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Feature

Gift of the Caribou:
Peter Morgan

by Louis Gagnon

As a carving medium, antler did not achieve ready acceptance. Themes were repetitive, the material lending itself more to the production of look-alike souvenirs than to artistic expression. Author Louis Gagnon applauds Peter Morgan for taking a sculptural approach to the antler, working on a large scale to create expressive works.

Covers ...
Mother Carrying Pot, 1988, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (whale bone, sinew, bone and stone inlay; 61.5 x 44.6 x 38.3 cm; Collection of Samuel and Esther Sarick, on loan to the Art Gallery of Ontario).

Photos: Carlo Catenazzi

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Ignore the totem poles!

Qaggiq '95, the first ever national Inuit cultural festival, conceived and organized by the Inuit Art Foundation and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, proved to be an ideal symposium. Several dozen visual, literary and performing artists from Labrador, northern Quebec, the Keewatin, Baffin, the Kitikmeot, Greenland, Ottawa and elsewhere joined with over 100 other Inuit to talk about and demonstrate their arts to the 15,000 or so people who attended Qaggiq. The festival took place in the Canadian Museum of Civilization's impressive Grand Hall, and the space undoubtedly had something to do with facilitating a dialogue. Theresie Tungilik, who organized representation from each of six Keewatin villages, remarked on how comfortable her group felt in the museum. Although they had never participated in this kind of event before, they were on-site from early morning until closing time, enthusiastically talking with the public, explaining and demonstrating their arts.

The public — casual visitors and determined researchers — obviously got a lot out of the experience. So did Inuit. As Rosemarie Kutpana, president of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, said in an address during the gala dinner organized by Makivik Corporation: "Many southerners were impressed with what they saw and heard today, but I think the real success is in what we have achieved together. We have strengthened our pride in being Inuit, and this is an achievement that will only strengthen us as a people."

The dominating presence of the Northwest coast material culture which decorates the CMC's Grand Hall created some confusion in the minds of those members of the public who aren't entirely sure that Inuit aren't Indians. Totem poles and lodges form the backdrop in most of the photos I've seen, and Qaggiq participants reported that they were asked many times how they were related to the Northwest coast people. I met a teacher from Philadelphia who told me that the textbook she uses in her class describes Canadian Inuit as a tribe of Indians!

Apart from the difficulty of demonstrating the Inuit culture under these conditions, some of the confusion is the result of the switch in 1972 or thereabouts from "Eskimo" to "Inuit." Most people do distinguish between Eskimos and Indians, but people still ask whether the Eskimos are all dead now and where Inuit come from. This confusion of identity also derives from the 1939 ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada that Eskimos were to be treated as Indians and administered under the Indian Act (thus making them a federal rather than a provincial responsibility). Land claims settlements changed that official status, but Inuit are still not well-known, even in Ottawa where many Inuit organizations have offices. It was for this reason, says Rosemarie Kutpana, that she supported the idea of doing Qaggiq.

We are using our tenth anniversary year to consult with readers and key people in a number of sectors. Over 300 completed reader surveys are now being tabulated and results will be reported in the fall issue. Although virtually all of the respondents are happy with the periodical as it is, there were some suggestions that are already being put into effect. Also, those of you who read mastheads will note that we have reactivated our Editorial Advisory Committee, replacing the honory position of contributing editor. I thank Cynthia Cook, Peter Millard and George Swinton for their support of Inuit Art Quarterly and take this opportunity to introduce the members of the Editorial Advisory Committee: Marion (Mame) Jackson, an Inuit art specialist, teaches art history at Ottawa's Carleton University; Ruth Phillips, a specialist in Native North American and African Arts, also teaches at Carleton; Doris Shadbolt, art historian and curator, is author of two books on Emily Carr and one on Bill Reid; John Terriak, an artist living in Nain, Labrador, is currently president of the Inuit Art Foundation, and Theresie Tungilik, designer and arts administrator, is vice-president of the Foundation. I look forward to working with this dynamic committee as we continue to open up discussion of Inuit art to a broad range of thinkers, north and south. MM
Gift of the CARIBOU:
Peter Morgan

by Louis Gagnon

Peter Morgan's prints and sculptures have appeared in more than 20 group exhibitions since 1978, but the first solo exhibition of his caribou antler carving did not occur until September 1993. Gallery Aux Multiples Collections Inc. on rue Sainte-Anne in the old section of Quebec City displayed 20 or so of his works enclosed solemnly in a glass case. Morgan's creations infused life into the space with their playful curves and warm, slightly pinkish colour, ranging from light to dark brown. Visitors contorted themselves in front of the windows for a better view of the details carved into the segments of caribou antler.

In spite of the limited number of works shown, this event provided insight into Morgan's sculpture. It was an opportunity to see the work of this relatively obscure artist from Kangiqsualujjuaq (George River) in Nunavik (northern Quebec), and to gain a glimpse of his personal world. To commemorate the end of the summer season, gallery owner Raymond Brousseau asked Morgan to create a caribou antler work in the courtyard adjoining the gallery, where the public could meet the artist and watch him at work. Visibly amused and delighted to share his experience, Morgan provided calm and thoughtful answers in English to the questions put to him by onlookers. The major attraction was his artist's hands waltzing across a full set of caribou antlers to leave a trail of figurative elements, ranging in length from 15 to 20 cm each. He worked without a plan or drawings.

While in Quebec, Morgan spent his mornings visiting museums, galleries, and artists' studios to learn about production, distribution and art conservation methods practised in the South. In the afternoons, he sculpted his caribou antlers, later named The Quebec Antlers, outside Gallery Aux Multiples Collections, patiently drawing his designs directly on them.

These were the third full set of caribou antlers Morgan had ever worked on. (He first completed a full set in 1988, at the urging of Peter Murdoch, General Manager of La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec.) With considerable inventiveness, Morgan slipped a rope around the two main tines of the antlers, firmly securing both ends to a 2 x 6 inch board fastened to a metal fire escape. In this way, the antlers were well supported and he was free to move about them to view his work in progress. Antler carving requires tremendous concentration, since the artist must remember the most minor details already carved, to ensure that they do not interfere with the patterns to come. Using a flexible-shaft drill equipped with interchangeable bits, Morgan carved the outline of a seal, a pair of kamiik (boots), and the prints of bare feet.
On his last day in Quebec City, Morgan told me that he had decided to portray two legends on these antlers. This was an idea that had come to him after walking outdoors one day following a long interview we'd had in Berthierville, beside the St. Lawrence River. In this work, he combined the legend of a woman who changes into a narwhal, and the Lumaaq legend that tells of a wicked woman who was punished by her son. The common element in these stories is two women plunging into water, one changing into a narwhal and the other being eternally dragged behind an enormous beluga whale.

The text accompanying print no. 8 in the catalogue Peter Morgan (1976) tells the story of the woman who changes into a narwhal:

This is the story of a woman whose husband used her as a dog. He made her pull her komatik (sled) and he whipped her when she had trouble pulling the heavy load. During one such whipping, she broke her trace and ran away. She dove into the water and became a narwhal. The husband, fearful of losing her, ran after her calling, 'I love you and cannot lose you. Come back.' Her only answer was, 'You whipped me.'

Morgan pointed out to me that the annulated (ringed) patterns of the seal-skin clothing resemble the narwhal hide, that the train of the female garment (akuq) is shaped like the narwhal's tail, and that the woman's hair, tied into a single braid, becomes the long spiral barbs of the narwhal.

It is interesting to note that he combined the legend of the woman who changes into a narwhal with the Lumaaq legend, described in Inuit Stories: Povungnituk by Zebedee Nungak and Eugene Arima. Lumaaq is about a young blind man who, upon recovering his sight, takes revenge on his wicked mother by harpooning a large beluga whale that carries her along behind it forever. Franz Boas entitled the same story, "Origin of the narwhal" (1974: 625–7) because, at the end of his version, the mother also changes into a narwhal.

Morgan's visit to Quebec City ended with a final demonstration of antler carving at the Musée de la civilisation. When he left Quebec after a week of visits and workshop activity, he had used up roughly one-third of the antler he had brought with him from Kangiqsualujjuaq. Returning north by plane, he took with him an unfinished set of antlers and what he called "strange ideas" of the southern artists whose work he had seen in galleries and museums.
Antler carving in Nunavik

Kangiqsualujjuaq is located close to an annual migration route used by the largest caribou herd in the world. It was inevitable that the people there would look for a way to use the wealth of antlers left over from intensive hunting. Though little has been written about antler carving in Nunavik, what does exist helps place Peter Morgan's work in better perspective. Geographer Michel Brochu visited most Nunavik communities in 1965, travelling under instructions from the Quebec Department of Cultural Affairs to collect representative examples of artistic production and utilitarian objects.

Following this trip, he drafted one of the first descriptions of the sculpture being done in Kangiqsualujjuaq (Brochu 1966: 19):

Until recent years, Port Nouveau-Québec [Kangiqsualujjuaq] ... was like all the other posts around Ungava Bay, lacking a true sculptural tradition apart from utilitarian carving to make oil lamps or the Eskimo steeple dishes. Then, around 1965, the Whites encouraged the Eskimo to carve to increase their income, and stone was imported. The results have been uncertain as yet. First, we note a lack of unity in the stone, which consists of four different varieties. As well, the plasticity of the animal sculptures in particular is rather mediocre. Among the pieces acquired, two stand apart, exhibiting a certain originality of line: a howling Dog (or Wolf) and an Arctic Hare at rest.

Brochu makes no mention of antler carvings but, in Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo), some 160 kilometres south, he found one sculptor who regularly worked on caribou antler: "Fort Chimo fills a strange place in the field of Eskimo art. It is an outpost where only one genuine sculptor works: Jimmy QOQTOQ [capitals in original], who has the dual distinction of being blind and using the antlers of Caribou from the barrens ... as his sculpting material."

Apparently, the small sculptures of Jiimi Kuuttuq Qungiaq [Qoqtoq] failed to catch the attention of La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec [FCNQ], the distributor of art from northern Quebec, then based in Lévis, near Quebec City. A 1968 catalogue of Povungnituk prints and sculptures contained a schematic map indicating the specialties of Nunavik communities. Kuujjuaq was represented by a sealskin ookpik (inspired by the snowy owl created by Jeannie Snowball in 1963), while the symbol for Kangiqsualujjuaq was an antler work by Similini Baron, now in the collection of the Musée de la civilisation in Quebec.

The Baron carving featured two, quite similar, seal hunting scenes, the largest outlined on the top of a fan-shaped antler segment, mounted on an antler base. Below the first scene, the smaller is reversed from left to right, depicting a hunter with arms outstretched thrusting a harpoon at a small seal. This second scene is cut in a slightly transluscent brown contrasting material, possibly caribou hoof.

The same flattened treatment was used in a 1968 work signed by Tivi Etook, Peter Morgan's father-in-law. This latter work, now in the collection of the Musée de la civilisation, consists of two panels decorated with figurative elements carved into caribou antlers and depicting traditional scenes of Inuit life. The work was accompanied by syllabic texts in balloons, similar to those used in cartoons (Saucier and Kedl 1988: 42-3).
Although most publications overlooked the development of antler sculpture in Kangiqsualujjuaq, there were some indications in the 1970s that antler work could be considered a distinguishing feature of this Ungava Bay village. Among other things, a 1977 issue of Artisanat Québécoise (Noel 1977: 385) included an antler work by Johnny Morgan (Peter’s brother) to illustrate differences in treatments of the bird theme among three Nunavik villages: Kuujjuaq [Great Whale River], Povungnituk and Kangiqsualujjuaq.

The first historical summary (it is brief) of the development of antler sculpture in Kangiqsualujjuaq was provided by Marybelle Myers [Mitchell] in the Things made by Inuit exhibition catalogue published in 1980 (p. 43): “Great mounds of antler had accumulated [in George River] over the years as a by-product of caribou hunting,” she writes, but it wasn’t until the early 1970s when Gabriel Gely was hired by La Fédération to develop an art program for the community that it began to be used as a carving material. People began making tupi/aks — spirit figures — and letter openers.

