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FEB. 4 — MAR. 26, 1994

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Broadening Our Focus

I know that some of you have been patiently waiting for us to provide more articles on Inuit drawings. I think you will find Janet Berlo's article on Napachie Pootoogook a welcome addition to our knowledge of this important, but lesser-known, medium.

I also hope you will enjoy Robin McGrath's treatment of Inuit legends and art in an article focusing on the meaning of clothes in both art forms. We have been intending, for some time, to broaden our focus to include the full range of Inuit art: literary, dance, music and. I would include, legends which survived by means of the oral tradition. McGrath's paper is a good start in that direction, and we have a paper dealing with the drum dance in the works for a future issue.

John Ayre, who did the interview with Manasie Akpaliapik, is the nephew of the now-deceased Montreal critic, Robert Ayre, credited by many as having made a significant contribution to the popularity of Inuit art in the late 1940s and 50s. He was an authoritative newspaper columnist, and one of the first to pay critical attention to the beginnings of Inuit art. In the course of a search through his uncle's papers, he found the two photos featured in our Views section, which appears in this issue. It was an authoritative newspaper columnist, and one of the first to pay critical attention to the new art appearing at the Canadian Guild of Crafts and other Montreal venues. Nephew John, who recently published a two-part biography of Northrop Frye, has now turned his attention to the beginnings of Inuit art. In the course of a search through his uncle's papers, he found the two photos featured in our Views section. By coincidence, they arrived here just as we were casting about for something to use on the back page. How appropriate to have a picture of the young Napachie to accompany Berlo's article!

Thomas Ugiuk of Rankin Inlet let us know that he would be interested in talking to us about his well-known father, John Kavik, who died earlier this year. Simeonie Kunnuk, who is developing a sensitive interviewer, talked with Ugiuk and transcribed the interview which appears in this issue. Kunnuk, by the way, has decided to serve IAQ as a contributing editor in Winnipeg, has written a review essay on the subject of a shamanic exhibition at the Winnipeg Art Gallery. I was not sure whether to place this essay in Reviews or Commentary, as George, always drawing upon a wealth of knowledge and personal experience, has gone beyond the exhibition to draw some parallels between the philosophy and practice of the Winnipeg Art Gallery and Inuit Art Quarterly. As he puts it, the gallery and IAQ share an interest in going beyond aesthetics to an appreciation of the circumstances and concerns of Inuit. We do, indeed.
Autobiographical
Impulses and
Female Identity in the

(fig. 1) Drawing of My Tent, 1982, Napachie Pootoogook, Cape Dorset (stonecut and stencil — brown, black, green, pink, blue on mulberry paper; 86.0 x 71.0 cm; National Gallery of Canada).

Inuit Art Section, Indian & Northern Affairs Canada
Drawings of Napachie Pootoogook

by Janet Catherine Berlo

Few Inuit women have written about their artistic, personal, and historical practices, yet such autobiographical impulses abound in the visual arts. As historian Hertha Wong has written about another indigenous North American art form, 19th century Plains Indian ledger book drawings, our western privileging of the written narrative overlooks other potential sources of autobiography and history, such as speaking, performing, and painting.1 In Inuit art studies, the enormous number of drawings from the Cape Dorset archive — over 110,000 drawings — should prove to be a particularly rich source of visual autobiography, one unparalleled in the history of world art. Even in the vast holdings of European art museums, I doubt if there could be found anything to compare with this archive’s thousands of drawings, by known artists, and well-documented as to date and social context.

The Cape Dorset drawings provide a wealth of data about northern life, self-representation, gender relations, and other concerns of aboriginal people, most of whom have been drawing on paper for only two generations. Unmediated by the print-making process, and uncensored by well-meaning consultants and councils, the drawings reveal images of Inuit artists’ representational concerns that are more various, more highly nuanced, and more sophisticated in

(fig. 2) Napachie Pootoogook with her mother, Pitseolak Ashoona
catalogues that illustrate the print edition on Inuit drawings from Jackson's groundbreaking doctoral dissertations.3 Until the mid-1980s and Marion individuals, because of the accompanying and exhibitions.2

This journal are well aware). With prints, it is easy to document the work of individuals (as readers of this journal are well aware). With prints, it is easy to document the work of individual artists can be easily studied because of the unique situation of extensive Native-held collections. Some art co-ops in northern communities maintain archives of drawings that are used as inspiration for prints.

Cape Dorset houses the largest and most up-to-date print-making facility in the North. Over the past 30 years, the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative has assembled by far the largest drawing archive in the North.5 This data base provides an extraordinary opportunity for anthropological or art historical-based studies of acculturation, creativity, iconography, and representation. In 1991, this unique resource was transferred to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, in Kleinberg, Ontario (see IAQ 4(11), Fall 1991).

In the fall of 1991, I examined some 4,000 drawings by Napachie Pootoogook at the McMichael.4 One of my intentions in studying Pootoogook's work was to investigate the discrepancy that I thought existed between Cape Dorset's public artistic face and its private one: the difference between the prints issued by the co-op, which tend, with some exceptions, to be decorative, uncomplicated, and simple, and the small number of drawings I had seen which seemed to me to be more complex and subtle.

Although the Dorset prints are remarkably popular in the urban art markets of southern Canada, the United States, and in Europe, many of the images seem more appropriate to calendars and greeting cards than to a fine art tradition. Owls are ubiquitous, as are scenes of women and children, sometimes sentimentally labelled “Arctic madonnas.”

Of course there are some prints that belie the simplistic view of Inuit people as “happy carefree Natives.” Drawing of My Tent (fig. 1) by Napachie Pootoogook, issued in 1982, is to my mind among the most fascinating of the Cape Dorset prints. It clearly demonstrates that the artist was indeed fully cognizant of issues of self-representation, and the way that graphic artists in the Arctic deliberately market their past for a southern audience. Drawing of My Tent is a self-portrait. Pootoogook depicts herself holding a drawing of an old-style caribou skin tent. While that drawing is the work of art...
she seems to present to the viewer, it has a double message, for a finely crafted caribou-skin tent was, in the old days, one of the artistic contributions made by Inuit women, along with skin clothing. Today, however, it is the artist's depiction of the old style tent, rather than the tent itself, which is her artistic contribution. In her scene-within-a-scene, Pootoogook holds a drawing of an old-style tent, but stands in front of her own tent — a modern canvas one with a wooden door. Her son emerges from the tent wearing a baseball cap. The work of art that Pootoogook really presents to us — the 1982 print — encompasses three worlds of women's work: the old ways of the Inuit tentmaker, the world of the Inuit artist who represents those old ways in graphic arts, and the modern representation of herself presenting these two successive stages of the past. Pootoogook here uses art to negotiate the shifting terrain between past and present, tradition and modernity, delineating these juxtapositions in her art. Having known of this print by Pootoogook, I was particularly eager to examine her complete corpus of drawings, to see whether this was a continuing theme in her work, or an aberration. Indeed, I found that, in a number of drawings, Pootoogook presents herself as an artist and a woman who can bridge historical and cultural chasms.

**ISSUES OF GENDER**

Born in 1938, Napachie Pootoogook has been busy with pencils and paper since the early 1960s. She is the daughter of Piseolak Ashoona (1904-1983) (fig. 2), the most prolific and, arguably, the
best-known northern artist. Pitseolak, author of more than 6,000 drawings, is unmatched by any other northern artist; Pootoogook's 4,000 drawings are equalled in number by only two other individuals. A consideration of Napachie Pootoogook's work brings up issues of gender and representation, as well as an examination of widely held erroneous views about Inuit graphic arts.

An interest in inscribing the traditional ways of women is surely one of the legacies that Pitseolak Ashoona transmitted to her daughter, along with an astonishing productivity. Moreover, the artistic reflexivity that Pootoogook demonstrates in Drawing of My Tent (fig. 1) may stem from her mother as well. A Pitseolak drawing, The Critic (fig. 3) circa 1963, shows two Inuit women displaying their work to a male viewer. In the early 1960s, Pootoogook, also, was producing pencil drawings that show the artist making drawings, or presenting drawings for the inspection of outsiders (fig. 4). This has continued to be a persistent, though minor, theme in her work of the last three decades. Out of some 4,000 drawings, less than 20 depict the act of drawing, and these were all produced during the past three decades of her career. In one instance, Pootoogook depicts several artists at work together inside the large art co-op building at Cape Dorset (fig. 5). In another drawing, she shows herself being photographed by a male visitor as she works in her tent, a baby asleep on her back (fig. 6). Of the many drawings in which Pootoogook depicts herself making or holding drawings, it is noteworthy that the Inuit printmakers and non-Inuit advisors at the co-op chose to print one (Drawing of My Tent) that does not show the white buyer, but only the artist presenting her work to the viewer. With only a few notable exceptions, elements of the "southern" world are conspicuous by their absence in Inuit prints. One suspects that the fiction maintained for the general public is of a special, unmediated relationship between the "pristine" indigenous artist and the purchaser of the print. Presumably, this fantasy would be ruined by acknowledging that the economy of artmaking as a transaction between northern artist and southern patron is in fact central to modern Inuit life — thus the unacculturated look of so many prints, in spite of the fact that they are made by modern citizens of the North, some of whom have travelled extensively, and almost all of whom have been exposed to southern ways for their entire adult lives.

At Cape Dorset, Pudlo Pudlat (1916-1992) seems to have been put forward in the print-making program as the one artist who represents the Inuit view of technology and the clash of northern and southern ways. Yet, these themes appear in Napachie Pootoogook's unpublished drawings as well, though few of these have been chosen as prints. From 1978-1981, she executed a series of drawings that featured airplanes. In one fantasy image (fig. 7), a person is pulled by a rather zoomorphic looking airplane. In another, (fig. 8), people flee as a plane passes overhead, while one Inuk shoots arrows at the plane.

Another previously unrecognized aspect of Pootoogook's work is the vein of humour running through it. A number of drawings suggest a playful sense of the absurd. In figure 9, the artist subverts the normal hierarchy of traditional northern transportation: a woman rides a sled dog, while carrying the sled like a baby in the hood of her parka. Meanwhile, the dog brandsishes the whip! In another image (fig. 10), the artist merges aviation and sled technologies, to come up with a dual-propeller sled. In a drawing that could be entitled Knives Thinking about Their Work (fig. 11), the artist draws animated versions of the long, slim men's knife and the short, curved woman's ulu, each with a comic book bubble, depicting the animals to be butchered.

**Art and identity**

Anthropologist Ted Carpenter and others have concluded that Inuit prints are not authentic because they maintain a fiction of Arctic life which is 100 years out of date. The vast proportion of Inuit prints depict the "old ways" of hunting, tracking, sewing hide tents, and so forth. I was surprised to find that the vast proportion of unpublished drawings depict the same thing, in spite of the fact that modern Arctic life is a complex cultural stew that includes satellite TV reception, the sewing of hide garments, the consumption of packaged food flown in from the...
South, and traditional walrus kills. It often seems that to draw the old ways rather than to continue to enact them, is a way of maintaining identity.

A number of women who no longer sew skins together to make boats or tents will maintain the cultural memory of this as a female area of expertise by recording it in drawings. Napachie Pootoogook does this in a characteristically fresh and direct way. Several prints have been issued in which she depicts skin tents. In a series of unpublished drawings executed over a 25-year period, Pootoogook re-enacts the labour of sewing skins, again and again. Sometimes, the animals who give their skins for human use are shown as a living part of the tent, like the caribou in figure 12.

Female expertise with ulu and needle transforms a patchwork of hides into a watertight boat in figure 13. Thus are the co-operative labours of women commemorated.

