on paper.15

Picture symbols in trading accounts were usually realistic and usually confined to nouns, but writing the Scriptures demanded a more complicated system and at least three distinct systems were developed: the Kotzebue, the Buckland and the Kuskokwim systems:
Both the Kotzebue and the Buckland picture writing differs from the Kuskokwim in several respects, the most important being an economical use of symbols and a less literal use of action figures. Each symbol of the Kotzebue-Buckland writing represents only one word or phrase, whereas the Kuskokwim drawings are equated with syllables, and in the Eskimo language that can add up to a considerable number of pictures. In the Kuskokwim writing several action figures were sometimes used to express an idea, which was contained in only one figure of the northern writing. 16

Picture writing is no longer used, but as Jes Asmussen points out, its significance for the history of the development of writing is obvious. 17

Traditional illustrated storytelling did not die out with European contact and literacy, but if anything was strengthened by the great appreciation Europeans showed for illustration. James Houston, who began the Cape Dorset printmakers' cooperative, describes in **Eskimo Prints** how he got the idea for using stencils in the print shop:

> On a visit to one of the far camps, I stayed in a snowhouse where the wife had cut a number of figures from some sealskin scraps, had wet them on one side, had placed them on the snow wall above the sleeping platform and had allowed them to freeze in place. These served, she said, to illustrate an old story she was telling the children. Looking at the holes in the sealskin from which she had removed the figures, I was impressed by the flat, stiff texture of the skin. It occurred to me that paint could be brushed through the opening to form strong stencilled images. This stencil process later proved to be an important method of reproduction growing directly out of an age old Eskimo practice. 18

At Cape Dorset, printmaking has not become divorced from its origins in the storytelling process.

The strong narrative quality of Eskimo art, and what Muriel Whitaker calls the inherent pictorial quality of their beliefs and stories, 19 combine to ensure that very little Inuit literature appears without illustration of some sort. Inuit publications and non-Inuit publications which use Inuit material, have broken away to some extent from the
generally accepted idea of story illustration. Rather than restrict illustration to black on white or coloured drawings, they have used everything—from photographed carvings and embroideries to archeological diagrams and collages. A story about Sedna being thrown from her father's umiaq is as likely to be illustrated with a cross-sectional drawing of an umiaq or a photograph of a Sedna doll with severed fingers as by a Cape Dorset print. Photographs by early explorers or contemporary Inuit photographers are frequently used. Peter Pitseolak's _People From Our Side_ shows an outstanding example of the range of narration possible in Inuit photography; Pitseolak set the camera up and then acted out the story of a death and burial for its lens. Much to the dismay of a number of collectors who prefer their art to be suitable for framing, Tivi Etook put some of his prints directly onto tee-shirts, and when Norman Ekoomiak was assembling the illustrations for _Arctic Childhood_, he simply had the shirts he had embroidered photographed and included them with the reproductions of his paintings. Directions for string figures or maps are considered suitable illustrations also, as are cartoons or decorative syllabic letters. Inuit storytellers and illustrators feel free to use any medium and any material they choose.

The Inuit fondness for words and pictures together is evident in a number of aspects of Inuit culture. Many printmakers have adopted the oriental practice of incorporating syllabic words into their pictures, indicating to the viewer that the prints do not occupy a static moment in the artist's imagination but belong to a stream of thought and action that has momentarily been caught and fixed with ink and paper. A less traditional adaptation of this is the cartoon.
strip Ice Box, by Alootook Ipellie, featuring Mamanook, Papanook, Nanook and Brother Bones, the poet who graduated from grade three.

Comic books are so popular among Inuit that government agencies have used the comic strip form for Eskimo language publications concerning everything from game control (A Question of Survival) to alcohol and drug addiction (Captain Al Cohol). Armand Tagoona's Shadows contains two illustrations which are actually sophisticated versions of cartoon strips, one telling the story of a woman who, like Jonah, was swallowed by a giant fish, and the other of an attempted murder and revenge.

One area of illustration where Inuit have shown a decided preference is in the area of poetry. In Western culture, stories have had illustrations since they first began to appear in print, but the trend has been that poetry is most often published without them. The concentration on the density of meaning in the words of non-Inuit poetry has led in the direction of illustrative sparseness. Contemporary Inuit, however, like to produce what for want of a better term I will call picture-poems. These picture-poems are poems written for an accompanying illustration and they frequently refer to something in the picture. Unlike most conventional Western poetry, the words alone cannot be printed without the illustration. The use of a picture to stimulate the imagination is consistent with traditional Inuit narration as it was described by Houston and others, and is a small example of the ties between the old oral tradition and the new written one.

Inuit illustration is not always aimed primarily at the Inuit reader. From very early times, well before printmaking became an
important economic factor in northern life, non-Inuit found that
illustration was a key element in communication where there was a
language or cultural barrier. Almost a hundred years ago, the
ethnographer Franz Boas was collecting drawings by Nuvjum natives at
the same time that he was having them draw maps of the Cumberland
Peninsula. The Inuit drawings that Robert Flaherty brought back from
the north of himself filming Nanook of the North have proved very
useful in analysing Inuit approaches to narrative sequence, and Lord
Tweedsmuir's collection of Peter Pitseolak's paintings is particularly
exciting because we have a record in print of both his and the artist's
recollections of how they came to be done. It was the pending
publication of Pitseolak's history of Seekoolak, now known as Cape
Dorset, which prompted Tweedsmuir to hunt out the pictures Pitseolak
had sent him and the resulting exhibition added greatly to Pitseolak's
reputation as a writer and photographer. Inuit quickly understood
that their words were less likely to be misunderstood if they were
accompanied by pictures.

Illustration has proved to be one of the most successful means
of combating what Reicbard calls the "obscure simile" in Eskimo
literature. 20 If an author, for example, says that he crossed a lead
in the ice on a sealskin, an accompanying illustration might show him
floating on the water buoyed up by a float made of a skinned, inflated
seal. It must be very difficult to comprehend the structure of a
snowhouse if one has never seen a picture of one. How much more
difficult it is to convey spiritual and religious ideas? Fortunately,
Eskimo artists, unlike many of their Indian counterparts, have never
had to come to terms with taboos against painting sacred beliefs and stories, and as Paul Robinson explains in the foreword to *Tales From The Igloo*, these illustrations make Eskimo literature much more accessible to the non-Inuit reader:

Legends do have a major deficiency in that it can be difficult to capture the exact meaning of oral tradition when it is necessary to translate one language into another. Even a slight nuance in the original tongue may be impossible to interpret in the English language. For this reason it is helpful to view the legend in pictorial form. Through the eyes of the artists the meaning that could not be captured in print can be conveyed through the painter's brush. Just as the totem pole portrays something of the strength, vitality and imagination of the west coast Indian people, so too the Eskimo artist conveys the substance of the thinking inherent in each of the legends. Through the media of paper and paint the observer can sense the meaning of life both in the distant past as represented by the stories, and in the present through the interpretation that the artist has brought to her work.21

It is the presence of illustration more than any other factor which causes Inuit literature to be labelled as children's literature when it so rarely is. However, in recent years the increasing popularity of Eskimo art has attracted attention to writing which might otherwise have been overlooked by general readers. Tagoona's *Shadows* began as a series of drawings with titles or occasional syllabic sentences incorporated into the picture, and the text, written by him in English, was intended to illuminate the drawings. Tagoona was known to non-Inuit as an artist, but most Inuit were familiar with his work as editor of *Tusagaksat*, which he published in bilingual editions for a dozen years, and with his writings as they appeared in *The Keewatin Echo* and *Inuit Today*. Pitseolak Ashoona's oral biography *Pitseolak: Pictures Out Of My Life* would likely have received very little attention if she were not such a famous painter, and Nungak and
Arima's *Eskimo Stories from Foolungnik, Quebec*, which is illustrated with photographs of soapstone carvings might never have got into print if it were not for the interest non-Inuit have in Inuit art. This is not to suggest that the texts are less valuable or interesting, but that without a considerable southern interest in Inuit art a lot of very worthwhile literature by Eskimo writers might never have been noticed.

Whether the illustrations existed before or after the text and whether the illustration or the text was intended to be the centre of interest is of secondary importance to the fact that illustration seems to be a significant and integral part of Eskimo literature and goes a long way towards remedying the deficiencies resulting from difficulties of culture and language. The very strong tradition of illustration, while it did not lead most Eskimos to try to develop their own system of writing, seems to have made it easier for Inuit to adopt systems from other cultures. Illustration is important, but it is not a replacement for the written word; however, before considering the various writing systems used to get the language down on paper, it is useful to consider briefly the language in which a lot of the earlier material was published.

Most Canadian Inuit speak English as a first or second language, but spoken and written English in the north, and English translations of Inuktitut material, take a great deal of flavour and structure from Inuktitut. Eskimo words and sentences are built very differently from English ones, and it is useful to have at least a rudimentary knowledge of Inuktitut when examining Eskimo literature in English.
A fairly simple metaphor for Eskimo grammar is supplied by Don Webster in a little book called *Let's Learn Eskimo*. Webster explains that Eskimo has three types of words; expandable-inflctive, inflctive, and non-inflctive. The expandable-inflctive is a much larger class than the other two and expandable-inflctive words are characterized by modifiers that are added between the base and the suffix. This pattern is true of both nouns and verbs, and just as a train has an engine, various freight cars and a caboose, so the Eskimo inflcted word has a base, various modifiers, and a suffix completing the "train" of thought.

Allowing for sound changes, assimilations, deletions, and so on, you can see what is meant by the train metaphor in the following example:

1) Tuktumik 'takuvunga - I see a caribou.
2) Tuktumik takulaupunga - I saw a caribou.
3) Tuktumik takulaunnitunga - I didn't see a caribou.

*Tuktuk* is the noun meaning caribou and *nik* is the object marker. *Taku*, meaning see, is the verb stem or engine, *vunga*, *i* is the suffix or caboose, and *laup*, which denotes the past tense, and *nnit*, which is the negative, are freight cars modifying the thought. You can easily put a dozen more modifiers into both words in this sentence until it says more than you ever wanted to know about any caribou, seen or unseen.

Speaking Inuktitut is one thing, but writing it down is another. One tends to forget how recently English became stable as a written language, but in terms of spelling, grammar, and linguistic understanding of the language, Inuktitut today is where English was in Chaucer's
time. The written language dates back to the early eighteenth century when Hans Egede developed a system for transcribing the Bible in Greenlandic, but it was the eccentric and brilliant Samuel Kleinschmidt who is considered to be the real father of the Eskimo written language. Egede was interested in linguistics and had published a word list and a description of the language, both of which were translated from the Danish into English by mid-century, but his gospels were nevertheless written in a language which contained almost as much Danish as Greenlandic. Kleinschmidt, however, was more a scholar than a missionary and he left the Moravian Brethren in 1839 to devote himself entirely to teaching and translating Eskimo at the Moravian seminary in Godthaab. There he set up a small printing press from which he published his own translations and textbooks, and despite his famous remark that "one does not wish any golden medals on one's anorak," he was probably the most popular and creative European ever to be decorated for service to Greenland.

Labrador Eskimo was the first Canadian Inuit dialect to be written. The Moravian missionaries began to establish themselves in Labrador in 1752, and despite the murder of seven of their number on their initial landing, mission stations were soon founded at Nain (1771), Okak (1776), and Hopedale (1782). All the missionaries who went out to Labrador made some progress in speaking and studying the native language, but the material they produced was still linguistically amateurish. Kleinschmidt, through the Moravian connection, was able to use data from Labrador in his analysis of West Greenlandic dialects, and conversely, he had a considerable positive effect on Labrador
language studies. 25

Inuktut, Labrador Eskimo, was first taught at the school in Nain in 1791, and in 1809 the first Labrador Eskimo hymn book was printed. By 1826 the whole of the New Testament was available in the dialect, and within fifteen years of that, practically all 'Moravian' Eskimos could read and write. 26 However, after the turn of the century the use and prestige of the language began to decline drastically and assimilationist trends began to erode the language. As Dorais points out, "teaching did continue, but as it mainly served religious goals, it did not inspire, as it had done in Greenland, any literary venture." 27

When Newfoundland finally joined Canadian confederation in 1949, the use of Eskimo language curriculum in the schools was suppressed, just as it was in Alaska under American administration, and thirty years later, when Labrador Inuit developed a revived interest in their language and culture, the Moravian orthography had long since become antiquated.

Despite the drawbacks of the Moravian orthography as a modern writing system, Labrador Inuit still tend to use Moravian-type script in both their personal correspondence and in their periodicals. Moravian Inuktut is visually quite distinctive (See Appendix 2, Example 3) in that it uses a capital K for the k sounded in the throat (like the ch in the Scottish loch), where a q would be used in other parts of the Arctic.

Just as Moravian missionaries in Labrador developed their own orthography to write the Eskimo language, so did missionaries in other parts of the Arctic. By the mid nineteenth-century, Ioann Veniaminov's adaptation of the Slavonic alphabet for Aleut had been further adapted
to Central Yupik Eskimo, and a manuscript tradition and widespread literacy had developed even though there were few printed works. Variations on Roman script were used by Christian proselytizers in northern Canada, and since they were frequently men of greater faith than learning, their orthographies were as idiosyncratic as they were themselves. In 1877, yet another writing system was added to the hodge-podge of orthographies already in existence; Reverend E.J. Peck introduced syllabics to his Inuit converts.

Syllabics, first developed by James Evans in 1840 for the Northwest Cree, is really an adaptation of what was then a new method of 'shorthand' or fast-writing. The system consists of simple figures in which the sequence consonant and vowel is represented by one symbol whose shape indicates the nature of the consonant and whose orientation indicates the nature of the vowel. Corresponding to the vowel arrangement i, u, a, we get gi, gu, ga, or pi, pu, pa (See Appendix 2, Example 4). A final consonant in a closed syllable is written small and to the upper right.

While syllabics cut their users off from generally available typewriters and presses, as well as from written material originating with their neighbours in the east and west, it is evident, as Michael Krauss points out, that the system is now "entrenched in general use and is a source of deep pride to its users, who regard it as a graphic demonstration of the existence and uniqueness and worth of their own language." The system, particularly easy to learn, is responsible for the almost universal literacy of Inuit in the Keewatin and Baffin districts, and is in part responsible for the survival of Inuktitut
in that part of the world.

It is unfortunate that in the past, loyalty to a system of writing was often considered loyalty to the institution that spawned it, for this greatly hampered a consensus on orthography among Inuit and non-Inuit alike. Consensus on orthography would have involved costly reprinting of hymnals and Bibles so there was little impetus for religious workers to agree to standardization. During the 1960's, the Canadian government sponsored work on a standard Eskimo orthography, but this had little support from the churches and not a great deal from most Inuit, who had yet to appreciate the cultural and political implications for such a move.

Popular demand for standardization of orthography and language did develop as Inuit political consciousness developed, however, and in 1974 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (the Eskimo brotherhood) created a Language Commission to study all aspects of Eskimo language. The Commission was composed of both Inuit and non-Inuit, and because it was a response to grass roots concern about the erosion of Inuktitut language skills it was able to make acceptable recommendations for the adoption of the New Standard Orthography. Prior to the ratification of the Language Commission's recommendations, written Inuktitut in Canada was in a constant state of flux which made it difficult for a really high level of written literature to emerge. Today, interpreters and translators regularly hold philological meetings called "word conferences" similar to those which aided the adaptation of ancient Hebrew for use in modern Israel, and the purity and flexibility of the language is becoming more and more evident. As Inuit educators
and linguists develop a greater understanding of Inuktitut, the English used by Inuit as a first and second language also improves noticeably.

Modern technology has also played an important role in the standardization of Inuktitut writing systems. When the Eskimo Language Commission made the somewhat unpopular decision to retain the use of syllabics in parts of Arctic Canada, the Canadian government bent to that decision and went to some trouble to see that the newly modified system had a reasonable chance of success. I.B.M. was financially aided in the development of a syllabic ball element to go on I.B.M. Selectric typewriters, and syllabic Letraset was made available. This means that Inuktitut syllabic material now has a neater, more professional appearance and Eskimo school books and community newspapers have lost their 'homemade' look. The use of computers to produce both standard and dialect Inuktitut dictionaries is also having an impact on the language as it is adapting to the needs of its users. Finally, the development of a syllabic word processor means that regional centres can produce their own books in their own dialects very quickly and very inexpensively. This last, most recent innovation will probably have a fairly immediate impact on the production of children's books but it will be several years before these technological advances affect the production of serious literature from original manuscripts.

Although writing did not develop indigenously within the Inuit culture, written Inuit literature is a normal and desirable development in their history. As long as Inuit were isolated and nomadic hunters they had little use for a written language, but as soon as
they began to absorb philosophies and information from outside the culture, as soon as they expanded their social units beyond the boundaries of the extended family, as soon as they had a desire to record factual reality as well as mythic reality, they quickly began to fix words on paper. Where there were people and permanent institutions capable of teaching the Roman orthography, as in Labrador, they used that orthography, and where there were travelling teachers like Reverend Peck to adapt and teach syllabics, they learned them, and where there was no time or a method suitable to the situation, as in parts of the western Arctic, Inuit developed their own personal systems of hieroglyphics. There has never been any resistance to the written word or the printed word among Inuit; rather they have accepted it as a useful tool for maintaining family relationships, developing political autonomy and encouraging cultural survival.
Notes

1 David Riesman; "The Oral and Written Tradition," Explorations, 6 (1956), 2.


11 Jackson, *The Literature of the Middle Ages*, p. 44.


20 Greenway, *Literature Among the Primitives*, p. 172.


Studies, 5 (1981), 149.


Chapter III
Early Inuktitut Publications

Eskimo literature in Canada includes a number of diverse elements, and an examination of these constituents amounts to an examination of the history of the development of the written corpus. First came the religious works in Inuktitut; the Old and New Testaments, the Book of Common Prayer, and the hymnals. It was Christianity that created a need for literacy in the first place, and while the Bible was the only book they would ever read, this had also been the case for many non-Inuit in the last century and it provided ample scope for a great many of them. After the bulk of the religious works were available, missionaries turned their attention to providing translations of secular works from their own languages. These translations helped demonstrate the possibilities inherent in a written literature and while there were not a great many books translated into Inuktitut in this country, they still had a very positive effect on later original writing. Next came original works in Inuktitut and English by non-Inuit, works which generally had some practical rather than esoteric value. These books of limited literary interest say a good deal about cross-cultural contact and they also played a part in the development of the literature as will soon be demonstrated. Schoolbooks were the next to appear, and with them the works of real literary merit in both
languages. Since the child is rather to the man, the schoolbooks for children's books deserve a great deal more attention than they are going to receive here. It is the last group, the original works by Eskimo authors, that is the central concern of the chapters which follow this one. But an assessment of Inuit periodical literature will give a preview of the kinds of original material which will be under consideration.

The complexity and instability of the Inuititut writing systems and the embryonic stage of Inuititut linguistics has meant that the quality of religious publications has always varied greatly across the Arctic. Bredé's translation of the Bible suffered from having too many European elements projected onto the Eskimo language, but Kleinschmidt's version, which was available in a preliminary edition from 1876, is generally regarded as being a work of tremendous sensitivity and linguistic solidity. In assessing the impact of Kleinschmidt's Bible on Greenlandic literature, Frederiksen wrote:

> We know that the Bible had a very important influence on the literature of highly cultivated peoples of the world. This influence can not be minimized in the modern Greenland Eskimo literature, which does not particularly lack civilized international terminology. But the expressions are shaped entirely out of the means and instruments of Eskimo itself, although it may be hard to believe that Samuel Kleinschmidt really succeeded in doing so.

Kleinschmidt's Bible, which was so admirably suited to Christian-ized Greenlanders, was not, however, all that suitable for Canadian Inuit. Adaptations were made for the Labrador dialect when it was published in London, but the syllabic version still in use among Anglicans in the Arctic is an edition first issued fifty years ago, much of which was made from a transliteration of the then one hundred
year old Moravian version. Very few dialectical changes had been made, and when you add to this the fact that the move away from a nomadic way of life has rendered some of the language archaic, it is evident that the Anglican Bible is not readily understood by the younger generation of Inuit today. The same difficulties apply to the translations used by the other religious organizations. In recent years, the Canadian Bible Society, in cooperation with the Diocese of the Arctic, has undertaken the massive Eastern Arctic Bible Translation Project and some tentative publications have already appeared. The Book of Ruth, for instance, is now available in both the Eastern Arctic syllabics and in Copper Eskimo Roman orthography.

Although the Bible is the most important single religious work in Eskimo translation, other material has long been available through the churches. Eskimo hymn books of various kinds have been published in all the circumpolar countries over the last two hundred years and numerous religious magazines and commentaries have been appearing regularly in Canada for the last eighty years. The impact of religious literature cannot be overemphasized; it was from the missionaries that Inuit initially learned to read and write, and it was through religious studies that they acquired the habit of reading and writing regularly. Profane literature developed out of familiarity with the Bible and the Christian hymns and gospels, and Inuit are, for the most part, very active church-goers. Doug Wilkinson, writing in 1953, pointed out that

Simply by becoming Christian, many Eskimos have had to add a dog to their team. On north Baffin Island every Eskimo above the age of six has his own Prayer Book and New Testament printed in syllabic character writing. In addition, every family has one or two or often three books of the Old Testament, plus notebooks and paper for jotting down Bible
quotations and references. If there are six people in a family, the total weight in prayer and other books to be carried on the sled can easily be twenty-five to thirty pounds. This weight, plus that of one small bag of flour, means an additional dog on the team.

The advent of the skidoo has solved the problem of the extra dog. Today an extra gallon of gasoline gets carried out to the summer camps along with the twenty-five to thirty pounds of books.

Once the most important Christian works were translated into Inuktitut, missionaries turned their attention to secular works. Most early translations in Inuktitut are religious, and many of the later ones are political, but a surprising number of the English classics were also rendered into Inuktitut, Greenlandic and Inupiaq. Although these translations had an understandably limited circulation, and were often known only in manuscript form, they are important not so much for the beauty of their prose, which was often linguistically schizophrenic, but because they demonstrated the scope of written language and introduced new genres into the culture. Just as translations from Latin, Greek and Italian stimulated English authors, these Eskimo translations helped Inuit develop a taste for written matter and suggested areas of literary growth for native authors.

One of the most widely remarked upon translations in Greenlandic is *Robinson Crusoe*. In the late nineteenth century, Atuagagdluitit, a Greenlandic magazine which first began publishing in 1861, ran the story of "Krusoe" as a serial over a three year period, complete with illustrations of the hero in his goatskin furs with palm trees and a polar bear in the background of the sand/snow drifts. Atuagagdluitit continued to print translated material alongside original Eskimo tales, and while translations do not dominate Greenlandic literature today,
they still far outnumber original Greenlandic works.

In Canada there are also a few classics available in Inuktitut. Rev. Maurice Flint produced a syllabic version of Pilgrim's Progress early in this century and it is currently in print. Pilgrim's Progress was a favourite of missionaries and was particularly influential on Mohawk culture as is evident in the legends of Handsome Lake, the eighteenth century Mohawk prophet. The episodic structure of the work seems to appeal strongly to readers with a tradition of oral literature, and the metaphor of the journey is undoubtedly particularly appropriate to nomadic hunters and gatherers. Reverend Michael Gardiner of St. Jude's Anglican Church in Frobisher Bay, reports that despite problems with Flint's translation, Pilgrim's Progress still has modest but constant sales and is frequently quoted in church and discussed by the native congregation. The Moravian missionary William Peacock translated some of Dickens' novels for broadcast over Radio Nain in the 1930's, and these translations are currently being prepared for publication in school editions to be used in the Eastern Arctic.

The system that some anthropologists have adopted of "buying" traditional stories from Inuit informants by telling stories of their own has produced at least one written offspring; a mimeographed syllabic edition of Ulisi (Homer's Ulysses) complete with drawings of a one-eyed giant and some very odd looking sheep. It has been suggested in some anthropology departments that students who engage in story-swapping with native people keep a careful list of the stories they use so that subsequent collectors can cull out the traditional legends from the adaptations of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight et al.
A number of books and a great many periodicals, written specifically for Inuit readers by non-Inuit, have been published in Inuktitut or bilingual editions. Increased government activity in the north, oil exploration and native land claims negotiations have meant that the trickle of such publications has become a flood, and northern residents are now assaulted in their own language with unsolicited advice on everything from birth control and nutrition to economic development and legal rights. However, in the days when the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company reigned supreme, there were few written attempts to educate Inuit adults, so those which did appear were read with considerable interest and are worth some attention here.

Three handbooks played important roles in the development of a lay literature in Inuktitut. The material they contain is only of sociological interest, but they did assert that the printed Eskimo language could serve other than religious ends. The three books, The Eskimo Book of Knowledge, The Book of Wisdom For Eskimos, and The Q-Book, all followed the same pattern and all were intended to serve the same function, and in them can be seen the pattern of the development of the Inuit press in Canada.

In 1931, the Hudson's Bay Company published The Eskimo Book of Knowledge in English and Inuktitut for Inuit adults in the Eastern Arctic. The Book of Knowledge is well known today principally for the outrageously patronizing tone of the introduction in which the readers are told that the book is a token of friendship from the Governor of the Company, who, as a good citizen and a loyal subject of the King, wishes the Eskimos to 'share the King's pride and our pride in those
parts of the British Empire called Canada and Labrador of which you inhabit the northern region." The introduction goes on to say that the cares of the Inuit will be diminished and their joys increased if they are wise enough to follow the Governor's advice, and finishes up with a stern reprimand which places the blame for the miseries of modern life squarely on the shoulders of the Inuit:

"Take heed to what is written here, all you men and women of the North. Your people have not derived good from the use which you have made of the White Man's things. The things which have been brought to you are good things in themselves, but you have misused some of these things so that today you are a feeble people than in the old days when your fathers did not know the White Men. Your sons are less hardy, your wives bring forth fewer children. There is sickness among some of you.

Here you shall learn how you have brought this weakness about."

The Department of Mines and Resources had a somewhat less paternalistic attitude by 1947 when it published *The Book of Wisdom For Eskimos* in English, syllabics and Roman orthography. The King was still important as the authority second only to God, but the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company had been superseded by a faceless, benevolent government. The introduction reads, in part, as follows:

"The first part of this book is about how to be healthy and happy. When we have good food, warm clothes, good kind friends and no sickness we are happy. All you read in this book is true. The second part contains advice about how to be prosperous, how the King is helping Eskimo children, how to make your rifles and boats last a long time, how to save the food animals from becoming scarce, and how to plan for times of scarcity."

*The Book of Wisdom* is marginally less offensive than *The Book of Knowledge*, but linguistically it still aims its contents at the level of a slow ten year old.

In 1964, the Department of Northern Affairs produced *The Q-Book*,
Q standing for Qaujivaallirutissas, meaning "something that will let you know more." Sixty articles in The Q-Book attempt to give directions on everything from maintaining an outboard motor to making a will, for as Elijah Erkloo, one of the translators, explains in the introduction, "One's inexperience creates crises and problems that could have been avoided with knowledge." The Q-Book is really the first attempt to make Inuktitut serve as a modern up-to-date language. The text, in English, syllabics and Roman orthography, did not oversimplify quite so much as its predecessors, and the orthography used was that developed under the direction of Ramymond Gagne and later adapted and ratified by the Eskimo Language Commission. The standard practice of using German, Danish, Russian or English words for concepts not easily expressed in the Eskimo language was rejected by The Q-Book editors and translators, and heroic attempts were made to explain the function of a carburetor and the symptoms of typhoid fever in Inuktitut.

This attempt to express technical and legal principles in Inuktitut was really something of a landmark, for it tested the ability of Inuktitut to serve the rapidly changing Inuit culture. As a modest handbook to modern settlement life The Q-Book was relatively successful, but as an exercise in the functional adaptation of Inuktitut, it did much, much more. The Q-Book proved that Inuktut could adequately absorb European material without losing its basis in tradition, and it helped Government officials, linguists and Inuit translators to identify what had to be done to ensure that the language served its users fully. In a quiet way, The Q-Book set the stage for the ten year boom in Eskimo literature that was to follow.
The next element of Eskimo literature to consider before looking at that ten year boom is that of children's literature. The education of the young is a far more crucial and complex problem than that of adult education and it is now generally conceded that one of the great traumas of the contact era was the imposition of a European-style education on unwilling native children and parents. In 1937, when the Canadian Federal Government assumed responsibility for territorial schooling, residential centres were built in places such as Yellowknife, Churchill and Aklavik, and children were flown to them from settlements and camps. At these schools, the use of native languages was forbidden. With few radios, no telephones and minimal postal service, contact with parents was virtually severed for periods of ten months or more at a stretch, and often children returned home literally unable to converse with their families. The books they read and studied at school were the same as those used by students in metropolitan Toronto.

Times changed, government policies changed, and it became economically and politically advantageous to begin developing a somewhat more flexible attitude towards native education. Small primary schools were built in the settlements so that if parents moved in off the land their children could live at home at least until they were eleven or twelve years old. Non-Inuit teachers, the good ones at least, faced with the daily problem of teaching an alien curriculum to their pupils, did what teachers in Newfoundland outports and rural prairie schools were doing, and they adapted texts or threw them out altogether and wrote new ones.

While the government was apparently willing to admit native content
into the curriculum, it was unwilling or unable to provide the resources for such a move. The time, expense and expertise necessary to produce a suitable Inuit-oriented curriculum for even one year of school is daunting. However, stop-gap measures were introduced, some of which had an effect on the development of the literature. The practice of keeping journals or records of daily life, which was a favourite method used by missionaries to encourage literacy and subsequent Bible study, was used in many northern classrooms and occasionally these records evolved into homemade "books", some of which were printed by the government.