In spite of a growing number of Inuit art publications in the 1980s, antler work is not much in evidence. FCNQ did, however, feature a few antler carvings, including one by Morgan, in its promotional brochures. A brief chapter in The First Passionate Collector: The Ian Lindsay Collection of Inuit Art (Wight 1991: 138–41), a catalogue that accompanied an exhibition at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, showed some Kangiqsualujjuaq works, including five antler carvings by Peter Morgan, and one each from Noah Annanack and Josepi Sam Annanack.

In short, caribou antler carvings never really gained public acceptance. Often worked on small pieces of antler, these sculptures were invariably relegated to the inferior “craft” category. Measuring less than 40 cm long, they often rocked precariously. Their typical cylindrical form (rarely exceeding 5 cm in diameter) afforded little support. As well, the limited range of antler colours — from ivory yellow to pinkish brown to dark brown — caused the material to be mistaken for carved bone. As a carving medium, antler did not achieve ready acceptance.

There was considerable repetition in the themes used and, when rare departures were made, they were often reworked to the point of becoming stock copies. Near production-line manufacturing of small, decorative pieces was the norm, rather than expressive works requiring research, personal vision and inspiration. All the more reason that artists like Peter Morgan should be applauded for their effort to effect a change in scale, tackling a full set of antlers and experimenting with different materials and techniques.

PETER MORGAN’S SCULPTURAL ART

Morgan says that he began sculpting in 1964, around the age of 12. He remembers that the first work he did portrayed mainly small birds, polar bears and seals using stone imported into George River from the South.¹ He says he learned to carve by watching his father, Joseph Morgan. He has no recollection of Gely’s
work in Kangiqsualujjuaq, possibly because he had no major interest in sculpture at the time.

In the mid-1970s, Morgan became known as a printmaker. Having been introduced to the rudiments of printmaking by his father-in-law, Tivi Etook, he took a six-month leave of absence from his job to devote himself to producing several stonecut prints which FCNQ published in 1976 as a solo collection, Peter Morgan. Unfortunately, while the two printmakers were away at their hunting camp, the building Peter and his father-in-law used for their studio was taken over by the co-op to house a family. Morgan's artistic career changed course abruptly; he began to specialize in sculpting caribou antler. He did considerable experimenting in carving antler and bone with a flexible-shaft drill. Fisher and Furbacher had taught him techniques for polishing with an abrasive paste.

The few examples in the Lindsay catalogue of Morgan's antler works from that period reveal an obvious talent for innovative subject matter. The highly contrasting black eyes enliven his eccentric, caricature-like creations. With few exceptions, these three-dimensional works include little realistic detail. Only an enormous “mosquito” reveals an interest in the more naturalistic treatment of subject.

But, in spite of the unusual appearance of some of these creatures, they are portrayed with such descriptive realism that they become credible and plausible.

The themes grow tamer in the 1980s, and the style loses its three-dimensionality. From that time on, Morgan would represent single subjects less often, placing more emphasis on engraving the outline or profile of several subjects on the curved surface of his caribou antler fragments. This transition to a more two-dimensional form of expression seems to stem from his engraver's background; the same curved lines were used in his mid-1970s prints to represent people and animals.

In his carvings, Morgan uses a curved line to encircle the subject and set it more clearly apart from the support material (antler). This is a technique that has grown in sophistication. He even goes so far as to double or, even, triple this line, which sometimes acquires a figurative function by representing waves around an animal. In other cases, it serves a more symbolic, and therefore conventional, purpose, simply offsetting the general shape of the subject (as in a bubble).

The FCNQ antlers

Around 1988, a year before FCNQ opened its new offices in Baie d'Urfe [near Montreal], Peter Murdoch personally asked Morgan to take up the challenge of sculpting a full set of antlers. Carving the entire surface of a full set of caribou antlers necessitates using a large number of figures. He shows groups of figures juxtaposed, as if to be counted or enumerated. Morgan was already employing this concept whenever he had to cover a large surface. With this juxtaposition, he develops an interactive dialogue from scene to scene, in which at least two protagonists come into confrontation.
Since working on his first full set of antlers, he has begun to draw on the oral tradition, depicting old stories, or what Morgan, using the English word, refers to as “legends.” He makes the link between his sculpture and the stories by “borrowing” a passage he assumes is familiar to other people, hoping in this way to establish a dynamic relationship between the viewer and the sculpture.

I call Morgan’s preferred compositional structure “enumeration,” by which I mean a number of figurative patterns (an animal, character, footprint or any other repeated image). Juxtaposed, these figurative patterns convey an action specific to the figure: a seal swims, an otter sniffs, a walrus emerges, etc. The chinks or “blank” spaces between the represented subjects are generally filled to overflowing. Very often, deep-set, parallel lines highlight the visual dynamics of the highly curvaceous iconography. In his most complex works, Morgan introduces clues that associate some of the depicted elements with stories from oral legends. Also, his work sometimes depicts scenes of a chase between a predator and its intended victim.

At another level, we note an effort to highlight certain sections of the caribou antlers as an infrastructure for creating visual images which may signify a link to the Inuit land. The antler segment, taken as part of the whole, evokes the animal that bore the antlers: the caribou. The material authenticates the work’s northern origins.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE WORK

After analyzing approximately 50 of Morgan’s works produced since 1978, a few general observations can be made. To begin with, he does not title his carvings, nor does he always sign his work. When he does, however, he uses a felt pen or, more often, carves his first name, “Pita,” in syllabic characters, with two footprints of the Qupitalik (white-crowned sparrow), the small birds he watched as a young child. His approach to engraving shows deep respect for the original form of the antler, cut in 35 cm to 50 cm lengths. He also plays with the antlers’ capricious shapes. Sometimes, his figures mould themselves to fit the sharp antler tips or outgrowths. Ingeniously, he draws a walrus tusk protruding beyond the surface of the antlers to serve as a crutch that stabilizes and displays the piece in a more dynamic position.

He also plays with contrasts in the material, its surface polished to a brilliant shine and, even, colour. He cuts deeply to expose the warm, pinkish brown colours that darken as he gets closer to the antler’s marrow. At this point, his graphic sensibility seems to come to the fore: his illustrations sensuously covering the tubular shape of the antler’s tines. He has told me that he prefers caribou antlers because they are softer to work with than moose, which is very hard and wears out his drill bits faster. He also prefers antler to stone and, while in Quebec, declined the offer of a piece of magnificent green serpentine. He confided to me at the time that he much prefers antler because it creates less dust and is easier on his drill bits.

Morgan’s drawings are outlines of the subjects. The only real details are the eyes (black dots held in place through an inlaying technique he developed which...
involves drilling a hole with a sharp bit, into which he inserts a small, pre-cut piece of black plastic tubing), to make ears, paws, claws or wrinkles (for the walrus) and juxtaposed lines of a texture resembling fur or feathers. Apart from the closed shapes that offset his figured subjects, linear textures are used to represent waves, the earth or, simply, as decorative elements to fill empty spaces and adorn the engraved surface.

The presenting line that traces the figured subjects is engraved in a "V" shape. The outer side with its closed shape is longer to give the work more depth and bring the figured subject to the fore without totally setting it apart from the antler. Although he tends to work his antler pieces as two surfaces — or two low reliefs back to back — the animal shapes figured are often set diagonally and create a spiral motion around the relatively cylindrical shape of the antler. The animals are positioned in every direction: to the left, right, top and bottom. The general outline of each body allows one to overlap another. No "blank" space is left.

By covering the antlers with all this arctic wildlife, Morgan creates a kinetic universe, one which requires the observer to physically move in order to view the entire work, or to turn it over to expose all its angles. Frontality is discarded.

Morgan’s work has to be rotated lengthwise to be fully appreciated, as he typically indicates before handing us a piece. Holding it in front of his body, he slowly turns it, not stopping for long, although a few details usually demand a closer examination. This attitude towards the object conveys the importance of the kinetic experience in which the body is involved in a sensual experience with the subject.

Truncated animals often figure in Morgan’s work, primarily the heads of seals, walruses or birds that emerge from nowhere and provide a point of contact with the surface on which the work rests. Cutting the chunks of antler so that one or several of the cut sections provides a point of contact as a base for the sculpture allows the artist to conceal the cut and give the pieces greater stability. Otherwise, they would tend to roll or rock. This stability also helps display the work from a special vantage point and injects it with energy.

THE AMBIGUITY OF NEAR AND FAR

Juxtaposed, Morgan’s animal figurations defy the laws of linear perspective: the larger the figure, the closer it appears. It is interesting to note that, though well-proportioned, the birds always seem closer than the mammals. Should we be reminded of young Morgan who, as a child, enjoyed watching birds up close? He told me that when he was young, long before becoming a teenager, he would hide in the bushes to watch the white-crowned sparrow nest. He would sit motionless for hours, watching the adult birds feed their young. When the parents went off in search of food, he would take up where they left off, feeding the fledglings from his fingertips.²
Born September 26, 1950, Morgan's early years were spent in Akillasuiauq Bay, on the Ungava coast. According to his elder brother, Billy, the family name, "Morgan," came from the paternal grandfather, Makaluk, whose surname was changed by a Hudson's Bay clerk, Apparently a Scotsman, who found the Inuit name difficult to pronounce.

His mother died when he was five, leaving his father, Joseph Morgan (1914-85), to raise him, his sister and two brothers. In the late 1950s, the family moved to the small town of Port Nouveau-Quebec (George River in English, but now known by its Inuit name, Kangiqsualujjuaq), on the east coast of Ungava Bay. From 1960 to 1968, Morgan attended the federal school in his village. When he was 18, he left to make a living hunting and fishing. Set up in a small camp not far from the village, he hunted caribou by dog-sled.

In 1971, he spent nine months at the Laval Hospital in St. Foy (a suburb of Quebec City) undergoing tuberculosis treatment. During this time, Morgan learned to speak French, but gradually lost it later for want of practice. On returning to Kangiqsualujjuaq, he accepted a job at the co-op and was sent for training to Ivvujivik on the Hudson's Bay coast. This job didn't last long and, a short time later, he moved back to Port Nouveau-Quebec, finding the Inuit name difficult to pronounce.

The work-day was done - at nights he carved in the board's workshop which has electricity for his power tools. Now possessing his own tools, Morgan is glad to be able to work when he wants. Lately, he has been carving smaller, 15 to 26 cm pieces of antler. Morgan is also making some jewellery from caribou antler. His wife, Minnie, often helps him finish his carvings. She draws too, and their works often combine well.

Morgan returned to work at house maintenance for the municipality of Kangiqsualujjuaq. It was only after the work-day was done — at nights and on weekends — that this father of six could turn his attention to sculpting. Because he shared the tools of his father-in-law, Tivi Etook, he could also have his power tools.

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To watch Morgan work, one can hardly help thinking magically, like Jean, a 3 year old who was so amazed by the beauty of the antler and the minute detail of the artist's execution that, during the demonstration at the Musee de la civilisation, he asked Morgan, quite candidly, whether he planned to give the magnificent antlers back to the caribou.

NOTES

1 Because we can converse in English and, sometimes, in Inuktitut, Morgan spoke at length about himself and his art. I also had an opportunity to interview Morgan several times after the week we spent together in Quebec City. Since September 1993, we have spoken at least three times, and we met again in December 1993 when he was accompanying his son, Peter Jr., to Montreal for intensive treatment of infantile leukemia.

2 In Things made by Inuit (p. 43), and in the Laouild Animal Imagery in Inuit Art exhibition catalogue (p. 89), we see two works portraying a white-crowned sparrow nest in which an adult is feeding its young. In both cases, Morgan ingeniously used the skull of a caribou to make the nest from which the small heads of the hungry birds emerge. The law twigs near the skull serve as a support to enhance or stabilize the scene, and to represent the branches of the bush.

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Kyes [Mitchell], Marybelle

Noel, Michel


Saucier, Celine, and Eugene Kedl

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JUDAS ULLULAQLQ:

“It appears that I will live to be an old man, in which case you’ll still find me carving.”
An interview by Simeonie Kunnuk
with additional questions by Janet McGrath

Judas Ullulaq, a carver from Gjoa Haven, was interviewed in Inuktitut by Simeonie Kunnuk on August 17, 1994 by telephone. This interview was later translated by Janet McGrath, a friend of Ullulaq’s. McGrath called Ullulaq to inform him she had just translated his interview and asked if he had anything to add to his previous comments. Some of his additional remarks to her are included here.