While the day has not yet come when Inuit women scholars and artists routinely write about their arts and culture with Native authority, these pictorial representations do serve as a sort of visual autobiography of women's individual and collective practice over the past 100 years in the Arctic. Of her own work, Pootoogook recalls, "Back in the early days, I used to draw what I had heard from my mother, the things she used to talk about from long ago. I didn't ask my mother's opinion of what I was going to draw, but when I heard stories from my mother, I drew them the way I pictured them." 12

When Pootoogook represents the kind of tent her grandmother used out on the land 50 years ago, or the skin boats unique to Inuit people, based on the oral reminiscences of her mother, Pitsolak, both mother and daughter are performing autobiographical acts. Moreover, they are encoding women's cultural memories in an enduring art form. They are not simply evoking the past in a simple-minded way for economic gain, nor yearning to resuscitate an unrecoverable past. They are also, in Benita Parry's words, engaging in an "intervention that wins back a zone from colonialist representation." 13 They are telling us in a very direct way what it is to be an Inuit woman over successive generations.

In terms of prints, there is certainly a marketing reason for the almost obsessive evocation of the old ways. As I have suggested, many southern buyers are, indeed, buying fictions of a pristine northern world. 14 But, I would argue, the situation is more complex than this. These arts are multivocal, simultaneously fulfilling the differing needs of Native artist and southern audience. For much of the southern audience, the works of art do, like other aspects of the so-called primitive world, fulfill our need for a fictive "other" who exists in a world we

(Fig. 7) Untitled, 1980-81, Napachie Pootoogook, Cape Dorset (coloured pencil, felt pen; collection of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative Ltd., on loan to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, CD.32.3206).
(fig. 9) Untitled, 1986-87, Napachie Pootoogook, Cape Dorset (coloured pencil, felt pen; collection of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative Ltd., on loan to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, CD.32.4075).

(fig. 8) Untitled, 1978-79, Napachie Pootoogook, Cape Dorset (coloured pencil, felt pen; collection of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative Ltd., on loan to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, CD.32.2527).
nostalgically see as primordial and unspoiled. This is, indisputably, part of what has made contemporary Inuit art an annual multimillion dollar industry. But, at the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that for a community of a few hundred people to produce over 100,000 drawings for only a small financial reward, over a 30-year time span, there must be something in the endeavour that fulfils local needs as well.

These acts of self-representation do signify power, authenticity, and identity within their own culture. By using the visual arts as one mode for defining her identity in a rapidly changing modern world, the female Inuit artist insists on the persistence of her own unique cultural identity. The act of art-making inscribes and defines a vision of the self that is crucial to Native identity.

The drawings of Napachie Pootoogook and her colleagues in Cape Dorset provide an alternative to our official epistemology in which the Inuit past and the Inuit present are constructed by our representations of Native peoples, and our arrangements of their artifacts in our museums. It depicts the reality of late 20th century life in a world that, while geographically remote, does participate in a global culture. Pootoogook positions herself on the boundary between past and present, and between the northern experience and the southern market for which that northern experience has been transformed into art.

They are not simply evoking the past in a simple-minded way for economic gain, nor yearning to resuscitate an unrecoverable past.

In the 1920s, Knud Rasmussen reported the following observations by a man in the remote Canadian Arctic, at a time before most Inuit lived in village settlements: "Now that we have firearms, it is almost as if we no longer need shamans, or taboo, for now it is not so difficult to procure food as in the old days. Then we had to laboriously hunt the caribou at the sacred crossing places, and there the only thing that helped was strictly observed taboo in combination with magic words and amulets. Now we can shoot caribou everywhere with our guns, and the result is that we have lived ourselves out of the old customs. We forget our magic words, and we scarcely have any amulets now . . . . We forget what we no longer have use for."15
Yet, Inuit women like Napachie Pootoogook clearly still have use for the old ways of hide sewing, and caribou skin tents: these things are transmuted into imagery for modern graphic arts. Through the work of contemporary artists, traditional women's practices will not soon be forgotten. Through the medium of her art, Pootoogook moves easily between cultures, and between successive generations of Inuit women. Through the work of her drawing pencils and felt pens, she remembers what so many other forces have conspired to culturally dismember.

ENDNOTES
3 With sculpture, the work of individuals is sometimes hard to document as pieces are sold and disappear into private collections throughout the world.
5 In addition to Cape Dorset's collection of 110,000 drawings, Holman, a community of about 350 people, maintains an archive of over 4,000 drawings done since the early 1960s. These are kept in safes in the co-op and are not sold to outsiders. I examined this entire archive in the summer of 1991. Baker Lake has a small archive of drawings. The co-op building burned in the late 1970s, destroying many years of holdings. But artists in Baker Lake have always been free to sell their drawings to outsiders; many can be found in Canadian museums and private collections. The Winnipeg Art Gallery has a particularly impressive collection.
6 I would like to thank Jean Blodgett, Assistant Director of the McMichael Collection, for facilitating that research and Kathryn Rumbold, Registrar of the Cape Dorset collection at the McMichael, for cheerfully and efficiently handling my requests for the photographs which accompany this essay.
7 Of Pitsiulak's drawings, 6,461 are housed in the Cape Dorset archives. More than 220 prints based on her drawings were issued between 1940 and 1983. See Jean Blodgett, In Cape Dorset We Do It This Way, Kleinberg, Toronto: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1991, p.69.
8 Cape Dorset inventory totals of the most prolific artists: Pitsiulak 6,461; Napachie 4,015; Sorosoellut 4,168; Kakulu 4,357. My thanks to Jean Blodgett for providing me with these figures.
9 See also CD. 32. 1936, 2423, 3279, 3332, 3410, and 3997 at the McMichael Canadian Art Collection from this same period (1977-1982). A number of these, as well as some of the other works, were exhibited in this essay. A show that I curated at the St. Louis Art Museum in 1992 entitled Contemporary Inuit Drawings from Arctic Canada.
10 In addition to Pitsiulak's many familiar images from the 1980s, see Napachie Pootoogook's print, The First Policeman I Ever Saw (1978).
12 As quoted in Jean Blodgett, In Cape Dorset We Do It This Way, p.121.
16 Janet Catherine Berlo is Professor of Art History at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. Trained as an historian of Pre-Columbian art (Talk Ph.D., 1980), Berlo's current research focuses on women and art in New World cultures with a particular interest in Inuit art.
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"Mother and Child"

Inuit Art
MORE than Meets the EYE:
The Clothing Motif in Inuit Legends and Art

by Robin McGrath
Traditional clothing, a constant and central motif in Inuit legends, sculpture, prints and drawings, has been long admired but little understood. In recent times, however, this element of Inuit cultural life has received more attention from both Native and non-Native critics and scholars, and the insight derived from this research is adding depth of understanding to all forms of Inuit art. Even when used in the most conventional way, depictions of clothing in Inuit art convey important social and spiritual values. When items of clothing are missing, or appear to be worn by the wrong gender, the added layer of meaning is often thought to be an error on the part of the artist, but a closer look at the symbolic function of clothing in Inuit stories and legends can point the way for a greater understanding of these works.

In day-to-day life, clothing has a number of uses: it provides protection from the environment, it accommodates modesty, it increases attraction through adornment, and it indicates the status or rank of the wearer. In some circumstances, clothes are also thought to provide protection from supernatural forces or to confer supernatural powers on the person wearing them and, although modern Western society has tended to deny these added functions of clothing, folk tales and children’s stories are rampant with clothes that do more than keep the rain off or enhance a well-turned calf. Cloaks of invisibility, seven league boots, and even the emperor’s nonexistent new clothes, are all part of the shared experience of European children.

Since clothing is the primary possession in a traditional Inuit society, the clothing motif in Inuit stories is more prominent and the supernatural aspects are more closely integrated with everyday life than in non-Inuit, non-Native tales. Some urban North Americans might cherish their children’s bronzed baby shoes or hang a bride’s blue garter from the rear-view mirror of the car “for luck,” but in traditional Netsilik Inuit life, similar practices were far more significant.

Clothing is displayed in this detail of an untitled 1979 tapestry by Martha Ilkapik Eekekik of Arviat in an almost didactic fashion, but the author says that “even when used in the most conventional way, depictions of clothing in Inuit art convey important social and spiritual values.”

Sculpture incorporating a parka image by John Kavik, Rankin Inlet, 1965 (black stone; 9.5 x 8.5 x 2 cm; collection of George Swinton).

Inuit Art Section, Indian & Northern Affairs Canada

Every adult would retain a small piece of birdskin out of which their first babyslips were made and, when Sedna had been ritually killed by the shaman during his seance, the onlookers would wear it as a protective amulet, not for luck but for survival (Boas, 1888:604). That first shirt is what initially defined Inuit to themselves as true men and women with some control over their lives, rather than as animals directly subject to the will of Sedna.

The clothing that was so necessary to Inuit was an extension of the self, a second skin that asserted who and what they were. It is this self-definition that we find expressed in the folk tales. Although the message takes manifold forms, the stories reveal what Bruno Bettelheim describes as the prescription that “by struggling courageously against what seem like overwhelming odds [man can] succeed in wringing meaning out of his existence” (Bettelheim, 1977:18). That meaning is frequently conveyed symbolically in items of clothing that are tried on, taken off, worn out or outgrown, begged or borrowed, given or taken. Clothing in Inuit legends represents the moral values, social customs and spiritual
In this 1976 print by Lipa Pitsiulak of Pangirtung, entitled Disguised Archer, the hunter has donned a skinned caribou head with antlers as a ruse. Caribou used to be skinned whole and used as parkas for Inuit children. The head and ears formed the hood.

attitudes people accepted or discarded as they matured, aged, and prepared to die.

A SYMBOL OF ANIMAL TRANSFORMATION

Traditional Inuit clothing is most obviously and constantly a symbol of animal transformation. This symbolism exists not only because the clothing is made of skin, fur and feathers, but because, as George Swinton reminds us, a garment such as the caribou amouti not only "parallels the actual location of fur parts of the caribou" but also "graphically and symbolically follows the animal’s main physical features" (1980:24). Such parallels are most evident in caribou parkas made for small children in which the animal is skinned whole so that the head and ears become the hood. The walrus tusk insets common in Copper Inuit parkas and the tail flap found on Baffin Island are also easily identifiable examples of the transformation motif.

In many stories, clothes confer supernatural powers upon the wearer but, in the story of "Igimarasugjuk," as told by Tautungie Kabluitok of Rankin Inlet, the clothes retain their own power, even when empty. This tale is the combination of a cannibal story and a creation story, but it is probably also based upon a true incident. Tautungie told several versions of this legend but, at its simplest, it describes how Igimarasugjuk ate his family and neighbours during a starvation time. His wife, Publaligak, was forced to cook the dreadful food, but ate only clothing and bugs herself. Finally, when Igimarasugjuk had killed Publaligak's child and sent her to gather moss to cook it, she got the courage to escape.

Clothing in Inuit legends represents moral values, social customs and spiritual attitudes.

In a version recorded from Tautungie by Michael Fortescue, the anonymous translator explains how she escaped. The translation is simultaneous and is therefore rough, but it is effective: "The storyteller wore a caribou, thin t-shirt. like, eh, like a caribou shirt and amouti over top. She put both of them on, the lady, before she went to get the moss and [she] went out and she gathered the moss as fast as she could and got it all together and put it inside the amouti and put a mitten there and she was talking to the thing she had stuffed, the amouti, and she was talking to it and said 'If he pokes you with a knife, say ah! ah! It hurts, or ouch, or something.' Igimarasugjuk saw the figure and stabbed it, and it cried out, but when it did not fall to the ground he realized that he had not managed to kill his wife, so he ripped the effigy apart.