One of the first of these books was *Eskimo Way of Living* which Sister Hairn compiled from the stories and drawings of the children of Chesterfield Inlet in 1958. *Eskimo Way of Living* is just a collection of essays on caribou hunting, making boots and so on, but the text and the illustrations were of such a good quality that it was published by the Department of Northern Affairs and extracts were reprinted in *North* magazine. It is interesting to note that of the children who contributed to the book, Germaine Arnaktauyok (age 11) went on to become an award-winning book illustrator and Luke Issaluk (age 13) to publish poetry. Today, the children's letters to their teacher, which are reproduced at the back of the book, are of far greater interest than the text itself. The children express gratitude to the government for their nice desks and nice books and accuse themselves of idleness. A girl called Salome describes how badly she painted her picture and says, "When I wrote my story I made mistakes. I was just looking around and I was scared." Her classmate Joan did not like her
own drawings either and with reference to her English letter says "I think I am not best." She ends, rather sadly, "I can speak Eskimo well."
This last remark is the only suggestion in the entire book that the children have any pride in their skills at all.

Iqaluit, edited by Pat George, came out in 1962 and was an intimation of the direction Inuit education was going to take in the next twenty years. The book is in both syllabics and English and is the first indication that Inuktut had a place in the classrooms and in the curriculum. N.F. Gaynor and O.M.F. Larson, who made up the Curriculum Section Editorial Committee, produced other classroom-developed books; Nuna, from the children of Cape Dorset, and Mr. Larson's Visit, from the children of Broughton Island, both came out in 1963.

In 1965 came the publication of another Chesterfield Inlet book, The Story of Papik, An Eskimo Boy by Sister Theresa Chaput's students, and Nicotye and Her Family by Nicotye Jamassee. Nicotye, which was written by a fourteen year old girl who had just moved off the land into the community of Cape Dorset, is printed in English, syllabics and Roman orthography.

Translations of English books were also used in the north. In the 1950's and 60's, most Eskimo school books and children's books were produced simply by pasting over the English words in a picture book with appropriate Eskimo text. This practice is still common today but since only a few copies at a time of any one text are treated in this way, it is impossible even to guess what story books were being read by Inuit children even up to a few years ago. Some of the more popular books, such as the Inuktut versions of Have You Seen My Mother? and
A Snowy Day are available in cheaply produced limited numbers, but they represent just a fraction of the Eskimo translations that have been done by teachers and parents in the Arctic.

By 1973, bilingual and bicultural education was beginning to gain a foothold in the north. Lilly Kayak's syllabic-alphabet book Have You Ever Seen a Walrus?, was developed in Broughton Island but was given professional layout and design when it was printed. Thirty syllabic school books were published by the Rankin Inlet Regional Department of Education as part of the Northerm Reading Program and were the beginning of a serious attempt to include Inuktitut in the curriculum. Six books by Nick Sikkuvark also came out in English and syllabic editions.

The following year, an article in Time magazine entitled "Goodbye, Dick and Jane" announced, rather prematurely, that the Territorial Government had finally "caught up with the times" in adapting education to the needs of the Eskimos and Indians of Canada. Today, that assessment is not even funny. A 1981 interim report on education in the Northwest Territories states bluntly that "there is no serious commitment by government to the development of native language or English as a second language programs," and goes on to point out:

Recent efforts have been made to develop a position on first language education and English across the curriculum and this work is commendable. However, the strategy for implementation of these policies is not in place. Piecemeal efforts to support new language programs which do not have the necessary human and financial resources to back them up may raise false expectations which will not be met. These efforts, well intentioned as they may be, have a built-in failure element in them and thus may in the long run set back, rather than enhance, the development of native and English language programs. The whole approach of the department to native language programs has been summed up by one department official as "High Profile--Low Budget."
Obviously, the schoolbooks produced both before and after 1973 are, from an educator's view, a small drop in a very large bucket. However, they are an important segment of Inuktitut literature because the children who read the paste-over translations and *Eskimo Way of Living* went on to become the readers and writers of more complex texts from original manuscripts. The production of primary curriculum intended to teach children to read and write is crucial, but so is the production of secondary reading material, books written to be read to or by children just for fun. Inuit were also taking the initiative in this matter and the Territorial Department of Education was not the only source of Inuit books for northern children.

In 1973, eleven homemade books of the "ditto-staple" variety, written by the members of an old people's association for the Territorial Commissioner, made a very humble debut in English and syllabic editions. Three years later they appeared in English in hardcover, lavishly illustrated, under the title *Stories From Pangnirtung*. The Inummarit Cultural Association in Igloolik, which had been publishing a quarterly magazine of stories and memoirs, began publishing special issue books in a large format, beginning with *Francoise Quasa's Papik* in 1974. In that same year, Mark Kalluak edited and illustrated a collection of stories which he had first published as editor of the *Keewatin Echo* and the Department of Education brought these out in English and syllabic editions under the title *How Kabloonat Became and Other Inuit Legends*. Numerous adult books, magazines and newspapers were being published and many of these contained material suitable for children.
One of the major problems hindering the production of Eskimo books for children is the high cost of colour illustrations. Inuit children are more and more resistant to the ditto-staple books, and to compete with Dick and Jane, or more realistically Dr. Seuss, the books must be bright, appealing and professionally printed. Such a high cost cannot easily be assumed by such a small segment of society as the Eskimo community, but if the books appeal to other Canadians as well, the cost can be reduced. Peter Pitseolak's *Escape From Death*, introduced and edited by Dorothy Eber, is a beautiful book which was successfully published in English by McClelland and Stewart in 1977; the Territorial Government brought out a syllabic edition two years later using the same colour plates. Norman Ekoomiak's *An Arctic Childhood* is another commercial publication, but an English/Inuktitut one. In this case, the Department of Indian Affairs subsidized the syllabic text and, with the publication of the *Saalik* books in English and Inuktitut by Breakwater Press, it looks as if the development of Eskimo children's books will move more and more into the private sector.

The development of Inuit periodical literature, newspapers and magazines by and for Inuit, parallels that of Inuit books, and in some ways is a more important development because these periodicals, although relatively impermanent, encouraged readers and writers who were or are of only limited proficiency. *Atuagagdluit*, which began publishing in Greenland in 1861, is still publishing, but of Canada's first Eskimo language newspaper, *Aglait Lilunainortut*, there is not even one issue extant. *Aglait Lilunainortut* was founded in 1851 in the nineteenth century by the Moravian missionaries, and it is hoped that copies of it, or even more information about it, may eventually
be uncovered in the Maruvis archives, but pending such a development we can only guess what it was like from the numerous publications which succeeded it. See Appendix for information and photographs related to this period.

Maclntyre, in his study of the publishing history of newspapers in the N.W.T. identifies seven types of publications: official, government, special interest, daily, education, religious, and community. McNaught's role was concerned with community.

The distinction which separates official from community strengthened individual settlement identity in their readers and the basis of this latter is emphasized in his study such school newspapers as The Echo from Hara Island, which included descriptions of students which were addressed to family members in the homeland awaiting their return. McNaught excluded such periodicals as Pin and Atarwak which were published by the N.W.T. Department of Education for use in schools even though these magazines contain further content and life styles. The distinction McNaught draws between these two kinds of publication can be likened slightly further here: Northern newspapers and magazines which attempt to emphasize individual perspective and concentrate on the concerns like religion, education, and land claims, have little to offer in social or literary merit and are of only passing interest. The newspapers which McNaught claims provide a "cultural snapshot of a community coping with its problems, celebrating its identity, and adapting to the challenge of survival in a change oriented world" are the ones which make up the basic fabric out of which a new Eskimo literature is being shaped.
Bibliographical and historical details concerning periodicals by and about Fruit are incomplete and will probably remain so. Titles change frequently, issues are misnumbered, publishing dates are repeated, and little or no attempt has been made by any institution to collect, most of these publications for preservation. Like Aglait Illunanortut, many publications are only known through secondary sources, and it is possible that some of these are "ghost publications," papers or magazines which were planned and announced but never actually published.

Predictably, many of the early periodicals are religious ones, although then as now religious publications frequently include non-religious material and lay publications such as community newsletters were edited by religious leaders. One of the earliest magazines to survive intact (copies issued in the first twenty-five years are available on microfilm) is Eskimo, which was established by the Roman Catholic missionaries at Churchill in 1941. Eskimo was originally a quarterly which published separate English and French issues with some Inuktut in Roman orthography; it now appears only twice a year but it still includes the traditional material recorded and translated by parish priests. Bernard Igugaqtuq's autobiography, published in Eskimo and unavailable in English anywhere else, is an example of what can be found in such magazines. Around 1955, Father Brown began publishing the Aklavik Journal, an English monthly, and in 1960 the Oblate mission at Cambridge Bay began publishing Nuna four times a year in English and Roman orthography Inuktut.

In 1963, Reverend Armand Tagoona, then an Anglican priest, established Tusagaksat at Baker Lake, publishing monthly in English and
syllabics. For over twelve years, Tagoona maintained regular publication, writing and printing every issue himself, while also contributing articles to other periodicals. Tusaqatsat carried church news but it also included community affairs and editorial comment, as did the Aklavik Journal. Many other religious publications have contributed to the corpus of Inuit publications. Some, like the Banksland/Sachs Echo, which was established by the Roman Catholic mission at Sachs Harbour in 1968, were interesting but temporary additions, while others, such as the magazine Arctic News and the bilingual newspaper Illuat published by the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic, are well established.

In 1966, the first of a number of very distinctive Adult Education newspapers was founded at Eskimo Point by Mark Kalluk. Kalluk's Messenger came out every two weeks in English and syllabics for four years and was sponsored by the government as a 'learning experience'. The most notable of the Adult Education newspapers was certainly the Keewatin Echo, also edited by Kalluk. The Echo was published monthly in English and syllabics in Churchill, and was aimed at a larger readership; its "professional newspaper" appearance and the consistently high standard of the content ensured that most of the seventy-seven issues have survived. Kalluk later used some of the material published in The Keewatin Echo in How Kabloonat Became and Other Inuit Legends. The Listening Post appeared monthly in Frobisher Bay for twenty-two issues, beginning in 1969, and like a lot of the bilingual Adult Education papers it did not survive the withdrawal of government funding. Policy makers in Adult Education felt that the papers had served their purpose, and eventually they were proven correct since almost every settlement
which had a government-sponsored newspaper soon managed to establish a replacement. The Midnight Sun Newsletter, which was initially sponsored by Continuing Education as a bilingual weekly, became a monthly under the sponsorship of the Igloolik Settlement Council and continued publication for six years.

A number of new community newspapers began to appear at about the time the government was withdrawing direct financial aid. In 1970, the bilingual monthly Kamanuitauk Klarion began publication under the auspices of the Baker Lake Residents' Association, and in 1971 Imianiq was established at Cambridge Bay and Tusarasapit Nutat at Pangnirtung by the settlement councils. In 1972, Suvagyuq first appeared in Pond Inlet, and in 1973 Inukshuk (later Nunatsiaq News) began in Frobisher Bay and Salluit Uqausingit in Salluit. These newspapers, with the exception of the highly professional Nunatsiaq News, tend to appear rather erratically; when the editor is out hunting or on holiday in summer, an issue will be missed, and occasionally an issue will even be cancelled because "there is no news."

Community newspapers generally contain announcements and articles from community service workers such as the health officers at the nursing stations, coverage of local political issues by the editors, and a great many contributions from readers in the form of articles or, more often, letters to the editor. Some Inuit newspapers rely almost entirely for their content on these letters to the editors which are often complete essays on education or land claims, stories from traditional or contemporary times, or reminiscences of life in the old days. Because most of these newspapers appear only once a month,
very few of the letters are specific comments on previously published material. Fairly typical of the contents of these letters are the following two samples; both letters appear bilingually, so it is impossible to say if the English is that of the writers or of the editors:

Eskimo Story

There is a story I heard a long time ago and I would like the editor to publish it in the "Tusautit."

Long ago someone put little pups in an old kamik sole and sent them out to sea saying, "Now, you must work very hard so you will not be in want." After they got away, they became white men. If the person who spoke the words hadn't said anything the white people would have been poorer than Eskimos. Old, old people use to have strong and that is why the whitemen have so many things, because someone had told them they must work hard. They have everything now.

I have heard this story long time ago from different people. There are many old people who can tell lots of stories, why don't they write them in the "Tusautit"?

Martha Anaroguk
Eskimo Point 16

The second example more clearly displays the use of "village English" and demonstrates the very personal nature of community newspapers:

Letters From People
(About Drunks Who Goes to People's House)

I like to write understandable article to TUTTURUIT. But since my mind is in rush, I am going to write a rough one.

All of us have finished quite a bit of booze since last year, and we all has been drunk many time. Even if we're drunk, we're drunk, we've never been too drunk to remember what we did, and nobody is to blame nobody whether we did a good or bad things.

But since I'm always alone while my husband is away hunting. There has been quite a few people who has woke me up in the middle of the night knocking on the door. I'm not very happy with this kind of experience where nobody has never told me "I'll be coming to your house tonight, so don't be scared of
me" and they just start knocking on the door. This kind of experience makes me lose faith in other people although they are still one of the Inuit.

So next time when I'm alone, somebody start knocking on the door, I'll be writing your name, the time, and the day and report it to the local newspaper that you and others may read. You might be more embarrass to do it again. I could never write about the person who has told, he will be coming over to my house tonight. But, if it's the other way around, it will be too bad. I myself, has never tried to go to other's house when I'm drunk. So I've been wondering about these guys who just start bothering me when my husband is away. There's a few people in my house and lots of room to sleep. If you're going to knock tonight, tell me during the day and there wouldn't be any problem. In other words......

THINK BEFORE KNOCKING!

Lizzie Kuannanak

A number of cultural magazines have been produced by Inuit cultural groups over the years. The first, Inuktitut, was founded in 1959 by Mary Pangnooks as an Eskimo language quarterly and is now published by the Department of Indian Affairs in English, French, syllabics and Roman orthography Inuktitut. In 1972, the Innuarit Association of Igloolik began a quarterly called Innuarit which survived for ten issues. Innuarit was basically an Eskimo language magazine (it appeared in both syllabics and Roman orthography) but mimeographed French and English translations were available for a small additional subscription fee. In 1976, Ajurnarmat was established by the Inuit Cultural Institute, and by 1981 even the printing was being done by the Institute at its headquarters in Eskimo Point. Them Days, a quarterly from Happy Valley, Labrador, was first published jointly by the Labrador Heritage Society and the Old Timers' League; it always contains at least one or two articles in the original 'Inuktitut'. Etudes/Inuit/Studies, an academic journal begun at Laval in 1977, is
primarily a vehicle for articles on Inuit linguistics and anthropology but also publishes "original source documents" in Inuktitut, including such material as the prenatal memoirs of Igalljuq and caribou-hunting texts and drawings by Nua Kilipaq and Juu Talirrunnilik.

Political publications cover news but they also contain a great deal of cultural material. *Inuit Today*, which has been appearing as an erratic monthly since 1971, is probably the most important publication of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. The Northern Quebec Inuit Association produced thirteen issues of the newspaper *Atuamig* and still turns out the magazine *Laqalik*, although after the first twenty-one issues the format was modified to that of a newsletter. The *Interpreter*, a newspaper, was developed from a consolidation of two newsletters, *Ginsidaq* and *Tukisiviksaq*, in 1973; it published thirty-seven monthly issues in syllabics, Roman orthography Inuktitut and English. In that same year, the Labrador Inuit Association established *Kinutuirmut Illengajuk* at Nain and the Committee for the Original People's Entitlement established *Inuvialuit*, which appears six times a year. Other special interest publications include *Igalaq* and its supplement *Illisarniq*, which concentrate on native education and job-training, *Co-op North*, a joint publication of Canadian Arctic Producers and the Canadian Arctic Co-operative Federation, and *Caribou News*, a game management newspaper.

Most of these periodicals contain only a small proportion of material which could be said to have any literary merit, but prayer books, translations of non-Inuit literature, handbooks, schoolbooks and the numerous current and defunct periodicals, all form the base upon
which a distinct Inuit literature is being built. Pamphlets on birth-control, reports of the Anglican synod, comic books on caribou herd control or alcohol addiction, have all played a part in developing Inuktitut writing systems and improving printing and reproduction techniques. They have improved the skills of interpreters and writers, conditioned people to read, and provided a way for readers and writers to discover their needs. Without all the early non-literary Inuktitut publications, Inuktitut as a written language would almost certainly not exist today, and the quality of Inuit literature in English would probably be considerably poorer. If modern Inuit literature is to produce a work that is the equivalent of a Paradise Lost, then it will probably do it after Inuit writers have produced a great number of works such as The Q-Book and An Arctic Childhood. First rate works of literature do not develop in isolation but are built on a vast base of second, third and even fourth rate works, all of which contain some merit and deserve respect and attention for their contribution.
Notes


16 Martha Androsuk, "Eskimo Story," Messenger, 1 June 1964, p. 3.

17 Lizzie Kuananak, "Letters From People (About Drunks Who Goes To People's House)," The Big Dipper News, 14 March 1974, p. 3.
Chapter IV

Poetry in the Oral Tradition

Eskimo literature, while still perhaps a long way from producing a "Paradise Lost" in the modern era, can claim with some justification to have produced its equivalent in the past. Inuit oral poetry has the reputation of being the best primitive literature known to man, and while there is a certain irony in the fact that the beauties and intricacies of Inuit oral composition were only lauded after it had almost ceased to exist, critics at least finally recognize that literature does not have to be written to be worthy of the name.

John Greenway, in his introduction to "Literature Among the Primitives," discusses the rejected title "Illiterate Literature," and Willard R. Trask, in his introduction to "The Unwritten Song," says he considered calling his collection an "Anthology of Illiterate Poetry," but as both authors point out, the term illiterate has come to have a pejorative meaning among us. Still, there is no getting around the fact that traditional Inuit poetry is oral song. More than that, English readers stand at least three removes from the material; we read it rather than hear it; we read it in translation, and it must be read without the benefit of musical accompaniment. One would think that such a multitude of handicaps would leave all Inuit poetry without anything to recommend it to anyone but Inuit and
anthropologists. Rasmussen himself strengthens this supposition; in

   describing an evening in a Netsilik dance house, he wrote that

   When I remember the inexplicable way in which the words,
   music and dance mingled into one great wave of feeling that
   lifted us up and for a moment made us forget everything else,
   I can understand more clearly than ever, how difficult it is
   to take the songs of the Eskimos out of their context. For
   the words of the songs are only part of the whole intended
   effect. Read an opera libretto without music, staging, and
   performers, and you have a comparison. 1

   Nevertheless, traditional Eskimo poetry has earned a respectable place
   among the poetry of Canada and of the world, and for that reason alone
   it deserves some attention.

   There are three main collections of traditional Eskimo songs
   available to readers; those of Rasmussen, published between 1927 and
   1930 in Danish and English, those of Jenness collected between 1913
   and 1918 and printed both in Eskimo and in literal English translations,
   and those of Paul-Emile Victor, collected in the 1930's and published
   in French and later in English. Because of Rasmussen's superior
   knowledge of Inuktitut, Danish and English, and because of his
   exceptional sensitivity to poetry, Rasmussen's work is generally
   considered to be the best source of traditional Eskimo poetry in
   English today. However, songs collected as anthropological data, even
   in literal translations, are frequently very beautiful and are well
   worth considering as part of the body of traditional Eskimo poetry.

   These poems appear buried in anthropological works such as Franz Boas's
   The Central Eskimo and it is from these works that we learn a great
   deal of what we know about the poetry of the pre-contact era.

   Traditional Eskimos were hunters and fishermen; they lived by
   pursuit and search, they had no fixed habitations, they did not breed
animals for food, and the fundamental social unit was the family. Yet despite their roots in a hunting culture, and perhaps because of them, we still find something which catches our interest when we read Inuit songs. Bowra writes that "when words are made to conform to a musical tune, they provide one of the most elemental forms of poetry known to us; for they are reduced to a deliberate order and made to fulfil a function quite different from that of common talk." 2 Bowra's argument for the validity of studying Eskimo song, and it is one that I wholly endorse, is that by examining how and why the Inuit put words into rhythmical order, we may be able to establish some conclusions about the development of our own literature. Rasmussen too thought that Eskimo poetry could tell us something about European poetry:

These songs don't arrive like fragile orchids from the hot houses of professional poets; they have flowered like rough, weather-beaten saxifrage which has taken root on rock. And they ought to matter to us. For do we not hear through them something that reminds us of the original features of our own old songs—the same life-giving warmth, the same teasing humor, the same quiet melancholia—and sometimes in glimpses, a simple but grandiose pathos which grips us by virtue of its immediacy.

While it is the verbal content rather than the musical aspects of Eskimo song which demand attention in this thesis, a few words on Inuit music are in order at this point, if only to illustrate how different the songs are from those of our own culture. Leechman claims that in musical ability, the Inuit are "unsurpassed by any group of people whose material culture is in any way comparable." 3 The old forms are absolutely autochthonous, having developed for thousands of years without exterior influence, and without the aid of even one instrument capable of producing a graduated scale of notes. The new forms include the full range of Western music while incorporating many
aspects of traditional music, but traditional Inuit music is totally alien to European ears.

Western response to Inuit music has always been mixed. Charles Hofmann writes:

Early explorers and visitors to the far north found the Eskimos lacking in musical talent, while others claimed they were an astonishingly musical people. With such a description it is little wonder that the early explorers and visitors to the Eskimos reported that these people "knew very little of music and musical instruments" and "practically nothing about music." (Their songs) have "no particular melody, sound very poor, and are accompanied by ridiculous gestures." "Among all their utterances there was no real song, not even an articulate note." However, other visitors claimed that the Eskimo "possess real musical talent" and one said they were "astonishingly musical people."5

In the past, it was impossible to make accurate transcriptions of traditional Inuit music in Western notation, and only very sensitive or educated listeners were able to recognize and respond to what they were hearing.

Typical of Western misunderstanding of Inuit music was the response of the nineteenth century Moravian missionary Morhardt, who worked out of the Hopedale station in Labrador. Morhardt wrote:

The Eskimos are certainly a musical nation; I perceive that it is well worth while to teach them music, and our labour is not in vain. The most difficult part is keeping time, and that seems to puzzle them exceedingly. When seven years ago I began to teach two young Eskimos the violin, one of them grew so peevish about keeping time that he declared that it was impossible to learn it. He is now one of my best scholars.6

Leechman has a few words to say about keeping time in traditional Inuit music and provides a nice counterpoint to Morhardt's remarks. He writes:

Almost invariably, the drum rhythm bears no relation to the song rhythm. A song may be in 3–4 time and the drum accompaniment in 2–4. Usually the drum starts before the singer to get him warmed up, and sometimes it continues
after he has stopped. Often, also, and especially in Alaska and the Mackenzie River delta, the drum plays in a series of tremolo passages with twelve or fifteen rapid, fluttering beats in each, but bearing no relation to the time of the song. This in spite of the fact that the singer is frequently also the drummer. In dancing, which is often indulged in while singing, the tendency is for the drum rhythm to mark the dance time, the song remaining independent of both.

It is no wonder that Mörhardt's young violinist became peevish when confined to the restrictions of Western rhythm.

The same lack of comprehension is evident in Western response to other aspects of Inuit music. Leechman notes that:

Tone intervals recognized by these people are not those with which we are familiar. Their fourth and seventh are especially strange to our ears, and to the listening white man it frequently sounds as if the Eskimo were flattening some of his notes, while others are too sharp, but if the same song is recorded several times on the phonograph it will be seen that these variations from our practice are not accidental.

Traditional music did not go entirely unappreciated during the contact period, however. Boas obviously drew considerable pleasure from all forms of Inuit music, and in The Central Eskimo, which was published in 1888, he goes to some trouble to explain Professor R. Succo's comparison of the relation of Eskimo melodies to their key note, to that of Gregorian chants. Thalbitzer, in 1903, deeply regretted the condemnation of drumsong among Christianized Greenlanders who were no longer able to "sing at pleasure" like those happy men at the edge of the world, the pagans of Smithsund and Ammassalik.

Slowly, non-Inuit became more open to the possibility that just because Inuit music was different, it was not necessarily bad. In 1927, the New York Times favourably reviewed a performance of Eskimo song given by a French Canadian singer, Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye, at Town Hall. The performance was introduced by Vilhjalmur
Stefansson, who primed her audience with a speech full of "wit and humor," including such gems as the fact that the average Eskimo uses 1400 words in his ordinary conversation, whereas Woodrow Wilson used only 2400 in his presidential addresses. The review reports:

Miss Gaultier sang the Eskimo songs of Northern Alaska, in costume, with a background of totem poles and Aurora borealis. She has a tuneful voice and sings with much simplicity and charm. She accompanied herself on a light drum. The songs of the Copper Eskimos included examples of two dance forms, the "Atan" and the "Pisik." The Eskimo songs were decidedly melodious and an entire novelty to the audience. They were for all kinds of occasions and were recorded by Diamond Jenness, collected on the Stefansson Arctic expedition and transcribed by Helen H. Roberts.11

The old Eskimo songs had to be hardy blooms indeed to survive Stefansson's wit and Miss Gaultier's totem poles, but perhaps she sang them well and it is to her credit that she bothered to sing them at all.

To non-Inuit, the Inuit act of composition can seem to be very passive. Edmund Carpenter writes:

"In Eskimo the word to make poetry is the word to breathe; both are derivatives of anerca, the soul, that which is eternal, the breath of life. A poem is words infused with breath or spirit; 'Let me breathe of it,' says the poet-maker and then begins: 'I have put my poem in order on the threshold of my tongue.'12

Poetic creation is not always easy, though. Ikinilik sings "I have only my song/Though it too is slipping from me,"13 and Ivaluadjuk's lament is that "songs/Call for strength/And I seek after words,"14 Piuvkaq observes that it is "A wonderful occupation/Making songs/But all too often they/Are failures,"15 and in another song he admits that he prefers fist fighting to singing because "Words melt away/Like hills in fog."16

If the muses fail to inspire, the Inuit poet usually manages
to produce something suitable anyway, for as in all things, Inuit have a very practical approach to their art. Takuornak's famous welcome to Rasmussen, "The Land Around My Dwelling," which is regarded as being in the best style of the oral tradition, was a wonderful piece of public relations, just as Tamnaraluk's song for the Governor General's visit to Igloolik in 1969 was. As Netsit puts it, "Perhaps—well/It may not matter!/Perhaps—well./My tongue merely joins words/Into a little song." Moshe Michael's song, "Have You Ever Gone Hunting," which opens the film "Natsiq Hunting," was a spontaneous effort in the old manner because the singer hired to do the music failed to arrive and the sound studio had been booked and paid for. Michael understood, like Hupa, that "Since there are no words/For the song—for the game/ I simply improvise words for it." In traditional Inuit society, composers did not allow themselves the indulgence of writer's block.

Rasmussen records that it is impossible to discuss poetry as art with an Eskimo poet: "He will not admit that there is any special art associated with such productions, but at most may grant it a gift, and even then a gift which everyone should possess in some degree." If time and the occasion allow, the poet may seek out solitude and struggle with the laborious and deliberate problem of making his words fit one another in what Lowenstein calls a "quasi-Wordsworthian process," but if there is no time and, in Orpingalik's words, "ordinary speech no longer suffices," then the poem will inevitably come out anyway. Rasmussen writes:

The word "inspiration," as we understand it, does not, of course, exist for the Eskimo; when he wishes to express anything corresponding to our conception of the term, he uses the simple phrase:"to feel emotion." But every normal human being must feel emotion at some time or other in the course,
of a lifetime, and thus all human beings are poets in the Eskimo sense of the word.21

Thus, in traditional Inuit society, every person was a singer, and to some extent a poet, just as every person was a craftsperson, and to some extent an artist. It was necessary to work on language just as it was necessary to work on skins or ivory, in order to produce the requirements of life. In European culture it was, and is, possible to grow from adolescence to old age without ever having to sing or create a poem, but in Inuit culture you had to sing and compose in order to catch a seal, break a fever, obtain justice, control the universe. Consequently, poetry was very special and important, but it was also very natural and commonplace. An Inuit poem could have the elegance of a piece of Steuben glass or the appeal of a practical, functional Mason jar, both of which are 'collectors' pieces.

Today, tape recordings preserve the remnants of traditional Inuit song. It is lamentable that so much of the music is lost, but thanks to the ethnologists there are a considerable number of old song texts that are valuable for their own sake, and they also indicate areas of interest in the new corpus. Knowing what the old poets sang about makes it easier to identify what the new poets are concerned with, and it is possible to see patterns of change from the old to the new tradition that suggest that the future of Inuit society is not quite so bleak as is generally thought.

Rasmussen categorized his poems as songs of mood, hunting songs, charms and songs of derision, divisions which are fairly close to those of Douglas Leechman. There is, obviously, a great deal of overlapping in the categorization of Eskimo songs, but very generally speaking,
songs of mood are songs of reflection which do not involve a story
or action. The language, in both the original Eskimo and in good
English translations, is most often simple and clear because, as
Frederiksen puts it, "Eskimo does not like gaudiness in its way of
expression." Frederiksen goes on to say:

Imagination is not licentious, it does not allow the
figurative style of writing to be too obviously at variance
with the outside world. The richly ornate Oriental figurative
language is unknown to the heathen Eskimo, and if he
understood it he would be ashamed to use it. In spite of
the adoption of the Bible even modern Greenland authors
display reticence at expressing themselves in ultra emotional,
bombastic, and flowery figurative language.22

This simplicity of expression is evident in most Eskimo literature,
but it is more noticeable in reflective poetry because of the excesses
so often evident in English poetry dealing with similar subjects.