Simeonie Kunnuk: Can you tell me about your family?

Judas Ullulaq: My wife died about five years ago, and my children — I have five, two boys and three girls. The girls are the eldest. They all have partners, but there is a problem of instability in their relationships. I counsel them on this, you know, as I am their wise but ineffectual elder (laughs). They all have partners and there are many children among them. This is my family.

Kunnuk: Yes, I see. Do you carve?

Ullulaq: Yes, I carve a great deal. I carve all the time. I have four adopted sons, too. The eldest of them is very good at the English language. He has travelled south quite a bit and learned the Qablunaaq way very well. He is here by my side now. This is my family in Gjoa Haven. Many of them were raised in Gjoa Haven. I am always carving — all day, every day. I don’t exert myself, but I work at it steadily. As long as I am well, I am usually carving. I have my children, and I am not hungry. I become bored if I stop carving and do nothing. So carving is a part of my everyday life. I just carve happily every day, enjoying my time.

Kunnuk: When was it that you began to carve?

Ullulaq: I’m not sure. My daughters were little when I began ... how old is my eldest, Qamukkaaq? She was tiny when I began to carve. Back then I used to do little things, like a caribou for instance. That’s what was in demand. I’d make little models with scenes of igloos, dog teams, houses, skidoos. It was back when my eldest daughter was very small that I started. The money was very little and it was hard to make a living. Then our family moved to Spence Bay [Taloyoak] because my daughter was of school age. It was a while before I carved again. When I did start carving again, the carving material, such as the whale bone, had begun to be shipped out to us by plane. Then some of my fellow carvers — some a bit older than I — died, and I was left. I remain well myself.

Kunnuk: So you have pretty much carved all along?

Ullulaq: As long as I have the materials to carve with. I carve. I need proper tools as well. I have three [daughters] to look after, and I didn’t always have what I needed to carve to earn the money regularly. I have struggled greatly in the past. When one has to resort to welfare, it is not usually enough to live on. But carving sometimes only supplements welfare. It is very difficult to ask for social assistance from the Qablunaaq. I always feel intimidated by the system, as do many Inuit. This is our way. At first I would get $10 or $20 for each piece I brought in and, eventually, I achieved the $100 mark. But at that time, some of my pieces were not bringing in very much at all, and some were even returned to me. But I was always optimistic, even when I received $10, because at least it was something.

Kunnuk: And do you carve a lot more compared to that earlier time?

Ullulaq: Yes, now I have gone beyond the $10 range. I can get skidoos and three-wheelers and others things I need. Not all at once, of course. I pay one thing off and then pay the next thing.
But if there is something that I really want, I buy it before I pay off the previous bill totally. I have used my carving income to make a very big konuak [sled] with a covered canopy. I’ve also acquired a kayak which is a good size and it goes fast. My carving income can buy household items, pay for the house expenses and food. I would say I am in the upper income category in my town. But it wasn’t always so. I still have things today that I am paying off.

**Kunnuk:** You didn’t have any job other than carving, and yet you achieved this?

**Ullulaq:** Yes, I haven’t ever had any other form of employment. And my sons, daughters, and three sons-in-law don’t need support now. But, because

I don’t like to just consider myself. I do share with them a token of my income. I don’t always have a good amount of money, because things have increased in price. Just last year in the spring and the summer, my daughters — probably out of their concern for me — got jobs with incomes. This they could do because they learned English. That made me very happy. I am grateful for the relief that their employment brings. I have always carved, I will always carve. It appears that I will live to be an old man, in which case you’ll still find me carving. As long as my health is good, and I breathe well, I will be carving. I must take precautions and look after myself. When I carve, I make a lot of dust, especially when I am sawing. Then I cut down on my breathing for a long time, so I’m not inhaling the dust. I usually do the rough work outdoors, and do the finer work inside with, for instance, hand files. I counselled the younger carvers at a recent workshop in Inuvik that they should be very careful of the dust hazard when carving.

**Kunnuk:** And you must, of course, do some hunting?

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**Archer, 1988, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven** (whale bone, sinew, antler, bone, stone; 31 cm high; collection of Samuel and Esther Sarick, Art Gallery of Ontario).
Ullulaq: Yes, I hunt. I am in need of nothing. Food is plentiful. I have a good boat, good skidoo, good sled, good three-wheeler, good all around transportation for hunting for food. I allow my sons and sons-in-law to use my vehicles, except for my Honda three-wheeler. I prize that too highly, and keep it to myself. I derive a lot of pleasure from my dear Honda. They are stable vehicles and good for the in-between weather. I go hunting a lot, but I don't go overnight. One of my sons-in-law is a very good hunter for seals and square flippers. We go together. But when the sea lift comes in, we don't go out as much. This is my usual routine.

Kunnuk: Do you have enough now?

Ullulaq: Yes, I have enough. Things are good. There were a few adjustments we had to make. My eldest son had to go to Yellowknife. I felt sorry for him. I lost a travelling companion. I realized that I would have to be independent. But then I was included on a trip to Inuvik. I travelled with two other Inuit. And so it goes...

Kunnuk: Yes, really.

Ullulaq: I have a great deal of help, here in Gjoa Haven. The police come to visit, to buy carvings and, perhaps, to befriend me. They invite me over for coffee. They are genuine in their approach, and I trust that they truly want to be friends with me. Even though we don't share a word of each other's language, we have a genuine friendship. I was surprised by this. I have no concerns, no pressing worries.

Above: Hunting Scene, 1981, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (antler and sinew; 9.0 x 25.0 x 28.5 cm; collection of Canadian Arctic Producers).

Hunter with Bird, 1981, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (whale bone, antler and sinew; 27.0 x 37.5 x 42.5 cm; collection of Canadian Arctic Producers).
Kunnuk: Wonderful, great! And now could you share with us some general concerns?

Ullulaq: Well, my son in Yellowknife is something I think about a great deal. He is due to come home very soon. I think about him and wish that he was home, my dear eldest. He has three sisters. My sons all married early and they have a number of children. One of them is 7 years old. I am raising my adopted son with the expectation that he won’t marry so early. He will have a decision to make sometime. I feel for him. He is a real half-white child, really part-white. A young boy. Nothing uncomfortable is pressing on me today.

Kunnuk: Great. What about the trials you encountered as a beginning carver?

Ullulaq: Yes. When my carvings brought in precious little money, it was difficult to keep motivated. I used to be very discouraged when a piece was low-priced. I would have to go for welfare assistance, and I really wouldn’t have enough to survive. I have carved from my early youth until now. Back when I was in Spence Bay, I was struggling on welfare. Sometimes it is enough and sometimes it is hard to live on. When things were tough and I wanted to buy some Qablunaq food for my dear daughters I would rush to make a carving to sell for some cash. When the assistance cheque was due to arrive, I would slow down on my carving, and pick up later with a frenzy when I had nothing left to give the children. But after surviving that crisis so many times, I realized that carving could be a more stable source of income. Going between carving and welfare was not a good way. So, as soon as I could, I stopped using the assistance. I am happy today, I am independent, and I am not waiting for the next cheque to arrive for my survival.

Kunnuk: It has been a pleasure hearing you speak. I want to thank you very much.

Shaman Muskox, n.d., Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (black stone, caribou tusk, ivory and bone; 15.5 x 27.0 in.; collection of Dr. Don Morgan).

Kunnuk: What about the trials you encountered as a beginning carver?

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Kunnuk: It has been a pleasure hearing you speak. I want to thank you very much.

Right: Face, c. 1972, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (whale bone; 10.8 x 9.3 x 4.0 cm; Klamer Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario).
Man and Seal, 1982, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (stone, whale bone, antler; 28 cm high; Canadian Arctic Producers).

Ullulaq: I can say a bit more. Our life is such that some have things, and some don't have enough to survive. I think about how this is for people. I think about the poor people and their struggle and I feel sort of helpless. I gain a sense of satisfaction when I notice the poor people working harder at their carving. I just wanted to add that. Your organization should be aware of this. It is so pitiful - the plight of those who have absolutely nothing. One would wish a means of living for each of them, but sometimes this doesn't always work out. There are rumours that the cost of housing is going to increase. I'm not on the committee, but I've heard this circulating for a while now. This has been on my mind. I mentioned this concern when I was in Inuvik, where I was interviewed on TV. My sons and daughters will not be able to afford their own houses if the cost increases. For my (adopted ones) this won't be as difficult a change because, when I leave the house we have, they will have it. I will go out and make an igloo to live in, as this will be okay for me. Anyway, I just wanted to add that worry that I have about the increase in housing. That's about it for now.

Man with Spear, 1981, Judas Ullulaq, Gjoa Haven (bone antler; 39.5 x 34.0 x 25.0 cm).

Kunnuk: This is very interesting.

Ullulaq: Yes... down there in Inuvik there was some kind of international award given out. I wasn't trying to do anything to get this. Some people are not so nice. But my attitude is that one must be happy in life. There's nothing to gain in misery. Some things are difficult and one has no control over some situations. I made the Qablunaqs laugh with my teasing them. I was always in a play fight with this one elderly American lady. People seemed to love my humour down there. It is very important to travel and make these new contacts.

Kunnuk: I've run out of questions. Perhaps you would like to comment on what the future holds for carving? For instance from when you started to now, when prices of the carving are better. What is the current trend you perceive?

Ullulaq: A while back, the market began to improve and my carvings were being sold steadily, by the co-op, The Bay [Hudson's Bay Company] and in European markets. This was when I was able to make a living from my carving. As long as there was someone to
buy my work. Then I was told by The Bay that my prices were too high for them. So it wasn't always a smooth way. But today, if I carve steadily, because there are many Qablunaats, I usually can find a buyer. Many local people try to sell door to door, but I usually have my buyers come to me. They also make special orders, for instance, smaller sized pieces. So I fill special orders for them. They are very grateful to me.

Janet McGrath: This is your daughter's innaaqatik [little friend], the Qablunaat one... you were interviewed by Simeoni. I listened to the Inuktitut recording of that, and I have translated it.

Ullulaq: Yes!

McGrath: As I have translated your words into English, I am calling so that I could talk further with you.

Ullulaq: Yes! You translated the interview into English and you know the English language very well. I am very grateful to you. You are assisting greatly!

McGrath: Here at the place relating to carvers, in Ottawa [Inuit Art Foundation], the people who are set up to help carvers, not the people that market carvings, but the supporters of carvers.

Ullulaq: Oh yes!

McGrath: Here I am translating Inuktitut words into English.
Ullulaq: Boundless gratitude! You are set up there! I was taped for the purpose of my thoughts being shared ... I thank the person who interviewed me ... and I am grateful to you for translating it! This is a wonderful opportunity. Any time you want to talk to me I am available. You have permission to tape me ... my little adopted one interrupted by grabbing the telephone ...

McGrath: I want to tape you without asking you any questions ... it's just a chance for you to reflect and share something of your experience. If there is anything you want conveyed, I will relate it for you in the English language ... so if there is anything to say, please go ahead.

Ullulaq: The tape that I did before ... I mentioned the topic of work safety. We do a lot of work on the raw material to make a carving ... and this means that there is a lot of dust created from working on a single piece. This is a work hazard for carvers. In the spring, while I was in Iruvik, I was demonstrating carving. I counselled the younger ones that they shouldn't produce the carving dust inside, but to do it outside. I was very thorough in my explanation to them. The dust is hazardous to a person's breathing this I know. While I have been carving for a long time, I am well so far because work outside — even in the cold weather. I don't want to expose my children in the house to this dust. Carving can be a good source of income, and it is an enjoyable activity when the stone is good. It seems that every year there is at least one young person who is forced to stop carving due to their state of health. They do the dusty work inside, and then they become ill. I was very strong in my message to the carvers this spring. If a carver wants to be able to work, then they must take the necessary precautions to protect themselves from stone dust. This goes for anyone who carves. Inuk or Qablunaaq. Carving can be very fulfilling and enjoyable with the necessary forethought. It is a source of income, and can bring about a small amount of economic relief. That is my main point.