In a variant taped at Rankin Inlet and translated by Janet McGrath, the amouti is stuffed with sticks and the wife escapes to her brother's camp, "naked, cloaked in a blanket" (Kabluitok, 1987:n.p.). Igimarasugjuk follows his wife's footprints to the camp, where he is lured into a game, tied up and executed. The innocent wife is questioned about whether she, too, ate humans, but her brother does not believe her. He cuts her stomach open to look for evidence, and clouds of mosquitoes fly out. Tautungie ends the tale with the following explanation: "From that time on, we have mosquitoes. If they had taken her word for it his sister would have been alive. But he took it upon himself to kill her to
gain evidence. From that time on there have always been mosquitoes, those pesky little things that eat at people” (Kabluitok, 1987:n.p.).

The translator, explains that “there are no good guys and bad guys here... everyone had to suffer for some sort of inappropriate behaviour; Igimarasugjuk for eating people, his wife for not leaving to get help sooner, the brother of the woman for not believing her word, and it doesn’t just stop there. The people of the Arctic will forever be reminded of these important lessons by having their short six weeks of summer plagued by mosquitoes” (J. McGrath, personal comm. 1987).

What is not explained by either storyteller or translator is the motivation behind the events. Igimarasugjuk was, presumably, hungry at first but, like all cannibals, he becomes addicted to human flesh and does not control his unnatural appetite. His wife acts, or fails to act, out of fear. As Tautungie’s translator puts it, “Inuit women were, of necessity, very dependent on their men for survival, and women were taught early on the virtues of obeying their husbands” (J. McGrath, personal comm. 1987).

Only after close questioning, though, do we learn the brother’s real failing. Since Publaligak arrived at his camp without her amouti, her near-naked condition should have been proof enough that she was telling the truth. For it showed that either she had eaten her clothes or was in such dread of her husband that she was willing to risk the harsh environment naked rather than remain with him. Stripped of her clothes, she was stripped of her most vital defences she was, indeed, powerless.

One more question is left — where did the power come from that allowed the amouti to cry out? In other stories, great rage or great fear can release such power, which can be channelled through a piece of clothing. The other possible explanation is that the child has possessed the amouti and is aiding the mother’s escape. It is the sight of the boy’s severed hands, tossed casually on the floor of the igloo, that finally overcomes her inertia.

**Boastful, Foolish Kiviok**

Clothing acts as a double motivator in the stories of the Inuit hero, Kiviok. Most versions of the epic begin with a description of how a young orphan boy frequently had his clothing torn or the tail of his coat cut off by tormentors. The child’s hardworking grandmother begs the men not to destroy the child’s clothes and, when the persecution continues, she swears vengeance and transforms the child into a seal by pulling a skin over his head. In this disguise he lures the hunters out to sea in their kayaks where they are all drowned except for Kiviok who has been kind to him (Boas, 1888:621-5). Thus begin the journeys of
Kiviok. During his travels he fornicates with every female he encounters, be they human or ghoul, and one of his glorious feats includes sexually satisfying a giant vagina that blocks his way. Kiviok is the ultimate macho-man; he rarely has any true affection for these sexual partners, though he does have some fondness for the women he left behind or lost.

Kiviok is boastful, a bully, often foolish, and he is a great philanderer; nevertheless, he is preoccupied with the acquisition and function of clothing. For example, a short version of the Kiviok legend collected by Mark Kalluak at Eskimo Point contains a number of incidents related to clothing. It describes how Kiviok tricked an old woman into revealing her true identity by having her remove her kamiks, displaying her thin, wrinkled legs. The legend tells how Kiviok pretended to lose his kamiks and mittens when hunting in order to save them for his escape from the murderess, and of how, like the seal child whose alter ego he is, Kiviok Jost the tail of his shirt between two clapping mountains (Kalluak, 1974:18-21). Other versions of the epic tell of how the hero is trapped by a cannibalistic bee woman who puts his kamiks out of reach on a magic drying rack, and of how he steals mittens full of beads from some spider woman and brings them home to his wives (Rasmussen, 1932:288). Armand Tagoona describes how Kiviok captures a fox-wife by stealing her “clothing” when she puts her skin out in the sun to dry (Tagoona, 1975:plate 7). In another variant from Eskimo Point, Kiviok finds that his wives are unfaithful so he fills his inner slippers with worms and stuffs them into the women, killing them (Spalding, 1979:51-66).

**BALANCING THE POWER OF THE SEXES**

When an Inuit legend or story is used as the inspiration for a work of art, a missing mitten may signify a testing process in the story. Like Cinderella, the woman who travels to the moon in the story of “Ululigarqnaarq” has certain restrictions placed upon her and, when tempted to ignore the boundaries, she loses an item of clothing as a warning (see IAQ Summer 1993 for story). The article of clothing has a supernatural significance, but it also acts as an element in the struggle for ascendency in male-female relationships. Ululigarqnaarq is an abused wife who must still acknowledge certain restrictions. Characters who are struggling to achieve a balance of power between the sexes often use clothing to assist them, at times even donning the clothes of the opposite gender. The suggestion of cross-dressing in a sculpture or picture carries a very complex message.

One of the simplest and most pleasing ways that the act of cross-dressing functions spiritually in Inuit legends is when a child puts on an article of clothing belonging to an elder and acquires the strength and wisdom of the owner. This borrowing of strength is most frequently transsexual, passing from an elder female to a young male, and symbolizes the whole or complete nature of the temporarily supernatural child. A young boy will wear his mother's or his grandmother's amouti and, dressed as a woman, becomes capable of magical or superhuman feats. Since clothing is so essential to Inuit life, the child's initial lack of clothing indicates his helpless vulnerability — either he has been so badly neglected that his clothes have fallen apart, or his rage has caused him to grow to gigantic proportions so that he has burst out of his clothing. In either case,
the replacement clothes provide him with the strength he needs to survive.

Cross-dressing in Inuit society had both a spiritual and a social purpose. Missionary Donald Marsh, writing about his time with the Padlirmiut, describes the supernatural or spiritual significance of the practice:

"It wasn't an uncommon sight in early days to see a boy wearing girl's clothing with braided hair tied at the back of the head with bits of fur. Even his name would have been changed, all in the hope of fooling the spirits. The boy would have been the only son left in a large family (which could well have had twenty or twenty four births), and it was vitally necessary that the spirits, who had caused the death of the other boys, should be fooled into thinking that this was a girl. Girls, after all, had little intrinsic value, and a spirit would hardly bother itself to hurt one" (Marsh, 1987: 143).

The social view of cross-dressing is described by Martha Angugiaq Ungalaq of Eskimo Point in the following account:

"There was also a game where people got dressed up and made a joke out of dressing. It was something like Halloween today. There would be two people, one was a pretend man and the other a pretend woman. The man would have a whip and the woman would have a stick. They were made fun of and it was such a time for joking. That was during a drum dance. They'd be the last to come in and nobody would know who they were. They'd have a mask and they'd scare everybody" (Ungalaq, 1985:12).

In modern times, the balance of power between the sexes is evident in the stories told of how women exacted revenge upon domineering husbands by deliberately cutting or mending clothes incorrectly.

Marshal's suggestion that cross-dressing revealed disregard for women, and Ungalaq's feeling that the process was just a joke, are, however, both negated by the content of Inuit legends, which suggest that cross-dressing reflected the need

Inuit saw to value both sexes, and to cherish the talents of all members of society, regardless of age, sex, or social status.

James McNeil identifies the donning of the grandmother's clothes as a part of the revenge motif in the tale of the orphan boy Kaujjarjuk. In this seminal story, Kaujjarjuk is humiliated in every way and survives only by sleeping with the dogs and secretly accepting small amounts of food from a sister or grandmother. The boy gains strength at night by being whipped (as in the "game" Ungalaq describes) or by lifting rocks.

When three polar bears come to attack the village, he makes use of the opportunity to exact revenge and reward the female figure who helped him. McNeil's summary of one source from Greenland and Labrador describes what happens when the bears come: "Our hero, having no boots of his own, borrows a woman's boots and goes out all by himself. The men jeer and the girls sing dirty songs to him. He runs so fast that he hardly leaves footprints on the new fallen snow" (McNeil, 1967:60). Kaujjarjuk kills the bears and the wicked people, and the only survivor is the old woman who was kind to him.
A variation on the Kaujjarjuk story is that of Asasaq. As recorded by Elizabeth Simngaaq, the legend tells how Asasaq shot one of his tormentors in the ittiq (anus) with an arrow and, when the rest of them came to exact their revenge, he “prepared to defend himself from being captured by putting on a set of his grandmother's old clothes” (Simngaaq, 1980:35). The mob laughed so hard at Asasaq’s ridiculous appearance that they took too long in preparing their attack. In this story, the orphan’s dog catches the arrows in its teeth, allowing Asasaq to kill his enemies; the function of the grandmother’s clothes is apparently only to distract the enemy and it is the dog that saves him. Yet clearly, without the old woman’s apparel the young hero would have been defeated, and there is the suggestion that the dog is, in fact, his grandmother, who will be transformed back into a human when she dons her clothing again.

In the story of the orphan Kautaluk, collected by Maurice Metayer, the connection between the grandmother’s clothes and the hero’s strength is even more clearly demonstrated. Like Kaujjarjuk, Kautaluk is humiliated by being lifted off his feet by his nose, and only the warmth of his grandmother’s body keeps him from freezing while he sleeps. When a white bear and her two cubs appear, Kautaluk laces on his grandmother’s boots and pursues the animals. The hunters are astonished and with one voice they declare, “That poor orphan, running around in his grandmother’s boots! He will be killed!” But Kautaluk “ran directly towards the bears and grasping them by the hind legs, he repeatedly beat them on the ice like a woman knocking snow out of clothing” (Metayer, 1972:36). The bears die and Kautaluk effortlessly carries the carcasses back to his grandmother’s igloo, demonstrating his capabilities as a male hunter. It is interesting to note, though, that his success is described not in hunting terminology, but in a metaphor related to women caring for clothing; his boots are women’s kamiks, so his skills are women’s skills, not men’s.

As is obvious in Tautungie Kabluitok’s story about Igimarasugjuk, Inuit women were very dependent upon their husbands and could be intimidated or oppressed by them. But realistically, Inuit men were equally dependent upon their wives. In the story of Igimarasugjuk, he very cautiously had to pretend to lose items of clothing so that he could hide them and escape from her. He could not just get up and walk away. As recorded by Elizabeth Simngaaq, he would never have been able to get home without extra boots and mittens. His automatic habit of removing his boots to be dried and mended as soon as he entered the dwellings of these women put him at least temporarily in their power. As long as they had his clothing he could not escape, for he could not mend or replace his own clothing himself. His hunting skills could support him only up to a point — beyond that point he had to rely upon the skills of a woman.

**The Male/Female Relationship**

Each individual story that has clothing as a central or incidental motif tells us something about the nature of the relationship between men and women. In one, it might be the male who dominates and the female who is subservient, but another might turn the balance of power around and show the woman as the one in control. Taken in total, however, the legends suggest that to view Inuit society as strictly male-dominated is simplistic. Gender-specific work such as sewing or hunting might, at certain times, give one sex or the other the advantage in dealing with those of the opposite sex, but eventually the balance of power will shift. As long as women needed men to hunt furs for clothing, and as long as men needed women to sew them, then an attitude of mutual respect and co-operation was essential to survive.

In modern times, this balance of power is evident in the stories told by elderly seamstresses of how women (never themselves) were supposed to have exacted revenge upon domineering husbands by deliberately cutting or mending clothes incorrectly. A worn kamik-sole or a few judiciously loosened stitches could result in a frozen toe for the bully. A parka cut too narrow across the shoulders caused cramp and general discomfort, and ill-fitting trousers were capable of producing chafe sores that could render an unfaithful man temporarily impotent. Stories of women sabotaging their husbands’ clothing are hard to document and may be apocryphal, but the fact that such stories exist surely suggests that women are well aware of the power of the needle and thread.