Eskimo poets use simplicity of tone, language, and subject matter,
all of which combine to suggest the depth of importance of brief
moments of emotion. A song, called by Rasmussen "Moved," by the
Iglulik shaman Uvavmuk was capable of putting its author into a trance
when she sang it:

The great sea stirs me.
The great sea sets me adrift,
It sways me like the weed
On a river stone

The sky's height stirs me.
The strong wind blows through my mind.
It carries me with it,
So I shake with joy.23

Umanatsiaq's song "Ptarmigan" is almost photographic in its detailed
description, yet it conveys the mood of the speaker quite effortlessly:

On the top of a snowdrift
In the tundra
Stood a little ptarmigan.
Its eyelids were red,
its back was brown,
And right between its buttocks
Sat the sweetest little arse.24

Like Raymond Souster's "The Six Quart Basket," or any imagist poem, "Ptarmigan" does not describe action or discuss emotion, yet it communicates a feeling of well being and pleasure in the poet. Inuit are not sentimental about animals, and Umanatsiaq probably launched a well-aimed rock at the bird while he was admiring it, but one can easily understand why he would pause to appreciate the moment. The red eyelids of a ptarmigan really are very pretty, and the brown back indicates that, despite the snowdrift, summer is on the way. After a long, dark winter, the appearance of a perky and tasty bird could very easily produce one of those moments Wordsworth called "spots of time."

This Netsilik poem about another bird is descriptive also but has a more active voice:

The gull, it is said,
The gull who cleaves the air with his wings.
Who is usually above you,
You—gull, up there,
Steer down towards me,
Come to me.
Your wings
Are red,
Up there in the coolness.25

Rasmussen listed this poem among the "Magic Words That Give Vitality."

In both the original Inuktutul and the English translation, the poet moves from observing the gull to addressing it and calling it to him, willing the gull's living energy into himself and capturing the energy and control of the bird in flight in his poem.

Hunting songs, as Rasmussen points out, are "difficult to
separate from the songs of mood as so many of the songs touch on game, and the joys and disappointments of the hunter," The songs may use the language of incantation, where a seal is a "blubberly one" and a caribou is "one with branching antlers," and they may include elements of the derisive song in which the poet mocks himself or another for his failure, but the subject is one which received an obsessive amount of attention from all men and some women in the traditional era. Hunting songs could be reflective, but they could also be full of incident, in keeping with the active nature of the subject. Aua, an Iglulik Eskimo from Lyon Inlet, has added a lyrical touch to what must have been a dangerous and exhausting experience in the following poem, "Polar Bear":

I saw a polar bear
On an ice-drift.
He seemed harmless as a dog
Who comes running towards you,
Wagging his tail.
But so much
Did he want to get at me
That when I jumped aside
He went spinning on the ice.
We played this game of tag
From morning until dusk.
But then, at last, I tired him out,
And ran my spear into his side. 27

When Rasmussen first heard the song, it included the aja ja ja refrain and had a literal translation as follows:

It chanced that I caught sight of
One wearing the skin of a bear
Out in the drifting pack-ice.
It came not threateningly,
Turning about.
Was the only thing that seemed to hamper it:
It wore out its strength against me,
And I thrust my lance
Into its body.
I call this to mind
Merely because they are ever breathing self-praise,
 Those neighbours of ours to the south and to the north.2b

The incident the poet is describing was so well known to his listeners
that the details, such as the bear wagging its tail like a dog, were
eliminated and the singer contented himself with throwing out a few
mnemonic phrases to the chorus.

The third category of Inuit poetry comprised traditional
charms and incantations. These songs are often old and very widely
known, but they can also be very personal and magical, given only to
a special friend or even kept entirely secret. Douglas Leeuchman calls
the following example, a weather charm collected by Diamond Jenness,
one of the finest. The translation is said to be as close an adherence
to the original as possible.

Falling tears
Falling tears
The old knee down there
The old knee down there
It splashes on it, it splashes on it.29

Edmund Carpenter did the English translation of this Aivilik weather
chant:

Cold, Cold.
Frost, Frost
Fling me not aside!
You have bent me enough.
Away! Away! 30

These weather chants are made of recognizable words that have
been arranged into poetic images that have some concrete meaning, but
chants and incantations are not always comprehensible. Of these charms,
Leeuchman writes:

In addition to archaic and poetic expressions, we encounter
in some cases songs, the words of which are not understood
at all by the singers, so greatly have they been transformed
in the course of time. The same phenomenon is to be seen in some of the meaningless syllables in our children's counting out rhymes.31

Rasmussen records a good example of this sort of chant in a song reputed to have been sung by a lame dog; the last four lines are in special dog-speech that cannot be turned into comprehensible human speech. The words whispered by one of the women in a throat-singing partnership are often of that magic, unintelligible kind, and while some people may not consider this poetry, the Canadian poets known as the Four Horsemen have patterned some of their best work after throat-singing.

By far the most interesting traditional poems, from the English reader's point of view, are those variously called nith-songs, song duels, drum songs or satirical songs. The best catch-all term to use for this group is "derisive poems," since their common denominator is a satirical or ironic element of criticism. The poet can aim the derision at himself, at another, at a group of people or at a type of behavior. His song may be only part of an attack or it may be a response to an attack by another singer, it might be a cheerful, loving correction or it may be a vicious assault on a reputation.

The most famous derisive songs are the song duels or nith songs which, in their purest forms, are a remarkable judicial and cultural achievement. The eighteenth century missionary Hans Egede was one of the first to identify the song duel:

To compose satirical ditties about one another is their greatest art, and the man who can outdo his opponent in this is admired and applauded by the others. If someone has conceived a little jealousy and resentment for another for some reason, he immediately challenges him to a duel and informs him that he will come to such and such an
assembly, where he will sing against him.

The other man, in order to defend his honour, also prepares ditties, and meets without fail to defend himself, if he ventures to take the challenger on. When they have arrived at the assembly and each is sitting ready to hear how things will go for them, the plaintiff first comes forward and begins singing, beating the drum which he carries. The other man stands close to him and listens in silence, until his opponent has finished singing and said what he will.

Then he begins to defend himself with the same use of satire, while the other man keeps silent, until he has finished, and so on, so long as they have ditties to ply each other with. The one who first runs out of ditties and has to stop is considered the loser. In ditties of this kind they deride and reproach each other with what they know, and in this way they take revenge. 32

The notion that the song duels had a strictly judicial function has predominated ever since the eighteenth century, and Penelope Ebert and Russell Newmark, in their "Central Eskimo Song Duels: A Contextual Analysis of Ritual Ambiguity," and Inge Kleivan in "Song Duels in West-Greenland; Joking Relationships and Avoidance," have all tried to point out that while it did have a judicial function at certain times in certain places, this was not true everywhere. In Greenland the duel settled disputes, but according to Wanni Anderson, the duel in North Alaskan tradition had a strong entertainment function as well. 33 Rasmussen distinguished between the cheerful duels of Greenlandic song brothers in which two men exposed each other's frailties and delivered home truths in words chosen to excite merriment rather than scorn, and the more abusive contests in which it was legitimate to be as nasty as possible as long as one was also amusing.

The song duelling tradition varied greatly across the Arctic. In some places, songs would only be used against a song brother, while in
others only against comparative strangers. In some areas, poetic license was broad and any accusation could be made, while in other areas it was considered a breach of ethics to stray far from the truth. If the song was properly composed and presented, a man's actions were generally considered sufficient to damn him. Sometimes, the songs were well rehearsed, and at other times they were spontaneous compositions. In Canada, the song duel was sometimes accompanied by a kind of boxing or head-butting intended to test physical endurance as well as poetic ability. Regardless of these differences, all the songs are marked by a heavy use of irony and satire.

Very few Canadian Eskimo song duels have survived in the duel form, although fragments exist. The reason for this is fairly obvious; in a contest where one poet is judged superior, the winner's poems are likely to be memorized and handed down while the loser's are likely to be forgotten. For instance, from a duel that took place in the Kobuk River area in 1890, nine songs have survived, all but one of them composed by the winner. 34 Rasmussen documented a duel between Ilukitsoq Arnarituat and Nakasuk, two Back River men, in which Nakasuk was accused in song of being a poor hunter. Nakasuk, a respected leader, replied by ironically agreeing with his opponent and then accusing him of sexual excess and impotence. Nakasuk's successful response reads in part:

When I sing—mockingly—when I doughtily begin to patter out the words
I can usually answer—for I am one about whom nothing is heard
As I am one devoid of anything untrustworthy.
What is it? On the sea's ice
For your daughter-in-law Teriarnaq—yonder.
You conceived immoral desires
And yearned for her
You are one with brief thoughts—and your thoughts go to
Your poor wife Akta... 35

Beverley Cavanagh points out that these song rivalries are at the base of what she calls "dialogue songs,"36 pairs of songs in which human or animal singers disparage one another, as in the songs of the wolf and the wolverine in which the wolf chastizes the wolverine for scavenging and the wolverine derides the wolf for being conceited. There are other songs, not pairs but single poems with challenge and response sequences, which could also be called dialogue songs; Rasmussen collected the following one from a Netsilik singer:

Then said the blowfly:
"Because you are bellyless—perhaps
You cannot reply at all!"
The little water beetle then said:
"Devoid of belly—maybe so!
Still, you may be sure that I will answer back!"
And with a grimace,
It turned its back at once
Without making any attempt to answer back.
He was a bad one for arguing.37

A great many of these dialogue songs involve animals (the long tailed duck and the owl, or the owl and the lemming), perhaps because it was safer to transfer bad human behavior to the animal world.

The derisive song often turns inward upon the poet. Taptuna's song "I Am Quite Unable," which was collected by Denness, is not really a derisive song because he is listing all the things he is supposedly unable to do, knowing that his audience is quite aware that he can do them exceedingly well.38 However, when the Caribou poet Avane sang:

Lo, alas, I look and seek
All impatient, eagerly
For the caribou in the hills;
Am I old and worthless now,
Since I hunt in vain?

he was obviously voicing a genuine concern about his abilities.

Orpingalik, when he composed the famous song "My Breath" in a fit
of despondence after a long illness, recalled his former success as
a provider and wished his wife had a better husband. But it is self-
doubt, not hunting victories, that end the song:

Knowest thou thyself?
So little thou knowest of thyself!
While dawn gives place to dawn,
And spring is upon the village.

In the song duels, failure at hunting was often linked to sexual
failure. Traditional Inuit poetry has a reputation for being very
earthy in its subject matter, and the derisive songs bear this out.
Poems about romantic love are almost unknown, but physical longing,
lust and impotence are common topics:

Through this source, through that source
I was made to rejoice, on frequently hearing
Of the Qairniq people, of their women being eager for men.

He from Puiviliq, that man
Let me go and dance beside him.

I used to watch
Månerjarssuk's wife
It was:
I awaited
And watched for her
Entirely in my thoughts
Was she!

I am seized with violent desire.
Alone by myself I became lustful.

The Netsilik song "Men's Impotence" is one of the best known of
of the traditional songs about sex. It begins:
Perhaps well
It may not matter!
Perhaps well,
I sing merely of him,
"The Boiling One"
Who sat, fearful, his mouth fast closed,
Among women.45

There is considerable irony in the poem because in each succeeding verse, the "Boiling One" is associated with some manly hunting tool, the horns of a leister, an axe, the ribs of a kayak, yet he sits in fear among women. The opening three lines, full of hesitation and despair, are repeated at the beginning of each new verse.

In a culture where marriages are arranged for convenience or necessity, love songs are rare, although love may not be. This Ammassalik song, collected by Paul-Emile Victor, is about as close as one comes to a love song; it is called the "Song of an Old Man About His Wife."

We were together
We were husband and wife
We loved each other
We're together
We're husband and wife
We love each other
We used to think
We were both good looking

But a few days ago
Only a few days ago
In a black lake
She saw an ugly face
A hideous old woman's face
All wrinkles and blotches

She said I saw
The spirit in the water
The water spirit
All wrinkles
All blotches
Whoe'er saw
That face before
All wrinkles
All blotches
Haven't I
Seen that face myself
Don't I see that face
Myself
When I look at you 46

This poem may not seem like a love song at first, but the opening verse establishes how the old man cares for his wife, and reveals that he is aware that he has grown as old as she has. He does not deny that time has changed them, but reminds her that they share even the ravages of time.

Concern for one's wife and children also appear in the old songs; the poets realize that they live always on the edge of disaster, but this does not make them callous:

Sad, I would that my woman
Were gone to a better protector
Now that I lack strength
To rise from my couch. 47

Little snowslide
Four children and my wife are my whole world, all I owe
All I can lose, nothing you can gain
Snowslide, save my house, stay on your summit. 48

These few glimpses of family life are very easy for people of any culture to relate to. They may lack the mysticism of the incantations, but their simplicity and sincerity have a great deal of appeal.

There is a tendency to think of these Inuit songs as being lost to the Inuit since their translation into English. Certainly Eskimo oral poetry no longer exists in the traditional sense. Some singers still compose spontaneously, some still hand on the songs they have learned or composed to younger singers, but even the singers
themselves realize that times have changed. If there is an anthropologist with a tape recorder nearby on these occasions, chances are the poet will recruit a grandchild or a visitor to do the honours. This is not a cause for regret; those who sing in the old manner generally aim at preservation rather than maintenance of the oral tradition and they also realize that they can attain a certain degree of immortality for themselves. The presence of a tape recorder may create a feeling of resentment or nostalgia in some of the listeners, but the performers usually feel that the results justify the intrusion.

Transcripts of such tape recorded traditional Inuit songs will eventually join with the transcripts made by Rasmussen and others to form an incomplete but considerable body of written oral literature in Inuktitut and English. A transcribed Inuit song can be translated into English in as many different ways as it can be sung in Inuktitut. James McNeill, who was in the happy position of being the "Literature Supervisor" for Indian and Northern Affairs, wrote in 1970 that he was pleased to discover that

After some 40 years, a careful translator, doing an interlinear translation, affix by affix, can render Knud Rasmussen's symbols back into perfect Eskimo. This is also true of the system used by Eric Holtved. As these men were careful and exacting collectors and both bilingual, their work has a direct value. 49

There is a great deal of work still to be done before all the poems collected by the early ethnographers are again easily accessible to young Inuit in their own language, but this can and will be accomplished eventually.

There is currently enough traditional material available in English to give a fair indication of what the poetry in the oral tradition was
like, and to allow comparison with the new tradition of written Inuit poetry. Many of the songs found in the reports of Jenness, Rasmussen and others have been reprinted in a number of collections; Anerca, edited by Edmund Carpenter, Beyond the High Hills, edited by Guy Marie-Roussellier, Houston's Songs of the Dream People and Hofmann's Drum Dance, are all reliable and varied treatments of the old poetry. J.R. Colombo's Poems of the Inuit is an arrangement and assessment of the traditional poems in a format which provides a cultural context for the songs and is not only accessible to popular taste but is academically sound as well.

It is unfortunate, but the fact is that it is necessary for Inuit oral poetry to find acceptance in English translation for its preservation in Inuktitut to be assured. Non-Inuit have now recognized the value of Inuit songs and have begun to put some effort into getting the work back into the Inuit culture in a modern, acceptable form. In the meantime, young writers are moving on and creating new poetry in new forms, ensuring that Inuit poetry is not a dying art but a changing one, and forming good, strong bonds between the old tradition and the new one. An old Copper Eskimo once sang the following song for Knud Rasmussen:

When I chance to think of my childhood
And recall all the old memories from those days
Then youth seems a time
When all meat was juicy and tender.
When no game was too swift for the hunter
Now I have only the old stories
And songs to fall back on 50

The songs are still there to fall back on, as juicy and tender, and as reassuringly familiar as a mouthful of caribou meat.
Notes


19 Knud Rasmussen, Poems From Canada and Greenland, ed. Tom Lowenstein, p. 127.


21 Knud Rasmussen, Eskimo Poems From Canada and Greenland, ed. Tom Lowenstein, p. 128.

22 Svend Frederiksen, "Stylistic Forms in Greenland Eskimo Literature," Meddelelser Om Gronland, 136; No. 7 (1954), 22.

23 Uvavnuq, "The Great Sea," Eskimo Poems From Canada and Greenland, ed. Tom Lowenstein, p. 27.


26 Knud Rasmussen, Eskimo Poems From Canada and Greenland, ed. Tom Lowenstein, p. 107.
27. Awa, "Polar Bear," in Eskimo Poems From Canada and Greenland, ed. Tom Lowenstein, p. 60
37. Lewis, ed., I Breathe a New Song, p. 43.


44. Lewis, ed., *I Breathe a New Song*, p. 84.


46. Lewis, ed., *I Breathe a New Song*, p. 84.


Chapter V

Poetry In The Written Tradition

Traditional Inuit poetry has gained a certain credibility for itself among non-Inuit in the south, and relies to some extent on that credibility for its preservation, but modern Inuit poetry and song is developing with spontaneity and certainty in the north despite the fact that it is almost unknown in southern Canada. The new poets and singers are generally young people who are unwilling or unable to compose and perform in the traditional manner, perhaps because they do not have the command of language, the ability to memorize, or a mastery of Inuit musical techniques. Furthermore, their concerns are different from those of their grandparents because they live in an industrial rather than a hunting society and the forms they choose to express their concerns reflect those differences.

The fact that traditional Inuit songs are no longer a major factor in Inuit culture does not mean that music does not have a place in modern Inuit life. With the development of interest in native culture in recent years, traditional Eskimo music has again drawn academic and popular attention, and there have been some favorable outgrowths for modern musicians. In the 1970's, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation began to make considerable efforts to record Inuit musicians for inclusion in the domestic and inter-
national programming of its Northern Service and the response was so favourable that the program was expanded.\(^1\)

Highly individualistic forms such as kataljait—throat music in which the distinctive sounds are produced through guttural, nasal and breathing techniques—have at least been temporarily saved from extinction, but more modern forms have also been recorded and broadcast. Concertina and fiddle music, which has had an important place in the contemporary Inuit musical tradition ever since the European whalers introduced jigs and reels into the north in the early nineteenth century, has been recorded as part of the developing Heritage Collection of broadcast recordings. Maija M. Lutz has suggested that these jigs and reels functioned as a substitute for the forbidden traditional drumsongs.\(^2\)

Many contemporary Inuit musicians are now producing material obviously linked to the country-western, rock and roll or disco beat music heard on AM and FM radio today, but the language is often Inuktut and the subject matter, as in Panegoniak's "I.T.C." (about the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada) or Arnautoff's "The Co-ops and the Inuit Get Together," is often indicative of modern Inuit political concerns. Unlike traditional songs, which tend to focus most often on hunting experiences or the cycle of life (birth, marriage, death, etc.), contemporary songs frequently explore personal feelings of isolation, worry and inadequacy as primary subjects.

Ancient Inuit songs have, perhaps because of their age, generally been treated as oral poetry and given the respect and attention accorded traditional material, and although Beverly Cavanagh deplores...
this practice as a distortion of the truth, for the English language speaker it is virtually the only way these songs are accessible. Modern songs may not deserve the same level of respect but they do deserve at least passing attention here. Contemporary songs by recording groups such as Sugluk and Sikumiut, as well as by individuals like Goo Pootoogook and Etulu Etidluq, are occasionally available in magazine articles; Sheldon O'Connor included the words and music for Tamuši Quissa's "Come To Our Place Since You Got a Seal" in an article published in The Beaver in 1979. A 1977 doctoral thesis by Maija M. Lutz, *The Effects of Acculturation on Eskimo Music of Cumberland Peninsula*, which was published as part of the National Museum's Mercury Series, includes recordings of "Give Me That Old Time Religion" sung in Inuktitut by the Bible study group, "I Was Going to Cut Up a Pattern For Pakak's Parka," a traditional song performed by Jim Kilabuk, and "The Butterfly" played by the Pangnirtung Dance Band.

The most easily available and comprehensive collection of contemporary Inuit song lyrics is found in the three volume *Inuit Artists*, published by the Programme Development Division of the Department of Education of the Territorial Government. This collection, which is accompanied by three cassette tapes of the artists performing their songs, includes the musical transcription, guitar and recorder chordings; the lyrics are in syllabic and Roman orthography Inuktitut and are translated or summarized in English. The introduction briefly traces the suppression of traditional music by missionaries and suggests that the country-western and Scottish music that eventually filtered into the Western Arctic through workers and visitors from the south
helped to "legitimize" music among the Inuit again. It asserts, however, that in spite of the influence of country and western and Scottish music in the material presently being rendered by Inuit artists, "there remains a distinct uniqueness about contemporary Inuit music. As a significant factor, the language dictates certain rhythmic patterns peculiar only to Inuktitut. One must therefore deny the temptation to compare Inuit artists with their southern counterparts."

It is, of course, impossible for people brought up in the Western musical tradition not to compare. In fact, it is through comparison that it is possible to appreciate lyrics in English or in English translation by Inuit songwriters. Charlie Panegoniak's delightful English language love song "From Sanatorium" never fails to win appreciation from non-Inuit listeners for the simplicity and sincerity of both the lyrics and the melody. As with illustration, music makes Inuit literature in English more accessible to a non-Inuit reading or listening audience, and indicates the impact that more traditional, less westernized, material has on a knowledgeable ear.

Modern Inuit poetry and song tends to fit into divisions similar to those Rasmussen identified in the oral tradition. Certain categories are directly linked to their roots; the modern poems of mood are reflective attempts to try to capture fleeting emotions, just as the traditional mood poems were. Hunting poems are less common in contemporary poetry, but the feelings those poems were exploring seem to have inspired numerous political poems. Chants and incantations have given way to hymns, and songs of derision have changed their form and content somewhat but are still identifiable as such.

Eskimo mood poems are still being written in Canada by both young
and old authors. The following example, signed simply "Dorothy," appeared in the Keewatin Echo in 1974:

I am old now, I must die
    Me in my chair.
    My body is tired I worked so hard
    Old age is coming to kill me.
    I cannot work for now I am old.
    Me in my chair.
    Death is waiting for me outside.
    Old I am, old I am.
    Death is here.
    Old I am, old I am.
    Me in my chair.6

Mary Panegoosh's "Morning Mood," written in 1962, is one of the best known contemporary Inuit poems. The piece, which begins "I wake with morning yawning in my mouth,/ With laughter, see steaming a tea kettle spout,"7 evokes a spirit which is found in the "matchbox" houses of the northern settlements but it could just as easily have been produced in a winter camp on the ice. Lucy Evaluardjuak's first poem, written in 1969 in Inuktitut, is another mood poem which spans the cultural gap between the old life and the new; the poem is "In The Spring When the Sun Never Sets:"

In the spring when the sun never sets
And when the calm glassy waters roamed the morning seas,
Oh, those were the happy times.

When the birds and seals,
Lived only for playing,
Oh, those were the happy times.

When we would stay up all night,
'Looking for birds' nests,
Oh, those were the happy times.

When the sun began to warm the morning air
And my sister could no longer keep her eyes open,
Oh, those were the happy times.

When I, too, fought the coming of sleep,
But my dreams would win in the end,
Oh, those were the happy times.8
Alootook Ipellie provides a very recent example of mood poetry in *Inuit Today*, June 1981; titled "On a Summer's Day":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{One moment, calm.} \\
\text{Like a bullet shot,} \\
\text{It strikes your face.} \\
\text{This character of nature...} \\
\text{Unpredictable.9}
\end{align*}
\]

Hunting poems are still written, but often these poems are imaginative recreations of the old life and are more indicative of nostalgia and a longing for purpose in life than of actual hunting experience. For example a 1981 poem by Alootook Ipellie, "When the Water Moved an Instant Before," is about a walrus hunt and it refers to the food, spearheads and oil that the walrus will provide. Since the primary use of walrus today is for dogmeat, and the author has spent most of his adult life in Ottawa, the poem could not be said to draw on personal experience. There are still Inuit hunters and some of them are poets, but, for the most part, modern hunting poems are the product of fantasy and hearsay.

The subject which seems to have replaced hunting in contemporary Inuit poetry is politics. Formerly, it would have been impossible to talk about the Eskimo political consciousness because such a thing did not exist. Traditional Inuit society had no politics; no government, no policies, no public institutions, no hereditary leaders, nothing that southern Canadians would recognize as an organized political system. It has taken the Inuit less than fifty years to adapt from being non-political nomads to being semi-radical, highly active voters who have their own representatives in both the Senate and the Commons of the Canadian Parliament. This extraordinary involvement with
politics very quickly became evident in Inuit literature, and although the younger writers tend to prefer prose, a certain amount of poetry has appeared on political subjects also:

Poems such as Nipisha Aqqik's "Hear Us, Feel Us," about the N.W.T. Youth Association, and songs such as Panegoniak's "I.T.C." which tells the story of how the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada was founded, are obvious examples of political subject matter, but there are other poems which express political involvement and concern in less obvious ways. The following poem by Jimmy Patsauq Naumealuk is typical of many contemporary poems which express worry about the future of the Inuit.

It is called "Wondering in Silence:">

A seagull is flying high in the summer breeze,
A seal is swimming the calm, cool sea,
A caribou feeds on the mossy tundra,
And I'm sitting here wondering about yesterday.

A jet plane flies high in the winter breeze,
A ship travels the stormy sea,
A snowmobile crosses the frozen tundra,
And I'm sitting here wondering about today.

I see not the seagull or the jet plane,
I see not the seal or the ship,
I see not the caribou or the snowmobile.
And I'm sitting here wondering about tomorrow.

Both emotionally and culturally, politics, particularly land claims, seems to have partially filled the gap left by the decrease in hunting activity in the north. A predominantly male activity, it allows younger people to use the skills they have acquired in school, such as reading and writing in English, to the advantage of their families. It is also of vital concern to every man, woman and child in the Arctic, and considerable status is attached to involvement in the negotiations. Everybody has an opinion on the matter; land claims is the most
important political issue in the Arctic today.

The poetry which has so far emerged from land claims negotiations is not outstandingly good, but it is immensely popular, "I'll be lost and homeless/Like the wind going this way and that," writes Joy Suluk in "My Land, My Life," "Meetings they come and go/But we got to stand as one," urges Bill Tagoona in "United We Stand." The poems are full of unanswered questions, possibly a form borrowed from the old song duels; "Will They Ever Get Satisfied?" asks Rosemarie Qitsualik, and Nipisha Aqpiq wonders "What did we ever do to/Hurt the whiteman's feelings?" in "Our Land is Not For Sale." James Arvaluk asks "When did the Inuit give their land away?" in "We Accept Readily." Sometimes the poet tries to continue the tradition of Inuit hospitality; in "Our Beautiful Land," Aqpiq assures the visitor "You won't want to go back/To where you came from," and in "Come On Up," Alookotk Ippelli invites those southerners who don't wish to destroy the land to come and experience its beauties. Often, though, the tone is angry and frustrated, as in Ippelli's epic poem "The Strangers," in which he traces the Inuit occupation of the Arctic and the recent invasion by people from the south. Political activism as a substitute for hunting activity seems to have great social implications, but it is still too soon to say whether it will also play a large part in Inuit literary development.

Traditional chants and incantations served a religious purpose in pre-contact times, but once Christianity was imported from the south, no comparable body of indigenous religious song developed. Hymnals in Inuktutit have been available all across the Arctic for
well over a hundred years, but the hymns are generally translations of already existing English, French or German hymns, or have been written by the missionaries themselves. Traditional Inuit drumsongs and incantations were usually banned by missionaries and only when Inuit musicians adopted Western hymns did their efforts meet with any approval. The Labrador Moravians approved of music in theory, but they insisted that the use of music be confined to the service of religion, and only when the Labrador Inuit had mastered "How Sweet the Dwellings" and "Hos'Round the Sacred Tomb," were the results judged to be "delightful and harmonious."*11

Inuktitut translations of English hymns such as "Bringing in the Sheaves" have not been inspiring. That popular work, when translated back into English, falls rather flat:

We will come bringing things
And we'll be happy
With our Lord Jesus
We will come
We will come
We'll be happy
With our Lord Jesus 12

Translations do not have to be bad, but in many cases they seem to be.

Hymn 478, by Anne Paedlo, is the only original Inuit composition in the current Anglican hymn book. Hymn 478 is a very popular one, by all accounts; and the language in it is rich and strong:

My father in heaven,
Is my only source of confidence
I am extremely happy.
I have someone who feels for me

My father told me
How he was making a place for me
I am extremely happy.
To be saved 13
In the opening verse, God is referred to as a "nagligiji," a source of confidence; a child who has a close, affectionate relationship with someone such as a grandparent, particularly if he is a child who is orphaned or rejected by others, would describe someone who loved and favoured him as his "nagligiji." Words such as "piuliji," savior, or "qinujuq," to seek diligently, convey highly charged concepts in Inuktitut, although their English equivalents sound somewhat clichéd.

Charlie Panegoniak's treatment of the famous verse John 3:16, which begins "For God so loved the world..." is a very popular song, but although substantial changes have been made in translation to accommodate Inuit cultural differences, the few religious hymns that have been translated back into English do not indicate work of a very high order. A few poems, such as Kowmaseak Anakalak's "Prayer" and Michael Alerk's poem about the Incarnation, "How Much," have been published in English and Inuktitut. Many religious magazines in the north publish only in the Eskimo language, but even in Inuktitut there does not seem to be a significant body of Christian religious poetry, and what there is does not seem to have the power or the imagery of the old chants and incantations. Religious fervor does not seem to have inspired Eskimo poets, although the prose writers have found the Bible to be a source of considerable wealth.