Ullulaq's work was first exhibited in 1977 at Toronto's Inuit Gallery in a show entitled Miniatures from Pelly Bay, Repulse Bay, Spence Bay. His work appeared with increasing frequency in commercial and public galleries in the early and mid-1980s. The Inuit Gallery was also the site of his first solo exhibition, in March 1983. In October of that year, the McMichael Canadian Collection in Kleinburg, Ontario included some of his work in Inuit Masterworks: Selections from the Collection of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Ullulaq's work is now in several permanent collections, including: the Art Gallery of Ontario (Toronto, Ontario), the Dennos Museum Center (Traverse City, Michigan), the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre (Guelph, Ontario), the Museum of Anthropology (University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC), the Winnipeg Art Gallery, and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (Yellowknife, Northwest Territories). Ullulaq has travelled to New York, Vancouver, Germany, and Italy for exhibition openings. Born in 1937 in Thom Bay, north-east of Taloyoak [Spence Bay], he has two brothers, Nelson Takkiruq of Gjoa Haven, and Charlie Ugyuk of Taloyoak, both of whom are sculptors. The three were featured in an exhibition at Gallery Indigena in Stratford, Ontario, in 1989.
Qaggiq '95, the first ever national Inuit cultural festival, was attended by 15,000 people. Conceived and organized by the Inuit Art Foundation and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, it took place in the Grand Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec on February 18 and 19. Intended to show the living culture of Inuit, Qaggiq '95 included demonstrations, displays and performances of games, music, dance, drama, visual arts, northern television, and clothing by over 100 Inuit. "I saw Inuit from across Canada, sharing our culture not only with southerners, but also with each other; an event like Qaggiq promotes our collective strength as a people," said Rosemarie Kuptana, President of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Following Qaggiq, Inuit Tapirisat is organizing a similar, but much larger event, Inuit Spirit of the Arctic, to run over 18 days at Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition (August 18 to September 4, 1995).

Over 15,000 people visited Qaggiq in the Grand Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Korrina Harvey modelling a western style parka.
Qaggiq '95

1. Madelaine Allakariallak modelling an updated duffle ensemble.
2. Joanna Terriak in the Labrador booth.
3. Carving demonstration organized by the Inuit Art Foundation.
5. Kik Shappa, of Pond Inlet, doing a harpoon throw outside the Canadian Museum of Civilization.
6. Monica Ittusardjuat demonstrating juggling.
7. Carver Simata Pitsiulak of Lake Harbour, now living in Iqaluit.


10. Mattiusi lyaituk, from Ijuivik, demonstrating carving in the Children's Museum at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

11. Elder Leah ldouit telling Inuit stories.
1. Simon Tookoome of Baker Lake doing a whip demonstration.

2. Roland Alerk, of Baker Lake, participating in an Inuit game.

3. Ayaraq game demonstration.

4. Alicie Tulugak and Nellie Nungak, throat singers from Povungnituk, Nunavik.

5. Serapio Ittusardjuat, of Igloolik, and Kik Shappa, of Pond Inlet, giving a whip demonstration outside the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

7. Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers: Danny A. Gordon (left) and Jimmy John Meyook (right), both of Aklavik.

8. Inuit Art Foundation employees, Matthew Fox and Karen MacIntyre, at the Information Booth.


10. Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers on stage in the Grand Hall.

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Congratulations to the organizers of Qaggiq '95 for involving us in a rewarding and wonderful festival. And thanks to our clients for buying north. By using a communications firm with offices and staff in the North, you help to create jobs and economic benefits in Nunavut. You also help us to support local charitable organizations and other Arctic events, like Qaggiq '95, the 1995 Nunavut Trade Show, and, this summer, the Inuit Spirit of the Arctic Exhibition.
On February 3, 1995 the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull opened an exhibition of clothing from three of Canada's aboriginal cultures — the Inuit, the NLaka'pamux and the Dene. The Inuit component is aptly subtitled *Sanatujut: Pride in Women's Work — Copper and Caribou Inuit Clothing Traditions*. For many years, the preparing of skins and sewing of clothing was the main source of pride for all Inuit women. While women in other cultures have expressed themselves creatively through cooking, knitting, weaving, embroidery, interior decoration, etc., scraping and preparing skins and turning them into beautifully crafted, highly functional items of symbolic meaning was the main creative outlet for Inuit women. What never fails to astonish is the ability they have to sew such complex, well-fitting parkas — in which a water-tight seam was a matter of life and death — without the benefit of measuring tape, a pattern or scissors.

The exhibition concentrates on two geographical regions: the Copper Inuit of the western Arctic and the Caribou Inuit of the western Hudson Bay shoreline, two areas of strength in the museum’s extensive collection of Inuit clothing. We are presented with an historical overview of clothing in both regions from prehistoric times to the present. Many of the contemporary items were specifically commissioned for this project. The main theme of the exhibition is clothing as a bearer and reflection of Inuit culture, and there is enough contrast between the two regional styles to make it informative and visually stimulating.

Through excellent didactic labels in English, French and Inuktitut, we learn that traditional skin clothing might reveal a person's age, gender, area of origin and occupation. The overriding importance of the hunt is manifested in the Caribou Inuit parka which was designed to make a hunter look like a caribou from afar. A woman's parka might indicate her marital status as well as whether she is past child-bearing age. The broad shoulders of the Copper Inuit *amautii* have a surprising function, as noted by the explorer Knud Rasmussen at the turn of the century (1976: 34):

If it happens that the girl lives at another village than the man who has been arranged for her, and she marries another before her rightful husband comes for her, the matter is settled this way: She places herself outside the snow hut or tent, and the two men have a contest for her, each taking hold of one shoulder of the woman. The one who is strongest and is able to pull the woman to him is allowed to keep her.

This exhibition is rich in documentation. Contemporary Inuit prints, archival and modern photographs, videos, and...
A woman's beaded caribou skin parka, made by Lizzie Ittinuar of Rankin Inlet in 1975.

A Caribou Inuit woman's caribou skin parka from the early 20th century.

Comments from living seamstresses enliven the display without being intrusive. Quotes such as “We still follow our grandmothers and their grandmothers. It’s the way we pass it on. It’s the traditional way of doing it. We are following the traditions of our ancestors” (Lizzie Ittinuar, Rankin Inlet) help the viewer to see the items, not as ethnological curiosities, but as coming from a living culture.

Curator Judy Hall took pains to involve modern-day seamstresses from both Arctic regions in the planning and installation of the exhibition. Rather than imposing her curatorial vision, she allowed the seamstresses a voice. Their input was sought from the onset. They helped develop the theme and gave the exhibition its title. Including cultural groups in the preparation of an exhibition of their material culture is not only politically correct, but makes eminent curatorial sense. It worked so well that Judy Hall wonders how it could ever have been done any other way.

Although the extensive involvement of the Inuit seamstresses signals a shift in the role of the curator of an exhibition of this nature, it does not diminish the role of the curator. It will always remain the curator’s task to do the preparatory research and the painstaking compiling of data. And it will usually remain the curator’s responsibility to write the catalogue. The catalogue accompanying Threads of the Land contains impeccable scholarship. It is also beautifully designed, with catalogue entries interspersed throughout the text, making it reader-friendly. The material has been grouped according to themes such as “Displaying Identity” or “Completing the Circle,” further emphasizing the extent to which clothing was an intricate part of the overall culture, and how much it reflected the transitions people would experience in a lifetime.

A brief scan of the bibliography reveals how much a publication of this nature was needed. Besides being a permanent record of Threads of the Land, the catalogue is likely to become the standard reference work for any student or scholar interested in these two clothing traditions.

Maria von Finckenstein

Maria von Finckenstein (formerly Muehlen) is an art historian and former head of the Inuit Art Section of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. She is now a practising art therapist.

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Transcending the Specifics of Inuit Heritage: KAROO IN OTTAWA

A review essay by Cynthia Cook

When, in the 1960s, the Netsilingmiut gradually abandoned their traditional nomadic life and moved permanently into the settlement of Taloyoak (Spence Bay), they were encouraged to participate in Northern Affairs’ burgeoning arts and crafts movement. A lack of local raw materials for carving resulted, first, in the importation of antler from other communities, and then, fossilized whale bone from Fort Ross on the northern coast of Boothia Peninsula.

Shortly after his arrival in Taloyoak in 1968, Karoo Ashevak began to carve in this extraordinary material. His work quickly received recognition. In a 1970 competition organized by the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council to celebrate the centennial of the Northwest Territories, Karoo won an honourable mention and a third prize. His talents were soon noted by Av Isaacs, owner of Toronto’s Inuit Gallery, where Karoo’s first solo exhibition opened in March 1972. Gallery director Razie Brownstone noted that, although he was a relatively new artist, Karoo’s work clicked because he “communicated” to his audience (McNeill 1975: 3).

Karoo’s international reputation was established through the series of U.S. exhibitions that followed. The artist attended the opening of the first of these, a solo exhibition (accompanied by an illustrated catalogue) at New York’s American Indian Arts Centre in January 1973. One year later, in a group exhibition of Inuit art at the Franz Bader Gallery in Washington, Karoo’s work was singled out by reviewers. Paul Richard of the Washington Post (December 7, 1973) observed that, next to Karoo, the work of others in the exhibition paled. Joanne Lewis of the Washington Star News (December 4, 1973) declared that “Ashevak may be the best and most original of the Canadian Eskimo sculptors living today.”

The immediate acceptance of this work was explained by Max Whittenhoffer, who exhibited a selection of Karoo’s
work in his New York gallery, the Gimpel Wheitzenhoffer: “The people who bought Ashevak’s [sic] were regular customers, people who didn’t own another piece of Eskimo art . . . I never looked at Ashevak’s pieces as Eskimo art. They never were and they aren’t” (McNeill 1975: 4). Similarly, George Elliot, chairman of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council in 1973, noted: “New York buyers weren’t interested in ethnology. Karoo’s carvings stood up with the best in the world in the toughest city in the world” (McNeill 1975: 4). Both Wheitzenhoffer and Elliot attributed Karoo’s success to his ability to transcend the specifics of the Inuit heritage and create universal images that could be appreciated by all viewers, whether or not they were familiar with the Inuit culture.

**Karoo in Ottawa**
The exhibition *Karoo in Ottawa*, at the National Gallery of Canada, provided the opportunity for a reexamination of this artist’s work. Curator Marie Routledge supplemented four carvings from the gallery’s permanent collection with eight sculptures borrowed from the Canadian Museum of Civilization and private collections in Ottawa. Although the exhibition contained a small number of works, its careful selection revealed the iconographic range and aspects of Karoo’s stylistic development. More important, the exhibition afforded the opportunity to determine what it was that Karoo’s sculptures “communicated,” and what it was that gave them their universal appeal.

The majority of Karoo’s carvings are of “anonymous” figures with no exterior determinants tying them to a particular time or place. Some are full-figures, others, face-figures — carvings in which exaggeratedly large faces partially subsume the body of the figure so that arms and legs,
Fantasy Figure with Birds, 1972, Karoo Ashevak, Taloyoak (whale bone, wood, antler, ivory, stone; 48.5 x 47.0 x 26.5 cm; private collection).

when indicated, extend from the facial structure. Animals (especially birds), as well as the more culture-specific representations of drum dancers and shamanic figures, make up the balance.

Stylistically, Karoo's sculptures are characterized by a juxtaposition of opposites: a strong graphic element — excised outlines of eyes, noses and mouths, feathers on birds, details of clothing, etc. — contrasts with the plastic form of his figures; the intricacy of additive details — inset eyes, teeth, tongues — contrasts with the simplicity of the figure's basic volumes, and the negative spaces of deeply carved hollows play against the positive, bulging masses surrounding them.