Gossip in contemporary Inuit clothing and craft shops also suggests that Inuit women still use their sewing skills to manipulate men. For example, a woman who normally produced a wide range of mittens, boots, and hats for sale to a craft shop was said to have withheld finished goods while still withdrawing raw materials from the shop. As the primary
source of cash in the family, her sewing skills were of great importance to her husband who wanted to maintain a traditional hunting lifestyle but who often needed money for equipment. Usually, the money she earned was his to do with as he wished but, occasionally, she decided how the money should be disposed of — gifts for her children, or a new boat for her parents, for instance — and she would withhold or hide her beautiful clothes and crafts. At these times, she only sewed when her husband was away hunting, and she would tell him that she was too busy with children to do craft-work. Once she had convinced her husband to spend the money in accordance with her wishes, she would bring all her finished clothing into the craft shop, collect her payment, and then hand the cash over to her husband. He saved face, and she got her own way.

Hand sewn clothing may no longer be as essential to Inuit life as it once was, but its central place in the myths and legends of the traditional era is not easily dislodged. Like Red Riding Hood's cape, or Cinderella's slippers, the Inuit mother's amouti, the hunter's kulituk, or the child's kamiks still represent more than protection from the elements. These items represent the values, customs, and attitudes that hold families and settlements together in a precarious time, and they deserve attention because of what they stand for: regard for the land, respect for the family, pride in the culture, and co-operation between all Inuit. Inuit artists who feature traditional clothing in their works are not just nostalgically looking back to a simpler and happier time, they are offering us clues to the fundamental principles which shape their lives and their culture.

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John Kavik died in March 1993. His son, Thomas Ugjuk of Rankin Inlet, notified IAQ that he would be interested in being interviewed about his father.

Simeonie Kunuk: Thomas, are you a carver or do you do something else?
Thomas Ugjuk: At this time, I am not doing too much. I used to do carvings several years ago, but I don't carve any more. Now, I merely go out into the country to hunt.

Kunnuk: I was informed that your late father, John Kavik, was a carver and that you would be able to provide valuable information about him. But first, I want to ask you if it is all right for you to discuss your father . . . .

Ugjuk: Yes . . . if I am asked questions regarding my father, I could provide only so much information. If he was here, I probably would be able to provide more, but I am not him and can only produce second-hand information.

Kunnuk: So, he was your real father or . . .?
Ugjuk: Yes, Kavik, who just passed away last spring, was my father.

Kunnuk: Was carving his real profession?
Ugjuk: Yes, he became a carver when we settled in Rankin Inlet. He carved with stones and pottery. I can talk about these things. After he was introduced to pottery, he continued on his own to make pottery. He did not know any English just as I don't know any. Before all this, we lived in an area past Baker Lake and we didn't have any experience with carvings back then, and we didn't even know carving.
Inuit Art Quarterly

Kunnuk: And so, it wasn't until you went to Rankin Inlet that you began carving?

Ugjuk: Yes. My father began trying to carve back then. I would look for soapstone for him. We'd help him by providing the stone. As for myself, I worked at the mine when it was open.

Kunnuk: So you provided the soapstone for him?

Ugjuk: When we were digging out the mine, there would be some soapstone that was part of the material being dug out. The late Seniituvinig, who resided in Rankin Inlet used to be our interpreter, and Celestino Muckpa was also our interpreter as we worked for the mine. Seniituvinig would tell me that if I found soapstone that was not too hard, that I was to take it out. So, that is what I did, providing soapstone as I was working for the mine. This was before pottery-making was introduced.

Kunnuk: Then, from that time, over 30 years ago, did your father keep on doing artwork?

Ugjuk: Yes. Since that time he worked with soapstone and pottery.

Kunnuk: What about you? Do you work with pottery too?

Ugjuk: Just during the winter, a few times I did pottery. When my father was well into making pottery, I finally got into making carvings. I think I would have improved more if I had continued following my imagination. This was because even when I was having trouble in trying to think of what to carve, it seemed that I was able to continue improving what I had in mind to carve [his technique].

Kunnuk: Could you tell me what your father generally made in carvings?

Ugjuk: He used to make all kinds of human figures, which I guess he made from his imagination. He also had good hand coordination that lent to his ability to make things from what he had in mind. He likely made things from his imagination and it seems that some of his carvings were not that well formed. Some of them were not even excellent to look at. I think that he was content as long as he could put some conceivable idea in the carving. He was always able to sell them and receive money for them, so that was good for us. It was good to work on the soapstone with him.

Kunnuk: Perhaps the reason his carvings were being received so well was because Inuit carvings were just beginning to be recognized by non-Inuit and your father's carvings represented traditional customs of the Inuit that were still strong.

Ugjuk: That is right. Actually, even when he was getting really old, he was still being asked to make carvings. He would say, "I am getting too old to carve; my hands are not able to work very well any more." His carvings were still in demand but, eventually, he decided to stop producing carvings because of his age.

Kunnuk: So, was it mainly because of old age that he stopped producing carvings?

Ugjuk: Yes, he was so old that he could hardly hold things any more. He would be asked to make carvings, but he would reply saying, "I can barely do anything with my hands. Even trying to move them is becoming difficult." He was also doing some drawings, but, finally, he was not even able to make those any more.

Kunnuk: You mean drawings were also part of his art work?

Ugjuk: Yes, he tried doing drawings later on, but then he couldn't even do that any more, so he stopped that too. But, his drawings were quite alright. They were comprehensible in form and conveyed accurate ideas. With the onset of his old age, he couldn't make carvings and drawings any more.

Kunnuk: What was his age?

Ugjuk: I think he was getting close to a 100 years old. For myself, I will be over 70 years of age soon.

Kunnuk: Really? And are you still producing carvings?

Ugjuk: No. I'm not making them any more because I'm finding that the soapstone is too hard for me. Though I think I could still make some, if the soapstone was of the softer type. I couldn't carve any more, but I was asked to tell stories and legends at the school, so that is what I have done a number of times.

Kunnuk: Do you receive income for telling those stories and legends?

Ugjuk: Yes, I'd be given some income.

Kunnuk: Do you still go hunting? Do you go camping?

Ugjuk: I still hunt. These days we go out with all-terrain vehicles and snowmobiles. In the distant past, we used dogteams. That was when we were still up in Baker Lake. In those days, I was starting to go to areas farther north such as Cambridge Bay. I would go travelling in that direction by dogteam. I commuted between Baker Lake and those areas quite a bit before coming here to Rankin Inlet. When I was still rather young, my father had begun giving me dogs for a team.

Kunnuk: So when dogteams were still the sole means of transportation, did you use them to bring in the soapstone that you obtained for carving?

Ugjuk: No, we were getting the soapstone from the mining quarry that was based here in Rankin Inlet.

Kunnuk: That is very different from the usual problems carvers have of going a long distance to acquire soapstone. Most communities have that problem of having to travel to get their soapstone.

Ugjuk: I think some of the soapstone from Rankin used to be sent away to other communities. We also received some soapstone material from the other communities, but it was too hard [to carve] and there was some that was too soft. I didn't get a chance to try the softer stuff because it cost money.

Kunnuk: Am I right when I say that Baker Lake soapstone is very tough and hard material?

Ugjuk: Yes, for those who are able to put in the effort to look for it. As for myself, ever since I've learned to hunt, I've always preferred to go out hunting more than anything else. I'm just that way [laughs].

Kunnuk: In Igloolik, there are areas of the quarry that produce lighter coloured soapstone. And some stone that is partially in the water is harder and darker. Carvers usually prefer the darker stone. How is the material in Rankin Inlet? Can you describe it?

Ugjuk: We also had to get soapstone from the islands which are about five miles out, and the quarry was most accessible during low tide. This was when the mine here was running out of soapstone material. So we would go get soapstone from the islands by boat in the summer.

Kunnuk: What about these days? Does having more tools help in acquiring soapstone?

Ugjuk: Yes, it can be very difficult trying to think of something to make with just a piece of rock in front of you. When I would come to this point of difficulty, I would try to concentrate on an idea of mine and gradually expand on it as I went along which would lead to some comprehensible form for the carving I was working on. And, other times, it seemed that trying to stay with one idea didn't always work so, rather than getting stuck with one idea, I would just work on a carving and see what it would become.

I also explored pottery-making work for a short while — I think for close to a year altogether. I found it too soft. It seemed harder to work with than soapstone. It broke too easy. I guess I just wasn't cut out for that kind of work.

Kunnuk: I can tell you, too, that I am not a carver at all. I made one quite a while back and it took me a whole week to complete it. It was rather small, too. Since then I've never tried.

Ugjuk: We also carved using beluga whale-teeth. This was when we were in Whalecove [Northwest Territories]. It was around 1960 then. We collected whale-teeth and then made carvings from them. At that time, I was working with the housing association. What I did on the side was when whales were hunted and caught, their skeletal remains would be left on the ground, so I would take these out and collect them. The teeth are easier to take out when the bone is dry or boiled in water. With these whale teeth I would make carvings.
Kunnuk: You boiled them to take them out?

Ugjuk: Yes, boiling makes it easier to take them out. In addition, the teeth would become cleaner. Another way was to dry them outside in the sun and that would also make it easier to take the teeth out. Perhaps the bugs loosen them. So, I'd make carvings out of these teeth too.

Kunnuk: I don't know how big or small whale teeth are. Are they bigger than walrus teeth?

Ugjuk: No, they are smaller. They are about the size of dog's teeth.

Kunnuk: I see. You mean that you were actually able to produce forms from something that small?

Ugjuk: We tried to do that at the time. We made miniature bears and birds out of them. From the dark-coloured glue used for water-proofing a boat, we were able to make eyes for the animal forms that we carved from the whale's teeth. We were also able to use ash from the cigarettes for the eyes, so we would collect that too. I also tried to do drawings using those things that look like writing utensils which are parts of an outboard motor. That was when I was working with a set of caribou antlers.

Kunnuk: You must have tried all kinds of things. Is that right?

Ugjuk: I experimented with these things on my own. I tried carving with walrus tusks, but I found those more difficult to work with. My wife, though, could work with them quite well. For me, I find the walrus tusk too tough. I worked with them a few times, making drawings on them and other things, but it was difficult.

Kunnuk: Here is another question that I've been wanting to ask and it is this: Did the Inuit begin carving only when the white people came, or did the Inuit always carve before anyone else came into the Inuit culture?

Ugjuk: We only started carving when the white people came. They wanted us to make carvings, so that's how we started. I was encouraged to start doing carvings when I was still in Baker Lake, but I didn't start up there. This was because I had acquired TB [tuberculosis] and had to be sent away to a hospital. Then, when I returned from the hospital, I went to Rankin Inlet, so that is why I never got to start carving in Baker Lake. When I was asked if I could try to carve, I said yes, but, before I started, we moved to Rankin Inlet.

Kunnuk: There is another approach to this question I have just asked. It seems to be commonly understood that Inuit made carvings in their traditional lifestyle and culture as superstitious charms or shamanistic implements. Was there an actual use for those kinds of things?

Ugjuk: The only implements that I used to see were things that were used for hunting. For instance, they made drills with a caribou antler and a small piece of wood which I've seen. Perhaps it was all the hunting implements which the Inuit made and used that impressed the white people and caused them to say to the Inuit, "Make more of these and make carvings."

Ugjuk: Yes, back then, our ancestors had to make things that were mainly of practical use. Before there were rifles, they probably had to always look for ways of inventing tools for hunting. There are things that I have only heard of and others that I have only seen very briefly when I was young.

Kunnuk: You mean about the way the Inuit used to live traditionally?

Ugjuk: Yes, this is about the old Inuit traditional customs. To hunt caribou during the winter in those days, a snow trap was constructed so that when a caribou fell into it, the caribou would get stuck inside the trap. It would be able to put its front legs out, but its hind legs would be stuck. These are things that my mother told me when I was a child. If I could remember better, this would be good for telling stories.

Kunnuk: Your father must have taught you to some of these traditional ways?