The derisive songs of traditional Inuit literature do not exist in a pure form in modern Inuit poetry, but certain elements of the derisive song have survived. That dialogue songs sometimes took the form of question-answer sequences is evident in the Greenlandic "Kayak Song in Dialogue," and, as noted before, the interrogative
is a feature of contemporary Inuit political poetry which often has some of the elements of derisive poetry. A good example of how the derisive dialogue song has evolved in modern times is the poem "Take Me To Your Leader" by Alookook Ipellie. In this poem, the narrator is approached by a weird looking creature whose classic request leads to a question-answer sequence that makes some very cutting observations about Inuit political figures. It reads in part:

Well, which leader do you want, I asked
"The one who sits in his office and reads."
Can you describe his appearance?
What language does he speak?
"Inuktitut. French-Canadian accent."
What does he eat?
"Snow. Blood and guts. Cocaine."
Black hair, brown eyes, right?
"You're getting the idea."
May I ask where he resides?
"Yellowknife. Ottawa. Britain."
Are you sure he doesn't live in Nunavut?
"He's never set foot on it in his entire life."16

When the alien finally reveals that the Inuk leader is really a white bureaucrat in disguise, the poet faints with shock.

The song duels; and the derisive poems in general, functioned traditionally not just to settle disputes, but as Kleivan points out, they also played an important role in the socialization of the young.

Glaahn compares the duels with moral lectures, and since, as he says: "the young people present enjoy listening to them, they learn at the same time what is right and what is wrong, what proper and what improper."17

Modern songs are often didactic without the satiric or ironic element:

Alexis Utatnaq's "Heed Your Parents' Words," or Sugluk's "Love and Obey Your Parents," Etelu Etidlue's "Don't Let Your Children Smoke Cigarettes" and "Father's Warning to Daughter" all carry a heavy message. Other didactic poems have a strong sense of the ironic, however, such as...
"I Ask of Thee" by Akulak on the inevitability of progress, or the humorous "The Garbage and the Ganny," a poem about littering by Meeka Natsiapik. It is interesting to note that these two rather satiric poems are both in the dialogue song tradition, the first being a dialogue between father and son, and the second between a garbage can and a tin can. Presumably "The Garbage and the Ganny" is a variation of the "beast fable" type of dialogue song.

Songs of self-criticism are still composed in the traditional manner. The following one, by Bernard Iqugaqtuq of Pelly Bay, was composed in 1936 and was translated and published by Father Van de Velde in 1973. It is a dance song, so an i ja ja chorus would be included when it was sung. Father Van de Velde thought the song was interesting because "the study of cultural changes often shows the adoption of new elements utilized for traditional purposes... In the following case, it is an inverse phenomenon which is manifested, an old way of expression applied to a new subject." This is "The Song of The Aircraft:"

'Tis useless to ask what it is,
Useless to ask what it is.
When it is heard, there is no doubt.

This passes in front of my eyes
The flying machine and the winter.

At the time to cast off
It begins to crackle loudly
And to go off as a gun
It begins to jerk
And beat its wings
And to swing its tail.

I cannot follow it
However it goes to a land where there are men
I do not stop to think of it
While it goes away.
I begin to skip with joy
I begin to skip with joy
As on top of the hill

Has just appeared something
Game, something to eat
I begin to skip with joy and anxiety
As night falls

Certainly I will not fear a thing.
When it is a matter of meat and food
However I am often so worried that I become anguished

I have given them a whipping
To my poor dogs
And now at Fall
They howled with pain and fear. 19

Father Van de Valde's English is not always as good as his Inuktitut,
so his explanation of the logical sequence of the song requires a certain
amount of interpretation also:

The author first imagines he sees a small airplane with
its characteristic movements as it tries to loosen the skis
from the snow, then rising from the ground. The vibrations
of the plane remind him of his own throbbing anxious joy as,
on the hunt with a friend of his, he saw appearing at the top
of a hill a female bear with an almost grown-up cub. Pursued
by the dogs, the bears fled to their snow caves, coming out
many times to attack the dogs. Happy at the sight of game,
although feeling some anxiety in the face of the adversary
and afraid to miss the mark, the author derides himself and
mocks his own mixed feelings. 20

Before hearing the airplane, Iguaqtuq was giving his dogs a thrashing
and they reacted in an abject and fearful way. The plane reminds him
of how courageous they were in the Spring on the hunt, and he compares
their fluctuating attitude to his own. For an Inuk to compare himself
to a dog is indeed suggestive of extreme self-criticism. Bernard
Iguaqtuq's reputation is that of a great leader and hunter, but
personal doubts assail any thinking poet, ancient or modern.

Self-criticism for failure in the hunt was and is a common theme
in Inuit poetry. In Charlie Panegoniak's "Ma'katay the Hunter," Charlie criticizes himself and other Inuit because they no longer go hunting as much as they did in the old days; he is sleeping and the superior, happier man is hunting and fishing. In Alexis Utatnaq's "Blood Thirsty Enemies," the Inuit are seen humorously as fearing the tiny mosquito instead of the savage polar bear.

In modern Inuit poetry, sex and satire no longer appear together. In the post-contact era, Inuit have become uncomfortable with an open treatment of sexual matters either because Christian missionaries have taught them that it is not wholesome, or, as some Inuit educators suggest, Inuit are themselves comfortable with explicit sex but are concerned that others (i.e. non-Inuit southerners) might not be and will therefore form adverse and incorrect opinions about Inuit morality based on their own prejudices. In any case, explicit treatment of sexuality is almost non-existent in modern Inuit literature.

Poetry about romantic love has become very common, however. Jimmy Pat'sauq Naumealuk's "Liz" and "Martha" are poems of lost love. Luke Issaluk's "I See Your Face" reads in part:

I will see your face.  
Only wait. When spring birds fly  
Home to nest and mate, so shall I,  
And I will see your face.21

"Meepay," the name of Panagoniak's wife, is the name of a love song he wrote to her before they were married. Alexis Utatnaq's "As Soon as I Return to Baker Lake" tells of how he will call his love on the phone when he returns and they will go for a long walk and talk about things.

The development of poems about romantic love may be the result
of the sublimation of physical love, or it may indicate a desire to mimic the poetry of the dominant southern culture, but more likely it is indicative of a loss of control of more important aspects of Inuit life. As Inuit have less and less say in what happens in the north, as they are forced to relinquish influence on their children to non-Inuit educators, as they lose control of their own destinies, they turn more and more to the one area in which they can, ironically, exercise a certain amount of power. The right to choose a mate and to develop close personal relationships outside the family was not considered to be very important in traditional times, but it has accrued considerable importance in post-contact life. Like land-claims poetry, it is a development in direct response to changes in everyday life in the north.

Mood poems, love songs, land-claims poems, political satires, aja songs and even hymns are all attempts by Inuit to articulate where they are coming from and where they are going, how they identify with old experiences and how they are coping with new ones. The poetry tells Inuit and Non-Inuit alike that there are still Inummarit, real Eskimos, in this country, writing real Eskimo poetry.
Notes


13 McGrath and McGrath, "Eskimo Hymns," p. 5.
20 Iqugaqtuq, "The Song of the Aircraft," p. 11.
Chapter VI

Prose In The Oral Tradition

By far the most visible element of Inuit literature in English is the prose from the oral tradition, the myths, legends and stories that explain everything from how the world was created to why some hunter in Whale Cove killed his dogs. Most southern readers assume that these stories constitute all of Inuit literature and, although this is not so, they are certainly still the most important component of the whole. The fact that the myths and legends have survived into the modern era at all is something of a miracle, and the means by which they made their way into the written tradition is an eskimologist's delight and a bibliographer's nightmare. But before any attempt is made to document who wrote the myths, down and how they made their way into print, it is important to consider what the myths were about and what purpose they served in traditional Inuit society.

John Greenway writes that "the fate of primitive people is to become civilized; the destiny of their literature is to change to a medium for marveling to a medium for thinking," and while Inuit writers are now beginning to philosophize, it was in the myths that their forebears expressed their wonder. Perhaps if the Inuit had been left in isolation, their creation myths and migration legends would have been lifted to the heights of the Greek literature of
Homer, Sophocles and Euripides; instead, the pace of development has been artificially forced and young Inuit are the inheritors of a curious body of fascinating stories which explore the imagination of the stone age mind. Awe, amazement and fear are all embodied in these reflections on the natural and unnatural world and the power of these enigmatic works fascinate children and adults alike.

Anthropologists and psychoanalysts agree that myths play a vital, active role in society. Eugene Arima, in his review of central Eskimo mythology in *Eskimo Stories*, discusses how the question McLuhan asks "How does myth order life?" and its antithesis "How does life order myth?" are both addressed to two faces of a common coin. Boas, Malinowski, and other ethnographers, Arima tells us, were quick to recognize that myths indicate preferred modes of behavior, and, as Clyde Kluckhohn viewed it, act together with ritual to reduce anxiety by "discharging emotions and supplying fixed points, 'something to hold onto', in a world of bewildering change, disappointment, want, destruction, death and fundamental insecurity." Kluckhohn calls mythmaking a form of ego defence, a culturally acceptable projection of hostile impulses. Arima goes on to quote Levi-Strauss as saying that "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction" such as that between life and death, between a belief in the autochthonous origin of man and the knowledge that humans are actually born from the union of man and woman. What Arima is saying, and his formidable array of authorities back up his contention, is that Eskimo stories are important and not to be treated lightly.
Inuit mythology, as Rasmussen discovered on the Fifth Thule Expedition, is not a consistent, logical body of beliefs, and as Arima notes, a summary review of it gives an impression of considerably more order and consistency than actually exists. Rasmussen continually came up against contradictions, scepticism and confusion. It is almost impossible to say "Eskimos believe that...", for there are always major exceptions to any generalized statement about what Eskimos believe. Aivilik beliefs and myths differ from those of the Copper Inuit, Netsilik's may have more in common with Inuit in Greenland or Alaska than with the Dorset's who now live near them, and even individuals entertain contradictory versions of religious truths. "What a slender foundation Eskimo belief requires," Rasmussen says.5

Inuit myths and legends comprise a number of categories identified by Rasmussen: 1) creation myths or stories which embody religious belief, 2) stories involving trolls, giants, monsters and ghosts, 3) tales of epic heroes, 4) tales of murder and revenge, and 5) beast fables. These categories are not always distinct and often a story will have elements of several different categories, but the divisions are useful for looking at the oral prose as a whole. Some of the stories, particularly the tales of murder and revenge, have some basis in fact and can be clearly identified as legends, while others are undoubtedly mythic in form and content, so classification is frequently more for the sake of convenience than accuracy.

Creation myths, which make up the first category of oral prose, differ widely across the Arctic, but there are a number of powerful spirits which are known in some form to most Inuit. Three figures
predominate: the spirit of the sea, which is a female figure, and the spirits of the air and the moon, both male figures. Eugene Arima lists over twenty names for the sea spirit, but she is best known as Sedna or Nuliayuk, 'the woman down there'. Sedna was once a young girl who was courted by a fulmar. To escape the unwelcome attentions of the sea bird, Sedna had her father and brothers row her to an offshore island, but the fulmar caused a storm, and to avoid having their boat swamped, the men threw Sedna overboard. Three times Sedna swam to the surface and clung to the boat, but three times her relatives cut at her hands, forcing her back into the sea. The joints of her fingers were transformed into sea-mammals and Sedna changed into a sea-goddess with the power to control all the animals of the land and the water. By releasing the animals to be caught, Sedna provided the Inuit with everything they needed: food, skins for clothing, tents and boats, fat and marrow for heat and light, and bone and ivory for tools and toys. There are as many versions of this story as there are Inuit, but in all the different versions there is a consistency in that Sedna either refuses to marry a man or chooses to marry a dog or a bird, thereby upsetting the natural order of union between man and woman.

Mythic stories are either attempts to create order out of chaos or to define the order inherent in apparent chaos. Sedna's story does both, in that it shows what can happen when the natural order is defied, and encourages people to maintain the normal procreative union between male and female. It also tries to explain how the animals came to be and why taboos should be kept. There are obvious contradictions in the Sedna story, for without Sedna's original
union with a dog, the Inuit, the Indians and the white people would not have been created, and without her father's murderous-attack there would be no sea mammals to feed humans. These problems are no more important than those we find in Christian creation myths; children in Bible study classes still wonder if they would have been born if Adam had not sinned, and they still want to know whom Cain married.

We can see from the more modern versions of the Inuit myths that where it was possible to integrate new information into the old mythological framework, the story-tellers were quite prepared to do so. A good example of the ordering process is evident in Taivitialuk Alaasuaq's story "The Half Fish" in which a hunter finds a huge mermaid-like creature stranded on the shore. After he helps her back into the water, she rewards him with a gramophone, a sewing machine and a gun. The story ends, rather enigmatically, "And so all the white men are learning [to do as the half-fish did] we people are thinking. That's the way the story goes; I stop because it is finished." Alaasuaq's story is deeply rooted in tradition but it has been adapted to account for the different view of life Inuit had after the white men came to the north. The half fish is obviously a manifestation of the female sea spirit, and the story teller thinks that since Sedna provided everything the Inuit needed, she must provide white people with their food and tools and toys as well. Instead of asking her for a walrus with ivory tusks from which he could make a harpoon head, a hunter could simply ask her for a gun. It is a question of knowing what to ask for. It is important to note that the hunter in the story offers to help the half fish before she offers him a reward, so the story
reasserts the old Inuit system of co-operation which was disrupted by white contact.

Inuit did not argue about how the world came to be or why there is dark and light; if they were confronted with conflicting or illogical accounts of a mythic or historic event, they simply accepted it, or they would say "That is how I heard it," or "It is said that it was so." Some Inuit will say that day and night resulted from an argument between a fox and a wolf, some will say that it is caused by an incestuous brother chasing his blushing sister the sun across the sky. There are no hard and fast rules which apply to all Inuit at all times, and there are no myths believed by all Inuit at all times. Stories are contradictory, taboos are so complex and inconsistent, particularly as regards hunting and childbirth, that the only rule seems to be that to break any taboo results in quick and complete disaster, and beliefs seem to be supported or discarded at will. Shamans are sometimes simply healers and leaders; charms are secret possessions revealed to nobody under any circumstances, or they can be shared, sold or given away. Heaven is depicted as being at the bottom of the ocean, or up in the sky, or somewhere else altogether. All these elements and beliefs are inextricably linked, even when they are so contradictory that they seem mutually exclusive, yet all are perceived as being true, and all impose or elicit order in a chaotic cosmos.

The second category of stories identified by Rasmussen, those about monsters, ghosts, trolls and giants, frequently include mythic figures such as Sedna, who as a half fish is a huge, angry woman who is at times driven into a frantic rage because she cannot take the
lice out of her hair with severed fingers, but also includes characters such as the elusive troll Mahaha, who tickles people to death, and Ulligarq'narq, who chops the testicles off men with the crescent-shaped knife she has between her legs. Giant bees, blue ogres, foppish dwarves, and child-snatching ghosts, all make their appearance in the monster stories. A typical story in the monster category is that of the man-eater-woman, a creature who feeds her husband only on berries and, when he gets fat, suddenly develops a huge mouth and long claws to devour him. Finally, one of her husbands is warned by a white whale that his wife is not a human, and thus the hunter escapes. The monster flies into such a rage that she tears the white whale to pieces, and then claws herself to shreds in her anger. Order is reestablished when the hunter brings the white whale back to life by collecting her pieces together, and permanently destroys the monster by pounding her pieces to nothingness.

There has been a tendency for non-Inuit publishers and educators to eliminate the monsters from Eskimo stories for children, yet if one considers that the mythic monsters are an expression of man's concept of evil, it would seem that they have a very important function in the literature and their expurgation is a mistake. The blood and guts found in native myths obviously fulfill some deep basic need in children, and perhaps in adults as well, and by giving the monsters "gently smiling jaws" as Muriel Whitaker advocates, adaptors are exhibiting a dangerously casual attitude to the function of the material they are handling. Humans will always be afraid of the dark, monsters will always lurk in shadowy corners, and Inuit storytellers, like European ones and Indian
ones and Chinese ones, have only to reach into the dark, shadowy corners of the human psyche to find those monsters.

If monsters are a product of human fears, the epic heroes are a product of human hope, and tales about these heroes make up the third category of Eskimo stories. Heroes are vital to every society, for figures like King Arthur and Mahatma Ghandi provide their admirers with patterns for living, examples of realistic people who are just a bit stronger, a bit better, even a bit more magical than ordinary people. Inuit too are no exception; they talk about the adventures of Pootogook the King of Baffin Island, Knud Rasmussen, and John Lennon with enthusiasm and admiration. Traditional heroes, who were giant killers, bear slayers, and death defiers, abound in the oral literature, and some of them have attained epic proportions.

The best known of the epic heroes in Eskimo mythology is Kiviok. Rasmussen collected Kiviok tales from Greenland to Alaska, and Kiviok is still a popular figure today. Kiviok is a man, not a god, but he has magical powers which make him fantastically strong and clever and, most important, immortal. His adventures include marriage to a wolf-wife, escape from a carnivorous caterpillar, voluntary capture by giant bears, and a visit to the land of white men. Kiviok is no longer around, but like King Arthur he is supposed to return to the Inuit in their hour of need. One of the modern comic books produced to encourage Canadian Eskimo children to read and write has Kiviok harpooning a Soviet satellite out of the sky, so that it will not fall on the settlement of Baker Lake, a story which is soundly in the tradition of Kiviok's adventures. Rasmussen points out that most
Eskimo groups tell the various adventures of Kiviok as separate stories, but among the Netsilingmiut there are still associations between parts of the epic cycle.

The figure of the orphan Kaujjarjuk is also widely recognized as a heroic one, and in some ways Kaujjarjuk is closer to the Inuit imagination than the boastful, bragging Kiviok. Kaujjarjuk goes by a number of names, including Ahatoaq and Kavjagzuk, but his tale always begins when he is a small, orphaned boy who is being treated badly by those he is forced to live with. Kaujjarjuk hardens himself through a combination of exercise or beatings, and magic, until he is strong enough to turn on his tormentors and get his revenge. Kaujjarjuk almost always begins as a miserable, weak, disadvantaged boy and ends as a powerful, vengeful man, thereby reinforcing the idea that trials and tribulations lead to strength and victory. In a society where daily survival is something of an epic victory, Kaujjarjuk has real appeal.

One of the principal elements of the Kaujjarjuk stories is that of revenge, which is a feature of so many legends and stories that Rasmussen listed them separately as a fourth category of stories. To some extent, the murder and revenge stories are cautionary tales, as are the beast fables, but they are also historic in origin. Even a quick survey of Eskimo literature reveals that Inuit do not see themselves as the pacifistic, smiling, non-violent people they are generally depicted as being by non-Inuit; they are just as capable of behaving badly as any other group of people. In Mark Kalluak's collection of legends, *How Kabloonat Became*, ten of the stories
in the anthology concern the murder of humans by other humans with no supernatural elements involved. One generally touted theory is that Inuit have no experience at "pulling their punches"; when they strike, they strike to kill not to hurt, which is why they are generally so polite and co-operative. The theory may or may not be true, but the murder rate is very high in the north, and if the legends are any indication, it has always been high.

Murder and revenge usually involve sexual jealousy (the abduction or sharing of wives), racial difference (Indians and whites as victims or perpetrators), starvation (cannibalism or mercy killing), or just sheer bad temper. One of the stories Maurice Metayer collected explains how men first learned to kill one another:

An old couple had two sons who were always gone on a trip. One followed their father's wishes, the other followed their mother's. They wanted to see which one of them would be able to make the best smoke so they started two fires. The smoke coming up from the younger one's fire went right up to the sky while the elder's was spreading just above the ground.

The elder boy felt ashamed; he got mad at his brother and killed him. Man learned to kill man from what he did.9

It is not unlikely that this story is an adaptation of the Cain and Able story in the Bible, but it is interesting to see how easily and completely it has been absorbed into Inuit legend. Murder and revenge stories do not always end with the wicked being punished, but the stories always depict how murder disrupts the social order and is an undesirable form of behavior.

Beast fables, the fifth category of Inuit stories, tend to be of two types; stories of animal spouses and stories of how animals acquired certain physical characteristics. Stories of animal spouses
usually involve a man or sometimes a woman falling in love with a person who is actually an eider duck or a fox or some such creature in human form. After a period of happy co-habitation, the human partner insults the animal spouse in such a way that it is offended and runs away. For instance, constant comments on the fact that a duck wife eats only grass or that a fox wife stinks is sufficient insult. The animal spouse flees, taking any children of the union along, and is tracked by the human, who notices that one footprint in the snow has become a webbed or paw print. The stories are forceful reminders that minor differences between couples regarding diet or dialect or habit should be overlooked or tolerated.

Stories such as how the raven became black or why the loon weeps or how the narwhal got its tusk have two functions; they are simple entertainment on a level with riddles or counting-out rhymes, and they teach proper behavior. The raven, for example, was helping to tattoo the loon with a smudge pot and a needle; when it was the loon's turn to prick the raven, it wriggled so much that the loon finally lost patience and threw the pot at it. The raven has been black ever since. Young women who had to be tattooed in order to enhance their beauty or to ensure a happy afterlife were thus encouraged to tolerate the discomfort of the process without complaining.

Eskimo myths and legends have been frequently misinterpreted by non-Inuit who find them simplistic, pointless, violent, scatalogical, bawdy, repetitive or boring. One critic, Muriel Whitaker, is also disturbed by the fact that in her view "many of the Eskimo tales seem to embody a dubious morality for mere survival takes precedence over
all other considerations.\textsuperscript{10} Taken out of the context of Inuit-culture, Inuit stories can seem very threatening and confusing, but if they are considered as elements of an ordered cosmology, expressions of the most basic facts of human existence, they can delineate the whole of man's experience. Creation, birth, procreation, death and after-life are all explored in Inuit stories just as completely as they are in the Bible or the Chinese Book of Changes, and for Canadian readers they have the added advantage of existing within a geographical framework with which we are at least occasionally familiar. In this country, even today, survival is never "mere" survival. A child or even an adult has only to step outside the door in mid winter to be faced with life-threatening forces; children are lost while berry-picking, hikers are eaten by bears, adults freeze to death in stalled cars, skidoos break through the ice and drown, hunters blow one another's heads off with shotguns. Perhaps Sáint Sedna could fill the gap left by the vanished Saint Christopher.

Eskimo myths and legends in English, such as the ones just described, are already one step removed from authenticity, but if the translators and editors give full respect to the material and resist the temptation to impose European patterns on it, to "improve" it, it can be a genuine contribution to the body of Eskimo literature. The books Ruth Carlson identifies as the ones "which twist the rather severe Eskimo stories into those resembling the sweet animal fantasies of of the white man's tradition" have no place with Inuit legends; they might be Canadian literature but they cannot be called Canadian Eskimo literature. Fortunately, in recent years, Inuit and non-Inuit have worked to produce a great many Inuit stories which, even in English,
are true to the fundamental spirit of the old mythmakers and story
tellers, and there are monsters enough in them to fill even this huge
country. It is now possible to reject the laundered legends people
in the south have grown used to and put volumes of genuine Inuit myths
and legends into the hands of readers of all ages.

Genuine Inuit legends have been available to non Inuit readers for
a good many years, but only recently have they been easily available.
It was Franz Boas's innovative The Central Eskimo, published in 1888,
which first put Inuit legends into print in English. Boas went to
Baffin Island as a geographer in 1883 but once there he began to develop
an interest in the cultural life of the Inuit, including their songs
and stories. Boas published more than six hundred scientific books
and papers in his lifetime, and his work has often been criticized
for a lack of organization and direction, but his voracious appetite
for information and his lack of discrimination about what he published
has proved a boon to modern scholars. The Central Eskimo contains
maps, population studies, details of the material culture, Inuit
drawings and selections of Inuit music, poetry, games and legends.
Boas's book leaves readers with hundreds of questions, some of which
still have not been answered, but considering that it is the sum of
only one year's work it is a formidable document. In it we find not
only the version of the Sedna myth as Boas received it from his Inuit
informants, but also a comparison with similar myths belonging to
other tribes and the provision of a scholarly context through reference
to the works of Dr. Henry Rink, who worked in Greenland, and
Charles Francis Hall, one of the numerous men who went north in search
of the Franklin Expedition.

Diamond Jenness, in the *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition* of 1924, was acutely aware that his mandate included the collection of songs and stories and was somewhat more disciplined in his approach to that aspect of his work. Jenness was conscious of his own deficiencies as both a linguist and a literary expert so he attempted to record precisely the original Inuktitut texts in the International Phonetic Alphabet with interlinear translations. The legends he gathered were academically acceptable but were not easily available to the general public until four of them were published in *The Corn Goddess* in 1956. Only recently have Inuit gone back to the original reports and begun to reconstruct Inuktitut texts in standard Roman orthography for the benefit of modern Inuktitut speakers.

The ubiquitous Knud Rasmussen was next to appear on the scene. Rasmussen possessed Boas's insatiable curiosity, spoke Inuktitut as his mother tongue, had the discipline inflicted by university degrees in both theology and linguistics, and was blessed with the soul of a poet. Some of the English texts of the legends he collected can be found in *Across Arctic America* but more are contained in the ten volume *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*. In most cases Rasmussen, like Jenness, gives the original texts in the International Phonetic Alphabet with interlinear translations, but he also includes his own looser interpretations of the stories in the body of the report. He records not only the stories he heard, but he also tells us under what conditions he heard them and how he responds to them. Rasmussen's collected tales and his observations on the traditions have been mined again and again
by anthropologists and commentators but they are probably still the richest published source of future work in this area, rivaled only by the living, breathing story tellers who still live in the Arctic. Edward Field's *Songs and Stories of the Netsilik*, first published in 1967 as a school text, is an example of the material to be found in the *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*.

Anthropologists had been collecting, transcribing and translating Inuit myths and legends for several decades by the time Eugene Arima and Zebedee Nungak published *Eskimo Stories From Puvungnituk, Quebec*, in 1969, but this work was unique since it aimed to appeal to the general reader while retaining the authenticity of the stories. Arima, an anthropologist, and Nungâk, his translator, published their work as a National Museums of Canada Bulletin similar to Jenness's *Corn Goddess*. The stories themselves were mostly written in syllabics and were intended to explain the meaning of a number of soapstone carvings brought into the Sculptor's Society of Puvungnituk at the request of Asen Balikci. What distinguished *Eskimo Stories* from *The Corn Goddess* was that there were two editions of *Eskimo Stories* produced, one in English and Roman orthography Inuktitut, and the other in French and syllabic Inuktitut. The illustrations were not decorative additions by a commercial artist but were photographs of the carvings which had provided the original incentive for writing the stories down, and Arima's appendix, based on Rasmussen's work, provides a review of Central Eskimo mythology and illuminates the texts without being intrusive. Zebedee Nungak was, incredibly, only twelve years old when he began to work on the stories, but he has since gone on to edit a number of Eskimo
periodicals. 'Eskimo Stories has a large, attractive format and, after many reprintings, still costs only $3.50.

Perhaps it was the success of *Eskimo Stories* which encouraged a commercial publisher to risk publishing genuine Inuit legends instead of retold versions, for in 1972 Maurice Metayer's *Tales From the Igloo* appeared. Agnes Nanogak's beautiful colour plates certainly made the most of the developing public appetite for all things Inuit but mostly for Eskimo art, but it is the stories, full of skeleton wives, bear-men, magic animals and cruel mothers, ghosts and ogres, which makes *Tales From the Igloo* so palatable to readers. As Al Purdy points out in the foreword, the tales clarify the reality of the Arctic as it exists; "If you turn this book at just the right angle of vision and belief, you may catch a glimpse of that world," he says. Metayer published the original texts in French and Roman orthography in *Unipkat* the following year. Many of the stories in *Tales From the Igloo*, which were contributed by six Coppermine story tellers, are in fragmented form but as James McNeill points out, this is an accurate reflection of the nature of an oral literature that spread along five thousand miles of frozen coastline from Siberia to Greenland. For instance, Metayer includes only part of the legend of the blind boy and the loon, but the full story, published by Henry Rink in 1875 in *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, was actually a compilation of eight versions collected in Greenland and Labrador, three of which were handwritten by Eskimo authors before 1828.

The next volume of Eskimo legends to emerge was more of a grassroots product. *How Kabloonat Became and Other Inuit Legends* was
published in both English and Inuktut versions by the N.W.T. Department of Education in 1974, but the collector, editor and translator was Mark Kalluak who published many of the stories in his paper, the *Keewatin Echo*, as they were completed. The stories in *How Kabloonat Became* are not presented as the work of a collective, but each contributor has his or her name, photograph and history attached to specific stories. Kalluak's illustrations are not as colourful or as sophisticated as Agnes Nanogak's, but they give unity and charm to the book; his monstrous Mahaha, who tickles people to death, has smiling jaws which are anything but gentle.

Other collections of old Inuit stories have been produced by both government agencies and commercial publishers. Two volumes by Paulusi Sivuak were published in 1973 by the Commission Scholaire, and two more in 1974, and in 1975 Edward Field produced another volume, *Eskimo Songs and Stories*, from Rasmussen's work. In 1977, Leonie Kappi edited *Inuit Legends* from Father Metayer's collection. Alex Spalding's *Eight Inuit Myths*, which gives a roughly morphemic translation as well as a literary translation into English, was published as part of the National Museum of Man's Mercury Series. Some of these books are lavish, hardcover trade books with full colour illustrations, and some are spartan efforts aimed at the true devotee, but taken together they constitute a considerable body of work.