This interest in the play of opposites gradually evolved during Karoo's short career, as three of the exhibition's "face-figure" carvings indicate. In the early 1971 carving, Figure, Karoo tentatively opposes both drawn and added elements to the flattened surface of the face. The eyes, nose and mouth are indicated by lines excised in low relief, and the pupils are denoted by circular shapes of inset antler. These formal devices are more numerous and more pronounced in the 1973 face-figure. The curving grooves outlining the facial features are drawn with assurance. Additive elements include two rows of tiny antler pegs representing teeth, and inlays of contrasting colour and material delineating the iris and pupil of the eyes. Negative hollows created by the deeply carved mouth and nostrils are now opposed to the positive mass of the face. Symmetry seems to be anathema to Karoo: circular and elliptical eyes are juxtaposed and a single arm sprouts from the cheek of the figure.

In the 1974 face-figure, a classical representation of Karoo's mature work, all his formal devices have been fully developed and combined. The elongated face now stands on two mismatched feet securely pegged to a whale bone base. The relatively realistic placement of facial features in the earlier carvings is abandoned in this figure, as eyes, now numbering three, roam freely across the forehead. One pupil falls to the side of the iris and the bridge of the nose curves away from the nostrils as it follows the wandering eyes. The chaos created in this carving by the restructuring of the face, by the deep shadows casting across it, and by its contorted expression, is countered by the technical precision with which it has been executed. The graphic lines are controlled and confident; the facial features, impeccably inlaid. In spite of the porosity of whale bone, the surface is carefully smoothed and sometimes polished.

The tension between disorder and order that is manifested in his "anonymous" carvings reflect Karoo's own psychological state. According to Judy McGrath, a friend of the artist, Karoo was openly expressive of his emotions. Exuberant displays of joy alternated with bouts of depression that, on occasion, interfered with his creative productivity (Blodgett 1977). Although his carvings sometimes represent his happier moments, the dominant moods expressed in the silent scream of his distorted figures is one of fear, anguish or confusion.

In a society that frowned on emotional display, Karoo must have felt pressure to exert some measure of control over his feelings. I believe that the technical precision of his carvings represents that attempt. The difficulty of maintaining emotional stability, when achieved, is often reflected in the asymmetric balance of Karoo's carvings. This is most poignantly expressed in Figure (c. 1973). Karoo has attained a precarious balance...
for this troubled figure that stands tentatively on the tip of a raised and rounded base by countering the violent backward bend of its head with the lateral thrust of its arms. The physiognomy, gesture and unstable stance are powerful external reflections of its—and Karoo's—inner turmoil.

In creating carvings that reflect his feelings, Karoo has created visual equivalents of feelings that, in varying degrees, are universal. It is those shared experiences that his carvings "communicate." The directness and intensity with which he expresses the emotions imposes a sense of immediacy on the viewer, who need not have any knowledge of the Inuit, nor their spiritual world, to be able to respond to them.

A BALANCE BETWEEN CONFLICTING FORCES

And yet, Karoo has filled his carvings with references to his Inuit heritage. Born in 1940 and raised on the land during the period when the Netsilingmiut were increasingly coming under the influence of missionaries, he would have learned about traditions, including ritual prohibitions, myths and shamanistic practices from those who had actively participated in them—the elder members of his extended family. For them, life had been a constant alternation between opposing forces, "between evil and good, between mankind and the universe, the powers of the sea, the land, space, and the Land in the Sky" (Rasmussen 1976:224). To create order in a world filled with disorder, the Netsilingmiut evolved a system of ritual observances or taboos. When taboos were broken and evil spirits that caused sickness, death and starvation were released, the shaman was called upon to re-establish a balance between the conflicting forces.

Karoo's knowledge of the supernatural world and spiritual beliefs of his ancestors is reflected in his carvings of shamans and drum dancers. In Fantasy Figure with Birds, he represents a shaman call for his tunraqs (helping spirits) who will augment his powers and assist him in communicating with the spirit world. A tunraq who was unsuccessful in accomplishing an assignment could turn into a tunraq kigdlorreo, an evil spirit who generally turned against the shaman and brought...
sickness and death into his camp (Balicki 1970: 226). The danger inherent in the task of exerting control over these hostile spirits is reflected in the anguished expression of the shaman and echoed in the face of the bird spirit rising behind him and the anthropomorphic object in his right hand. Once again, the precariousness of any achieved equilibrium is manifested in the asymmetric balance of the shaman. The lean of the curving body, standing on one leg, is tenuously offset by the oversized, outstretched arm and the two spirit helpers on its shoulder.

Karoo's shamans are perfect expressions of the struggle of the Netsilingmiut to achieve balance and harmony between opposing forces, but they also personify Karoo's own anxieties and his attempts to control them. In all his sculpture, Karoo fuses his personal struggle with private demons with the struggle of the shaman against his spirit helper (who, if uncontrolled, could become lethal), and with the general struggle of Inuit against unpredictable forces. Though Karoo's "anonymous" figures have been stripped of all overt references to Inuit culture, Inuit spirituality fully informs the psychological and conceptual content of these works. Through a multiple layering of allusions, Karoo enriches the carvings, increasing the intensity of their emotional expression and their impact on the viewer.

How do we prevent the work of brilliant Native artists like Karoo Ashevak from being ghettoized?

Unfortunately, Ashevak's artistic career was cut short by his untimely death in a house fire in October 1974. We were reminded of his genius — and of our loss — as we walked through the exquisite exhibition of his carvings at the National Gallery. We were also forced to wonder why this great artist, who was heralded as one of Canada's contemporary sculptors in the early 1970s, is today, only two decades later, virtually unknown outside the limited sphere of Inuit art enthusiasts. One of the pressing questions facing us is how to rectify this situation. How do we prevent the work of brilliant Native artists like Karoo Ashevak from being ghettoized? How can we ensure that it is exhibited just as, and together with, the work of other contemporary Canadian artists, without reference to the artist's ethnicity?

Cynthia Cook is a freelance Inuit art curator whose most recent project was From the Centre: The Drawings of Luke Anguhiadhioq organized by the Art Gallery of Ontario.

REFERENCES
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McNeill, Robin

Rasmussen, Knud.
The Agiarqtiit Society

Agiarqtiit was formed in 1992 to assist carvers in Lake Harbour, and to strengthen the carving industry by promoting artists and their works in the marketplace.

Members are provided with a newly renovated carving studio where artists can work and get training. To date, Agiarqtiit has conducted five carving workshops — three for active carvers and two for high school students.

The society also monitors the soapstone supply in Lake Harbour to ensure a steady source of soapstone for local carvers.

Future plans include liaison between dealers and carvers; practical training in the area of copyright and contracts; and searching for new sources of soapstone.

For more information contact:
Agiarqtiit Carvers Society
General Delivery
Lake Harbour, NWT X0A 0N0
Phone (819) 939-2416 Fax (819) 939-2406

SUNAKUTANNUVALAUTUT
"THINGS FROM THE PAST"

Snow Knife, Toonoo Sharky
Stone, 8" x 3 1/4" x 3/4"

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The well-known collector Jerry Twomey was a geneticist by profession. Perhaps he was intrigued by Inuit art because it often involved several generations of one family; he could speculate on the hereditary continuity of artistic ability. Of course, those opposed to biological determinism could argue that it is environment that makes artists, and that art in the North often runs in families because children grow up watching and doing with their mothers and fathers.

*The Ashoona Family of Cape Dorset* is not going to resolve the nature/nurture debate. It does, however, underline the strong bonds of family in the development of artistic practice and vision. Pilseolak (1904–1983) is the matriarch of this Cape Dorset family in the literal sense, mother to five children who also became artists.

She is also a matriarch in a larger sense, as many of her works deal with the crowded, happy confusion of family life. *Untitled (Mother and Two Children)* from 1962 depicts a beaming mother and two squirming kids. In *Dream of Motherhood*, a 1969 stonecut, a woman's wish for children comes alive; on the top of her head we see a contented mother, her hood filled with a sleeping baby.
Napachie Pootoogook shares several traits of style and subject with her mother. Her art also moves between the hieratic and stylized pieces and more free-flowing, naturalistic anecdotes of family life. In The First Policeman I Ever Saw, a fresh and informal litho from 1978, children peep out from behind an igloo to gaze in wonder at the mountie's yellow-striped hat and natty jodhpurs. Many of Pootoogook's pieces centre on joyful communal activities like games and dances. Kids holler and run around, and even the dogs seem happy.

The ties between Pitseolak and her four sons are less clear, partly because the men work in stone, and partly because they seem more interested in the realm of spirits and animals than in the quotidian world of family life. Interestingly though, Kaka Ashoona's 1957 Untitled (Mother and Child) is a penetrating psychological study of maternal protectiveness bordering on the dangerous, as a mother fiercely hugs a child to her breast. And Kiawak Ashoona, whose tender touch with stone sometimes seems to melt it to green wax, depicts a rough, bear-faced spirit cradling a seal in a strangely delicate, even motherly, way.

The brothers' work ranges in style and tone. Ottochie Ashoona's is often rough and elemental. His Sedna of 1956 is a pulse of energy, as the streamlined woman/seal spirit rushes through the water. Untitled (Sea Spirit) has a dynamic Boccioni-like futurism.

Koomwartzok Ashoona is sparsely represented in the show. A work done in 1983, the year before his death, is curvilinear and baroque, with elaborate, sinuous line and highly polished stone.

Kaka Ashoona has a genius for concise descriptions of animal life, whether it is a comically dolorous walrus, or a threatening bird of prey just about to dive in for the kill.

By looking into the art of the Ashoona family, curator Tracey Longbottom has found an effective way to showcase important works from the gallery's permanent collection. The curatorial premise seems studiously neutral, certainly not intrusive or over-determining, but — perhaps as an inevitable complement — not going much beyond a simple organizing principle. Perhaps it is an attempt to avoid the extremes that historically have been seen in the curatorship of art outside the western mainstream — either seeing the works as pure objects without contexts, or classifying and explaining them to death.

Alison Gillmor is an art historian and art writer in Winnipeg.
CARVED FROM THE LAND:
The Eskimo Museum Collection

BY LORRAINE E. BRANDSON

C H U R C H I L L , M A N . :
D I O C E S E O F C H U R C H I L L
2 0 0 P P . , M A P S A N D
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H A R D C O V E R , $ 3 5 .

A partial catalogue of the sculpture collection of the Eskimo Museum in Churchill, Manitoba, this book starts with a tribute to Brother Jacques Volant, o.m.i., original curator of the museum, from his successor Lorraine Brandson. This remarkable and dedicated man originally came to Chesterfield Inlet from France in 1927 and, until he went to work at the museum in 1944, his life involved cooking, hunting, fishing and taking care of the dog teams of missionary priests in different Arctic locations. Brother Volant hoped that his work in the museum would show his deep respect for the Inuit and his great appreciation of their art, and this

remains the guiding inspiration for the Eskimo Museum.

Today, the collection of over 800 pieces falls into three main categories: prehistoric art and artifacts, artifacts of the Historic Period, and contemporary objects with ethnographic or mythological content. The contemporary works created after 1930 are the main focus of the display area and are arranged in thematic style to

Illustrate certain facets of Inuit life and culture. A small number of acquisitions continues to be made each year. Each object is selected for its value as a transmitter of Inuit culture to future generations. Although Churchill is relatively distant from most of southern Canada, over 10,000 people visit the museum each year.

The catalogue is divided into sixteen sections, including one by Mark Kalluak on the importance for Inuit of maintaining the Inuit language and culture. An autobiographical section describes the career of Jacques Volant, and a companion piece by George Swinton brings Piku (Brother Volant, “the man with the hunched back”) vividly to life. The main body of the catalogue describes the arctic environment and geography, the yearly seasonal cycle of the central Inuit living on the land, terrestrial and marine hunting technology, clothing use and manufacture, the building of different types of shelters, the preparation and storing of food, and modes of travel and vehicles. Each section is illustrated with works from the collection, archival photographs, drawings and diagrams by the missionaries themselves, and maps. The photographs of works of art are fully described, and the accompanying captions explain the significance of the scene in the spiritual or material life of the Inuit. Well-chosen quotations from the letters and diaries of missionaries are also used to illustrate each chapter.

The penultimate chapter describes the personal life cycle of men and women in traditional life, starting with birth and the traditional naming ritual, through training for life's tasks, games, marriage and old age. The last chapter deals succinctly, but clearly, with Slatuniq... the
Brother Volant, o.m.i., the Eskimo Museum's original curator.