Ugjuk: Yes, he taught me about some of those traditional ways. But I think he didn't see the time before rifles were introduced to the Inuit, because he hunted with rifles ever since I can remember. But my mother would tell me stories of times when she would go along with a hunting party to a snow-trap to get the caribou. My mother was older than my father — probably quite a bit older — and so she caught up to those old traditional Inuit ways. She saw the ways of the Inuit when they still just used kayaks and bows and arrows. She saw the ways of the Inuit before any non-traditional way was introduced to the Inuit. They hunted with kayaks and bows and arrows in the summer, and in the winter, they used the snow to catch the caribou. Those are stories that my mother used to tell me about.

Kunnuk: So, because they didn't have anything else, they used the snow as part of their hunting device?

Ugjuk: If they were not able to come up with the things that they did then in that distant past, I probably wouldn't be alive here right now.

Kunnuk: Can you explain it again?

Ugjuk: They made a snow-trap using what they had: probably a shovel made from shoulder-blades of caribou and a knife made from caribou antlers. They had to be innovative in order to survive. They made ice chisels to trap foxes. Somehow, they would get the ice to be lower and be able to trap a fox that way. They worked on the ice to make it lower in a certain spot. Then there was also the snow trap used to catch foxes. Here, lures would be used.

Kunnuk: Sometimes it is so amazing to find out how the Inuit used to survive — how they devised ways to provide for themselves. And in such a bad climate. It's rather overwhelming when you really think about it. Mind-boggling, really. But, getting back to the time when the white people had encouraged Inuit to start making carvings because they were impressed by what Inuit...
were making for their hunting implements. Do you think that was what actually started the carving business that Inuit rely on in these modern times?

Ugjuk: Yes, that is correct. It was only when the white man encouraged us that we began making carvings in the way that we do today. I am one of those who is somewhere in between, of those who can remember the time before carvings were made and those who know that carvings are a very important part of our life today. In my case, I grew up learning how to survive using rifles.

Kunnuk: You certainly must have had to depend totally on what only the land could provide, isn’t that right?

Ugjuk: Yes, that is right.

Kunnuk: Do you remember any times of hunger?

Ugjuk: Yes, there were times of hunger. When I was a child, I had to help in hunting using a 22 calibre rifle — hunting for birds. Also, I would help out in fishing. This is because my father was one of those who had a harder time than most — even from among his relatives. I had to try very hard. I was basically raised by my mother and I have found out that if a female has real intelligence, a man will not be able to dominate this woman. Children being brought up by a parent can be pushed to try very hard as I have learned from my mother.

Kunnuk: You mean as they are teaching their children?

Ugjuk: Yes, as they are teaching their children and saying this is the way it is done. It didn’t occur to me that I was being taught. I was merely watching and as I was watching, I was learning. In those days, as I was becoming more interested in hunting I would try to go out with anyone who was preparing to go. I would go out hunting with my father when he went. If my father was not going out hunting, I would try to go with someone else.

Kunnuk: How about the fact that more carving tools are available now? Does that make it easier to do carvings?

Ugjuk: Yes, it should work out that way. However, some of us don’t have easy access to soapstone or other material to make carvings with. Some can come up with the required material, but some of us cannot.

Kunnuk: What was used when there was a shortage of files, or can you name some other tool that was used?

It didn’t occur to me that I was being taught. I was merely watching and as I was watching, I was learning.

Kunnuk: So, in effect the hunting tools and other implements were found to be so impressive by the non-Inuit that the Inuit were asked if they could make things which eventually led to making carvings. Is that how it was?

Ugjuk: Yes, Inuit tools were considered highly as having a fantastic design and Inuit were prompted to make similar objects from different types of materials. That led to making carvings like we do today. The white people probably told the Inuit to make things from soapstone. Perhaps the white people wanted the Inuit to keep the traditional ways through carving.

Kunnuk: I understand a lot more now.

Ugjuk: Sometimes, it gets difficult to tell stories because the memory of things seen in the past can be gradually forgotten, especially, it seems, when trying to tell a story. Then, usually the memory of what you have wanted to say in the story returns afterward, only when the story-telling is completely finished.

Kunnuk: I have just learned more from what you have just been telling me. I enjoyed it too.

Ugjuk: When I first arrived to live near the sea, I didn’t have any idea that the sea could be a place for hunting. It is not too long ago that I moved from inland to live near the sea. When I first started living down on the seashore, I was absolutely ignorant as to how to hunt from the sea.

Kunnuk: Were you an adult then?

Ugjuk: I was young. I had two children when I came to Rankin to live.

Kunnuk: Did it make you nervous and unsure?

Ugjuk: Yes, I couldn’t even imagine how animals were hunted near the seashore.

Kunnuk: Being inlanders, did you mainly hunt caribou for food?

Ugjuk: Yes, we also hunted wildfowl and fished from the lakes. We hunted for the wildfowl only in the summer when they migrate up here.

Kunnuk: I am wondering why you were inlanders. You depended totally and only on the land, didn’t you?

Ugjuk: Yes, we grew up living inland. Now, we live down here in Rankin Inlet. I have one younger brother left who also lives here now. We moved here when he was still a child.

Kunnuk: I am out of things to say, or, rather, I am out of questions to ask. I’d like to inform you that I will translate this interview into English and it will be printed in Inuit Art Quarterly. What you have just said in this interview is very informative and you have taught me about so much of the ways Inuit used to live traditionally. Do you have any comments you’d like to make?

Ugjuk: Okay. When I was a child, my father would go away to get supplies from the stores. He would go by dog-team and, sometimes, it would take him two days. He would get food, tobacco, and ammunition. Back then, we used to live in an area between Baker Lake and Cambridge Bay.

There is something else that I wanted to say — a short story. In the past, we used to hunt not only for ourselves but for others who were having a harder time. If we knew that there was a family-camp that was getting hungry, we would keep trying to hunt for them, too. This is what we used to do even when we didn’t live in the same campsite. This is still practised to some extent today, but not as much any more because we have stores and government assistance when we need it.
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CARVING IS HEALING TO ME:
An Interview with Manasie Akpaliapik

by John Ayre
During the past five years, Manasie Akpaliapik, who was born in 1955 in Arctic Bay, has emerged as one of the leading artists of his generation. Like David Ruben and Abraham Ruben Anghik, he has built his career almost entirely in the South where he has benefitted enormously from advanced power tool sculpting. In the South, he has also been able to establish a stable relationship with a dealer and enjoy the use of the wide variety of materials which the commercial market provides. A Toronto resident for six years where he has a wife and son, he is presently working at a cottage in the Hull area to avoid the distractions of the city. Although he has achieved a breathtaking level of virtuosity, Akpaliapik doesn't believe in art for art's sake. In a tradition similar to that of William Morris and Eric Gill, he believes that art serves a constructive atavistic role, of restoring important elements of past culture even if he and others have never fully lived them. It is not an easy process: Akpaliapik admits to major confusions in trying to balance three contending conceptions of life, the new and the old northern against the pervasive and dominating southern. This interview was taped on May 4, 1993 in a restaurant near Images Gallery on Yonge Street in North Toronto, which handles Akpaliapik's work.

Shaman and Taleelayuk Balancing Nature, 1990 (whale bone, ivory and caribou antler; 74.8 x 92.0 x 40.5 cm; private collection).

Ernest Mayer; Winnipeg Art Gallery
Manasie Akpaliapik
(in foreground with red bandanna), and fellow sculptors at the Ottawa School of Art.

John Ayre: Are both your parents carvers?

Manasie Akpaliapik: My grandparents both were carvers. They're both dead now. My father occasionally carves.

Ayre: Do you remember your grandparents carving?

Akpaliapik: Yeah. I feel that's where I get all my inspiration. I was really exposed to that when I was growing up. I used to watch them carving away and, sometimes, I would try to carve little pieces of soapstone with a knife. Just fool around.

Ayre: How old were you?

Akpaliapik: About nine or ten.

Ayre: What pieces did you carve when you were small?

Akpaliapik: My first carving was a seal. [Laughs] It was a kind of funny story, too. I was nine or ten. I filed it for a few days and I thought it was finished, so I harnessed my two dogs and put them on a small sled when my father was away. (They always left a few dogs for protection.) Prior to that I caught a weasel and pretended it was a fox. My mother skinned and cleaned it, I took that and my carving and travelled about ten miles to Arctic Bay. I was pretending to be a real man, going to get real supplies. I went to the Hudson's Bay Company. I guess they must have felt sorry for me.

They gave me a can of milk and a little box of caps for my toy gun. I got those and I was really proud. About a month later, I went back to Arctic Bay with my father who was getting supplies and I brought my little sled. I came across the Hudson's Bay dump and I saw a carving so I picked it up. It was my carving! [Laughs] I guess they didn't have the heart to say it wasn't good. I kept it. Later I wanted to show it whenever I had an exhibition, as a tradition to go with the story, but I lost it and don't know where it is now.

Ayre: Did you do many after that?

Akpaliapik: No, I didn't do any for a while. I was discouraged until I was older. I tried it again. I was encouraged by my parents.

Ayre: Do you hunt when you go up north?

Akpaliapik: Yeah. That's the way I grew up, the life I know, to travel by dog team, and depend on what we catch to survive. I started going out hunting at the age of four with my father but I froze my toes and my nose. I didn't go out for a while but, when the spring came, I started going out regularly. The first few years I was just tagging along. Then after a while my job was to take care of the dogs because, in the springtime, when you go out on the ice, you have to stay back with the dogs to catch the seal. And look after the lines.

Figure with Hand and Feet in Parka Sleeve, 1988
(green stone, ivory inset eyes; h. 21.5 cm; Sarick Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario).
Ayre: Did you have a permanent home out on the land?

Akpa liapik: We had three places. One was for springtime, another for summer, and one for wintertime. Each time we moved, we hunted different kinds of animals. It was very different from today. That life I saw, to me it's like a story now because no one is doing it anymore. It seems like it was just yesterday. Sometimes I long for it. Sometimes I would like to go back to that time, but no one can go back. I guess today we have to take both cultures, the best of things.

Ayre: Have you thought of going back up north permanently?

Akpa liapik: Yeah, I'd like that, but my wife hates the North. She's from the city. Right now, we're going through some sort of a separation. If I go back up there for a few days, I'll be thrilled, then I'll get bored because it's not like the South. After a few months, I'll get used to it, but it takes time. When I come down, I'm happy for a few days, then I get depressed. For me, I feel I'm caught in the middle. I don't really have a place here, or don't really have a place up there. Somewhere in the middle would be comfortable I guess. When I'm there, I feel that people tend to look at me as if I don't know anything about Inuit ways, figure I've forgotten everything. I really don't like that. When I'm down here, people don't treat me like someone from the city either. I'm stuck in between.

Ayre: Did you have primary school in Arctic Bay?

Akpa liapik: I didn't go to school until I was 12 years old so we were taught in the nomadic way. I started in Arctic Bay, then we moved to Pond Inlet for a while, about a couple of years, then back to Arctic Bay for more schooling. They sent me to Iqaluit for four more years. I was an exchange student to Greenland. Then after that I got married and went to Red River College in Winnipeg for occupational upgrading. We couldn't live on the money we received from the government so I started carving again, mostly musk-oxen. I started to make money at it. I realized I must be good but, when I returned to the North, I didn't carve for a while. I worked for the government and oil rigs until I had a bad tragedy 12 years ago which brought me to Montreal. I had a wife and two kids and they were lost in a fire. That's why I started carving again: it was healing to me.

Ayre: There was a house fire?

Akpa liapik: Yeah. I was working for a mine at the time. I was away on a job.

Ayre: What is the source of the mythology in your work?

Akpa liapik: As I was growing up that was one of the pastimes. As he was carving, my grand- father would tell the stories. Also, a few years ago, I was awarded a grant from the Canada Council to go up to Arctic Bay to study legends with three elders from three communities, Noah Piguatuk from Igloolik, Philip Qamanirq from Arctic Bay, and another man from Pond Inlet.
Ayre: Have you ever read Rasmussen?