Added to these collections of Inuit myths and legends are many other old stories which can be found in autobiographical works such as Tagoona's *Shadows* and *Stories From Pangnirtung*, which is illustrated by Germaine Arnaktauyuk. The kind of stories told in the context of reminiscences tend to be legends, which have some basis in fact, rather
than myths, and often the storyteller will describe the conditions or situation in which the legends were told to them. Perhaps while hunting or travelling as a child, they passed some kind of a marker, an inukshuk or the remains of a Dorset camp, and an older member of the group recalled a murder or migration connected with the area. The legend of Taqaliktaq, who for a full season was stranded on a rocky island where he constructed his own grave and climbed into it to die, only to reconsider and emerge again, appears in a number of works. James Houston's Tikta'liktaq is a retelling of the legend, but it can be found elsewhere, including the Arctic Reading Series Eskimo Legends and, in photographic re-enactment, in Peter Pitseolak's People From Our Side. Myths, which are more anonymous and provide a cosmic view of life rather than an historic one, are more likely to be found in connection with drawings or prints, written out as an integral part of the work by artists such as Tivi Etook, or recorded and translated later for inclusion in art catalogues.

Both myths and legends also appear regularly in the pages of Inuit periodicals. Until recently, very few Eskimo magazines or newspapers were strictly defined as to content and the legends Mark Kalluak published in the Keewatin Echo were printed alongside hard news without any distinction between the two types of stories. The legend of the shaman who flew to the moon was likely to be given exactly the same treatment as a report of the American astronauts' first moon landing. Current publications generally provide a heading, usually "Eskimo Legend", to warn unsuspecting subscribers that what they are about to read is not a hot news item, a move which illustrates the
gradual erosion of belief in the old tradition.

Regardless of how much the old traditions have been eroded, Eskimo stories from the oral tradition still have a valid function. They explain the world views of Inuit who, though they may have forgotten the legends themselves, still react to everyday situations according to the values embodied by those old beliefs. Inuit land claims are now being negotiated and drawn up in ways consistent with the ancient conviction that no individual can own land or animals, and Inuit housing associations, general stores and printing shops operate successfully because, as the cautionary tales warn, people must help one another in order to survive. A thorough knowledge of Inuit mythology would almost certainly have prevented some of the more gross governmental mistakes of the contact era, and eased the Inuit transition into modern life. There is still a lot to be learned from an examination of Inuit mythology.

Eskimo stories are also important in that they embody ancestral history and tell us not only how the sun and moon were created, but also about the Tunuit people of the Dorset culture who died out about the time Erik the Red landed in North America. From the stories we learn why the people of the Arctic Bay area migrated to Greenland, how the people now in Cape Dorset came over from Arctic Quebec in the nineteenth century, and of the massacre of the Inuit at the mouth of the Coppermine River by Matonabbee’s Indians in 1771. Eskimo stories also contain the history of European exploration, including how the men of the Franklin Expedition resorted to cannibalism as they died. Keith Crowe points out that when Oksioksinik spoke to the American
explorer C.F. Hall in 1860, her account of Frobisher's landing 300 years earlier was so accurate that Hall was able to go to Frobisher Bay and find the remains of Frobisher's house.\[14\]

Finally, Eskimo myths and legends from the oral tradition entertain as well as instruct. When the story of Sedna is being told, non-Inuit adults flinch just as Inuit adults or children of any culture do when the teller describes how her father's knife came down THWACK! to chop off her fingers. The beast wives are as eerily erotic as any snake in Eden, the incestuous sister's shame sends post-Freudian twitches up every back, and the revenging Kaajjarjuk is an Everyman who is often easier to identify with than Christian. The stories, properly translated and presented, hold tremendous fascination for people of all cultures, and as reliable collections become available, Eskimo mythology becomes a rich addition to the Canadian literary scene.
Notes


12. Maurice Metayer, ed., Tales From the Igloo (Edmonton: Hurtig


Chapter VII
Prose In The Written Tradition

The old Eskimo prose entertained people, recorded history and communicated values that had developed within the Inuit culture; the new prose has a very similar function, although the history it is recording is that of a struggle with an invading, dominant culture, and the values it is communicating are often confused and nebulous. Slowly, however, the patterns of form and content of Inuit prose in the written tradition are beginning to emerge, and as with the new tradition in poetry it is possible to find connections with the old literature as well as interesting changes and developments that mark a new era in Inuit history.

Eskimo prose, unlike Eskimo poetry, has received virtually no critical attention in Canada or Alaska. Poetry had a function in traditional Inuit society, and for that reason alone it attracts the interest of non-Inuit, but Inuit prose seems to have an equally important function in today's society. It is often assumed that the younger generation of Inuit write prose because they are incapable of attaining the poetic heights reached by their fathers, but the possibility must be considered that prose is more suitable for dealing with the immediate requirements of both writers and readers of the modern era. Satellite communication means that there is no longer
any need to fill the long northern nights with spontaneous song and
dance, nor are song duels any longer acceptable, as a form of judicial
inquiry, but the Anik satellites have also put Eskimos into contact
with three billion other people and grossly amplified the difficulties
of communication.1

The problems Inuit have in relating to non-Inuit are different, if
not more complex, than those they have in relating to one another.
A person with a problem frequently must appeal to the government, or
to the twenty four million people of Canada, as was the case in the
Mackenzie Valley pipeline hearings. A hunter may sit on a hill and
sing to his companions of his grief over the lack of caribou, but
Panarctic and Polar Gas are not going to hear. The nature of the
subject matter and the character of the reader must often dictate the
character of the language and the mode used in literature, and
poetry is ineffective in such a situation, though it is to be hoped
that if the hunter’s companions can hear him over the roar of the
skidoos and the crackle of the trail radios, they will have sufficient
sensitivity to appreciate his efforts.

The best mode of expression is that which fulfills the purpose of
the author, and prose is more likely to solve the Eskimos’ problems
today than poetry is. H.J. Chaytor, writing about the movement from
poetry to prose in Medieval literature, explained it as follows:

Prose allowed a writer to give attention to the subject in
hand without the distraction of hunting for rhymes and other
forms of decoration or padding. Prose became distinguished
as dealing with matters of fact and not fancy; it was a
scientific medium. Therefore, to tell a story in prose was
to invest it with an air of realism which verse dissipated
in the first few couplets; it became clear that a family
The Eskimo language is notoriously difficult to master and the language of poetry is subtle and complex. If Inuit are inclined to use prose to simplify their ideas for communication to non-Inuit, non-Inuit are also more capable of understanding Eskimo prose than Eskimo poetry. Prose is less difficult to translate and to understand and is a more trustworthy way to enter into the Inuit state of mind. As an instrument of instruction, prose would appear to be satisfactory both to writer and reader, but ultimately the work must stand on its own merits, not on the merits of its social accomplishment. Here, too, Eskimo prose shows its strength. The work, particularly that which has appeared in the last ten years, is good and deserves attention.

Eskimo prose is not so well refined as that of the Anglo-Saxons, for instance, probably because the Inuit are being forced to adapt to the south at a much faster rate than the culture is adequately able to cope with; yet there is still a considerable amount of value to Inuit and non-Inuit in the work being produced by Eskimo writers today. Alfred B. Lord points out that "when a tradition or an individual goes from oral to written, he, or it, goes from an adult, mature style of one kind to a faltering and embryonic style of another sort." It is therefore unrealistic to expect Eskimo novels and biographies, which have had perhaps thirty years to develop, to come up to the standard of the legendary Eskimo song duels which developed over thousands of years. The structure, style, language, not to mention the grammar, are frequently very rough, sometimes even incomprehensible,
and yet Markoosie, Peter Pitseolak, Nuliqak, and others often display a tremendous control and understanding of their craft. No apology need be made for their work, yet it would be a pity to examine only the best of Eskimo prose here. It is still in a state of primary development and is best understood and appreciated in the context in which it exists. Canadians have the unparalleled opportunity to watch a culture change and develop before their eyes. It is not the degeneration and disintegration of a culture but the adaptation of one to that of another. The virtually instantaneous progression from a tradition of oral poetry of a very high order to that of written prose is one of the most exciting things happening in Canada's north today and must be of interest to everyone concerned with a national literature, or literature as a whole.

Inuit prose is obviously greatly influenced by European literature but Inuit writers do not always feel bound by the literary forms they are borrowing. The prose is often loosely structured and the forms tend to blend together; essays turn into stories, memoirs turn into sermons, legends are introduced apparently at random into all the genres, and it is possible to divide Inuit literature up into classifications familiar to non-Inuit only if it is remembered that the divisions are not rigid. Four basic categories serve to contain contemporary Inuit prose: 1) modern stories, 2) memoirs or reminiscences, 3) history of the material culture, and 4) articles and essays on contemporary life, and it is in terms of these classifications that the contemporary prose will be examined. Because there has been no critical appraisal whatsoever of the material, this chapter will
primarily attempt to identify the major works and to describe the varieties of prose which seem to be emerging.

The modern stories, the first category of contemporary prose to be considered, have obvious links to the traditional stories already discussed in this thesis, but there is a major difference between the old people working in the oral tradition and the usually young writers who have emerged in recent years; the contemporary authors and storytellers are aware that what they are writing or saying is deliberately fiction. The authors of modern Inuit stories are usually quite aware of the influence of European literature on their stories, and even when the subject matter is traditional, they do not insist that the stories they tell are true. Minnie Aodla (Freeman), in the introduction to her story "The Ceremony", draws attention to the distinction between "true" myths and fictional stories. She writes: "Some of my ancestors were very good story tellers and some of my people are too today and in memory of them I invented this short story which is part true and part fiction." The "true" part of the story consists of the details of Inuit camp life and the magic ceremony followed by the Inuit to coax musk ox back to the region while the "fiction" part involves the plot, in which two white game management officers arrive to announce a fifty year ban on musk-ox hunting. Similarly, in Charlie Patsauq's story "The Custom", in which two young men help their ailing father to commit suicide, the setting and detail is that of traditional legend, but the plot is structured along the lines of a European narrative.

Only two modern young Inuit writers have produced more than just
an occasional short story; Markoose and Aloötook Ipella. Markoose's first work was Harpoon of the Hunter, the first novel by a Canadian Eskimo. Harpoon of the Hunter received considerable attention, first as a "novelty" publication, but later for its own merit. It has been published in French, Danish, German, Ukrainian and a dozen other languages and is certainly the most highly visible modern work of Inuit literature to date. Markoose, a commercial pilot who was then flying out of Resolute, began the novel in 1967 after reading the Inuktitut Autobiography of John Ayaruag and the work was first published in installments in Eskimo in Inuktitut magazine. In 1970, McGill-Queen's University Press brought out an English translation.

The plot of Harpoon of the Hunter is fairly simple: Kamik, the sixteen year old hero, is the only survivor of an ill-fated bear-hunting party. After many trials, he gets back to his own camp, but since most of the men are dead, the people decide to join another group of Eskimos at a larger settlement. While crossing an open channel at sea, Kamik's mother and bride are drowned, and in despair the boy commits suicide with his harpoon. The details of the bear hunt and the disaster on the sea ice were taken by Markoose from an old legend, but the romantic love interest was his own addition and is a decidedly European element in the plot. Markoose deviates from the usual boy-gets-girl happy ending of similar non-Inuit adventure stories, however, by killing off almost all his major characters, a rather unexpected Eskimo twist which was appreciated by most reviewers.

The novel was generally well received by critics, but one reviewer in the Queen's Quarterly resented the distortion of the folk element
that the love interest represented and wrote "one would not expect an Eskimo writer to fall into the trap of imputing to his characters ideals or reactions which are essentially foreign to the Eskimo way of life." Fred Breummer, in the Canadian Geographical Journal, writes "it is a stark, violent tale, well told. With its theme of inexorable fate it shares the spirit of classic Greek tragedy." But Breummer takes exception to some of Markoose's detail of camp life and points out, quite correctly, that musk oxen do not roam the land "living on whatever they can kill", but are fairly mild herbivores, and also that it is impossible to repeatedly strike a polar bear with a harpoon because the weapon had a detachable head. Both of these criticisms underline the fact that even though the setting of the novel is traditional, the author is not a product of a traditional upbringing. Markoose attended a modern high school in Yellowknife, which is well below the treeline, and probably never saw a musk ox in his life except from the air. The fact that a traditional Inuit hunter would not hunt bears with a harpoon, or fall in love with a pretty young girl, are inaccuracies which may disturb the really well informed reader, but most non-Inuit and many Inuit would not notice such mistakes. Harpoon of the Hunter is a fast-paced story told in relatively simple language with a surprise ending, and as such it has earned its reputation as a fine book.

In the year after the publication of Harpoon of the Hunter, Markoose published a series of six short stories in North magazine under the collective title "Strange Happenings." The six stories all have traditional settings and, like most Inuit legends, they are
presented in the context of having been told to the author in response to inquiries about the old days. Although the stories all have very strong plot structures, it would be tempting to simply consider them as legends were it not for the inclusion of a story called "A Friend From Nowhere." Yacka, the hero of "A Friend From Nowhere," has materialized out on the tundra from another dimension. Like Maaluk in "Man With The Speed Of A Caribou," Yacka can run like the wind and he has other magical powers as well. However, these powers are not shamanistic but interstellar. "A Friend From Nowhere" was recently included in a collection of Canadian science fiction by John Robert Colombo, and science fiction is certainly what it is.

Markoosie's second novel, Wings Of Mercy, appeared in five installments, in English only, in Inuktitut magazine in 1972, and was never published as a book. Wings of Mercy, unlike Harpoon of the Hunter, draws heavily on Markoosie's experience as a commercial pilot and concerns an attempt by an oil company pilot and a group of Inuit kayakers to save the life of an Eskimo boy who has been shot in a hunting accident. The story is one which stresses the need for co-operation between Inuit and non-Inuit and the rescue is accomplished through the use of both traditional skills and high technology. The theme of co-operation between the two cultures is stressed even in the names of the characters; the boy's father is Mannik and the pilot is called Norris Mann.

Alootook Ipellie, like Markoosie, espouses the idea that the old life of co-operation and survival has a valid place in the north today. Ipellie's poems are often set in traditional times but his
stories and cartoons generally derive a lot of their impact from the paradoxical co-existence of old and new values. In "Lucialuk Makes it Happen," a story about the difficulty of choosing a new leader after the sudden death of a group of men in a hunting accident, the plot takes a less-than traditional turn when the people choose Lucialuk in celebration of her outstanding ability, and in order to mark International Women's Year. In "Piuansrqti's Morning Makeup," Piuunny discovers makeup and then discovers herself underneath it after wrestling with the problem of applying frozen mascara in an igloo. "Damn Those Invaders" is a fantasy about Inuksiaq and his caribou friend, who tackle the problem of controlling the increasing number of geologists on Jeesusi Island. In "Miami Beach Here We Come," the possibility of the polar ice cap melting is explored when Nanook and his family decide to leave Grise Fiord during a heat wave for a month in beautiful, snow-covered Miami Beach.

The more serious aspects of life in the north today are also dealt with in Ipellie's stories. One of the simplest and most effective is "Nipikti the Old Man Carver." This is a gentle and amusing story about an old carver who is bringing his work to the Co-op to be sold. We see through the old man's eyes the inevitable destruction of all he knows and loves, symbolized by the rocks on which he rests during his walk to the Co-op. Nipikti's attitude of healthy regret for the past, his ultimate belief in the future, and his appreciation of the small joys of life, grow out of his self-confidence and his recognition of his own merit as an artist and a craftsman. The setting is a modern settlement, the structure of the story is that of a quest, but
the values espoused are those of Inuit in days gone by.

Ippellie's longest piece of fiction, The Writings of Akavak, which was published in Inuit Today, functions as a vehicle for his poems but has such a strong prose-fiction structure that it must be looked at as a story. The work is almost episodic but the double framing device and the narrative links make it function as a single unit. The outermost frame is the introduction and conclusion which tell us that the work is purely fictional but draws on real life, and the primary frame is that of a young man who finds a manuscript written by his deceased grandfather. The narrative links, which consist of reminiscences and comments about the manuscript, tie together the various passages of prose and poetry, which comprise the main body of the work. These narrative techniques and framing devices bind together all the "manuscript" passages and the two voices, grandfather and grandson, give a plausible unity to the author's vision of an integration of traditional and modern values.

It is still too early to tell what direction Inuit storytelling will take in the future, but there are indications that Alootook Ippellie's rather surreal approach to modern Inuit life has the potential to influence future writers. Traditional-style stories, such as those written by Markoosie, Minnie Freeman and others, tend to be more popular with non-Inuit at the moment, but these authors, in attempting to approach the "truth" of traditional life, have to some extent lost sight of the symbolic truth of the old myths in their efforts to present factually plausible settings. When Markoosie's hero uses a harpoon incorrectly or falls in love, the entire characterization is
at least threatened. Ippie's characters are rarely intended to be realistic yet they embody the spirit of Inummat, the true Eskimo. Ippie's Inuit use slang, play hockey, wear caribou clothing in Miami, and love bubble gum; their igloos all have television aerials, and they take along their video games when they go fishing, but they are unarguably the descendants of the people the old storytellers used to talk about.

The second category of contemporary Inuit prose to consider, reminiscences, memoirs, autobiographies and recollections, is to some extent an artificial tradition in that a great many of the works to be examined were produced at the request of outside agencies. In the oral tradition; it was not unusual for individuals to personalize experiences which were interesting or useful to society as a whole, so one is forced to wonder occasionally how much fiction has made its way into these non-fictional works. Nonetheless, Inuit memoirs provide readers with some very intimate glimpses of life in the Arctic. There are more Canadian Eskimo autobiographies in print than there are books of Inuit legends, and they cover the range of young and old, male and female authors from all parts of the north.

The autobiography is one of the first forms of written literature to emerge in newly literate societies, probably because the easiest subject for a new writer to attempt is that which he knows best: himself. Among the Inuit, there has also been a great deal of encouragement from outside for writers to attempt autobiographies and memoirs. Most older Inuit received the little formal education they got from missionaries who were anxious that their parishioners be able to read
and study the Bible, and one of the tasks these teachers most frequently set their students was to write out their life stories. The keeping of diaries was also encouraged and missionaries often provided notebooks for that purpose. Government agencies concerned with improving communication between the two cultures, anthropologists anxious to gather material about fast-fading traditions, and art collectors hungry for background information, have all displayed an insatiable appetite for Eskimo reminiscences and a surprising number of the memoirs have found their way into print.

The earliest diary we know of is that written by a Labrador Inuk, Abraham, in 1880, but the first to be published was Lydia Campbell's Sketches of Labrador Life, first printed in the St. John's, Newfoundland, Evening Telegram in 1894. Mrs. Campbell, a "Livyere", or Labrador setter of mixed blood, was given an exercise book by the Rev. Arthur C. Waghorne when she was seventy-five years old. Rev. Waghorne begged her to write some account of Labrador life and ways, and on Christmas day, 1893, after walking four miles through waist-high snow drifts to check her rabbit snares, in thirty below zero weather, the old woman sat down to comply with his request. She recorded how she killed her first deer when she was a young woman, and notes that no other people live near her and her husband but her only surviving child and his motherless children: "none near us but them and our dear children's graves. We can see their headstones at a distance over on the cranberry banks, so pretty it looks in the fall when we come home from our summer quarters." In later entries, Mrs. Campbell recalls her "silliness" in her younger years, and the "Eskimaux's notion about
the flood, handed down from generation to generation."

Another Labrador woman of mixed blood produced the first full length autobiography, Land of the Good Shadows: The Life Story of Anauta an Eskimo Woman, written in 1940 by Lizzie Ford Blackmore of Ford Harbour, and Heloise Chandler Washburne, an American woman she met in the United States. Anauta seemed to have a penchant for wandering and after travelling all along the Arctic coast and the Southern Shore of Newfoundland with various husbands, she moved to the States where she made her living as a professional Eskimo lecturer, dressing in caribou clothing and giving inspiring talks to church groups about how Jesus had entered her savage heart and saved her. Two more books followed, Wild Like the Foxes and Children of the Blizzard; and although it is impossible to tell just how much of them Anauta actually wrote, there are copies of letters, Inuktitut word lists and descriptions of traditional Inuit games included which almost certainly originated with wandering Lizzie.

Lydia Campbell's Eskimo mother, who may have been related to Lizzie Ford's Inuit antecedents, had another daughter, Hannah. Hannah's great-grandaughter was also called Elizabeth and in 1963, armed with pencils, school scribblers and a grade four education, Elizabeth Goudie added the record of her lifetime of experiences to the history of that region. The autobiography circulated in manuscript form and my own mother, upon returning from a trip to Happy Valley, told me about reading this marvellous document at Mrs. Goudie's kitchen table one evening. In 1973, an anthropologist, David Zimmerly, had the work published under the title Woman of Labrador.
Farther west, over in the Northwest Territories, other autobiographies were beginning to appear. In 1960, a little book called Nicotye and Her Family was produced as a schoolbook at Cape Dorset. The text was written by Nicotye Jamassee, a fourteen year old girl who had just moved in off the land with her family. Equally obscure was "The Autobiography of a Pelly Bay Eskimo" by Bernard Iruquaqtuq, written in 1961 and 1962 and available only in a Flemish translation until it was printed in English in three parts by the editor of Eskimo, a mission magazine, in 1977 and 1978. Maurice Metayer's translation of Bob Cockney's autobiography, I, Nuligak, which was written in 1956 and published ten years later, received considerably more attention, however. Nuligak grew up in the Western Arctic, so he wrote Inuktitut using the Roman orthography and was able to use an ordinary typewriter to write his memoirs while recovering from an illness. Reviewers were quick to note the inherent drama and tragedy in the story, the lack of sentimentality, and the thread of conceit and vanity that give the work an authenticity lacking in so many fictional accounts of Inuit life. The structure of the work, which appears initially to be rather loose or fragmented, follows the regular patterns of seasons and years and imposes a characteristically Inuit flavour on the book.

I, Nuligak, the first full length autobiography by a full-blooded Canadian Eskimo, was fortunately translated and edited by a most painstaking scholar of Eskimo literature. Father Metayer, who was responsible for the collection, translation and publication of Tales From the Igloo and Inuit Legends, went to considerable trouble to
preserve the authenticity of 'Nuligak's work; he deleted repetitious accounts of fishing and hunting expeditions but he rarely altered the order of the sentences and used footnotes rather than additions to the text to clarify obscurities in the manuscript. The four appendices to the book include additional information from the author not initially included in the manuscript, a glossary of Inuit terms, and a word for word translation of the final page of the Eskimo text which illustrates the changes that occur in the process of translation. This erudite approach to editing did not prevent 'Nuligak from becoming a popular paperback book which is still available in train stations and airports.

The next allegedly Eskimo autobiography appeared in 1968; The Story of Comock the Eskimo, as told to Robert Flaherty and edited by Edmund Carpenter, lacks the authenticity and appeal of 'Nuligak but still holds a certain interest because of the reknown of the subject. The text of the book, which is in the first person, came not from an original manuscript but from a broadcast made by Flaherty over the BBC in 1949. Carpenter's notes give more information about the identity and history of Comock and the work is illustrated with some delightful drawings by Enooesweetok, including one which shows Flaherty in the process of filming Nanook of the North, but Flaherty's translation, if in fact that is what it is, is overly romantic and contrived. One passage, picked out by a reviewer as being particularly nauseating, amply illustrates the trap Flaherty fell into:

The nights of these days were the nights of the Big Lights, and these Big Lights were the red of pale meat and like the warm coat of the bear and like the weed of the sea. And sometimes the Big Lights were so strong the moon was the green of clear ice, and all the snow on the land was the green of clear ice.
Comock and his people, who spent two years trapped on Mansell Island, are famous in the north, so despite its purple prose, *The Story of Comock the Eskimo* is an interesting one.

The year after Comock appeared, a truly genuine Inuit work was published; *The Autobiography of John Ayaruaq* was the first non-religious book of a creative nature to be published only in Eskimo syllabics. Although the work is not yet available in English, extracts have been translated for publication in a number of magazines. Ayaruaq, who grew up on the west coast of Hudson's Bay and later settled in Rankin Inlet, begins his book with an account of a boating tragedy he was involved in when he was three years old. Five people were killed and five others injured when they were crushed by moving ice, and Ayaruaq's account of his father's grief is genuinely moving.

*Pitseolak: Pictures Out Of My Life*, which appeared in 1971, was the first of the Eskimo oral biographies. Edited from tape recorded interviews with the artist Pitseolak Ashoona by Dorothy Eber, *Pitseolak* was one of the first bilingually published Inuit books. Lavishly illustrated with both colour and black and white reproductions of the artist's work, the oral biography, or autobiography, created quite a stir in Cape Dorset when it went on sale at the Hudson's Bay Company post. Literary jealousy quickly reared its uncomely head and when the editor returned to the settlement to interview other elderly Dorset people, residents were quick to tell her that Pitseolak had exaggerated her age and had lied about catching a goose. More revelations followed, according to the editor:
Not only had Pitseolak added several years to her age; she was also guilty of unseemly boasting about her lifestyle in the old days. "Pitseolak's husband never was rich--he never had eight dogs." "Pitseolak's husband's igloos--you couldn't even get into her husband's igloos." And there were remarks with a nasty personal ring: "The standards of housekeeping in that family were never very high."

The matter of the goose was certainly a sore point. The widow Echaluk, reportedly once a hunter with her own team, was a person who had to be taken seriously. "If Pitseolak ever caught a goose," she declared, "it was a very small goose." Etidlji and his son Udjualiak--who sometimes came with me on interviews to interpret--went out on the tundra and tried to catch a goose in the way Pitseolak described. They reported they couldn't run fast enough to catch a goose free on the grass. You had to have stone pens. Obviously, Pitseolak didn't really know what she was talking about. She had been too young to really know about the old ways. "She should have said she didn't know about these things when she was questioned," one critic informed me.10

The great goose controversy left Pitseolak unconcerned; in fact, she amended, she had caught not one, but two geese. Nor did the critical reaction deter other Cape Dorset residents from contributing to further oral biographies, though it may have served to keep them honest in their reminiscences.

One of the most vocal critics of Pitseolak was another artist of the same name. Peter Pitseolak, a former camp boss who was generally regarded as the region's official scribe, warned Mrs. Eber, "Don't believe everything some other Pitseolak tells you."11 Peter Pitseolak was an accomplished photographer who for years had kept neat syllabic notes on births, deaths and important happenings in the camps of Seekooseolak. According to Mrs. Eber, he considered it a failing that his people had become literate only at the turn of the century; "We were stupid; we should have thought of writing on sealskins!"12

To set the record straight, Peter Pitseolak sat down and wrote his
own account of his life in the Cape Dorset region. Eber had the manuscript translated and then when back to Cape Dorset to interpolate the written material with oral biography, the result of which was People From Our Side, published in 1975. In time, Peter Pitseolak was subjected to the kind of criticism Pitseolak Ashoona had been forced to contend with:

Eleeshushee, Peter Pitseolak's half-sister, into her eighties and perhaps ten years his senior, was gravely suspicious of the stories her younger brother was passing along and also felt the method by which Peter Pitseolak had obtained some of his material confirmed a blot on his character. "He was always a lazy boy," she remarked. "He was always in bed. When the adults were talking on the sleeping platform in the igloo he would sit there. Though he might appear not to be listening, he was listening all the time." 13

The widow Echaluk, the first one to say that Pitseolak Ashoona had never caught a goose, came to see the editor to pass judgement on this new work: "Peter Pitseolak does not remember as much as he thinks he does," she remarked darkly. 14

Nevertheless, People From Our Side received a tremendous reception in the south. Eber had very wisely distinguished between the original manuscript and the material added later from tape recordings through the use of italics. The addition of a partial family tree, a list of principal characters, and a map of the Hudson's Strait showing Inuit place names, enabled non-Inuit to follow the complex relationships discussed in the book. People From Our Side is, more than any other Inuit book perhaps, a history of the contact years when Inuit and non-Inuit first began to try and hammer out a working association in the north. One of the earliest Cape Dorset works of art is reproduced here, a portrait of Lord Tweedmuir hitching up his dog.
sled, and there is a photograph of one of the first plastic igloos introduced to the area, a comfortable shelter which tragically proved to be a fire trap.

The inclusion in the book of the stunningly evocative photographs of Peter Pitseolak's life and family eventually led to a one-man exhibit at the McCord Museum, but it is the text which makes the book not just a curiosity but a real work of literature. The incidents Pitseolak discusses are ones concerned with northern history; he gives a vivid account of a local outbreak of the religious phenomenon known as Polar Basin madness or Arctic hysteria, tells what really led to the sinking of the Nascopie, and admits that the reason he and James Houston never worked together was because "Sowmik" threatened to have him sent to jail for bigamy if he took a second wife. Pitseolak's account of Comack's stay on Mansell Island complements Flaherty's account and his version of the incidents which are central to James Houston's The White Dawn put a very different slant on the story. Reverend Peck, who adapted syllabics for use with Inuktitut, Robert Flaherty the filmmaker, and "Johnannasie Buchan," known as Lord Tweedsmuir, the author of Hudson's Bay Trader, all make their appearance in People From Our Side. Local dignitaries such as Parr, Kenojuak and Pootoogook, the "Eskimo King," are also given due attention.

Just as important as the subject matter of People From Our Side is the style in which it is written. There are three main sections in the book, "Before I was born," "My early life," and "Modern times," and there is a strong narrative thread tying them together. Obviously Mrs. Eber was responsible for a certain amount of the structure where
she inserted material, but aside from the elimination of some paragraphs which were repetitive, no part of the manuscript was altered. It documents, through intensely personal stories and memoirs, how things used to be and how, over one lifetime, change came to Baffin Island. Pitseolak's photographs of Keatuk acting out the story of Taqaliktaq show as good a grasp of the structure of the elements of a melodrama as that which James Houston displays in his version of the story, and the analysis of "The first religious time" which can be found later in this thesis confirms that Pitseolak was a writer who was in full and deliberate control of his material.