The spiritual life of the Inuit. Traditional religious beliefs, the author explains, provided the main source for understanding and accepting the world. There was no need to rationalize or explain all beliefs or events, for conditions were considered to vary over time. Inuit accepted that the traditional narratives were true accounts of real events. They did not distinguish between legends, stories and fables, but had almost unlimited faith in their content. To them, the supernatural was almost as real and tangible as the familiar and the seen.

After an exposition of the roles of shamans and of elders in the transmission of belief, Brandson concludes with an explanation of the relatively easy acceptance of Christianity by the Inuit, the role of Inuit converts in its spread, and the affinity of such Christian concepts as that of "the communion of saints" to traditional beliefs. Particularly impressive in this chapter are the explanations of the magical or religious thought underlying the carvings used as illustrations. This is a dimension typically missing from descriptions of artworks.

*Carved From the Land* is at once both an interesting and scholarly description of a unique collection of Inuit art and a compelling account in words and pictures of all facets of the traditional life. In the words of Bishop Reynald Romeau: "*Carved From the Land...is...a Cosmos, inhabited and living, that (Lorraine Brandson) translates into words, images and pictures." The catalogue is a record not only of the skill of the Inuit whose lives and traditions are embodied in the carvings within the walls of the museum, but also of the love and fidelity of the missionaries who started and still run it, and, of course, of the dedication and talent of its curator, Lorraine Brandson.

Jeanne L'Esperance

Jeanne L'Esperance is archivist in the Inuit Art Section at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

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Marion Scott Gallery is extremely pleased to welcome Norman Zepp as an associate of the Gallery. As Curator of Inuit Art at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Mr. Zepp was instrumental in establishing one of the most comprehensive public collections of Inuit art. He has organized many important exhibitions and is the author of the noted publication *Pure Vision*.

Mr. Zepp brings his expert knowledge to Marion Scott Gallery as it continues into its twenty-first year of offering outstanding Inuit art to the public.
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Takugit (Inuktitut for “look”), is a pilot project designed to provide interactive exposure of Inuit art and to facilitate a north-south artists’ dialogue. It was conceived of as an opportunity for artists to present their work in a more direct and personal way than is possible in a formal exhibition. The program was launched January 24 at Ottawa City Hall with a small installation of 12 sculptures by 9 artists: Bart Hanna and Natar Ungalaq of Igloolik; Oopik Pitseolak of Iqaluit; Davidee Akpaliapik of Pangnirtung; Paul Toolooktook of Baker Lake; Mattiusi Iyaituk of Iqaluit; Gilbert Hay and John Terriak of Nain, and Silas Kayakjuak of Ottawa.

On February 13, Terriak, Iyaituk and Charlie Kogvik participated in Takugit at Canterbury High School (Ottawa), talking to students about their art and their lives. The session included a slide presentation, a display of some works in progress, and a simple carving demonstration.

Takugit is tailored to the receiving venue, and potential venues for this ongoing project will include schools, public libraries, municipal buildings, hospitals and corporate lobbies. Supported by the Ontario Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation, Takugit is an initiative of the Inuit Artists’ College, owned and operated by the Inuit Art Foundation.

INUIT ART IN ITALY

Building on its success in taking Inuit art to Monaco (see IAQ Fall 1993: 42–3), Arctic Co-operatives Limited [ACL] worked with Gioloco Communications, Winnipeg Art Gallery curator Darlene Wight, and author and collector Harold Seidelman to stage a similar event at the Galleria d’Arte Moderna e Contemporanea in Verona, Italy. An exhibition entitled Inuit Imagination: Art and Culture from the Canadian Arctic, was opened March 18 and closes July 18. The exhibition includes 101 sculptures from the Inuit Imagination exhibition previously shown at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, supplemented with 75 prints and drawings, and 10 wall hangings, from public institutions and private collections. Inuit art was also available for sale in the Galleria. As previously reported in IAQ (Fall 1994) the original plan was to organize a multi-media exhibition of works from major Canadian institutions, to be selected by in-house curators. Negotiations broke down, however, when the contracted organizer resigned and most of the institutions declined further involvement. Inuit Tapirisat of Canada President Rosemarie Kuptana, Seidelman, Senator Willie Adams, and artists Judas Ullulaq and Joseph Suqslak attended the Verona opening on March 18.
"SOMETHING WITH MOVEMENT"

Happy Valley-Goose Bay artist Michael Massie is teaching a carving course at Labrador College in Goose Bay, Labrador. It was determined a year ago, in a survey of the 12 students in the college's Heritage Crafts program, that there was sufficient interest for a carving course in the fall of 1994. Originally planned as a two to four-week course for five enthusiastic students, it turned into a semester-long class, lasting from October until shortly before Christmas. The students, some of whom were previously involved in a separate carving class organized by the Labrador College in Nain (see IAQ Spring 1994: 46-7 for instructor John Terriak's account of that course), are now engaged in a second term, lasting from January until June. Massie's first task for his students was to produce "something with movement." He asked them to base their carvings on images they had drawn in an exercise at the beginning of the course. Each student completed an average of four carvings before Christmas and, early in the second term, they were carving for a "Show and Sell" event on March 8 and 9 in Goose Bay. As the students become more comfortable with the basic techniques, Massie is emphasizing the use of fine detail, inlay, and added materials. He credits previous Inuit Artists' College workshops, in which he participated as a student, with preparing him to teach. Massie, who has a fine arts degree from the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, has also taught some jewellery courses for Arctic College in Iqaluit and Gjoa Haven, Northwest Territories.

"ESKIMO IN SHORTS"

Cape Dorset artist, Toonoo Sharky, travelled to Coral Gables, Florida to participate in the International Festival of Craft Arts last November. Labelled an "Eskimo in shorts" by the Miami Herald (November 19, 1994), the 24 year old Sharky joined dozens of artisans, including Chilean tapestry weavers, Native American dollmakers and Caribbean musicians, in the locally-sponsored event. Ancient Traditions, a Minneapolis gallery, entered six Sharky carvings in a sculpture competition at the festival, one of which won first prize. Several carving demonstrations in which Sharky was scheduled to participate were either shortened or cancelled due to the inclement weather that preceded hurricane Gordon.

Toonoo Sharky won first prize in a competition in Coral Gables, Florida.

The North West Company

Luckily, the weave shop escaped with minimal damage from the March 1994 fire that razed the print shop.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO DREAM HIS OWN ART

Bart Hanna has been engaged this summer as artist-in-residence by the Carving Studio in West Rutland, Vermont from May 8 to mid-June. Studio manager Mike Winslow is hoping Hanna will participate in a local public art project to produce large scale works of up to 15 tons. When Hanna was at the Carving Studio last year, he expressed an interest in working on larger scale projects in granite and marble, something he is unable to do most of the time in his community of Igloolik. Winslow told IAQ: "I want to allow him to pursue his own vision while he is here. I want Bart to dream his own art."

A NEW GALLERY IN LONDON

The British Museum in London, England announced last November that a gallery providing a broad and varied representation of the lives, customs and arts of the Native peoples of North America will open in 1997. The Chase Manhattan Gallery, named after the U.S. bank that donated over CS2 million to finance the project (the largest single corporate donation the museum has ever
WORTH THE DRIVE

Natar Ungalaq of Igloolik, Northwest Territories, a director of the Inuit Art Foundation, led a week-long carving workshop at the Ottawa School of Art from February 20–24. Ungalaq demonstrated hand and power tool carving techniques to the seven students, all of whom had previous sculpting experience. The class worked mainly with soapstone, but some also experimented with orange alabaster and talc. Lydia Tambay, who completed two carvings during the week, was glad of the opportunity "to make a connection with Inuit art." Max Sexsmith, a Haliburton School of Fine Art student, travelled from Peterborough, Ontario for the course, but said he "would have driven farther." During the last afternoon of the workshop, he told IAQ: "Natar is an excellent communicator. He took great interest in each individual student, and always offered to stay late if we wanted extra help."

INTERNATIONAL ARTISTS

Internationally-acclaimed Cape Dorset artist Kenojuak Ashevak was presented with the 1995 Lifetime Achievement Award at the National Aboriginal Achievement Awards on March 31st in Vancouver. In the late 1930s, Ashevak was among the first women in the Cape Dorset area to produce drawings. Her work first appeared in the annual Cape Dorset print collection in 1959, and she was the subject of a National Film Board production entitled Eskimo Artist — Kangiqtuaq in 1962. Other career highlights include the reproduction of her 1960 print Enchanted Owl on a postage stamp in 1970; the Order of Canada in 1967; appointment as a companion of the Order of Canada in 1982, and Honorary Doctorates of Law from the University of Toronto and Queen's University. Her prints and carvings can be found in dozens of gallery and museum collections throughout the world. In the past two years, Ashevak has attended group and solo exhibition openings in Ottawa, Seattle and South Korea. While Ashevak was awarded for lifetime achievement, 12 others were recognized by a 21-member jury for occupational achievements by individuals of Inuit, Métis and First Nations ancestry.

Natar Ungalaq, shown here with student Lydia Tambay, was instructor for a one-week sculptors' session at the Ottawa School of Art in February 1995.

Jury members included Rosemarie Kuptana, president of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and Northwest Territories Premier Nellie Cournoyea. The awards evening, a project of the Canadian Native Arts Foundation, was broadcast on the CBC television network.

Writer David Pelly & photographer Hans Blohm, both of Ottawa, collaborated on an article which appeared in the January/February issue of Canadian Geographic magazine. Entitled The Faces of Nunavik, the article focused on seven individuals from northern Quebec. Featured were: Zebedee Nungak of Kangirsuk, now in his third term as first vice-president of Makivik Corporation; William Tagoona, a social worker in Inukjuak; Mark Papigatok, an employee in Salluit; and Noah Inuksuk, who helped establish the community of Umiujaq in the 1980s; and Lucassic-Billy Etoq, a hunter in Kangiqsualujjuaq.

Cynthia Cook, curator of the Art Gallery of Ontario's exhibition From the Centre: The Drawings of Luke Anguhadluq, gave a lecture on the exhibition to a small group of Inuit art enthusiasts on February 9 at the Rodman Hall Arts Centre in St. Catharines, Ontario. Cook also presented a video documenting Anguhadluq's life on the land in 1953, and demonstrating traditional implements to Baker Lake school children in 1960. From the Centre was on display at the arts centre from January 22 to February 19.

Norman Zepp, whose employment with the Art Gallery of Ontario was terminated in October 1994, is now working for the Marion Scott Gallery in Vancouver. The position of Inuit art curator
at the AGO has been eliminated and no announcements have yet been made concerning the gallery's plans for its extensive Inuit art collection.

Toronto artist Manasie Akpaliapik, originally from Arctic Bay, led a sculpture workshop at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa on February 12, in conjunction with Karoo in Ottawa. Akpaliapik first toured the exhibition with the 27 workshop participants and offered his own interpretation of Karoo's work, prefacing his comments with the comment that "there is no fixed interpretation of the art." In the workshop space, Akpaliapik explained the use of various hand and power tools, and introduced the participants to Inuit sculpture, by showing slides of his and other artists' work. He also demonstrated finishing, sanding and oiling techniques. As the participants started on their individual projects, using whale bone, antler or Baker Lake soapstone, Akpaliapik asked each person first to imagine what image they saw in the material. Suzanne Lacasse, of the gallery's education division, considers that the project was a "wonderful experience."

A second album from singer Susan Aglukark, originally from Arviat, Northwest Territories, was released in January by EMI Music Canada. This Child, follows the 28 year old's first album, Arctic Rose, released in 1992. Aglukark sang at the February 8 ceremony to install Romeo Leblanc as the 25th Governor General of Canada. Her performance, in Inuktitut, was sandwiched between addresses by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and the new Governor General.

A carving of a muskox by Lake Harbour carver, Nuyaliaq Qimirpik, was purchased by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien from Canadian Arctic Producers and presented as a gift to the French Senate in Paris.

Carol Heppenstall of the Art Space Gallery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is leading a Baffin Island Inuit art tour between July 14–19, 1995. Organized in conjunction with a travel agency, the primary purpose of the trip is for credit in a graduate level arts education course that Heppenstall is instructing at the University of the Arts in Philadelphia. Others are welcome. The current itinerary includes stops in Pangnirtung and Cape Dorset. For more information, contact Adventure Canada at (416) 533-0767.