Akpaliapik: Yes, I did a little bit. I’ve read some of his stories from the early times. When I was in Greenland that was part of school, to go through the legends. What I found was that a lot of these legends exist over there too, but they are slightly different.

Ayre: Are you attempting to carve a series of Kiviuk legends?

Akpaliapik: I’m just doing the main points of Kiviuk’s movement. I’m hoping to do this on a narwhal tusk about nine feet, ten inches long. I still haven’t worked on it yet. I’m still preparing myself for it. I want to do Kiviuk’s legend from the beginning to the end. I’m trying to think of which segments I’m going to do.

Ayre: Was there drum dancing in north Baffin?

Akpaliapik: Not really, not in my area. I’ve been trying to get them interested. There’s a young guy who’s really interested now. He’s started practicing, and is doing better.

Ayre: No shamanism?

Akpaliapik: No. There might have been, but no one would know. It would be underground.

Ayre: Did your grandparents talk about it?

Akpaliapik: Not really. Nobody talks about that too much. I guess when the missionaries went up there they stopped all these legends. Still, today, the elders are hesitant to tell too many legends. To them it was told it was sin.

Ayre: But you’re interested in shamanism for the art?

Akpaliapik: It’s part of our culture. Everything that I’m doing is trying to capture some of the culture, about my traditions, simple things like
Ayre: There's much interest in you new piece of a man's head with a liquor bottle coming out of it. Is this a new emphasis on social problems?

Akpaliapik: I guess it's part of me and part of the culture. I lost quite a few cousins with alcohol and suicide. You hear these stories from each community. It always has something to do with alcohol abuse. I was going through that. I'm still fighting it myself. That particular piece is a hangover kind of thing: you're fed up; you have this bottle in your head; it's controlling you. I felt it's not just for me, but for a lot of Inuit people who are caught in that situation. This was especially true when I was in Montreal, when friends came down. They wouldn't drink up there, but when they came down, all they wanted to do was drink, drink, drink. After a while, you get the impression all the Inuit people are doing that.

Akpaliapik: I think that it was just one single piece. I once did a walrus tusk carving. There was a little man being hanged on the bottom with all these animals coming out, kind of leaving the soul. What's happening is our culture is dying and it has to do a lot with drinking and drug problems.

Ayre: I've heard there are a lot of drug problems at Cape Dorset.

Akpaliapik: It's all over. Not one single place. Just like down south too.

Ayre: Were you involved in the United Nations show in 1989?

Akpaliapik: No.

Ayre: The Earth Spirit Festival in 1991 in Toronto?

Akpaliapik: Yeah. It's another way of keeping culture. I feel that young people don't have any role models, anyone in society who's proud of the culture. For a while it seemed young people wanted to completely forget the past, wanted to change to what they see on TV. Some people were ashamed of their culture. I felt that one way of keeping culture alive was to show that people appreciate it by coming to see it. Maybe my people would say, "Hey, this is what we can do." They can make projects out of these things. It had to be done. It took a lot away from my work. We had to meet twice a month but, when you're home, you're still thinking about it, making phone calls, getting the right people. Finally, it was too demanding. Maybe down the road when I'm more financially stable I can get into that more.

Ayre: Do you use special tools?

Akpaliapik: A lot of people use Foredom tools nowadays to do ivory work. It's the most effective with ivory. Ivory is harder than stone and very slippery.

Ayre: How much do you spend on tools in a year?

Akpaliapik: Thirty-five hundred dollars. That's just guessing. That's with the sandpaper, the glues, and bits. If you're working on hard stones, you wear out your bits. They each cost about $60. I use carbide steel and diamond tools for hard stone.

Ayre: How did you learn about these tools?

Akpaliapik: I lived in Montreal for about five years before moving to Toronto. When I first got there, I was offered a job at CBC for Inuktitut. Later on, I was better off doing art. I could
make more money at it and it was better for me. I was going through a personal crisis at the time. I found it was healing for me to work with my hands rather than think about the past. I could concentrate my mind in front of me. I hooked up with nine sculptors. They were French. They were doing big pieces. I was the only Inuk in that studio. I rented studio space with them and they taught me how to use different types of tools to work on big pieces - air tools and Foredoms.

Ayre: What materials were you using?

Akpaliapik: I was still usually using northern stones — soapstone — but I started experimenting with marble and Indiana stone. As a matter of fact, my first piece in Montreal, because I didn't have soapstone yet, was made of Indiana stone, which is beige. I did a large piece, sold that. It gave me money to buy some more tools.

Ayre: What material do you prefer to work with?

Akpaliapik: It depends on my mood. Sometimes I prefer to work on ivory and, when I'm tired of that, I like to move to another material, soapstone, then whale bone.

Ayre: How often do you run workshops?

Akpaliapik: I haven't done that for a while. I used to do it quite a bit for the government. They'd send me to small communities — two weeks here, two weeks there.

Ayre: What do younger artists want to know mostly?

Akpaliapik: I guess to get used to the tools and to know what tools they should be using.

Ayre: It must be hard to get the right tools up north.

Akpaliapik: Yeah, that was the major problem in the small communities because, a lot of times, the stores don't carry the tools unless people know what tools to order.

Ayre: Is there still a lot of strong interest in carving in the North?

Akpaliapik: I didn't have a chance at all.
Akpaliapik: A lot of times you look at the material, the colouring, texture, and shape. That's where you get the ideas from, and you search your mind for what kind of legend you can use, if it's shaped this way. You go through files in your mind.

Ayre: Do you do any drawings?

Akpaliapik: Occasionally, but not often.

Ayre: Do you draw on stone?

Akpaliapik: A little bit sometime. If I need to get the right proportions, I mark here, mark there.

Ayre: I've heard that David Ruben doesn't do any preparation at all. He just looks at the stone.

Akpaliapik: That's pretty much the same. Sometimes, when you first start, you don't know what you're doing. But then as you go, you get the feeling. It starts to shape itself. If the arm breaks, then the whole subject changes. It's minute by minute. It's alive by itself. It has its own life. You're just taking away the unnecessary materials to release that form which is inside the material. If someone asked me to do a subject, say a person playing with a string, I can do that, but I'd rather follow the shape of the material. It's more natural that way to me.

Ayre: How many hours do you work in a day?

Akpaliapik: It depends how I feel. Sometimes, I put in ten to fourteen hours. Sometimes, I go out there and carve it.
Before I discuss the exhibition, Multiple Realities: Inuit Images of Shamanic Transformation, I want to comment on a convergence I see between the gallery and Inuit Art Quarterly (IAQ). The number of public and commercial galleries and institutions displaying the various products of Inuit art and craft are on the increase, and new concerns about the artists and their work have arisen. Inuit Art Quarterly is keeping valiantly abreast of those events and, more than any other publication, has been able to retain its sense of quality, integrity, and intelligent level of information. Such is, of course, also the aim of the institutions which concern themselves with exhibiting Inuit art as art, as the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG) is so well-situated to do. Other galleries are

(fig. 1) Bird Shaman, 1963, Ashoona Koomwartok, Cape Dorset (stone; 20.3 x 21.9 x 12.4 cm; collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery; gift of the Women's Committee).
also doing this, but the Winnipeg gallery made a considerably earlier commitment (and not only because of the immensity of its permanent collection). The gallery's holdings go back well before the contemporary, or Houston era.

The WAG has taken care for many years to have input from Inuit artists about their concerns, not merely about making art, but equally about their ways of life and their circumstances and concerns as Inuit. Clearly, any deeper understanding of these concerns — which go beyond aesthetics — must come from familiarity with lifestyles, traditions, and, what could be called the "ethnic ethos." In this regard, too, IAQ's increasing emphasis on what they — the artists/producers — say and make, rather than on what we — the consumer/audience — think and enjoy is of greatest importance. That, together with an unequivocal emphasis on quality of the product/art, is obviously the goal of the Winnipeg Art Gallery as well.

As a consequence of this kind of understanding — that is, in relation to ethos, aesthetic, creativity, and manufacture — specific exhibitions and publications can go beyond the "art for art's sake" philosophy. Adhering to the latter concept is no shame, but nevertheless misses that final and, to me essential, extra-something. The WAG, with its many theme exhibitions and detailed solo-retrospectives, lives up to that challenge as does IAQ — perhaps even more poignantly — with its new policy and format.

The Winnipeg Art Gallery's recent Multiple Realities: Inuit Images of Shamanic Transformation exhibition (April 17 to July 23) was certainly an example of how the above requirements can be met. However, a minor critical remark which I do not wish to suppress should be made (and with a sigh too). It really is not about the exhibition as such, but that this excellent show (which was not planned as a major exhibition but had become one), did not have as detailed and complete a catalogue as it deserved to have, and as the almost worldwide Inuit art audience has come to expect from the WAG. It did have, however, a concise and informative eight-page hand-out with nineteen illustrations and a short, selected bibliography, all very crisply and effectively prepared by Inuit art curator Darlene Wight, ever inventive and productive.

After a brief introduction about shamanism as such — its Siberian roots, its pan-northern distribution, and its relatedness to the animal/spirit world — Wight wrote about specific carvings and their relevant shamanic traditions among the Inuit. An example: "Of the 80 sculptures in the exhibition depicting shaman/animal transformation, more than one-third incorporate bird spirits ... . The bird is a psychopomp, a conductor of souls to the spirit realm, and mythology of the bird-soul extends to religions other than shamanism. The shaman could change himself into a bird, or be accompanied by a bird while still alive, indicating the capacity to undertake an ecstatic journey to the dwelling places of the spirits ...."

Related to this, three sculptures in the exhibition illustrated shamanic transformation, or man/animal imagery used as a theme by Inuit artists across the Arctic. While these and all other pieces in the exhibition dated from 1963 to 1988, the same themes are used by today's artists as well (see, for instance, IAQ, 8(3), Fall 1993, pp. 17 and 20).

The first (and earliest) of the three bird-related exhibition sculptures is Koomwartok Ashoona's 1963 Bird Shaman from Cape Dorset (fig. 1). It predates wide Qallunaat familiarity with bird/shaman...
relationships as described above. I might add that when I bought this sculpture in Cape Dorset in 1963, I did not know anything about shamanic transformation practices. I acquired it simply because it was so serene and utterly beautiful. Only a few years later, when I realized that purely aesthetic satisfaction was not enough, did I immerse myself in every bit of Inuit lore I could get hold of. And, of course, I never regretted that, but now I have to add a confession: in everything I still collect, aesthetic consideration — i.e., quality concerns and my personal taste — play a major, if not the highest priority. Nevertheless, my collections have always had a high ethnographic content.

Eli Sallualu Qinuajua's 1963 _Shaman with Eagle Helping Spirit_, from Povungnituk, was acquired around 1972/3 at an inventory sale (fig. 2). It, and another, even earlier carving (now also in the WAG's collection), were lying on the floor of a corridor, ready to be discarded altogether. When I enquired as to their price, I received them as an apparently valueless gift. Frankly, I cheated a bit, having recognized both artist and subject matter (by the way, the other carving was also a wide-eyed “shaman” couched on an eagle).

This is the true stuff out of which art is made, out of which, phoenix-like, art arises.

They were obviously early works of Eli Sallualuk (as he was known then). He had become prominent in 1967/8 when he won first prize at a carving competition initiated by Nelson Grabin and Patrick Furneaux (in order to find out what Inuit artists in Povungnituk might produce for their own satisfaction rather than merely for sale). Eli's fantastic carvings — Grabin classified them as takusurngnatikut, meaning “imaginative replicas” that have never really been seen, as opposed to suliktuk, meaning “true and honest” — never caught on in the South. In Povungnituk, however, Eli had several followers. I was able to obtain a few for the National Museum of Canada (now called the Canadian Museum of Civilization), thanks to the foresight, not to mention the insight, of Dr. W.E. Taylor, Jr. In the last few years, however, takusurngnatikut carvings have become...
very fashionable in the North and South, and interest in Eli Sallualuk has revived. To me, and quite a few others, he always remained an outstanding artist.