The Reverend Armand Tagoona's Shadows, which first appeared in 1975, is not strictly speaking an autobiography the way I, Nuligak is, yet it is hard to call it anything else. The work was written at the request of various southern art enthusiasts who wanted more information on the drawings included in Tagoona's first exhibit. Tagoona's response was to write that "I will go back now in my mind and try to remember my beginnings as an artist." Tagoona had already written a series of reminiscences entitled "My Life" in the Keewatin Echo in 1970 and 1971 in which he recalled such childhood highjinks as cooking dog anag into buns for a greedy friend, but these memoirs were different. Shadows is partly devoted to a chronological account of the author's life, but through the commentary on the drawings, which includes some fairly lengthy stories, we are also made aware of the spiritual growth of the artist through an investigation of myth and vision.

A mixture of factual autobiography and cultural history is also evident in Stories From Pangnirtung which came out the following
Stories from Pangnirtung originated as a series of little booklets with titles such as Story by Josephine Sakoqapik and Story by Markoosie Pitsulak, which became units entitled "The years I Started Remembering" and "How We Hunted Whales" when they were collected under one cover. Eleven of these memoirs were recorded, transcribed, translated and printed with funding from a Local Initiative Grant, for presentation to Stuart Hodgson, then Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. Some of the sections include traditional stories, but most are recollections of early life in the hunting camps of Baffin. At about the same time, adult education officer Dave Webster was making a collection of four autobiographies by residents of Baker Lake. In 1975 Germaine Arnaktauyok brought the life histories back to Baker Lake along with the drawings she had made of the stories, and obtained permission to publish the work. Only one of the four, Louis Tapatit, had published before, so Northern People, which came out in a bilingual edition two years later, was a considerable addition to Eskimo autobiography.

If Shadows is the Pilgrim's Progress of the Arctic Christian Fellowship, then Thrasher: Skid Row Eskimo is the Rake's Progress of that same generation. Written by Tony Thrasher while he was serving a jail sentence for killing a man in a Calgary bar, Thrasher is a horrifying portrait of a product of cultural disturbance. The author recalls drunken sprees with obvious relish, makes some dreadfully racist remarks about blacks and Indians, and shows little inclination to take responsibility for his anti-social behavior. The most appalling thing about the book is that you come away from it with a
certain reluctant affection for the man. The original manuscript for Thrasher, over 120,000 words long, was written at the request of Tony Thrasher's lawyer who had the material typed and turned over to several journalists who edited it down. Deagle and Metrick explained that their role "was to collate what was essentially a loose-leaf diary into narrative form, authenticate that narrative as thoroughly as possible, and expand it."16 Thrasher was expanded just as People From Our Side was, through the inclusion of tape recorded material, but no distinction is made between material from manuscript and tape recording in the book itself.

The author's recollections of life in a Roman Catholic boarding school in Aklavik are lively and amusing, and his account of the prison riots of the 1960's in Prince Albert Penitentiary is particularly vivid. For the reader who knows the north, however, the really poignant moments come in the passages where Thrasher is not really trying to amuse or impress; in recalling a journey made with his father when he was fourteen, Thrasher tells how they stayed overnight with the Cackneys: "The Cackney's were a family from Tuktoyuktuk who had moved to the Mackenzie Delta to trap. The night we got to Bob's we had an Eskimo dance. I didn't know how to dance but I got up on the floor with my friend, Andy, who was a year older than me."17 The picture evoked of these two hard-bitten young Eskimos taking part in a traditional drum dance under the patrician eye of "Bob Cackney", otherwise known as Nuligak, is charged with irony. How very different things might have been. Thrasher: Skid Row Eskimo was used as evidence of reformation and helped obtain Thrasher's release from prison, but
he has since returned to jail, charged with raping and beating a woman in Edmonton shortly after his release.

Alice French, who is about the same age as Tony Thrasher, also attended school in Aklavik, but being Anglican, she lived in the All Saints Residence. My Name is Masak, which was published the year after Thrasher, is Alice French's book about growing up on the Mackenzie Delta. It covers a great deal of the same material found in the first pages of Thrasher but, despite her years in the Anglican residence, Masak was very much under the influence of her grandmother, who insisted she learn traditional Inuit skills, so the flavour is very different. Masak's autobiography takes us only up to her fourteenth year when she left school; the book ends "it was sad to say goodbye to my friends but at the same time I felt a great sense of relief, like a prisoner whose sentence was finally over. When the door closed behind me and my father, I felt like a bird flying home to the vast open tundra." It is a lovely, lyrical memoir of childhood, but one can not help wishing that Mrs. French had gone on to give some account of her later life as the wife of an R.C.M.P. officer.

Minnie Aedia Freeman's Life Among the Qallunaat, which came out in 1978, is another autobiography which ends just as the author is reaching maturity. According to Mrs. Freeman, Inuit women are taught that it is unseemly to boast or draw attention to themselves as adults, although to recall the "learning years" is quite alright; only when her generation of literate women grow old will they feel they have the right to discuss their adult experiences honestly. This is not to suggest that Life Among the Qallunaat is not an honest book; it is in
many ways a ruthless indictment of white culture, but like Masak it limits its mandate. In a sense, there is more evocation of the feelings of the anger, bitterness and isolation experienced by young Inuit in Freeman's one-act play *Survival in the South* than there is in the full-length play.

*Survival in the South* was first written and produced for the Dominion Drama Festival in 1971 and then staged at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa in 1972. The play is in some ways a fictional treatment of the author's life, but it is also an autobiography. The part of the narrator was originally read by the author, and the young protagonist is called Minnie Aodla. In the prelude, the narrator tells us that she was brought up to listen and obey her elders, and "not to give advice until I have reached that stage where I am considered to have gained wisdom." Perhaps when Alice French and Annie Freeman reach the ages of Lydia Campbell and Elizabeth Goudie, we will be able to read the rest of their stories.

An enormous number of autobiographical essays and extracts from diaries have been published in Inuit periodicals and in magazines about the north. Many of these are just fragments, short letters or articles only a few hundred words long, but some are fairly extensive. Someone Anagolik's "Only Yesterday" was printed in three installments in *Inuktut* in 1975, and "My Writings" by Erik Amoee constitutes almost the entire winter issue of the same magazine in 1977. Isa Smiler's "Inukjuak" in the summer of 1977 issue runs to more than fifty pages. Two books, Paillayat's *The Northerners* and Cowan's *We Don't Live In Snow Houses* now contain a number of autobiographic pieces, and many...
Inuit art catalogues now include oral biographies by the artists. Extracts from diaries, such as Eepilk's "A Spring Seal Hunt," are also appearing regularly. In fact, short autobiographical pieces by Inuit authors number in the hundreds and constitute a relatively large part of Canadian Eskimo literature.

There are two major characteristics which distinguish Inuit autobiography. First of all, reminiscences often contain traditional stories. These old stories have considerable status and were formerly treasured as primary repositories of entertainment, cultural history and religious instruction. Older authors particularly seem to be confident of the welcome these stories will receive and use them as a means of assuring a favourable reception to their own life stories.

The introduction of these legends and myths often seems abrupt and haphazard, as if the author suddenly felt that he needed to justify demanding the reader's continued attention, but often the stories illustrate some subtle points about Inuit cultural attitudes that the writer is concerned about. There is a tradition of apparent modesty among Inuit, and it is not unlikely that the introduction of impersonal tribal legends into personal memoirs is intended to make the authors seem less forward.

The other feature of Inuit autobiography worth noting here is that since authors frequently display a greater awareness of the positive characteristics of the printed book than the more traditional storytellers, there is often considerable control of form and style evident. Edmund Carpenter, in *Eskimo*, claims that in Inuit tradition storytellers speak as many-to-many, not as person-to-person, because
by handing on stories they are speaking for past generations to future generations. Certainly the oral tradition does not favour individualism, but the book isolates the reader from the living situation and promotes a close relationship between author and individual reader. It is ironic that people should find it easier to be intimate on the printed page than in person, but Inuit autobiographies and reminiscences seem to suggest that in that culture at least, this is the case.

The third category of modern Inuit prose is one of the least personal, and in some ways that which is most respected by Inuit authors and readers. The history of the material culture (how-to information), has little appeal for non-Inuit readers, probably because the information is inapplicable in the south. We take great delight in essays on pioneer crafts, and a small proportion of the population of southern Canada can still make soap and candles, but caribou skins and narwhal tusks are not easily available in downtown Burlington. Among Inuit, skilled craftsmen and hunters were even more highly valued than they were by Canadian settlers, and this is reflected in their present high regard for the factual essays which constitute a large part of Inuit publications. This cultural history is usually objective, does not contain any significant reference to present day culture, and does not include stories or myths, but it is prized by Inuit for the detail of traditional life it contains. Taken in isolation, the "how-to" essays make very dry reading, but they are an important part of the body of work that constitutes Inuit literature as a whole. Frequently they contain the clues necessary
to interpret the embedded meaning and obscure similes of the more imaginative types of Eskimo literature,

Non-Inuit editors, such as Father Metayer and Dorothy Eber, usually footnote obscurities in Inuit texts that would make the narrative incomprehensible to non-Inuit or very modern Inuit readers, just as editors of Medieval English manuscripts must do for today's students. These obscurities need not always be explained, as Dr. Johnson was aware when he wrote his Greenland love story, in "Ajut and Anningait," one of the characters is described as having a truly illustrious birth, his mother having died in childbirth and his father by too close pursuit of the whale. One must go to the works of Hans Egede to find out that in eighteenth century Greenland, the pleasanter of the two Eskimo heavens was reserved for people who died in these ways as compensation for the hardships they had to undergo in life. Obviously, if it was necessary to understand all the embedded meaning in a work of literature, there would be no cross-cultural reading at all. Sometimes, however, explication is necessary. For instance, a story in which the narration pivots on the fact that one woman had offended another by asking her for her last two caribou forelegs is confusing without explanation; these parts of the legs are generally discarded in the north today because there is no meat on them, but formerly the fur from the forelegs was valued as essential for making both mittens and boots. An article on how to make caribou mittens may be tedious to read, but it will contain the essential key to that story, the fact that such a request was deliberately greedy and hostile.

Because the history of the material culture is of such limited
interest to the general reading public of both cultures, the only books published on the subject are those such as Tuktuit Mitsaanut which exists only in Inuktitut, and anthropological reports such as those of Knud Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition or Franz Boas's Central Eskimo, which are in part composed of such information. A few recent works such as Arima's Contextual Study of the Caribou Eskimo Kayak can be found, but the majority of the published history of the material culture exists in Inuit periodicals. The Inunmarit Association special issues include such works as Francoise Quasa's Seal Hunting With Harpoons, and Inunmarit magazine includes essays on childbirth customs, the maintenance of igloos and polar bear hunting. Them Days magazine, which publishes out of Happy Valley, includes articles on Labrador crafts such as making snowshoes, komatiks, campstoves and dancing dolls. In some cases the personal reminiscences included in the essays add a certain literary value to these histories of the material culture, but for the most part they have only secondary value to the student of Eskimo literature.

The fourth category of contemporary Inuit prose is far more rewarding for non-Inuit readers. John Greenway's claim that the fate of primitive literature is to change from a medium for marvelling to a medium for thinking is substantiated by the articles and essays on contemporary life. It is true that Inuit essayists rarely reach the heights of Carlyle or Ruskin, but what they lack in sophistication they often make up for in their clarity of vision and simplicity of expression. Inuit authors write from a truly unique point of view, as they are probably the only people in history to have made the transition from the Stone Age to the Atomic Age in one generation. It is virtually
impossible for an Eskimo today to write of his life without being acutely aware that he is something of a time traveller, born in a culturally rich but primitive nomadic isolation. Brought up to a life of satellite communication, he is always referring back and always looking forward with an intelligent eye, a fresh approach and a retentive memory.

Inuit thinkers and writers have been particularly interested in questioning and discussing theories of politics, education, land conservation and religion, but the topic which has received most attention in the south, Inuit art, is probably one of the least rewarding areas for students of Inuit philosophy. Eskimo carving first drew popular attention in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and collectors and admirers were anxious to know what the carvers' attitudes were towards their own work. Two problems soon became evident in connection with this; first, carving quickly became a necessary economic supplement to hunting and artists actually expected to make money by producing art, which affected the way they felt about their work, and secondly, they had no jargon in their own language with which to discuss art. Inuit writing did begin to become associated with Inuit artwork, particularly with print and carving catalogues, but the writings were and usually are explanatory legends or autobiographies of the artists. Occasionally, artists like Tivari Etok are able to go beyond that to a discussion of the creative process, but the only extensive examination of carving by Inuit is We Don't Live in Snow Houses Now; Reflections of Arctic Bay, edited by Susan Gowan. This book, which was published by Canadian Arctic Producers, the marketing agency for Inuit arts and crafts in the Northwest Territories, is
composed of a collection of statements made by inhabitants of Arctic Bay about community life, past, present and future, and the place of art in their lives. Only a few of the artists, Marius Kayotak being one of them, go beyond the factual in their reflections.

The Inuit concern with things political, so prominent in contemporary Eskimo poetry, is also evident in the prose. Periodicals such as *Inuit Today*, *Katajjaq* and *Taqralik* are primarily political forums and carry articles by Inuit leaders, including Charlie Watt, Peter Ittinuar and Zubedeel Nungak. Because traditional Inuit life contained no political institutions at all, it has been necessary for Inuit to very quickly formalize the process of leadership and co-operation that was formerly allowed to develop in a natural and spontaneous way. A great many articles periodically deal with the organization of political machinery in the settlements and on a national scale, but essays are also published which approach Inuit political development in a more general way.

Beginning in 1959, Abraham Okpik wrote a number of essays which explored the demoralizing effect government policies were having on northerners and questioned the ability of Inuit born prior to 1945 to adjust to the new order. His rather unenthusiastic opinion of television, night clubs and traffic, expressed in "Life in the South," did not lead him to reject all things non-Inuit, for he was quite aware that change was inevitable; he wrote in "What Do the Eskimo People Want?", "I am proud to be an Eskimo, but I think we can improve on the igloo as a permanent dwelling." The key word here is "permanent," for it recognizes that nomadic life in the Arctic
is gone forever. Okpik, like some of the younger political leaders who followed him, felt that cultural and political survival could be best achieved through incorporating the old traditions into the new culture, and he was one of the first to realize that the preservation of the Inuit language was a priority. A passage from an essay Okpik wrote for Inuktitut magazine, which was later translated and published in North in 1962, is still frequently quoted by leaders and educators:

The survival of the Eskimo people depends on the survival of the language. When people meet Eskimos, they are disappointed if they cannot show their knowledge of Eskimo ways. The Eskimo language is big. It could be used to give many great thoughts to the world. If the Eskimos themselves don't use the language more, it will be forgotten, and very soon the Eskimo too will be a forgotten people.

It is up to the Eskimos of today to use their Eskimo strength of word and thought. It is up to the young people. If they don't learn and use the language and stories and songs, they will have nothing special to give their children. It's no good looking like an Eskimo if you can't speak like one.

There are only very few Eskimos, but millions of whites, just like mosquitoes. It is something very special and wonderful to be an Eskimo—they are like the snow geese. If an Eskimo forgets his language and Eskimo ways, he will be nothing but just another mosquito.

A recurring theme in many of the political essays is that of self-determination. Again and again Inuit leaders remind their people that blaming the white man for their predicament is unproductive. In "We Must Have Dreams," John Amagoalik insists that the will to survive is still strong in the Inuit:

"We must teach our children their mother tongue. We must teach them what they are and where they came from. We must teach them the values which have guided our society over the thousands of years. We must teach them our philosophies which go back beyond the memory of man. We must keep the embers burning from the fires which used to burn in our villages so that we may gather around them again. It is this spirit we must keep alive so that it may guide us again in a new life in a changed world. Who is responsible for keeping
this spirit alive? It is clearly the older people. We must have the leadership which they once provided us. They must realize this responsibility and accept it. If the older people will remember, the young must listen.22

One of the most highly charged political and emotional issues explored in contemporary Inuit writing is that of land claims. Testimony was given at the Berger inquiry by about 1,000 northerners and transcripts of the evidence of Alonik, Ismael and others have been published in Inuit Today. The first volume of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project contains a section edited by Hugh Brody which includes transcripts by Inuit from all over the Arctic, but there are also numerous essays which were spontaneous responses to land claims negotiations. John Weetaltuk, who has published a number of articles pleading for a more sensitive attitude towards the environment, becomes particularly impassioned on the issue of land ownership, and his essay "Land" has a very Old Testament ring to it, a reminder that the Bible is a primary source of written literature in Inuktitut. The essay, which argues that no-one can own the earth, reads in part:

Land, God made, ingenious planet we live in, as distinguished from other heavenly bodies, or from the dwelling place of spirits. We, the prisoner of the earth, of whatever size, shape or form we are, all live and die, be we man, beast or fowl; we have to share the planet.

Generation upon generation the land we live in never seems to change; we rise to see the glory of the skies, the setting of another day, and yet this land that is at our feet is there. Take it away, where would be the joy of living?

Land claims, who where and how? Behold the birds do claim areas of their own, behold the beasts they too seek land, now put man into it, which of the three gains more land?23

Weetaltuk sums up his argument by asserting "I don't think anyone needs fifteen acres to turn around."24

Inuit writers take a number of different approaches to land
occupancy issues. Nutaraq Kooneelosie, in "Changes I Have Seen,"
discusses the archeological discoveries that he feels prove the Inuit
right to the land, and Luke Attanniaq took third prize in a Keewatin
Echo literary competition with his essay "Beauty of the Land" in which
he asks the reader to imagine with him the land as it was when he was
a boy, ending with a song expressing his feelings for that memory.
Markoosie, in an article on what he calls "Arctic ear pollution,"
deplores the way the silence of the north is being broken by machines
and air radios, and Tagak Curley uses the old Inuit weapon of satire
to discuss the loss of dignity suffered by Inuit hunters in "Northern
Zoo," where he says that hunters are now becoming like polar bears in
captivity, no longer going out after seals but chewing on candies
thrown to them by the south.

Articles on education which examine how Inuit function within
the system, what effect parents have on policy, and how the dominance of
southern culture is affecting the younger Inuit, appear regularly in
Inuit periodicals. The trauma of leaving home to fly out to a mission
school, as described in Nicholas Arnatsiaq's "Conflict," is one which
led many Inuit writers to examine the theories behind European-style
education; Tagak Curley's report "Inuit in Our Education System" was
published in four parts in Inuit Today, and as President of the I.T.C.
he produced a pamphlet, An Inuk Leader Speaks Out On Education.
Young writers such as Simona Amaroalik and Annie Meekitjuk have become
involved in the debate on modern education, and older people like
Erik Anooe have argued the merits of a more traditional system of
education.
Education received attention from some of the first Inuit authors because education magazines such as Intercom, Northian and Aurora were interested in publishing the opinions of Inuit teachers and trainees. English immersion programs and residential schools involved both teachers and students in some fairly disastrous situations, and until recently Inuit were reluctant to speak out strongly and critically against the system. In recent years, the bilingual paper Igalaq, which aims at a readership consisting of Inuit students and trainees in the south and their families in the north, has been a forum for discussion. Igalaq began publishing an education supplement, Ilisarniq, early in 1981.

Articles on land claims, education and politics may not seem to be very innovative, but of all the different forms of contemporary Inuit prose, fiction, memoirs, cultural history and essays, it is the essays and articles which are the greatest departure from the old oral tradition. Inuit have always been great talkers, but because their social units were generally very small, they did not develop a tradition of oratory the way the Amerindians did. For an Inuk to address a problem which affects people who do not belong to his or her extended family demands a fairly radical change in thinking, and the fact that Inuit have managed to broaden their concerns to include not only strangers but future generations, speaks well for the social values embodied by the old mythology. It is often difficult to identify these values in the old literature, but they are sometimes reflected by the concerns explored in the contemporary literature and it is possible that we will eventually learn a lot more about the
old mythology and culture from an examination of the new one.

The modern stories, the memoirs, the descriptions of specialized skills, and the explorations of contemporary life reflect back in time and ahead into the future, and together they define a way of life which is changing and adapting. The Inuit culture is fighting for survival, but not survival at any cost; there is a determination to avoid the moral emptiness of twentieth-century life. The innovations and pleasures of modern living, and of modern literature, are being pursued at the same time that the strength and values of the traditional era are being preserved. If Inuit, and Inuit authors, are successful, they will have a great deal to offer their countrymen in the south.
Notes

1. The following four paragraphs have been taken, with very little alteration from Robin Gedalof, "An Introduction to Canadian Eskimo Prose in English," Diss. University of Western Ontario 1977, pp. 12-13.


12 Eber, "Eskimo Tales," p. 128.
14 Eber, "Eskimo Tales," p. 128.
15 Armand Tagoona, Shadows (Canada, Oberon Press, 1975), opp. plate 2.
16 Anthony Apakark Thrasher, Thrasher: Skid Row Eskimo (Toronto: Griffin House, 1976), x.
17 Thrasher, Thrasher, p. 23.
21 Abraham Okpik, "What Does It Mean To Be An Eskimo?" North 9, No. 2 (1962), 28.
23 Amagoalik, "We Must Have Dreams," pp. 41, 43.
24 Amagoalik, "We Must Have Dreams," pp. 41, 43.
Chapter VIII

Themes and Structures in The
Contemporary Inuit Literary Tradition

The new Inuit literature has two traditions on which to draw, that of the Inuit and that of the European. Each of the traditions has something to offer authors, most of whom feel free to draw upon both when developing their stories, poems and articles, but it is often difficult to identify just what the influences are and how they affect the final product. This chapter will attempt to describe some of the patterns of theme and structure to be found in the contemporary Inuit literary tradition and to show where they come from.

Modern Eskimo literature frequently bears a certain resemblance to the literature of the early Canadian settlers; writers draw from diaries, journals and letters, and a lot of what they have to say is in the "how-to" vein or is intended to describe to the folks at home what things are like in Ottawa or Montreal. Eskimo authors write about how to stalk a caribou or harpoon a seal, just as the early Canadian writers documented how to milk a cow, keep bees or make shoes. Motivation is somewhat different because once all Eskimos knew how to hunt seals and none knew how to write, while Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill knew how to write but did not know
how to treat croup or wash baby clothes. However, works such as Minnie Freeman's *Survival in the South* have a lot in common with *Roughing It in the Bush* in that they both aim to reveal the physical dangers and psychological difficulties that face people forced to adapt to an alien culture and landscape.

There is, however, a distinct problem in Eskimo writing which does not appear in settlers' writing, for Inuit authors are still having difficulty finding forms of literature that suit them. They have a lot to say, they know how to write it down, but there is a need to shape the material, and the new material of the contact era does not always fit the traditional forms. Old modes such as the song duel or the legend provide models for writers, as do some of the literary forms they have come in contact with in English writing, but these forms are not generally used without being changed and it is sometimes necessary to look very carefully at a piece of work to see just how it has been constructed.

Traditional types of Inuit prose such as the myths or legends are not particularly appropriate for illuminating personal feelings, so Inuit authors tend to look towards English fiction for structures for their work when they wish to describe emotions rather than events. Alookook Ipellie's story "Nipikti the Old Man Carver" is a good example of how the romance form has been used to explore a problem in contemporary Inuit society. The story is a simple one; Nipikti, an old man, walks to the Co-op to sell his carvings and on the way rests on some rocks. The Co-op manager offers him $120 for a particularly good carving, but Nipikti knows it is worth more and successfully
holds out for $150. There is a sub-plot concerning the rocks on which he rests; the rocks are going to be bulldozed to make way for a new road and, after Nipikti gets the price he wants for his carving, he decides to save the rocks.

Nipikti's trip to the co-op is literally a perilous journey since he is very old and frail. Three times he stops to rest, greeting each of the three rocks by name, discussing his concerns with them and gaining strength from their familiarity. Having faced his critical tests by three times refusing to sell his carving for less than it is worth, Nipikti wins his victory over the Co-op manager. As in a Victorian romance, the struggle is really in the hero's mind, for Nipikti has been hampered by a lack of self-esteem. His inability to hunt, his crippled legs, and the fact that he spends his time carving "toys", have all combined to make him feel worthless, but by talking to the rocks he moves back into the past to gain illumination of the present, and through unity with nature comes to a renewed feeling of strength.

There are several things which make "Nipikti" an interesting story. First of all, the hero is old, yet his spiritual growth has not stopped. Secondly, Nipikti does not expect to keep the road from going through, he just hopes to change its path a little so that the rocks are not destroyed. Thirdly, the repetition in the story indicates how ritualized "buying-day at the Co-op" has become for the carvers. All these points illustrate how adept Inuit culture is; even the elderly can go on learning and changing, carving done well is not a demeaning occupation but can have the dignity and ritual of seal
hunting, and Europeanization, as it is represented by the bulldozers, cannot be stopped but can be directed so that the useful and familiar "rocks" that anchor Inuit society are saved.

Ipellie's story is firmly set in a modern community, just as surely as its structure and its happy ending are borrowed from English literature, but not all Inuit writers work so confidently with contemporary settings and borrowed forms. Often there is a compromise between the old and the new, as in Markoosie's Harpoon of the Hunter. This story of a young man who is the sole survivor of a disastrous hunting trip was based on an old Eskimo story and is set in pre-contact days, but there are very non-traditional elements in it. The plot evolves in a straightforward chronological sequence, but the focus shifts back and forth between the ill-fated hunting party and the worried relations at home. Moreover, the young hero, Kamik, falls in love at first sight with the daughter of one of the rescuers, and when she drowns, he impales himself on his harpoon in despair.

Frederiksen first identified the "fatal love" motif in Inuit literature in a romance by the Greenland Eskimo writer Knud Kjer. The poem, "Avângâ Tikâgugkit Ikâmiut", published in 1832 and usually incorrectly attributed to his son Jacob, tells the story of a young woman whose husband does not return from kayaking; she climbs a mountain and when she sees his dead body in the sea she falls and is literally crushed with grief so that the peak of the mountain is permanently stained red. There is a mountain near Holstenborg, where Kjer was pastor for many years, about which a similar legend is told, and Frederiksen speculates that this story provided the "legendary..."
patina" for the poem, supporting the poet's claim that it deals with events from the past. The fatal love motif, however, is not Eskimo, as Frederiksen is quick to point out. "One may become involved over a woman; but the 'pure' love is never responsible for death among the pagan Eskimos."  

The resemblance between Markoosie's romance and the Greenlander Kjer's is marked; Markoosie's hero is not magically crushed by grief but it is obvious that his fate is sealed as soon as he sets his eyes on the lovely Putooktee. The danger encountered in falling in love is quite different from that encountered in hunting a rabid polar bear, but there seems to be far less chance of escaping the unhappy consequences of love. Romantic love, fatal or otherwise, is a modern Eskimo problem because the concept simply did not exist in traditional Inuit culture, and perhaps the tragic endings of these stories reflect the authors' inability to deal with such emotions satisfactorily.

One would expect the structure of an autobiography to be derived from the events of the life it documents, but Inuit autobiography may take its form from traditional literary sources. One of the best known autobiographies, I, Nuligak, is recognized as having an underlying structure that gives substance to the work and, as the editor puts it, it has "been written according to the logical order of living things, showing the regular pattern of seasons and years."  However, Lee Guemple, in his examination of Inuit adoption, tends to identify the author more closely with the orphan of Inuit mythology. In trying to define precisely what degree of social isolation must pertain before a child can be classified as an orphan, Guemple considers the case of
Nuligak, a self-declared orphan who lost his father at the age of six:

The boy's mother was alive, he had a living younger brother, a 'grandmother' and an 'uncle' who was probably his mother's brother. But these did not figure importantly in the matter of his being an orphan. We are told that what really made him an orphan was not so much the death of his father, as the fact that his father was an only child. The implication was, we may suppose, that he had no close agnatic relatives so there was no one he could fall back on.4

Guemple makes two very pertinent observations about the figure of the orphan in myth and reality, both of which seem to be substantiated by the writings of Nuligak. First:

The ill treatment afforded the orphan is thought by Inuit even today, to be fitting because it is said that harsh treatment will make the child independent and resourceful, inure him to hardship, and help him to become a successful adult in spite of the fact that he has no relatives to aid him... the technique works--either because the orphan is in fact more resourceful than others, or because people expect that he will be so that the myth becomes self-fulfilling. Very frequently, the orphan of myth and in reality wins in the end.5

Guemple's second observation regards the advantageous social position the orphan finds himself in when he matures:

The lore surrounding the orphan has it that he is more resourceful, and so should make a good leader. In fact it is often his social position which makes him preferable as a community leader because it is felt he will have no special loyalties to any particular segment of the community. So orphans are sometimes looked upon as ideal choices for community leader.6

Inuit custom demands that successful people at least pretend to be humble and self-effacing characters, when in reality they are frequently just as conceited and arrogant as successful people sometimes are in European society. As an orphan, Nuligak's success as a hunter and community leader can be seen as almost inevitable, thereby allowing him to exercise his power without taking direct responsibility for the
acquisition of it. Eskimo myth dictates that orphans become independent and resourceful, and by claiming orphaned status, Nuligak is permitted to boast about his own prosperity.

Maurice Metayer, who translated and edited I, Nuligak, himself suggests a connection between myth and reality in his introduction to the book:

As a child, Nuligak lived for a long time with his paternal grandmother Okkonaluk. These two became in real life the legendary Eskimo pair, ananagik, the grandmother and her grandson, suggesting that such stories are only the projection in folk-tale form of what in reality must very often have been the life of the "poor little orphan". Nuligak was just such an orphan, and the adventures of his life closely parallel the Eskimo legends.7

The relationship between grandmother and grandson in Inuit society is so close that there is a special term used to identify the couple that is analogous to those used in our own society to identify husband and wife, and Nuligak is certainly aware in talking about his anana of the mythic implication of the relationship; he admits that even as an old man, the thought of her death brings tears to his eyes.