Cape Dorset carver, Pootoogook Jaw, was sentenced to five years in prison and a ten-year ban on firearm possession after pleading guilty to a manslaughter charge resulting from the December 24th shooting death of Karl Gustaw of Cape Dorset. Gustaw was shot and killed at a party in his own Cape Dorset home in the early morning. He had worked as a cook in Iqaluit, and moved to Cape Dorset where he set up an art dealership shortly before his death. As reported by Nunatsiaq
News (March 10, 1995: 1-2), an agreed statement of facts read in court by Crown Prosecutor Scott Couper revealed that: "The accused [Jaw] would supply the deceased with carvings. The deceased paid cash for these carvings and also occasionally supplied the accused [with] illegal narcotics such as marijuana and hash." The statement detailed the events of the party at Gustaw's home during the evening of December 23 and the early morning of December 24. It revealed that heavy drinking had taken place, and that several scuffles had ensued when Jaw was ejected from Gustaw's house. Jaw later returned on his skidoo with a shotgun, and, after knocking on the door and receiving no reply, he fired a shot into the house next to the doorway. The bullet struck Gustaw in the head, and he was later pronounced dead at the scene. The statement explained that the original charge of second-degree murder had been reduced to manslaughter because there was no evidence from which to infer that Jaw knew Gustaw's position when the shot was fired. There were no windows on or nearby the door that would allow Jaw to see inside the porch area from the outside.

A MINI-MALL IN POND INLET

The Toohoontik Saahtoonik Co-operative in Pond Inlet, Northwest Territories opened a new 16,000 square-foot mini-mall last December 10. Prizes were given out every 20 minutes on opening day, and first-day sales exceeded $60,000. Sixteen full-time staff were hired for the new mall.

A new mini-mall has been opened by the Pond Inlet co-op.

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UPDATE

Elsie Clement of Ottawa, Ontario, picked up Man Giving Message at the Inuit Art Foundation office.

THE WINNERS

The Inuit Art Foundation's Draw by Mail was held March 31 at the Ottawa School of Art. OSA Director Jeff Stellick drew the five winning entries. Over $8,000 was raised for programs of the Inuit Artists' College. IAF congratulates all the winners and thanks supporters of the fundraising campaign, including those who donated works for the draw.

First Prize: Alice Kaiser, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, winner of Owl by Mattiusi Iyaituk; Second Prize: Elsie Clement, Ottawa, Ontario, winner of Man Giving Message by Natar Ungalaq; Third Prize: Carol Heppenstall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, winner of Bear by Simata Pitsiulak; Fourth prize: Mr. and Mrs. Marvin W. Pearson, Edmond, Oklahoma, winners of Tuniik (Loon) by Mayoreak Ashoona; Fifth prize: Claudette Dumont-Smith, Hull, Quebec, winner of a canvas jacket, made and donated by Ivalu Arts and Crafts Centre in Rankin Inlet.

A NEW QUARRY IN KANGIQSUJUAQ

Makivik News reported last winter that Kangiqsujuaq resident, Pitseolak Pingualuit, discovered a quarry less than a kilometre from the community. Local elders were unaware of the deposit and there was no evidence of any modern or metal objects around the site to indicate any recent excavating activity. Another Kangiqsujuaq resident, Lucassie Nappaaluk, estimated that, considering the type of rock remnants found at the site, Inuit may have previously travelled from as far as Labrador and Baffin Island for the high grade stone. As the discovery was made too late in the year to be thoroughly evaluated, excavations will begin this summer.

IN HONOUR OF BILL TAYLOR

The Canadian Museum of Civilization recently established the William E. Taylor Research Award Fund, in honour of Bill Taylor's outstanding contributions to museology and archaeology. The proceeds from the fund will be used to create a trust account, the interest from which will finance an annual award for achievement in museology. A monograph, Threads of Arctic Prehistory: Papers in honour of William E. Taylor, Jr., edited by David Morrison and Jean-Luc Pilon, has been published by the CMC. Those wishing to obtain this publication or to contribute to the trust fund should contact the Canadian Museum of Civilization, P.O. Box 3100, Station "B", Hull, Quebec J8X 4H2.
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Three Inuit Artists: Grandfather, Father and Son, an exhibition featuring the stone sculpture of Nuveeya, Seepee and Joamie Ipellie of Iqaluit, opened at Arctic Artistry in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York on April 1. Throughout the summer, the gallery is also featuring Crossroads of Culture, an exhibition of Inuit, African, northwest coast and southwest American Indian art.

Cape Dorset Limited Edition Portfolios was the title given to an offering at the Isaacs/Inuit Gallery of various print portfolios produced for special occasions over the past 40 years. Some of the featured artists included Kenojuak Ashevak, Peter Pitseolak, Mary Pudlat and Pitaloosie Saila. Sculpture from Sanikiluaq (February 25 to April 5) included works by, among others, Paul Kavik and Charlie Qittusuk. Baker Lake wall hangings were featured during April and May, and Drawings by Janet Kigusiuq of Baker Lake, opened May 27 and will run until June 30.

An exhibition entitled Inuit Identity, organized by Arctic Co-operatives Limited and featuring art from several northern communities, opened January 7 at the Pucker Gallery in Boston, Massachusetts. The evening prior to the opening, the Canadian Consulate General hosted a dinner, attended by Consul General Donald Cameron. Joseph Suqslak of Gjoa Haven attended the opening and later gave a carving demonstration at the Boston Children's Museum. The gallery...
The Royal Ontario Museum hosted a series of special activities in late January in conjunction with the *In the Time of the Kayak* exhibition. On January 24, three films were shown: the 1922 *Nanook of the North; Land of the Long Day*, from 1957, and *Between Two Worlds*, produced by the National Film Board in 1990. Three evenings later, approximately 60 people attended the Edward S. Rogers Annual Lecture in Anthropology, given by Dr. Jillian Oakes of the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba. The title of her talk was *Hunting by Kayak: Dressing to Appease the Animal Spirits*. January 28–29 was Family Weekend, and events included a traditional parka display, modelled by Inuit students from Peterborough's Trent University, a throat singing performance, a games demonstration, and a children's studio activity session. Curator Ken Lister escorted special tours of the *In the Time of the Kayak* exhibition. Summing up the weekend's activities, Ken Dewar of the educational programs department said: "These events help to remind us that there is a real interest in Inuit culture that crosses generations, from seniors to five year olds." Dewar also expressed a wish to establish a long-term rapport with Inuit Silattuq Sarnimittut Katimajit, the student group from Trent University, that was involved with both the parka display and the Inuit games demonstration.

A wide-ranging exhibition of Inuit and Dene art is taking place this summer at the Institute of American Indian Art Museum in Santa Fe, New Mexico. *Keeping Our Stories Alive*, scheduled to open May 20 and continue until mid-September, features 120 works of Inuit art, including sculpture, prints, drawings, tapestries, wall hangings, jewellery and ceramics, from communities across the Arctic. An initiative of the North West Company, the exhibition was jointly coordinated by O.T. Thompson, a Minneapolis gallery owner, and Gary Hood of the Institute of American Indian Art Museum. Some of the artists represented in the exhibition include Toonoo Sharky of Cape Dorset, Johnny Kavik of Sanikiluaq, Victoria Marnngualuktuk of Baker Lake, Mary Okheena of Holran, Andrew Karpik of Pangnirtung, Elisha Sanguya of Clyde River, and Edith Aklok of Coppermine. A catalogue is available. Manasie Akpaliapik of Toronto was scheduled to travel to Santa Fe a week prior to the opening, to erect an inukshuk outside the museum.

Sculpture by Mattiusi Iyaituk of Ivujivik, was recently included in a three-man exhibition entitled *Mémoires boréales* at the Centre d'Exposition in Baie-Saint-Paul, Quebec. Iyaituk's work, entitled *Mémoire Vive. Les choses que je n'oublierai pas* (Vivid Memory: the things I cannot forget), was curated by Louis Gagnon and shown with the work of southern artists, Marcel Marois and André Michel. The exhibition ran from February 11 until April 3.
Do you know what else we do?

In addition to publishing this magazine, the Inuit Art Foundation provides professional development services to Inuit artists ...

- through the Inuit Artists' College:
The Scholarship Fund enables artists to attend workshops organized by the Foundation in collaboration with other art organizations, such as the Ottawa School of Art.

Awards are also given to artists to attend regular sessions at art institutions, such as the Vermont Carving Studio.

Portable Library Boxes, containing educational materials — videos, posters and art books — are placed in northern communities.

- through Publications:
The Adventures of Sananguaqatiit, an educational comic book, deals with issues of health and safety, copyright, quarrying, and art marketing.

Complimentary subscriptions of The Adventures of Sananguaqatiit and Inuit Art Quarterly are sent to 2,000 Inuit artists across Canada.

- through Artists' Associations:
Grants are given to Community Artists' Associations to obtain stone, to hold exhibitions, to conduct workshops, and to cover the costs of other local projects.

Patron ($2,000 or more) All the privileges of an Associate plus an invitation to visit the studio during an artist workshop and an opportunity to meet and talk with artists at a special lunch.

Associates ($1,000 or more) All the privileges of a Supporter, plus an invitation to attend the preview opening of an exhibition during artists' workshops (usually one per year, pending funding).

Supporters ($500 or more) All the privileges of a Friend, and three issues of The Adventures of Sananguaqatiit.

Friends ($100 or more) One issue of The Adventures of Sananguaqatiit, and an invitation to Inuit Art Foundation events.

Donors (up to $100) At above.

Artists (any amount) in addition to a tax receipt and press releases, donors in this category receive a Practise Safe Art poster.

All Canadian and U.S. donors will receive a tax receipt. All donors will be added to the mailing list for Inuit Art Foundation press releases.

To our American Friends — we are pleased to announce that the Inuit Art Foundation is now registered with the IRS and can issue tax receipts to our US donors.

(See separate insert for donation form.)
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A Peripatetic Trading Post Clerk

The following is Peter Murdoch's account of his fur trade posting on Baffin Island and in northern Quebec in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Murdoch, now General Manager of La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec, based this chronicle on an excerpt of an interview he gave with Marybelle Mitchell in Povungnituk in 1985, the full transcript of which is available from the Inuit Art Section, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Les Terrasses de la Chaudière, 10 Wellington Street, Hull, Quebec, K1A 0H4.

I was 17 years old when I went to the North in 1947. I had been hired by the Hudson's Bay Company [HBC] earlier that year as a clerk and was told that my first posting would be to Lake Harbour. I went to Montreal with a group of other trainees. We had to have immigration papers because Newfoundland had not yet taken over Canada.

After a short stay in Montreal, where we were introduced to the fur trade, we boarded the Nascopie and left for the North. In those days, the only contact with the northern communities was by once-a-year ship. All mail, merchandise and personnel going to the North had to go by sea. On board the Nascopie, I met Jimmy Ford, his wife Maggie and their two sons, Norman and Jimmie. Maggie was an Inuk, so I guess she was the first Inuk I ever met. She was very kind to me and treated me like one of her family; I even started to call her “Mom.”

The Nascopie stopped in Nain, Labrador before heading to Lake Harbour. I remember a well-stocked craft shop in Nain. The sealskin and fur items and carved ivories were popular. If I remember correctly, the shop was run by the Grenfell Mission.

Johnny Killibuk, the man “who seemed to know everything, and could fix anything,” Pangnirtung, 1948.

We arrived off Lake Harbour and were met by the pilot boat. A striking man who looked very important to me, came on board the Nascopie and guided the ship into the harbour. His name was Navolia. He was the father of Davidee, and the grandfather of Kulula, both of whom I later knew as artists. Shortly after my arrival in Lake Harbour, we heard that the Nascopie had gone aground while attempting to enter Cape Dorset. The two RCMP constables left Lake Harbour by Peterhead boat to provide what help they could.

I spoke no Inuktitut, but since there was only one Inuk in Lake Harbour who spoke English — Tommy Manning — I was forced to learn the language quickly, especially the names for the trade goods we stocked. The Inuit were helpful and patient in teaching me new words. I particularly remember Simata, Tommy’s mother, who was most helpful.