The third bird-related carving is Joe Makittuq's 1988 Bird Shaman With Egg from Spence Bay (fig. 3). Only less than nine inches high, it is exquisitely carved, yet quite monumentally structured. In its formal and psychological conception — the clean, well defined shapes, the hollowing out, the very egg itself (“symbol of spiritual rebirth”) in the hollow of the shaman’s mouth: the totally bold and, even, confrontational gesture, and the intelligent use of materials — is undoubtedly a direct (but not derivative) sequel to the ideas and works of the great Karoo Ashevak of some 15 years earlier. Yet the carving’s own strength stems from ideological and extended convictions in traditions translated — literally transformed — into actual form. This is the true stuff out of which art is made, out of which, phoenix-like, art arises.

SHAMANIC REPRESENTATIONS

Three other illustrated sculptures in the exhibition are direct representations of shamans as if in action. They convincingly give witness to shamanic concepts, or to rather special men acting and being shamans, and simply to nothing else. I remember discussing this with Tiktok and Dr. Robert Williamson in Rankin Inlet in the late sixties, in relation to a sculpture Tiktok had made. Tiktok called it an “owl/man” but being transformed as it were, an owl that is really like a man.

I have no direct information about Josiah Nuilaalik’s 1988 Caribou/Man (fig. 4), but my research, particularly about Siberian shamanism and several Inuit sculptures and prints I have seen in the past 30-odd years, leads me to believe that this particular shaman image is as real as is that of Anaija Sakkiassee (fig. 5). Of all the shamanic head regalia I have examined in Leningrad museums, well over two-thirds were iron and antler crowns, which are shamanic metaphors (or even insignia) that existed all over North America, the eastern parts of northerly Asia and, even farther west in earlier times, beyond Lake Baikal in central Siberia. Nuilaalik’s relatively large carving (it extends 18 1/2 inches) impresses by size, simplicity, and solemnity, all indicating power, deep respect, and the elemental homogeneity of man and animal.

If Nuilaalik’s Caribou/Man displays awesome oneness itself, Anaija Sakkiassee’s Caribou Shaman in Flight is whimsical, yet also sophisticated, albeit innocently so. This antler-crowned shaman, levitated by mystic powers, is on a spirit journey, perhaps to Sila (spirit of the air) or to Sedna (deity from beneath the sea). The drum, the beat of which precipitates all transformations, is symbolically placed on the curving antler-shape, itself imparting a sense of elevation from the land below. Together all signify and create a sense of Inuit spiritual traditions and existence.

POST-CONTEMPORARY ART

Finally, Abraham Angikh’s 1985 Shaman’s Apprentice — it is so described and named by himself — is often reproduced as a prominent example of the contemporary period (fig. 6). I, personally, like to call the period which this sculpture characterizes, “post-contemporary.” This distinguishes it conceptually and stylistically from the “classic” phase of the fifties and early sixties, and the well publicized “contemporary” phase(s) extending into the eighties and nineties. Abraham Angikh belongs to that group of “post-contemporary” artists.

We are fortunate — again through Darlene Wight’s efforts — to have Angikh’s own words with which to interpret the young shaman’s initiation process (as quoted from her 1989 catalogue Out of Tradition: Abraham Angikh/ David Ruben Piqtoukun):

“Often the shaman would be chosen, as a child, for certain gifts he or she exhibited...
early in life or certain events that would cause an individual to get great powers. This would be followed by many years of apprenticeship under a shaman. It would include mastery of a [secret] language, myths and legends, healing and medicine, clairvoyant and clairaudient powers, and acting as mediator between the worlds of animals, spirits and men."

In summary, several features should have become abundantly clear. I would prefix them, however, by pointing to some of the earlier WAG exhibitions — with, glory be, extensive catalogues — all of which preceded Multiple Realities and which also had similar ethnographic content quite apart from aesthetic excellence. As for two solo retrospectives, there were Jean Blodgett's 1977 Karoo Ashevak, and Blodgett and Marie Bouchard's 1986 Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective. There also was Bernadette Driscoll's The Inuit Amautik: I Like My Hood to Be Full (1981): Inuit Myths, Legends and Songs (1982); and Umanaut: Animal Imagery in Inuit Art (1985). And, then, in 1989, Darlene Wight's Out of Tradition: Abraham Angik David Ruben Pjotoukun, and, in 1990, Manasie: The Art of Manasie Akpaliapik. Previous to these, between 1975 and 1983, there were nine smaller settlement exhibitions and catalogues, all profusely annotated and illustrated.

The major feature of all these exhibitions was unequivocally clear: to give insight in as much depth as possible to a specific subject, artist or area, and, also, to the extent possible, to make use of works in the gallery's collection. That this was so often possible, was largely due to the enthusiasm of the curators and generous financial support from the WAG's Volunteer Committee, many members of which also assisted in various phases of research and cataloguing.

Other important features of WAG exhibitions were: curatorial insistence on field research; collaboration with artists; textual contributions by them and, last but surely foremost, the desire to interpret Inuit life and traditions as expressed in their art. In this latter regard, Multiple Realities succeeded greatly. It really was an experience and an unqualified delight.

From the Centre:
The Drawings of Luke Anguhadluq

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
26 November 1993
9 January 1994
Organized and circulated by The Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

Canada

National Gallery of Canada
Musée des beaux-arts du Canada
320 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 9N4 (613) 990-9985

Inuit Art Quarterly

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The Inuit and Diamond Jenness

Diamond Jenness is the most distinguished anthropologist to work out of Canada, and his discoveries in the field remain landmarks. Still in print, his books and articles lay the groundwork for all subsequent research. As a person, Jenness was modest and self-effacing, but the Museum of Civilization has brought him to public attention with an exhibition which runs until May 1994. Once again, however, while his work is well displayed, the Jenness personality slips through the cracks.

Does it matter? Perhaps Jenness' genius as a reporter, combined with his discreet manner, made it possible for him to survive close contact with the flamboyant Stefansson and other controversial personalities when they were shipwrecked in the Arctic. Jenness' incredible diary, written in pencil by candlelight in a succession of cramped ice-houses, reveals a heroic story of survival and ingenuity. These heroics were in no way apparent in the dignified show at the Museum. Instead, a visitor finds two rooms of well-spaced, well-lit artifacts: Thule, Dorset, Old Bering Sea; immaculate Eskimo modelling old-time fur coats and leggings; a beautiful old skin tent; a gentle wolf howling on the sound-track.

The Museum design department was aiming for a flat, bleak, lonely sensation and to this end, they have kept two video performances small and insignificant. In fact, one film — made 80 years ago — of the Copper Eskimos' first contact with white men, is gritty and moving. But this "tribute" has a curiously impersonal quality. You are left to imagine Jenness taking part in the annual spearing of fish, up to the waist in freezing water, helping move camp, shifting across the heartless landscape. Perhaps because Jenness himself took much of the film up north there are few, if any, shots of him in action. (In his diary he downplays the danger and discomfort.)

There is an actual mock-up presenting Jenness' working conditions: an old Underwood typewriter, a pad, and an old map of a pink Canada ending at the Alaska border. Out of these cramped quarters poured some 100 articles and such books as Dawn in Arctic Alaska, People of the Twilight, and the great Indians of Canada. It might have been appropriate to have some of them on display including the most recent: Jenness' published diary.

Around the corner are two group photographs, one of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913) and another of Jenness with his colleagues. It is a shame that there are no captions; one is left to guess if the Alex Guiness look-alike is Diamond Jenness.

In the middle of the exhibition is a crimson wall with a Karsh photo of Jenness and a description of his achievements. Nearby is a case of exquisite ivory carvings, the kind Don Clark, Chief of the Division of Archaeological Survey, says are being pillaged from the North these days by fishermen, students and Inuit, themselves, who are undecided whether to conserve their "heritage" or sell it.

Jenness' digs were rare and, in fact, one of his famous discoveries — the Dorset — was made at his Ottawa desk from specimens sent from the North.

Credit for the Jenness exhibition goes to D.A. Morrison, Northwest Territories (Mackenzie District) Archaeology. It is a fine thing to see the artifacts Jenness brought down on such good display. Considerable sensitivity is shown for Jenness, the tenacious anthropologist and fine scholar. But the private Jenness remains as elusive as ever. In my view, the writing that came from his desk reveals the real Diamond Jenness. If you want to know him you have to read him.

Anne McDougall
**Honours**

Osuitok Ipeelee was one of two artists featured in an exhibition organized by the Royal Academy of Arts. Entitled *Indigenous People — A New Partnership*, the exhibition was in recognition of two celebrated members of the academy: filmmaker and photographer Christopher Chapman and Ipeelee, soapstone carver. According to promotional material from the academy, “the central theme of this exhibition [is] Canadian nature as a source of artistic inspiration” and “the art of Chapman and Ipeelee [works] together to explore this idea from the perspective of each artist's individual spirit and heritage.” The exhibition was opened October 7 by Governor General Ramon Hnatyshyn and Ipeelee was to be presented at the opening vernissage with the rarely given RCA Medal of Achievement.

**A Limestone Find**

A deposit of high quality limestone has been found on Bear Island near the community of Coral Harbour. “The deposit may rival any of the best sculpture-quality limestone in the world,” says Dr. Eleanor Milne, Canada’s recently retired Dominion Sculptor. The deposit was first explored and tested by Mark Webber, co-ordinator/instructor of fine arts and crafts programs at Arctic College’s Nunatta Campus in Iqaluit. He thinks that the Coral Harbour limestone might be of use as an alternative carving material, and samples are being sent to carvers to see if there is an interest. The limestone is a creamy yellow-white colour that is harder than soapstone, softer than marble and so fine that it can be engraved. Milne, who has worked extensively in limestone and who did much of the relief sculpture at the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, says that the Coral Harbour limestone is perfect for detailed work because it is so finely grained. She conducted a week-long workshop in Coral Harbour to instruct local artists in the use of the material. Webber thinks that some stone may be exported and quarrying will be relatively easy because it is readily available on the island. “Loose blocks have been tossed up onto a beach ... all you have to do is cut them, clean them up and put them in a boat,” he says. Arctic College gave a course in July on how to test, cut, sample, and dress the stone for shipping. Under the new Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, the deposit belongs to the Inuit of Coral Harbour and the hamlet council is excited about its prospects according to Deputy Mayor Marion Love.

Those of you who enjoyed John MacDonald's article *Tunivik: The Great Darkness* in our summer 1993 issue, might be interested in the winter 1993 issue of *Tunivik* which contained a special section on the environment, including articles entitled “The sky of Nunavut,” “The Inuititut months of the Year,” and “The Wind.” *Tunivik* is published by Avataq Cultural Institute, Inukjuak, Nunavik. Information: 819-254-8919.

**At the Private Galleries**

Inuit Sculpture and *A Retrospective of Pudlat Pudlat Prints* will be at the Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec in Montreal from November 20 to December 31. The Guild Shop in Toronto offers an Inuit mythology exhibition in November.

A special exhibition entitled *Contemporary Inuit Drawings: The Gift Collection of Frederick and Lucy S. Herman* will be at the Muscarelle Museum of Art in Williamsburg, Virginia from November 20 to January 2, 1994. This collection consists of approximately 100 drawings by such artists as Pudlat, Parr, and Ashoona. Judith Nasby, director of the Macdonald Stewart Art Gallery in Guelph, Ontario, will give a gallery talk at the opening reception on November 21.