There are a great many ananagik in Inuit legend, and a great many orphans, but the story of the orphan boy Kaujjajruk seems to be the one that reverberates most frequently through I, Nuligak, even though it is never directly referred to. Nuligak would certainly have been familiar with the story of Kaujjjarjuk as it is a legend known from Alaska to Greenland. Kaujjjarjuk is a sort of male Cinderella who is homeless and dependent on unkind people for support. He wears rags, has to pound blubber and carry the urine buckets, and must sleep in the passage with the dogs. A woman, usually an old woman or his sister, helps him get
just enough food to keep him alive, until he is called out one night by a powerful spirit who secretly helps him to become strong. When three bears approach the village, Kaujjarjuk crushes all three with his bare hands, and kills or beats all those who have been unkind to him. He then takes one or two of the women as wives, either in gratitude for their kindness or in order to punish them for their cruelty.

James McNeill, in his analysis of four versions of the Kaujjarjuk story, divides the tale into three parts: the humiliation of Kaujjarjuk, where his poverty and his worn clothing, his tormentors, and the few small kindnesses he experiences are described; the gaining of strength, in which he repeatedly undergoes a whipping or wrestling ritual with a powerful figure, which increases his strength and stamina until he is stronger than ordinary men; and the revenge, in which the hero defeats three bears, kills or humiliates his former tormentors, and takes their women. Nuligak's autobiography shows a very similar pattern of divisions in the text which indicates that the Kaujjarjuk story may have been the pattern for the book.

The first section of 1, Nuligak, which Metayer titles "Poor Little Orphan Boy", describes Nuligak's life up to the age of twelve. Nuligak identifies himself six different times as an orphan, and tells how he was frequently tired, hungry or frightened, dirty and full of lice, and dressed only in cast-off clothing. His elderly, crippled grandmother, the only one to do anything for him, corresponds to the figure of the old woman or sister who occasionally slips Kaujjarjuk a little food. In describing incidents which happened when he was young, Nuligak explains the accuracy of his memory by pointing out that:
I was but six years old at the time, but I have not forgotten what I saw, because I was fatherless and my father had been my grandmother's only child. Hence I was the poor little boy, begging here and there to live, most aware of what was going on around me. Since I had to walk behind others, I took better heed. Later he says "I never forgot what attracted my attention because I was the aliapak, the poor little orphan boy."  

The second section, which Metayer calls "Budding Hunter", describes how Nuligak gains strength. Like kaujjarjuk, Nuligak is still outwardly the poor orphan boy and identifies himself as such, but there are signs that he is changing as he grows. Like his legendary model, he identifies with the dogs of the camp, and when the young men try to sneak away to go bear hunting, he manages to follow them in order to be in on the division of meat: "A young dog follows the departing pack; in vain you will chase it away, it will always return. That was my case when I was a young boy... And so it was that while I was a young boy, the poor little orphan of the village, I saw many bears when I was following the young hunters." He still has to go through many difficult and frightening experiences, including the death of his grandmother and infection with smallpox, before he is sufficiently strong enough to reveal himself in his full strength.

Nuligak's "revenge" is revealed in the last three sections of his book, "A True Eskimo", "I Take a Wife", and "Now an Old Man". Nuligak does not kill three polar bears with only his bare hands but, being a modern Inuk, he lands a job paying ten dollars a day bringing an ice-bound schooner back to its skipper. The name of the schooner is, appropriately, the Polar Bear. He also kills his first whale and is
no longer the poor orphan: "I, piloting my own boat. I was twenty years old. I was very proud to be the champion of the young men with whom I was living." Kaujjarjuk traditionally goes off with an old woman, and although the wife Nuligak takes may have been quite young, she was nonetheless a widow with four children. Like Kaujjarjuk, Nuligak gains his ultimate revenge through his success and his long life.

The details of day to day living, the first whale or bear or caribou killed, marriage and the birth of children, all take their structure from the cycle of the seasons and the cycle of life itself, but the repeated references made by the author to his status as a "poor orphan boy" are deliberate echoes of the myth of Kaujjarjuk and other orphan figures. The autobiographer, writing at the end of his life, may in looking back see the mythic structure of his life, but it is possible to see, also, how he may have imposed that structure on his life either while he was living it or retrospectively. As Guemple and Metayer suggest, it may be that the legends were projections of the reality, but the parallels to the Kaujjarjuk myth in I, Nuligak suggest that in this case at least the reality as Nuligak reports it is a projection of the legend.

It is obvious from the evidence in the book that Nuligak was quite capable of imposing a legendary structure on his life story, and he certainly considered himself to be somewhat superior to ordinary folk. For example, when he was fifteen, he met up with a lay preacher by the name of Tanaomerk whose praying and hymn singing was a source of great amusement to the elders of Baillie. A few of the young men thought it would be a good idea to follow instruction in all these new
ideas, but Nuligak apparently chose to take the straw and leave the chaff:

I, for example, decided to learn to read and write, and from then on, I never let Tanaomerk out of my sight. He was my "school teacher" and taught me my letters. The mature Baillie people, however, looked distrustfully on all this.

This was in 1910. I believe everyone will see that the dates I give are the correct ones. Once people related their adventures, their stories, and the places where they had spent the wintertime I never forgot them. Later on, when I got older, I came across a book on an expedition and read in it dates and facts which served me as a guide marks. We Inuit did not know how to count the years in the olden days.13

Here Nuligak demonstrates how he had the foresight to realize the potential of literacy and how he was able to draw on printed sources to confirm the facts contained in his own book. Nuligak may have been unaware that he was drawing on legendary structures in shaping his work, but it is just as likely that he knew exactly what he was doing. If he was capable of using non-Inuit literary sources, he was certainly capable of using Inuit ones.

There are elements other than mythic structures borrowed from the old Inuit tradition and incorporated with the new European one. The use of the interrogative as a feature of contemporary Inuit political poetry, the use of some elements of the derisive song, and the use of dialogue as a structural device in modern poetry, have all been noted before in this thesis, but the satiric element that constitutes such an important part of traditional Inuit poetry, while not strong in the modern poetry, can be found thriving in the prose. Because it plays such an important role in the oral tradition, it is very useful to consider the function of satire in the old days and to see how that function is maintained in the new compositions. As always, it is
necessary to turn to Rasmussen first when considering the oral tradition.

"No one can become a poet who has not complete faith in the power of words," says Rasmussen about Inuit inspiration. When asked about this power, Ivalurdjuk used to refer Rasmussen to the magic words which had power to stop the bleeding from a wound: "This is blood that flowed from a piece of wood." Rasmussen explains that:

His idea in citing this example was to show that the singer's faith in the power of words should be so enormous that he should be capable of believing that a piece of dry wood could bleed, could shed warm, red blood—wood, the driest thing there is.14

Nowhere in Inuit literature is this belief in the power of words more evident than in the frequent use of satire.

At the most basic level, satire is magic. The satirist could be said to possess pretèrnatural power because the easiest way to expel malign influences is to abuse them in the most violent language possible. One cannot be precise about what these powers are, but in the simplest form it means that the word can kill. The satire can be direct and vituperative, genial and urbane, intellectual and philosophical, but in all cases, its primary and basic effect is to destroy or call into disrepute the unacceptable. As a vehicle for social reform, satire may spring from a natural talent for abuse, it may reflect sheer bloody-mindedness, or it may be the result of a sincere desire to correct society, but there is always at least a token attempt to bridge the gap between the real and the ideal, between what is and what ought to be.

Satire exists in every form of traditional Inuit literature, but
the song duel is the most outstanding example of the importance of satire in traditional Eskimo life. Song duels were, as Eckert and Newmark point out, judicial instruments used to settle disputes, they were a means of compelling conformity to social rules, and they provided an outlet for anger and frustration. In their mildest form Rasmussen says, they excited no feeling among the audience but merriment, but in their more abusive manifestation the humor was a mask for the insolence which was intended to present the opponent in a ludicrous light and hold him up to derision:

Such songs always originate in some old grudge or unsettled dispute, some incautious criticism, some words or action felt as an insult, and perhaps breaking up an old friendship. The only means then of restoring amicable relations is by villifying each other in song before the whole community assembled in the qaq'e. Here, no mercy must be shown; it is indeed considered manly to expose another's weakness with the utmost sharpness and severity; but behind all such castigation there must be a touch of humor, for mere abuse in itself is barren and cannot bring about any reconciliation. It is legitimate to "be nasty", but one must be amusing at the same time, so as to make the audience laugh; and the one who can thus silence his opponent amid the laughter of the whole assembly, is the victor, and has put an end to the unfriendly feeling.16

While Inuit literature is yet to produce its first fully fledged prose satire, it does contain many satiric elements which indicate a coming-to-terms with changed conditions and a strong desire to influence the course of modern life. The Inuit mastered the art of oral satire a long time ago and once acquired it seems to be a taste hard to give up.

The song duels were formal, complex and often lengthy works performed
in a ritual way under controlled circumstances, but times have changed
and the satirists have changed also; Inuit satirists now print their
invective in magazines and newspapers, and no provision is made for
their victims' protection. The satire, therefore, is less formal, more
universal, relying less on the bluntness and crudeness of sarcasm and
more on the witty and mildly ironic. Thus, while the Inuit satiric
tradition which once expressed itself in poetry now generally finds its
voice in prose, this can be considered evolution rather than degeneration.
The contemporary satirists are no less effective than the traditional
times, and the follies they aim at are, if anything, more complex and
slippery.

The new satire is more political, less personal, in its response
to altered conditions. The Inuit political consciousness has developed
rapidly in recent years, and this awareness of a larger world is
indicated by the Horatian rather than the Juvenalian tone that the new
satirist assumes. He is urbane, witty, and tolerant rather than angry,
bitter, and intolerant; he is moved to amusement rather than indignation
at the spectacle of human error. The mask the Inuit satirist wears
is acceptable to his own people as it does not rub salt into some already
very deep cultural wounds, and at the same time it is ironically
consistent with the image of the simple, smiling native that the non-
Inuit has created for him. He threatens no one, or if he does it is
in such a way that it does not alienate them entirely. Like the good
hunter, he kills his victim quickly and efficiently so as not to offend
its spirit or ruin its pelt.

The earliest known example of contemporary Inuit satire is a
a letter in the *Northern Affairs Bulletin* of July, 1959, from Ann Padlo. In it, she instructs members of the Canadian government on how to conduct their lives; they are advised to get up early, watch the traffic, finish their work, avoid drinking, stay home, and do nothing else. She concludes reassuringly "Please try to be patient, you will be alright," and signs herself *Karashuk, The Brain.* This is a gentle but unmistakable rebuke, in which the mirror the white man has been holding up to the Inuit face is turned on himself.

Ann Padlo may run with the hares, but Peter Pitseolak hunts with the hounds. In *People From Our Side*, Pitseolak’s mocking, ruthless self-satisfied wit frequently erupts and hits out at Inuit and non-Inuit alike. One passage that is particularly suitable for analysis is the section on the "First Religious Time" in which he describes a period in Cape Dorset history when, in his words, people were "overdoing their religion." While the passage was constructed by Mrs. Eber from a number of separate taped interviews, a strongly satiric tone emerges from Pitseolak’s words, and illustrates the way the new satire works.

This particular revival, which occurred in 1901, was not an isolated incident, for in the same year, as Peter Pitseolak tells us, a woman was murdered in Pangnirtung for religious reasons. In 1913, Stefansson wrote of how a woman of the Baillie Islands was allegedly driven insane by religious inspired ecstasy. In 1926 Diamond Jenness wrote that hysteria was common in the Polar Basin and that it went hand in hand with religion. Then, tragically, in 1941, nine people from the Belcher Islands died as a result of religious revivalism.
These reports and others like them suggest that what Peter Pitseolak calls over-doing religion was, in fact, a recurring malaise.

In essence, the story is that a hunter called Simigak had a vision of Jesus one night while he was waiting for a seal. He returned to his camp and led all the people to a place called Tooneen, near Cape Dorset, where they built a large igloo without a roof so that they could see the heavens. Simigak's cousin, Keegak, led the dancing, singing and praying until he stripped off his clothing, announced that he alone was going to heaven, and chased all the others out. Needless to say, his ascension was delayed somewhat, so while he waited for the hour of apotheosis, he ordered the people to cut off their hair so that it would not drag them back, and to destroy their good clothes so that they would not be prudish of earthly possessions. Beatings and disorder followed until eventually the participants returned to their senses. Fortunately, no-one was badly hurt, but it was a serious incident that could have ended tragically.

We may safely assume that by the time Peter Pitseolak got around to telling his version of this story, in response to Mrs. Eber's questions, the participants were out of reach of his disapproval. Like many another satirist, Pitseolak saw the advantage of choosing to attack a group of people who were well removed from his sphere, yet who were representative of an aberration and corruption that had surfaced among his people on many occasions in the modern era. This technique of attributing unacceptable behavior to an alternate group has the effect of making the familiar seem unfamiliar and the reader can see things as if for the first time.
Pitseolak's narrative, as it is organized here, begins in a mildly disapproving tone, describing how Simigak began the revival and how Keegak gained ascendency and danced naked under the sky. There follows a statement, not a conjecture; that Keegak "was now a saint and he no longer had any sins." By canonizing Keegak, Pitseolak is preparing to strike his first blow at him; by elevating Keegak's status to sainthood, his ridiculously exaggerated self-importance is made manifest. A further means of reduction, and one of the simplest, is the removal of all the supports of rank and status, of which clothes are the most obvious. Keegak, we are told, was not only dancing naked; "He was dancing wildly, His male organs were swinging all over the place. His belly had red marks from dancing so wildly. He danced and danced. But the igloo had no roof and he began to get cold." Eventually, Pitseolak reports, "Keegak had to go home because he got too cold. His penis had goose pimples." The satirist brings the situation to its logical, ridiculous conclusion. Pitseolak repeats the technique of reductio ad absurdum when he notes that after the women had cut off their hair to aid their eventual ascension, they had very cold heads. This is the child's voice, stating the obvious. The satirist, of course, holds himself apart from the folly of the mob; Pitseolak displays superior judgement and militancy by proxy; according to him, his father Inukjarjuk resisted Keegak's influence. By implication, Pitseolak would have resisted also. Pitseolak gets his final jab in when he reports that "People said Keegak was just like a white man - bossing everybody." Note that he didn't say it, "people" did.
To be called evil is, in a perverse way, flattering, but nobody likes to be called foolish. By describing this very dangerous behavior as a bit of silly nonsense, Pitseolak manages to deflate the status of Keegak, thereby discouraging anyone who might be tempted to have visions of a similar nature. The entire passage may not be satiric, for Pitseolak may identify with the desire to be saved, and may believe that Simigak had a vision at the seal-hole but was mistaken in his interpretation of it, but Mrs. Eber says that Pitseolak relayed the story of Keegak in "flat statements sometimes followed with a bit of a chuckle," and added that she thought that "he was also treating Simigak's vision ironically or satirically." Pitseolak's comment on the failure of one of Keegak's victims to resist a beating that Keegak was administering was that "People were thinking that when Jesus was crucified he wasn't fighting back. So this man didn't fight back. No doubt he was trying to copy Jesus." No doubt Pitseolak was trying to copy Tapuna, Avane and other traditional Inuit satirists.

Other writers can provide examples of pure satire, such as this piece from the *Keewatin Echo* of July, 1974, which consists of a short satiric verse with a mock epic introduction. The grammar is execrable, but the satire survives almost because of this rather than in spite of it. It is called "Blood Thirsty Enemies" and was written by Alexis Pameok Utatnaq:

I am appreciative because of the fact that in Canada there is what you call "Freedom of Speech", and I am most happy to know that many people take that advantage. I, for one, will take this opportunity and write about my idea. I am not asking that there be action taken about this but to reinforce to the public about how I feel about what I am about to say.

This may strike you as an inexpectation but it is about
enemies. Yes, I, or we, have an enemy which have been irritating us, agitating us, even terrorizing us for many years. Though we have weapons to fight them, it seems they are unconquerable. Their armies are many but weapons are few, like the Japanese suicide squad they are courageous, they are...this poem should explain everything.

Our Enemy

Our enemy
They're so many
Our blood they spill
They make us ill.

Help us, oh God
From their piercing rods
Our sworn foes
Those mosquitoes 24

"Blood Thirsty Enemies" could be read simply as a comic piece, but there is an obvious wit behind it that will not be satisfied with mere comedy. The laughter evoked by humor is relatively purposeless, while the laughter evoked by satire is directed. There is an element of ironic self-awareness here that refuses to be ignored. First of all, there is the mock heroic persona; The writer pretends to be quite serious, he evokes patriotic images with his references to freedom of speech, and he uses lofty, if incorrect, words such as inexpectation, which sounds grander than unexpected. He uses a number of standard rhetorical devices to reinforce his seriousness of purpose; His voice of reason assures us that he does not require that action be taken on the issue; he anticipates our surprise at the idea that we have enemies, and he builds up to a crescendo of assonance and rhyme with "irritating us, agitating us, and even terrorizing us." He praises the courage of these unnamed foes, likening them to Kamakazi pilots, and then, overwhelmed by his own rhetoric, he breaks in to poetry, It's like Gene Autry bursting into song or Fred Astaire sliding into a softshoe
routine. Then follows the poem - eight simple rhyming lines which
even so manage to fit in an appeal to the deity, and liken an insect
sting to a piercing rod. Then, the ultimate triumph, he manages to
make the very last word "mosquitoes". Postponed satisfaction is often
the best.

"Blood Thirsty Enemies" is more than a good joke; it recognizes
that Inuit no longer have to face the very real and rigorous dangers
of wild beasts and cold; and mockingly portrays them as fearing the
tiny insect. The author effectively destroys the myth of the great
hunter, freezing as he waits for a seal. In the old poems, the man
imagines that the humming in his head as he is dying on the ice is the
sound of the mosquitoes of summer. In this new poem, he is the butt
of a joke. The poet is exploring, it seems, the problem of the loss of
purpose in modern life. The humour softens the blow, makes it more
acceptable, but it is a mortal blow nonetheless, and not only to the
Inuit, but to all men who have lost their sense of pride and proportion
and have allowed minor problems to grow disproportionately large.

Alootook Ipellie is probably the most prolific Inuit satirist
working today. His visual satire is most apparent in the cartoon
strip Ice Box, featuring Papanook, Mamanook, Nanook and Brother Bones,
the poet who graduated from grade three, but his verbal satire is more
representative of the developing Inuit political consciousness. In
1977, in response to the Quebec Separatist movement, he wrote "N.W.T.
Separates From Canada", a fictitious news report which supposedly
responds to the Nunavut Premier's announcement of a referendum on
separation. Ipellie uses the opportunity to voice some very serious
grievances about colonialist attitudes, erosion of language skills, and so on. The report includes fictitious interviews with political leaders and northern residents, in which Pierre Trudeau announces his intention to run in the leadership convention to be held in Frobisher Bay. Pete Brewer, an Inuvik bartender, asserts that the Inuit are unlikely to reject the rest of Canada, as thanks to white development, "the poor creatures were saved from extinction." Pete adds that political agitation is good for business as there is no better place to sound out your views than in a bar. Iqaluit has Commissioner Bullman lunching on sour grapes. Buddy Boss, Minister for Northern Affairs, going into hibernation, and non-Inuit residents preparing for the big move south. The use of verisimilitude and fake-documentry technique places this piece in a tradition familiar to readers of Swift's A Modest Proposal and Drapier's Letters, and America's National Lampoon, or viewers of the news reports on Saturday Night Live. This is quite a development from Ann Padlo's gently mocking instructions to civil servants of eighteen years earlier.

The development of contemporary satire is important for a number of reasons. First, it is a continuation of a traditional practice, and at a time when the Inuit social structure is breaking down almost any form of continuity has the desirable effect of reassuring and healing a group suffering from severe culture shock. Just as important is the fact that the satirist provides a vehicle for change. Satire encourages people to cope with new problems through the application of traditional ethical principles. The existence of contemporary satire is itself an illustration of this. Feelings evoked by the corruption of social
values are harnessed and made subject to the discipline of satiric technique, and once these feelings have been ordered, there is the possibility that the underlying deviation and destruction may be brought under control also. Inuit fiction is often an attempt to prepare the reader for novel or frightening experiences; satire helps him to handle these experiences once they have happened. By identifying the problems, the satirist takes the first step in the process of correction. He diagnoses the disease; his reader must find the cure.

Reading a satire and penetrating its surface is practice for penetrating the surface of the world. Ann Padlo, Peter Pitseolak, Alexis Pameok Utatnaq and Alootook Ipellie are all saying that things are not as simple as they seem. It isn't easy to work hard and never do anything else, it isn't easy to get to heaven, it isn't easy to keep problems in proportion or to solve them through separation, and this applies to everyone, not only to those who happen to be Inuit. These Inuit authors are offering their readers the most important and lasting social principles of their culture: tolerance, patience, courage, and the healing power of self-criticism approached with a sense of humour.

Both Inuit and European literary traditions contribute to modern Inuit literature; Ipellie's fake-documentry technique and romance forms, Marquisie's fatal love motif, Nuligak's concern with dating and documentation, and Alexis Utatnaq's rhyme schemes are all borrowed from European literary conventions, while Pitseolak's satire, Nuligak's mythic structure and Ann Padlo's values are all taken from Inuit culture. In these cases, the authors have used and adapted the
conventions in such a way as to make them uniquely personal, but not all Inuit authors are so creative. How much of a work is original and how much is borrowed is a judgment difficult to make about writers coming from an oral tradition. The apparently high incidence of plagiarism among native students in the south is usually accounted for as being the result of the intense pressure put on them to perform and succeed, or as the result of their oral tradition in which only personal magic songs could be said to have an owner. The same problem arises in considering "borrowing" by authors. Certainly in looking at the literature one must be very careful about assuming each piece is rooted in mythic legend.

Panegoosh's moving essay "Where Are The Stories of My People?" talks about a hospitalized hunter who is homesick and who says "I will turn back on my tracks and, listening, open my ears to feel the story that comes in on the wind." Further investigation reveals that the hunter is an African Bushman and the phrases are those reported by Bleek Lloyd in 1914 and discussed in Laurens Van der Post's The Heart of the Hunter, Leah Idlout's The Little Arctic Tern and the Big Polar Bear, highly touted by government officials as the first original work by an Eskimo author to be published in the then new Standard Roman orthography, is a reworking of a well known Dr. Seuss book. The August, 1981, issue of Inuit Today published a number of poems over the name Paul Onalik; the Inuktuit versions are quite beautiful by all accounts, but the English is unfortunately familiar to readers of Leonard Cohen's work.

There seems to be an area of genuine difficulty here. Panegoosh
never says that the hunter she is talking about is an Inuk. Idlout's story has an undercurrent from her own life that makes it a very powerful personal statement, and Leonard Cohen is better known, to Eskimos at least, as a folksinger than as a serious poet with an agent who might object to someone borrowing his songs. Part of the problem may lie with the cross-cultural ignorance of the parties involved; stories borrowed from other Eskimos are acceptable to non-Inuit who do not recognize the stories, whereas they are quick to identify anything borrowed from writers of their own culture. Similarly, Inuit writers, being unfamiliar with non-Inuit culture, may have trouble identifying what is mythic and what is personal in that culture. In discussing James Houston's *Akaavak's Journey* with an Inuktitut speaking non-Inuit, I mentioned the fact that the plot development of the story is that of the Book of Exodus. The teacher laughed at his own failure to notice the striking similarities, but I wondered if his Inuit students, many of whom would have a sound religious education, thought that Houston had "borrowed" this material. Alootook Ipellie reports that other Inuit are now "borrowing" his material and he doesn't know whether to be annoyed or flattered.

The fact that Inuit writers borrow from European literature suggests that the tradition is healthy and developing, and the fact that they are borrowing from their own contemporaries is an even more positive sign as it indicates that young Inuit writers feel they have a living tradition to draw on. However, the really important point to emerge from this discussion of where Inuit writers find their structures, themes and forms is the fact that so many elements of
the old oral tradition are being utilized. Inuit literature is still Inuit, there is a continuity of tradition from the old which is giving substance and credibility to the new, and at least some of the cultural fragmentation that has resulted from European contact is healing.
Notes


2 Frederiksen, "Aspects of European Influences," 300.


5 Guemple, *Inuit Adoption*, p. 50.


p. 191.


21 Pitseolak and Eber, *People From Our Side*, p. 41.

22 Letter received from Dorothy Eber, 26 May 1978.

23 Pitseolak and Eber, *People From Our Side*, p. 43.


Conclusions

Much of the information presented in the preceding chapters concerning the development of written Inuit literature has involved tedious but fairly simple research and summation; who wrote what, the language it exists in, when it was printed, and so on. Since this is the first study of this body of writing, such a catalogue is necessary and useful, particularly if a closer examination is to be made of the material in the future. But inevitably, certain aspects of these "lists" make a deeper impression than others and conclusions surface. I present these conclusions tentatively, more or less in the order that the facts which prompt them appear in this thesis.

First, it would seem that the Inuit were culturally predisposed to literacy. Early accounts, such as that concerning Enooolooapik, indicated that the concept was easily understood, the skills quickly mastered, the practice immediately adopted. Reading and writing spread so quickly that one can only assume that something in the culture had provided fertile ground for literacy. When one considers the number of illiterate fishermen there are in the outports of Newfoundland, men who cannot even write their names, the ease with which Inuit have made reading and writing a part of their lives is quite astonishing.

Secondly, the fact that there was not a large body of written
literature in the Eskimo language on which to draw did not prevent those books which did exist from having a considerable impact on the development of the written corpus. A very few books, particularly the Bible, were read, reread, and read again. The written word, in Inuktitut particularly, seems to have absorbed some of the respect given the oral word in traditional Inuit society, and a study of the early Inuktitut publications might provide some very useful insights into the way the literature has been influenced.

Thirdly, the development of a standard international orthography for the Eskimo language would greatly aid the development of the literature. There are very few Inuit in the world, and fewer still in Canada. If the efforts of writers from Greenland, Alaska, and Siberia were added to those of Inuit writers working in this country, and all were made mutually intelligible, the standard of the work would probably improve considerably. Dialectical differences are, after all, relatively minor, and it should be possible for an international Eskimo literature to develop without eliminating the dialects.

A Newfoundland outharbouř man does not speak like a B.C. salmon fisherman, but they read the same books and newspapers.

Fourthly, the old literature has to some extent been preserved on paper, but it is not yet easily available to Inuit. If the works of Rasmussen, Jenness, Metayer and others were retranscribed into accessible orthographies, it would be a tremendous contribution to current Inuit literature. At the moment, the old legends and songs are really only available popularly in English editions.

Fifthly, and it pains me to admit this, the new literature is
on the whole inferior to the old. However, it serves a valid social function in that it is an outlet for some of the pain and frustration caused by the trauma of European contact, and more importantly, it has distinct and undeniable connections with the old oral literature that suggest it will improve. When the new works take their structures and values from the old ones, they have a strength and integrity that adds considerably to their literary value, as can be seen in *Inuit: Nuligak: and People From Our Side*. This is one more reason why the old oral songs and stories should be made available to the younger writers who cannot remember them; if they are exposed to good Inuit literature, they will be better able to produce good Inuit literature.

Finally, and this is not a conclusion drawn from the preceding chapters but from the appendix of Inuit periodicals and the primary bibliography which follows, Inuit literature is not dying. Certain aspects of it are dying, adjustments have to be made, but on the whole it is flourishing. The old oral songs and stories we know are a distillation of a thousand years of development; people didn't bother to memorize the boring or uninspired works. As someone once said, *Paper stays Put*, and modern Inuit will have to learn to skim and discard the inferior just as their European contemporaries have.

If Inuit go on writing and publishing at the rate they have in the last thirty years, then in considerably less than a thousand years they will have their *Paradise Lost*: an epic narrative on the successful settlement of Inuit land claims, or a celebration of the new province of Nunavut, or a satiric essay attacking Prime Minister Ittinuq of Canada. Eskimo literature is alive and well in the
Canadian Arctic, and one day the new writers will be able to say, as
the old Iglulik Eskimo Aua did to Rasmussen:

Hear that, O men from strange creeks and fiords
That were always so ready to praise yourselves,
Now you can fill your lungs with song
Of another man's bold hunting. 1
Appendix 1

Eskimo Language and Dialect Maps

Figure 1: The Eskimo language is spoken in the coastal areas of four of the circumpolar countries, U.S.S.R., Alaska, Greenland, and Canada.¹

Figure 2: The Canadian Inuit are generally grouped into seven tribes according to their traditional dialects and hunting territories; the Mackenzie Inuit, who lived near the mouth of the Mackenzie River, the Copper Inuit who lived on Victoria Island and around the Coronation Gulf, the Netsilik Inuit who lived on or near King William Island, the Caribou Inuit who inhabited the interior of the Keewatin district, the Iglulik Inuit, who inhabited the vast area around the island of Igloolik, the South Baffin Island Inuit, who lived from Clyde Inlet in the north to Cape Dorset in the south, and the Balliq Inuit who lived on Southampton Island and who were wiped out by disease in the twentieth century.²
Notes


Appendix 2

Inuktitut Writing Systems

Example 1:

Eskimo Storyknifing Symbols From Southwest Alaska

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Baby</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Male Desire</th>
<th>Female Desire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plane</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrow</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Plane
- Arrow
- Cross
- Moon
- Star
These variants of storyknifing symbols were collected by Lynn Price Ager. She explains that:

Each village has a different set of symbols, although locally one style commonly prevails. In some villages there are separate symbols for men, women, children, old folks, dead people, sleeping people, and so forth, while in other villages there might be only one symbol used to represent any human being, whatever his age, sex or condition. Many of these symbols undoubtedly have pictographic derivations.¹

Example 2

Picture Writing of the Ten Commandments

In the Regional Style of Buckland, Alaska
This example of Buckland, Alaska, picture writing was obtained by Dorothy-Jean Ray from Lily Savok. The following explanation was prepared by Ray:

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

   Man points to another; "God is a cross beneath a rainbow," and the check mark makes it a negative; "me" is an oval enclosing a dot, meaning "in this world," "in the mind," or "me"; the last symbol is the "front end of a boat," but the phrase agayutiqago means roughly "God in mind"; therefore, the symbol for "me" follows the symbol for "God."