Lake Harbour in the 1940s was different from most Arctic communities in that the economy was based mainly on
the sale of ivory sculpture. Walrus ivory was purchased by the HBC in Repulse Bay and Igloolik and shipped to Lake Harbour where it was carved into beautiful polar bears, hunters, walrus, seals and exquisite birds. The people there also made cribbage boards, intricately incised and decorated with animals, birds or hunting scenes. Sometimes, the ivory was combined with a green soapstone.

Jimmy Bell was the Hudson's Bay manager at the time. When I met him, he was a middle-aged man who had been with The Bay for many years. He spoke Inuktitut fluently, was a good accountant and knew a lot about sculpture, having served for years in Lake Harbour and in many other parts of the Arctic. He told me that the Lake Harbour Inuit had been carving for some time, the industry having been encouraged in that area by one of the Parsons brothers, perhaps Harold, who was a district manager for the HBC. Parsons had spent time in Labrador, and his interest in carvings might have been stimulated by the activities of the Grenfell Mission. During and after the war, many carvings made by the people of Lake Harbour and Frobisher Bay [Iqaluit] were sold to American personnel at the American base, while the rest were sent to the HBC warehouse in Montreal. I understand that some were forwarded to England for resale there.

In those times, almost all the Inuit lived in scattered camps along the coast, coming to the post to trade or for special occasions. Most of the people came in for the sealift, and everyone helped to off-load the ship and store the merchandise in the warehouses. This work was all done manually. After everything was put away, the Inuit purchased their supplies and went to their winter camps; those who lived in the most distant camps would return only at Christmas.

In January 1948 I was informed that I would be moving from Lake Harbour to Pangnirtung. The transfer would be accomplished by dog team, and there was a furious rush to have deerskin clothing sewn for me. In those days, an employee had to pay for all his own travelling gear from his meagre pay of $50 per month ($25 after deducting board and lodging). I was grateful to the Inuit women because they charged very little for the clothing they made for me.

TO PANGNIRTUNG

The trip from Lake Harbour to Iqaluit took about a week, but during that time, my face was severely frozen. I thought I was just as tough as the Inuit who were taking me, but I learned that I froze more easily than they did. After a few days rest at the American base, the Inuit who brought me from Lake Harbour returned, and I joined the Pangnirtung Inuit who were to take me from Iqaluit to Pangnirtung.

Pangnirtung, a much larger town, was very different from Lake Harbour. There was a hospital with a doctor and nurses, an RCMP detachment, an Anglican mission and the Hudson's Bay post. The manager was married and had two young children. Living with them was very different from the free and easy life I was accustomed to in Lake Harbour, where there were only men. I'm sure they must have frequently found me somewhat uncouth.

The Pangnirtung economy was also quite different from that of Lake Harbour. The hospital employed a number of families, and foxes and sealskin played a major role in supporting the population. The quality of sealskin produced in Pangnirtung was considered the best in the eastern Arctic, and many of the Inuit earned a very good income from this source. Carving was not an important activity there although a number of people were considered to be talented artists.

During the year I spent at Pangnirtung, I learned a lot from Kilibuk, who was employed by the HBC. Kilibuk was a fantastic gentleman who seemed to know everything, and could fix anything. He told me many stories about the earlier
days of Pangnirtung, and the whaling crews that hunted there. He and his family, particularly his son Johnny, helped me learn Inuktitut and the ways of the Inuit. I shall forever be grateful to them.

During the winter of 1949, I left Pangnirtung by dog team to go to Iqaluit, then to Lake Harbour, and on to Cape Dorset. Dorset was small at that time, with only an HBC post, the Baffin Trading Company and the Catholic Mission. During the spring, we heard that the Hudson's Bay Company was buying the Baffin Trading Company inventory and buildings so, although there was still a manager for the Baffin Trading Company, the white population of Dorset totalled only five people. The local economy was based on sealskin, foxes and Family Allowance payments. There were some good trappers who were very well off during years when the foxes were plentiful. Sculpture or other art work was not a significant part of the economy at that time.

Jimmy Bell had been transferred to Cape Dorset and I was happy to be back with him. Unfortunately, Jimmy was sick and his condition worsened as the winter and spring progressed. During the late spring, the HBC plane came to Cape Dorset to evacuate him, as his health had deteriorated considerably. He was replaced by Bob Cruikshanks and his new wife. Jimmy died about six weeks after leaving Dorset. He was a great man and I still miss him.

To Fort Chimo

After spending the fall of 1949 in the South, I returned North, this time to Fort Chimo [Kuujuaq], where I arrived in January 1950. The community of Chimo was at the old site and it seemed like a large settlement to me, with its nursing station, HBC post, RCMP detachment, Anglican Mission and Department of Transport weather station. I arrived on the plane with the HBC manager who had been outside on holidays. There were a large group of Indians in to trade from inland, south of Chimo. They had great quantities of otter, mink, muskrat, fox, etc., which were bought at quite high prices for that time. It really surprised me to see the large sums of money they received for their catch, several thousand dollars per family. They bought merchandise by the case, rather than by the package.

During my stay in Chimo I worked more with the Indians than with the Inuit. The other clerk preferred to work with the Inuit. I did not speak the language, but was helped by an Inuktitut-speaking Cree. Inuktitut was our common language. He was friendly and helped me learn a bit of Cree. If I remember correctly, his name was Joe.

I stayed in Chimo for a couple of months before being transferred to George River as a substitute for Bob May, who had to take his son, Johnny, south for medical treatment of a broken arm. There was only the HBC post in George River at that time. Again, I was transferred by dog team. After a month or so in George River, I returned to Chimo and then went on to Payne Bay, where I again lived with Jimmy Ford and his wife Maggie. It felt like coming home. I stayed there all summer and went back to Dorset for a few months, and then by ship to Clyde River, where I stayed for about two years.

There was the HBC and a Department of Transport weather station during the time I was in Clyde River. Only two Inuit families lived in the community; the rest of the people stayed on the land. Sealskin, foxes and polar bear skins were the main source of income, although a few people carved ivory. This was not, however, a significant factor in the economy.
To Pond Inlet

In the spring of 1952, I was told by the HBC that I would be transferred to Pond Inlet. I arranged for some dog teams to take me there, but shortly before I was to leave, a helicopter arrived with an American crew to locate a site for a base they were planning to build. They had come from a ship anchored at the floe edge. Since they were headed north to Greenland, they offered to give me and the dog teams a ride part of the way. We were dropped off on the ice close to Bylot Island, and we arrived in Pond Inlet shortly after. I think we set some kind of record on that trip.

In addition to the HBC post, Pond Inlet had an RCMP detachment, a Roman Catholic church and an Anglican church. Hunting was good in this area, and there was no shortage of seal and other marine animals. The economy was based on sealskin and fox fur. During my stay at Pond Inlet, I received a message from the HBC head office giving me permission to purchase sealskin tapestries. I requested that the women sew them, and the response was very good. Some beautiful tapestries were made, which brought a good income to the women. This was a mixed blessing, however, for, although it added to the family purse, it also disrupted traditional values. The women’s financial contribution sometimes humiliated the men who had previously been the sole providers.

Kilibuk was a fantastic gentleman who seemed to know everything, and could fix anything.

There were several excellent carvers in Pond Inlet at that time. They worked with walrus ivory, narwhal ivory, soapstone and a white calcite, found on the northern point of Baffin Island. It was in Pond Inlet that I first saw carvings from old whale bone. Henry Evaluardjuk was the best, and he did a number of excellent pieces while I was there. I remember two in particular, both of hunters stalking a seal on the ice. He told me that one was of a hunter who would be successful in killing the seal, and the other would be unsuccessful. I could not detect the clues, but they were obvious to other Inuit. I think Henry’s were the first all-soapstone carvings I ever saw. His work was highly developed and he told me that he had carved a lot in Igloolik before moving to Pond Inlet. Henry, or Kiyujuk as he called himself then, had a very distinctive style, naturalistic and detailed. He used few bases, so the balance had to be well thought out. His finished work looked as if it had been cast in bronze rather than carved from stone.

I left Pond Inlet in the fall of 1954 on the C.D. Howe, which first went north to Ellesmere Island, then to Resolute Bay before heading south. Later in the trip, I met Gabriel Gely who was going south after working some time for the Department of Transport in Clyde River. I showed Gely the collection of sculpture I had accumulated, and he seemed very impressed, especially with the work of Evaluardjuk.

After a short stay in Newfoundland, I went to Ottawa to visit friends where I stayed for several months, attending courses at Carleton University before returning north in 1955.
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Throatsingers by Rex Goose, Moose Antler 4.9 cm

Inuit Art
Every effort is made to ensure that information in this calendar is correct, but readers are advised to check dates and times with event organizers.

**Exhibitions**

**Ismanavut: The Artistic Expression of Nine Cape Dorset Women.** Canadian Museum of Civilization, 100 Laurier Street, Hull, Quebec, October 6, 1994 to March 3, 1996. An illustrated volume based on the exhibition, entitled *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset*, is available from the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Exhibition information, Tel: (819) 776-7000; mail order, Tel: (819) 776-8357.

**Threads of the Land: Clothing Traditions from Three Indigenous Cultures.** Canadian Museum of Civilization, 100 Laurier Street, Hull, Quebec, February 3, 1995 to September 14, 1997.

**In the Time of the Kayak: Hunting in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.** Royal Ontario Museum, 100 Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario, February 19, 1994 to fall 1995.

**Cape Dorset Impressions: Inuit Stonecut and Stencil Print Techniques.** National Gallery of Canada, 380 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, April 7 to October 15, 1995.

**Qanarnittuaq: Drawings by Baker Lake Artists.** Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 358 Gordon Street, Guelph, Ontario, April 27 to September 15, 1995. In conjunction with the Baker Lake Historical Society and the Baker Lake Adventure/Art Symposium.

**Selections from the Inuit Art Collection.** Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 358 Gordon Street, Guelph, Ontario, February 15 to October 1, 1995.

**Inuit Art from the Keewatin District: Selections from the Collection.** Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 358 Gordon Street, Guelph, Ontario, until December 1995.

**Names and Lives in Nunavik.** McCord Museum of Canadian History, 690 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec, until April 1996.

**Selections from the Permanent Collection.** McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 10365 Islington Avenue, Kleinburg, Ontario, April 22 to August 6, 1995.

**Keeping Our Stories Alive.** Institute of American Indian Art Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 20 to mid-September, 1995.

**TRAVELLING EXHIBITIONS**


**The Inuit and Diamond Jenness.** Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec. Itinerary: Diefenbaker Centre, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, August 27 to November 12, 1995; Musée J. Armand Bombardier, Valcourt, Quebec, December 10, 1995 to March 3, 1996; Restigouche Gallery National Exhibition Centre, Campbellton, New Brunswick, April 8 to June 16.

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Inuit Art Quarterly encourages photographers to submit work for consideration for Views, usually the last page of each issue. Submissions should include the photographer’s name, address and phone number, and concise caption information, including names, dates and places. Photos which must be returned should clearly state so.

CONFERENCEs

Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 1995
General Assembly, Nome, Alaska, July 24-28, 1995. For information, contact the ICC head office in Anchorage, Alaska at (907) 563-6917, or the Canadian office in Ottawa at (613) 563-2642.

10th Inuit Studies Conference
Memorial University, St. John’s, Newfoundland, August 15-18, 1995. For information, contact Irene Mazurkewich at the Department of Linguistics. Tel: (709) 737-8299.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS

Ontario
Art Gallery of Ontario (Toronto)
Chedoke-McMaster Hospital
(Hamilton)
McMichael Canadian Collection
(Kleinburg)
National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa)
Toronto Dominion Gallery of
Inuit Art (Toronto)

Quebec
Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec
(Montreal)
McCord Museum of Canadian
History (Montreal)
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
(Montreal)

Manitoba
Crafts Museum, Crafts Guild of
Manitoba (Winnipeg)

United States
Dennos Museum Center
(Traverse City, Michigan)

Galerie Elca London

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KIWAK ASHOONA
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