2. Thou shalt not make any graven images and bow thyself to them.

   "Making parka, or image," check mark makes it negative; parallel lines means "a likeness"; "a dipper of soup, which in Eskimo sounds almost like 'and'"; a man bowing, negative check mark.

3. Thou shalt not take the name of thy God in vain.

   The hand shown is "in strong taking hold," and the check mark makes it negative; in Eskimo, when coming down stairway, same word as 'name' so a stairway is shown; "God is a cross beneath a rainbow"; a dishpan, but since the check mark makes it negative, it is an empty vessel, or "in vain."

4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.

   The first two letters of itkagaluwu, or "remember"; the sitting figure is resting (sabbath); a nest in a tree is a word that sounds similar to "day" in Eskimo; "Cown" are the first letters of kaunayilago, or "keep it"; the last symbol, for "holy," was my mother's own symbol.

5. Honor thy father and thy mother.

   The first drawing is just a symbol; drawing of a man for "father" and a woman wearing a parka with hood for "mother."

6. Thou shalt not kill.

   A post European grave, a symbol that was also used for "death."
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

"A symbol for life, only in a rough way."

8. Thou shalt not steal.

The box indicates treasure, but the negative check mark 
makes it not.

9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Mouth speaking, with negative check mark; a house in this 

case meaning neighbour.

10. Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbour's.

"Sic" is a reminder for the phrase siknatiyuminaičin, a 
house, with a negative check mark.

Example 3

Labrador Moravian Orthography

The Labrador Moravian orthography is visually distinctive in that 
it uses a capital K for the k sounded in the back of the throat (like 
the ch in the Scottish loch), where a q would be used in other parts 
of the Arctic. A circumflex lengthens the vowel, and in the interrogative, the final vowel is lengthened considerably with a rising 
inflection. For example:

Nainemít ajoKertuituijut siamarlilaukput seKernganut 
tachamullo"pijokartoKarporlo uñuktunik Inuit ilajおりtingannut. 
Aglait (newspaper) sivorlerpit Inuktut nenertaulaukput 
Nainime atteKarlune "Aglait Iñunainortut". Okqutsit 
Hailigít ablats-ingortitaaulaukput Inuktortunut, Kingorgane 
newspaperKalaukpoK assianik atteKartomik imãK "Nainemiôk".

The passage translates as follows:

From Nain the missionaries spread north and south and from 
Nain came many enterprises which benefitted the life of the
Eskimo—the first Eskimo newspaper in the history of the world, "Aglaia Illunainortut", translations of the scriptures, later another Eskimo newspaper, "Nainemiok".3

Example 4

Eskimo Syllabics As Adapted By Rev. E.J. Peck

The Eskimo syllabary, as originally adapted by Rev. Peck from that devised by James Evans, has eleven syllable variants of consonant/vowel sequences, each of which could be oriented in four directions to indicate which of four vowels would be paired with the consonant, as well as one symbol for vowels, with four orientations to indicate which syllable it is. In accordance with the recommendations of the Eskimo Language Commission, the "ai" vowel is no longer used. Finals,
the final consonant in a closed syllable, is 'a' symbol written small to the upper right. Length is indicated by the addition of a dot over the basic symbol. Two additional symbols used are diagraphs, a basic symbol plus a diacritic which changes its value. The Language Commission has also introduced one new symbol, corresponding to the voiced lateral fricative. Underlining is used to replace capitalization in syllabics.

Example 5

A Facsimile of a Letter from Eenoolooapik of Cumberland Sound

To Mr. Hogarth of Aberdeen, Scotland

The letter illustrated here, of which the following is a translation, was written on board the Bon Accord, Hogarth's Sound,
on the 20th of August, 1840:

Mr. Hogarth

Eenoolooapik has arrived in Tenuidisockbeek, and intends to remain at Keimovksook.

The Innuits say that for many suns the whales were very numerous, but before the ship came they had all disappeared. They also say that the whales will return when the sun becomes low.

Captain Penny has been very kind to me and to many Innuits, who all thank him. Next to him you were the kindest to me when I was with you.

Eenoolooapik 5
Notes


5 Alexander MacDonald, A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenooolooapik (Edinburgh: Fraser and Co. and J. Hogg, 1841), insert between 102 and 103.
Appendix 3

Inuit Periodicals:

An Illustrated Listing of Newsletters, Newspapers, and Magazines By, For and About Canadian Inuit

Canada's first Inuit newspaper, Aglait Illunainortut, was founded in Nain, Labrador, in the last century; not even one issue of it is known to have survived into our time. Copies of Aglait Illunainrotuatuatut may eventually be discovered in a library or archive sometime in the future, but unless that happens we can only guess what the paper was like. However, there have been many, many other Inuit periodicals since then, and some of them have survived, and some are still publishing. Titles change frequently, issues are misnumbered, and little or no attempt has been made to collect all these publications together, but they form a unique body of literature that deserves attention.

This listing attempts to collect together all the information available on Inuit periodicals so that an assessment of what exists can be made. Many of the entries are sketchy; no more than a title and perhaps a community name. It is possible that one or two of the periodicals listed here are "ghost publications", magazines or papers
that were planned but never actually founded, but wherever there is a probability that a paper existed, it has been included. Because there is no library which specializes in collecting this material, it has been necessary to rely to some extent on secondary sources, but wherever possible the documentation has been checked at first-hand and confirmed through duplication of covers.

About Arts and Crafts (illustrated): News for Inuit artists, published in English and Inuktitut syllabics three times a year by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa, beginning in Winter, 1977.
Aglait Illuminortut: Founded in Nain, Labrador, in the nineteenth century by the Moravian Missionaries, who say it is the first Eskimo newspaper in the history of the world.


Arctic Ambassadors: Published in Ottawa by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, in English and syllabics, to promote unity among young Inuit.
Arts and Culture of the North: A quarterly devoted to Eskimo art and culture, published in New York by Arts and Culture of the North, edited by Sandra Barz, in English only, from 1976 to 1981.

Arctic Bay News: Only one issue known, June, 1974.

The Arctic News (illustrated): Published by the Diocese of the Arctic once or twice a year since 1945, in English only.

Arviap Nipinngaa: Published in Eskimó Point.

Attai: A bimonthly newsletter, published by COPE in Inuvik.


Banksland Letter: See Bankslander/Sachs Echo.

Big Dipper News (illustrated): Published in English and syllabics in Povungnituk, Quebec. Issue number seven is dated March 26th, 1974.

Bulletin: Published in Ottawa by the Canadian Association in Support of Native People, a quarterly in English.
Cambridge Echo: See Imianik.

Canada North of 60: Published in English, French and Inuktitut, copies known to exist for July, 1971 and January, 1973.

Caribou News (illustrated): Published six times a year by Nortex Information Design, since the summer of 1981, in English and Inuktitut syllabics. Content is primarily concerned with the management of the Kaminurak and Beverly caribou herds.
Cape Dorset News: Published monthly in Cape Dorset in English and syllabics from April 22, 1974, at least until July 26, 1974.

Central Arctic News: Published for a time by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association in Cambridge Bay, approximately 700 copies distributed free to households in the central Arctic.

Co-op North (illustrated): Published six times a year in Ashton, Ontario, by Arctic Co-operatives Ltd., Yellowknife, in English and syllabics from June, 1979.
Dialogue North (illustrated): Published in Yellowknife, in English and syllabic, by Regional Public Affairs, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.


Eskimo (illustrated): Published quarterly in Churchill by the Diocese of Churchill-Hudson's Bay, in English and French editions from August,
1946, in English only twice a year from Spring 1971.
Current editor Guy Mary-Rousseliere.


Etudes/Inuit/Studies (illustrated): Published twice a year by the Inuksiauit Katajumajit Association in Quebec City, with articles in English and French, and original documents in Inuktitut, since 1977.
Igalaaq (illustrated): Published in Ottawa monthly by Nortex Information Design in English and Inuktitut syllabics, edited by Harry Hill, since November, 1978. Also contains the supplement Ilisarniq.

Ilavut (illustrated): Published by the Diocese of the Arctic in English, syllabics and Roman orthography Inuktitut, four times a year, edited by J.C.R. Williams in Yellowknife. English title is Our Family.

Ilisarniq (illustrated): Published in Ottawa by Nortex Information Design as a supplement to the monthly Igalaaq, in English and Inuktitut syllabics, edited by Bev Howard.

Interpreter (illustrated): Published in Yellowknife to replace two monthly newsletters, Goonsiday and Tukisiviksai, from May 15th, 1975, to November, 1978, in English and Inuktitut.

Inuit Cultural Institute News (illustrated): Published in Eskimo Point by the Inuit Cultural Institute, quarterly, in English and syllabics, from May, 1975.
Inuit Okaheet (illustrated): Published in Cambridge Bay by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association approximately every two months, beginning in November, 1981, under the title Nunavut Onipkaat, changing to Inuit Okaheet in November, 1982. Two editions are produced, one in English and Inuktitut syllabics and one in English and Inuktitut Roman Orthography.

Inuit Nipingat: Published in English and Inuktitut syllabics, every two weeks, by the Hamlet Council of Baker Lake. Last known issue is dated November 17th, 1978.

The Inuit North: Published in Ottawa by Nortex Information Design, in English, for only two issues, July, 1979, and January, 1980.

Inuit Today (illustrated): Published in Ottawa by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada on an irregular monthly basis, in English and Inuktitut.
Inuit Unity: See Pivalliajut.

Inukshuk: See Nunatsiaq News.

Inuttutuut: See Inuktut.
Inuktitut (illustrated): Published quarterly by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, in Ottawa, in English, French, syllabic and Roman orthography Inuktitut. Began publication in May, 1959.

Inulirijut: Published in Ottawa for only two issues, March, 1974 and April, 1974.

Inummarit (illustrated): Published quarterly in syllabics and Roman orthography Inuktitut by the Inummarit Association of Igloolik from 1972 to 1977. English and French translation guides were available.
Inummarit Special Issue (illustrated): Published in syllabics by the Inummarit Association of Igloolik, quarterly, from 1975 to 1977. English translation guides were available.

Inungnun (illustrated): Published by the Institut de Missiologie, Ottawa, in syllabics, to replace Inungnut Tamenut. Began publication twice a year in 1964, edited by E. Danielo.

Inungnut Tamenut: Published by the Institut de Missiologie, Ottawa, in syllabics, every six months from 1941 to 1963 when it was replaced by Inungnun. Edited by A. Thibert.
SURVIVAL OF THE INUIT CULTURE VS MINING

JUDGEMENT RESERVED
lnuvialuit (illustrated): Published in English and Roman orthography

Inuktitut by the Committee for the Original People's Entitlement in

Inuvik, every two months since 1974.

ITC News: Published by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in Ottawa, in

English and Inuktitut syllabics, monthly.

issumavik: Published by the Keewatin Inuit Association in 1977 as a

monthly, in English and Inuktitut; edited by Dale M. Smith.

Kamanuituk Klarion (illustrated): Published monthly in English and

Inuktitut syllabics by the Baker Lake Residents' Association, from

early 1970. Last known issue is April, 1972.
Katajjaq (illustrated): A bi-weekly publication of the Information Service of the Baffin Region Inuit Association, Frobisher Bay, in English and syllabics.

Keewatin Breeze (illustrated): Published irregularly in English and Inuktitut syllabics by the Keewatin Inuit Association in Rankin Inlet, edited by Annie Tuyruk, since Winter, 1980.

Keewatin Echo (illustrated): Published monthly by Adult Education in Churchill, Manitoba, edited by Mark Kalluak in Eskimo Point. Began
publication in English and Inuktitut syllabics in 1968 and produced
75 issues by January of 1975.

Keewatin Journal: Published out of Rankin Inlet by the Keewatin Inuit
Association and Canada Works, from the spring of 1980.

Kinatuinamot Illengajuk (illustrated): Published weekly in Nain since
1972 by the Labrador Inuit Association in English and Inuktitut.
Kisaut: Published in Chesterfield Inlet by the Joseph Bernier School in English and syllabics. Only known issue is dated May 9th, 1966.

Koglotomiut News: Published in Coppermine.

Labrador Moravian: Published by the Moravian mission station in Nain in English and Inuktut. Inuktut title is Moraviatmiut Labradorinme.

Land Claims Monthly: Published by the Nunavut Land Claims Monthly in Ottawa, in English and Inuktitut syllabics, edited by Alootook Ipellie.
The first issue is dated May, 1980.

**Listening Post** (illustrated): Published monthly by the Baflin Region Adult Education Office in English and Inuktitut syllabics, edited by Elijah Erkloo and later Joanasie Solomonie. Began in 1968, last known issue is dated November, 1971. Inuktitut title is Tusaqvik.

**Makivik News** (illustrated): Published by the Makivik Corporation in Fort Chimo in English and Inuktitut syllabics.
UNILATERAL PATRIATION FEARED

The First Ministers Conference in Ottawa came to no end on May 28th with the final reports of the Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau. The conference marked the failure of the week-long conference to meet the wishes of any of the participants.

From before the conference had begun the Joint Committee on National Issues (U.S.-U.S.) had reached a cross-section agreement that any change in the Constitution by any alternative means would be detrimental to the interests of native peoples. Charlie Watt, President of Makivik Corporation, said that his group would not accept any alternative means of changing the Constitution. In addition, he stated that his group has not been informed about the proceedings of the conference in Ottawa and that the issues involved in constitutional change are too complex for many years to come.

"This doesn't mean we're walkin' the cold, holding the position of wise leaders," he said.
Midnight Sun (illustrated): Published monthly by the Igloolik Settlement Council in English and Inuktitut syllabics from 1968 to the last known issue in April, 1974.

Moraviamiuut Labradorime: See Labrador Moravian.

Naimuik: Published in Nain, Labrador, around 1900.


Newsletter: See Tusagaksat.

Newsweek of Pond Inlet: Published weekly by the Adult Education Centre in Pond Inlet, in English and Inuktitut syllabics, edited by Simon Awa, during 1972.
North/Nord: Published by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, in Ottawa, six times a year since 1954. Articles are in English and French. Former title was Northern Affairs Bulletin.

Northern Affairs Bulletin: See North/Nord.

NUNA
Inuinain Makperaksan
Magazine for Eskimos

NORTHERN STAR

The official death toll in today's
morning mishap in the Nuna area
was announced to be 15. This fig-
ure includes one fatality and 14
injured. The accident occurred
on a section of the highway near
the village of Inuvik. Details of the
crash are still emerging, but initial
reports indicate that a bus and a
truck collided head-on, resulting
in severe damage to both vehicles.

The village of Inuvik is located
about 300 miles north of Yellow
Knife, in the heart of the Nuna
region. The accident has sparked
concern among local residents
and officials, who are urging drivers
to remain vigilant and adhere to
careful driving practices, particu-
larly during the winter months when
road conditions can be challenging.
Northian: Published quarterly in Saskatoon by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in English, from 1966. Early issues are concerned with northern education.

Nuna (illustrated): Published quarterly in English and Roman orthography Inuktitut by the Oblate Mission in Cambridge Bay, from Summer, 1960 to the last known issue in Summer, 1964.

Nunatsiaq News (illustrated): Published in Frobisher Bay in English and Inuktitut by the Frobisher Press Ltd. Appears weekly since 1972, managing editor Monica Connolly. Originally published under the title Inukshuk.
Nunatsiaq Report (illustrated): Published approximately twice a year by Peter Ittinuar, M.P., Ottawa, in English and Inuktitut syllabics.

Nunavut Onipaat: See Inuit Okaheet.

Okausit: A magazine published in syllabics for Angnait Ekayokterka-leiyut, an Anglican women's group, by the Diocese of the Arctic. Edited by Mrs. A Whitton.
Our Family: See Ilavut.

Pangnirtung News: See Tusarasajit Nutat.


Rankin Inlet Newsletter: Published monthly in Rankin Inlet by Adult Education in English, syllabic Inuktitut and Roman orthography Inuktitut during 1972 and 1973.

Rankin Times (illustrated): A community newspaper, published in Rankin Inlet in English and Inuktitut syllabics, weekly from 1973 for approximately three years. Edited by Tony Atadiak.
Rencontre: Published in English and French editions by SACQAI, the Government of Quebec, four times a year since September, 1980.

Sachs Echo: See Banslander/Sachs Echo.

Suvguuq (illustrated): Published monthly in Pond Inlet in English and Inuktitut syllabics, beginning February, 1974.

Suvguuq (illustrated): Published quarterly in English and Inuktitut by the Inuit Development Corporation in Rankin Inlet, beginning in the Summer of 1981.

Taiga Times: No information available.
Inuit employment increased through IDC manpower services

L.H.C. HOLDS 10 DAY TEACHING CONFERENCE

First Class October 1981
Takusee: Published in Chesterfield Inlet around 1972.

Taqralik (illustrated): Published in Fort Chimo, monthly, in English and Inuktitut syllabics, by the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, from early 1974 to 1978.

Taqralik (illustrated): A monthly newsletter, in English and syllabic Inuktitut, published by the makivik Corporation in Kuujjuak, Quebec.

Taqramiut Nipingat News (illustrated): A newsletter, for people of Northern Quebec, in Inuktitut, French, and English, from Salluit, Quebec.
Tasautit: See Message.

Them Days (illustrated): Published by the Labrador Heritage Society and the Old Timers' League in English with some Roman orthography.

Inuktut, edited by Doris Saunders. Published quarterly.

Tukisiviksat (illustrated): Published monthly in English and syllabic Inuktitut by the Department of Information in Yellowknife, from 1971 to May of 1975.
Tunik: A settlement newspaper, published in Resolute Bay.


Tusagaksat: Published in English and syllabics by the Government of the N.W.T., six times a year from 1968, edited by John Pudnak. The English title is Newsletter.

Tusagaksat: Published in Frobisher Bay by the Department of Information, from February, 1973. Edited by John Amagoalik.

Tusaunik: See Listening Post.

Tusaraait Nutat: Published monthly in English and syllabics by the Hamlet of Pangnirtung, around 1972. English title is Pangnirtung News.

Tusaautit: See Messenger.


The Ulu: Published in English and Roman orthography Inuktitut, irregularly during 1970 and 1971 by the Holman Island Co-op.
We Co-operate: Published in Ottawa.

Whale Cove Country News: Published in Whale Cove.
A Note On The Primary Bibliography

The bibliographical work in this thesis is neither complete nor systematic due to the fact that there are, as yet, no central repositories for Inuit books and periodicals in Canada. Inuit readers valued their written literature but were, unfortunately, forced to use most copies of the early Eskimo language newspapers and magazines as wadding for making cartridges. Later works are scattered at random throughout libraries all over Canada. The following listing represents a wide range of material from all parts of the Canadian Arctic and indicates the kind of literature that Inuit writers have produced in the last fifty years, but the publishing history of the periodicals in particular requires more research beyond the scope of this dissertation. Every effort has been made to provide complete documentation for all entries, but the subject of the research is such that some errors and omissions are unavoidable.
Primary Bibliography


---------. "Legal Control of Land by Inuit." *Atuagvik*, Summer 1979, p. 5.


"Medicines From the Past." Inuit Today, 4, No. 7 (1975), 18-16.

"Trip in Late Spring." Inummarit, 2, No. 3 (1973), p. 7 translation guide.


Aqpiq, Nipisha C. "Big Brother." Inukshuk, 4, No. 22 (1976), 13.

---------. "Hear Us, Feel Us." Nunatsiag News, 4, No. 23 (1976), 17.

---------. "Keep Our Old Way of Life Around Us, Please." Inukshuk, 4, No. 5 (1976), 11.


---------. "This Kid." Inukshuk, 4, No. 5 (1976), 10.


Arnainuk, Jeane. "Cup and Ball Game Ajagarniq." Inummarit, 1, No. 4 (1972), 12, p. 5 translation guide.


"Friend." Interpreter, J, No. 7 (1977), 11.


"Natural." Interpreter, 2, No. 9 (1976), 11.

"Peace of Mind." Interpreter, J, No. 6 (1977), 8.


"A Song For My Dogs." Inuit Today, 4, No. 5 (1975), 75.

"The Message Came in Human Form (My Elder in a Dream)." Inuit Today, 5, No. 1 (1976), p. 49.


"We Inuit." Inuit Monthly, 3, No. 1 (1974), 34.


Atagootiak. "Old Customs." North, 15, No. 2 (1968), 16-17.

"Story of Three Women." North, 14, No. 1 (1967), 16-17.


Bruce, Veronica. "School is Exciting to Eskimo Teacher." Intercom, 11, No. 4 (1968), 8.


"Caribou Hunting." Inunmarit, 1, No. 3 (1972), 3-10, pp. 1-4. translation guide.


-------- "Northern Effords Against Alcohol Abuse; Community Action." Inuit Today, 8, No. 1 (1979), 48-67.


-------- "Wonderful Life." Inuit Today, 4, No. 10 (1975), 41.


"The Dwellers of Ilkip." Innummarit, 1, No. 3 (1972), 27-32, p. 11-12 translation guide.


Cowan, Susan, ed. We Don't Live in Snow Houses Now; Reflections of Arctic Bay. Canada: Canadian Arctic Producers, 1976.


----------. An Inuit Leader Speaks Out on Education. Eskimo Point: Inuit Cultural Institute, n.d.


----------. "First Inuit Picture on Canadian Money." Inuit Today, 4, No. 9 (1975), 32-33,43.


"Eskimo Legend." Midnight Sun Newsletter, April 1968, pp. 5-6.

"Eskimo Story." Messenger, 1 Sept. 1968, p. 3.


Evaloordjuak, Lucy. "In The Spring When the Sun Never Set." Intercom, 12, No. 2 (1969), 25.


"Games." Innumarit, 1, No. 3 (1972), 19-21, p. 7-8 translation guide.

"Games." Innumarit, 1, No. 2 (1972), 24-27, pp. 7-9 translation guide.


Goodwill, Jean, ed. Speaking Together; Canada's Native Woman. Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1975.


---------. "Gable T.V. For Sure This Year." Atuagvik, Summer 1979, p. 11.

---------. "Update on Fisheries." Atuagvik, Summer 1979, p. 4.


----------. A Short Story." Kinatunamot Illengajuk, 1, No. 28 (1976), 4-5.


----------. Untitled. Inummariit, 2, No. 1 (1973), 21-24, p. 6-7 translation guide.


"Hot To Warm and Cool to Cold." *North*, 18, No. 3 (1971), 34-37.


"I Know We Are Different...But." *Inuit Today*, 4, No. 5 (1975), 76-81; 4, No. 6 (1975), 70-73.


--- "Inuit Names: Taken From the Land and Even From a Snot." Inuit Today, 5, No. 6 (1976), 44-47.


--- "Miami Beach, Here We Come." Inuit Today, 6, No. 3 (1977), 82-85.


--- "Mosha Michael; Canada's First Inuk Filmmaker." Inuit Today, 6, No. 5 (1977), 46-52.


--- "N.W.T. Separates From Canada." Inuit Today, 6, No. 6 (1977), 52-60.

--- "Nipikti The Old Man Carver." Inukshuk, 3, No. 50 (1976), 16.

--- "Nunatsiaqmiut Film Premiers on T.V." Inuit Today, 5, No. 3 (1976), 40-46, 75.

"One Of These Wonderful Nights." Inuit Monthly, 3, No. 4 (1974), 64.


"Treat Students as Individuals." Inukshuk, 3, No. 8 (1975), 20.

"Unlucky Thirteen Was Lucky For Me." Inuit Today, 8, No. 1 (1979), 70-71.


"We Are Cold." Inuit Today, 7, No. 1 (1978), 53.


"When Southern Writers Write About the Inuit." Inuit Today, 7, No. 2 (1978), 16-20.


"A Deer Hunt the Old Way." **Kinatuinamot Ilingenjuk**, 1, No. 9 (1975), 6-8.

"A Short Story." **Kinatuinamot Ilingenjuk**, 1, No. 9 (1975), 4-6.


"A Short Story." **Kinatuinamot Ilingenjuk**, 1, No. 6 (1975), 8-9.


Kajuatsiak, Tom. "Letter To Friends." Kinatuinamot Ilengajuk, 1, No. 11 (1975), 4-5.


Kamingoak, Elizabeth. "Inuk and His Husky Dogs." North, 7, No. 6 (1960), 16.


--------. "South Viewed By North American Eskimo." North, 14, No. 6 (1967), 34-35.


"Laugh." Keewatin Echo, No. 50 (1972), p. 11.


Lidd, Abel S. "To Make Young People Listen." Kinatuinamot Illengajuk, 1, No. 11 (1975), 2-3.

"Life of a Walrus." Inuinnarit, 1, No. 2 (1972), 10-14, pp. 3-4 translation guide.


"To Be a Pilot." **Inukshuk,** 3, No. 24 (1975), 8.


Martin, Marlene, ed. **Women in Broughton.** Broughton Island: Qikirtarjuaq School, [1980].


Martin, Susan. "Labrador Memories; When I Was a Child." Translated by Franc McIntosh. **Them Days,** 2, No. 1 (1976), 52-33.


"Innusivut: Our Way of Living." **Beaver,** 289; Spring 1959, pp. 29-36.

Mayutuq, Annie. "Care of Small Babies." **Innumarit,** 1, No. 4 (1927), 10, p. 4 translation guide.


----------. "Mémories." Kinatunamot Illengajik, 2, No. 27 (1978),


Munro, Mary, ed. "Ranginng Women Carvers." North, 22, No. 2 (1975), 46-49.


---------- "Inland Hunting." *Innumarit*, 3, No. 3 (1974); 13-18, pp. 4-6 translation guide.


---------- "Our Qarmaq Burned." *Innumarit*, 1, No. 4 (1972), 6, p. 3 translation guide.


---------- "Want to Help." *Kinatuinamot Illengajuk*., 1, No. 17 (1975), 3-4.


Okkuatsiak, Tom Sr. "Letter Section." Kinatuaamot Illengajuk, 2, No. 21 (1978), 4-5.


"Stratford Shakespearean Festival." Northern Affairs Bulletin, 6, No. 3 (1959), 32.


"What Does it Mean To Be an Eskimo?" North, 9, No. 2 (1962), 26-28.

"What Do the Eskimo People Want?" North, 7, No. 2 (1960), 38-42.

"What Eskimo's Say." North, 8, No. 6 (1961), 44.


Panegoosh, Mary. "Where Are The Stories of My People?" *North,* 9, No. 5 (1962), 16.


--- We Lived By Animals. Ottawa: Dept. of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976.

Rev. of Life With the Eskimaux, by Charles Francis Hall. Inuttuut, Autumn 1972, pp. 16-18.

Rev. of Tales From the Igloo, ed. Maurice Metayer. Inuttuut, Spring 1973, pp. 20-23.


Sala, Jose. "They Came! They Saw! They Almost Took!" Inuttuut, Spring/Summer 1974, pp. 15-21.


Thompson, Mary Atuat. "Then and Now: Where Are We Going?" Issumavvik, May/June 1977, pp. 3-5.

---------, "Wind and Clouds." Inuit Today, 5, No. 11 (1976), 49.


---------, "Thrasher's Christmas Past." The Native Perspective, 1, No. 1 (1976), 24, 25, 44.


--------- "Hark the Herald Angels Sing." Inuit Today, 5, No. 11 (1976), 41-43.

--------- "John Oshutuuq." Inuit Today, 6, No. 2 (1977), 34-37.

--------- "Knock! Knock! Any More Room?" Inuit Today, 5, No. 8 (1976), 30-37.

--------- "Who Teaches the Child?" Inuit Today, 6, No. 6 (1977), 62-65.


"Tamarutartuk." Inummarit, 1, No. 4 (1972), 16-22, pp. 6-9 translation guide.


----------. "Our Fore Fathers Were Courageous." Messenger, 1 Nov. 1968, pp. 3-4.


"Uses of the Stone Oil Lamp." *Inuumarit*, 1, No. 2 (1972), 14-23, pp. 4-7 translation guide.


----------. "World: What Have We Done To You?" *Inuit Today*, 4, No. 6 (1975), 74.


"Were You Once a Tau?" Inuttutuut, Fall and Winter 1967, p. 39.


Secondary Bibliography


---------, "Reading and Writing." Explorations, 3 (1954), 6-17.


"Eskimo Q-Book Packed With Information." North, 11, No. 3 (1964).


---------. "Shaman Language as a Key to an Understanding of Eskimo Culture." Rundschau für Menschen und Menschheitskunde, 1 (1967), 8-12.


---------. "A Special Kind of Collecting; Literature by Inuit Authors." Arts and Culture of the North, 2 (1979), 182-3.


Kleivam, Inge. *"Song Duels in West Greenland - Joking Relationship and Avoidance."* Folk, 13 (1971), 9-36.


---------, "Tracing a Tale; A Short Study of the Kaujjarjuk Theme." North, 14, No. 4 (1967), 59-61.


Panegoosho, Mary. "Where Are The Stories of My People?" North, 9, No. 5 (1962), 16.


Ray, Dorothy Jean. The Bible in Picture Writing." The Beaver, Autumn 1975, pp. 20-23.

"Picture Writing From Buckland, Alaska." Arts and Culture of the North, 5, No. 3 (1981), 339-344.


"No Frigate Like a Book; Developments on the Tentative Standard Orthography for Eskimos." North, 9, No. 1 (1962), 17-20.


END

11·03·86

FIN