**Equality for Aboriginal Artists**

In a statement accompanying the report of the First Peoples Advisory Committee in July, the Canada Council reaffirmed its commitment to facilitating equitable access to council programs for Canadian artists of all cultural and racial backgrounds. A First Peoples Committee on the Arts will be established. The council will also create an Aboriginal Secretariat with a two-year mandate to address issues that have an impact on the development of Aboriginal art and artists, and to assist the council in researching the most effective models of assistance to support the work of Canadian Aboriginal artists. Inuit editor and writer, Alootook Ipellie, participated in preparing the report entitled *The Canada Council and First Peoples Artists and the First Peoples Advisory Committee Report to the Canada Council*. It may be obtained from the Communications Section, Canada Council, P.O. Box 1047, Station A, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5V8. Tel.: 1-800-263-5588, ext. 4138, or 613-598-4365.

Art historian Cynthia Cook is teaching a new course on Inuit Art at York University in Toronto. Entitled *A General Introduction to Inuit Art*, the fourth-year level night course has proven very popular. Cook curated the Luke Anguahluk show which opens in November at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa.

Rankin Inlet hosted the Keewatin Arts and Crafts Festival from September 23 to 26. Artists from several Keewatin communities attended the festival which was organized by the Rankin Inlet Artistic Society. Peter Ittinuar, festival coordinator, says that the “Keewatin has lagged behind other regions of the NWT in exporting arts and crafts products to the market place, and this has resulted generally in a lower average income for the Keewatin artisan.” Prizes were awarded to entries in eight different juryed categories. The festival also included workshops, a fashion show, and performances by singer Susan Aglukark and others.

Alootook Ipellie, who lives in Ottawa and is working on a book entitled *Arctic Dreams and Nightmares*. To be published in September by Theytus Books, it consists of 20 illustrated stories, which Ipellie refers to as a “first person narrative.”

**Art Grants**

Thirty-six artists and arts groups, some of them Inuit, will receive funding from the Government of the Northwest Territories to carry out a variety of projects as
announced by Richard Nerysoo, Minister of Education, Culture and Employment. Applications were screened by the NWT Arts Council which meets at least twice each year. Rosalie Pisotuk, who sings country music in Inuktitut, received a grant, as did the Pangnirtung print shop which plans to hold workshops for young artists. Martha Makar of Igloolik received a grant to assist in video production and Samson Ootoowak of Pond Inlet received a grant to assist him in producing animated cartoons.

Funding has also been provided by the Government of the Northwest Territories to record oral traditions. Igloolik Isuma Video was awarded $11,285 to document on videotape his production and printing shop for young artists. Inuit drum dancing and the route between Igloolik and Pond Inlet. The exhibition opened August 25 in Pangnirtung, and, finally, to the Nunatta Sunaqutangit Museum in Iqaluit where it remained from September 10 to October 31. The exhibition included 24 drawings from the original presentation, selected to reflect the principal themes and stylistic development in the artist’s work. Curator Marie Routledge accompanied the exhibit on its Arctic tour. The exhibition will also be shown at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife during the summer of 1994.

INUIT INSTRUCTOR

Well-known sculptor Mattiusi Iyaituk was hired by the Ottawa School of Art to instruct a summer session for non-Native artists. The one-week session ran from July 12 to 16 and is a milestone for Inuit artists. Iyaituk, who lives in Igloolik in Nunavik (northern Quebec), enjoyed the opportunity to work with southern sculptors and the students had good comments about the experience. Carolyn Person, an IIAQ subscriber, travelled all the way from Dexter, Michigan to attend the session. Painter and sculptor Miriam Arnon from Ottawa said she hopes to see more of this type of instruction. “It's a terrific idea...a sharing experience with other artists. It was mainly about culture and how art comes to him [Iyaituk].”

Keeping our Stories Alive — The Sculpture of Canada’s Inuit is the title of a new video recently released by the Inuit Art Section of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. It is available through Mirror Image Duplications Ltd., 15 Capella Court, Unit 109, Nepean, Ontario K2E 7X1. Tel: 613-723-5800 or fax: 613-723-5803.

Deaths: Luke Hallauk of Arviat died in August, as did Ekdluak Komaratok of Pangnirtung. Tamusi Qumaq, an Inuit leader from Povungnituk and author of the first Inuktitut dictionary, died in July this year. He was 79. Although he spoke neither French nor English, Qumaq was a member of the Parti Québécois and an admirer of René Lévesque. He founded Povungnituk’s first village council, was a former mayor, and helped establish the first Inuit community radio station. He was also responsible for establishing a unique museum in Povungnituk and, in the last years of his life, was trying to set up an Inuit justice system.
The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council did Not Limp onto the Scene

The Canadian Eskimo Art Committee, predecessor of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, was founded in 1961 at the request of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative. The committee was established by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs with a mandate to advise the Cape Dorset Co-op and any other community that wished assistance with what was then a new Inuit art form—printmaking. The committee was to give technical advice on design problems and approve the graphics which would be released to the public. This approval was first indicated by an ink chop, and shortly after by a blind chop placed on each print. Throughout the years (the council is 25 years old this year [1986]) this advice has almost always been taken by the co-ops. The committee was also to be involved with setting the standards of distribution and promotion of the art.

The first committee did not limp onto the scene. It was greeted by the public and the press with cries of outrage. The press reported that the committee was allegedly "directing the innocent unsophisticated Eskimo along wayward civilized paths, corrupting their traditional culture and, in general, exploiting their native ability." The word "censorship" was very often used to describe the committee's efforts. The committee became an entity which its critics "loved to hate." The members of that first committee were: Dr. Evan Turner, who was then the Director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; Alan Jarvis, a former Director of the National Gallery; Paul Arthur, the Managing Director of Canadian Art; M.J. "Budd" Feheley of T.D.E.;1 one of the world's largest commissioners of creative design; Julien Hebert, perhaps Quebec's most creative designer of that time; Norman Hallendy, a graphic artist and art critic; and James Houston, who introduced printmaking to Cape Dorset in 1958.

Alan Jarvis wrote an article defending the committee and the government in which he observed:

"In art, as in economics, it would seem that Gresham's Law operates. Just as bad money drives out good, so does bad art drive out the good: witness the chaos in the critical world and in the market. It is, however, in a smaller but extremely important field that the operation of Gresham's Law worries me most: the arts of the Eskimo. The word 'Eskimo' seems to be a highly charged one emotionally; it becomes almost explosively charged when it is linked with the word 'art.'"

He concluded:

"What the Eskimo Art Committee is trying to do at the request of the Eskimo themselves is quite simple. To maintain quality. For example, they feel that it is better to sell fifty prints at $100.00 because they are worth that, than one hundred prints at $18.50 because that is an easy market. Or, in other words, they believe that the finest work of the Eskimo artists deserves thoughtful and dignified marketing because it is fine art, and not just a quick way to make a fast buck."3

Nothing has changed. These words apply today as they did 24 years ago.

Dr. Turner was not as kind in his rebuttal to his critics. He told them to leave the Eskimo alone. Dealers and collectors were very upset with the committee. There were not enough prints to satisfy public demand, and Dr. Turner had stated publicly that he refused to consider quantity before quality. He was very critical of any image that he felt smacked of being repetitive or of having been produced for a market.

The 1962 collection consisted of works from two communities: Povungnituk and Cape Dorset. The combined collection totalled 146 prints. The introduction of engraving as a print-making technique was not received with great enthusiasm by the public. Apparently it took only three years of catalogued print collections to endorse the idea, in the public

by Virginia Watt
mind at least, that stonecuts were indigenous to the Eskimo. However, the committee believed that the engravings had, in Dr. Turner's words, "a spontaneity and a naive force evident always in the drawings but not so often evident in some of the stonecuts and stencils." To the credit of this first committee, it encouraged Cape Dorset to continue to produce engravings.

In recent years, Cape Dorset has produced several portfolios of etchings which have the magic of the early engravings.

In 1967 the committee's name was changed to the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council.

Canadian Arctic Producers was formed in 1965 and handled the distribution of prints produced by the communities in the Northwest Territories, and La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec marketed the prints produced in Povungnituk and other communities in Arctic Quebec. It was no longer necessary for the council to be involved with the distribution and pricing of prints. I use the word "distribution" to mean the selection of galleries to market the prints, and the allocation of a specific number of prints to each of these galleries. Distribution has always been a hazardous act, but time and experience have cured almost all of its ills.

In the early days, the supply of prints could not satisfy the feverish demand for this new art. Hindsight, which creates humour out of chaos, is an apt posture for describing the opening of a Cape Dorset annual collection in Toronto in 1961. From 1959 to 1961, distribution was handled by the Department of Northern Affairs.

Put yourself in the position of the poor benighted man who worked for the department and was responsible for this endeavour. He did not have enough prints to satisfy the selected dealers who, in turn, did not have enough prints to satisfy their eager collectors, some of whom had waited in line all night outside galleries in order to rush the doors at opening time. At that time, print collections opened in the dead of winter. The Toronto press reported that four dealers in that city had been allocated a total of 280 prints. Three of the galleries were sold out almost immediately, and the fourth was going to wait three weeks until it figured out a way to "dole out its collection."

The public was very annoyed to learn that Governor General Vanier had purchased five prints for the permanent collection at Rideau Hall and that three of the Governor General's staff had purchased the same prints for their own collections. The connotation in that statement was "investment potential." When the news reached the public that one dealer in New York City had been allocated 350 prints — which was 10 per cent of the entire collection — that was the last straw. The Toronto dealers were incensed and international cultural relations were placed in jeopardy. Remember that unfortunate man who was responsible for controlled distribution? When he was asked how he felt about the marketing of the prints in this manner, he replied with one word: "Fantastic." However, he may be, he has my unqualified admiration.

**Every three to four years since 1953, someone has come forth in the news media with allegedly irrefutable evidence that Inuit art is dead.**

In 1967 the council's mandate was broadened to include policy recommendations to the Minister and the co-operatives not only on printmaking, but on all Inuit arts and crafts. The present council is composed of eight members, two of whom are Inuit. We are a voluntary group; we are not civil servants. We are appointed for a three-year term by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The council advises the co-ops and the artists on reproduction requests and also serves as a watchdog for infringements of copyright. One of the council's concerns is to help the co-operatives obtain good technical advice on printmaking and on crafts. It is very easy for a southern printmaker to obtain all the necessary technical data or instruction; it is not easy in the North. Over the years the council has sent skilled Inuit printmakers from one community to another to instruct.

We have held workshops in the South for printmakers and we have been called upon to assist a co-operative in finding a southern technician to go North. These workshops provided a necessary stimulation for Inuit printmakers who were exposed not only to new techniques, but also, to innovative methods which they could apply to old techniques.

The council's first sculpture exhibition was produced for northern communities in 1970. Because of the vast distances in the North, it was impossible for a sculptor in one isolated community to know what a sculptor in another community was doing. The exhibition opened in Yellowknife and then toured 18 Arctic communities. The interior of the aircraft which transported the exhibit was designed so that it could be converted into a display area at each stop. This exhibition was a landmark for the communities involved. It was a visible pride in achievement for the artists and for all of the people.

The next sculpture exhibition the council produced was Sculpture/Inuit, the Masterworks Exhibition. The exhibition opened at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1971 and then went on tour. It was seen in Paris, Copenhagen, London, Moscow, Leningrad, Philadelphia, Ottawa, and Montreal. It drew accolades from the critics and the public where it was shown. Inuit artists whose works were in the exhibition attended the openings. It is my opinion that the Masterworks Exhibition removed forever in the public mind the image of an anonymous ethnological art. The contemporary works in the exhibition were accepted everywhere as fine art, produced by individual artists who had names and stature as creative persons.

In 1974, the first craft exhibition (Crafts from Arctic Canada) was produced for northern people. It opened in Toronto and was held in conjunction with the first Arctic Women's Workshop in Crafts.

In 1976, a sculpture exhibition/competition was organized in Frobisher Bay for the artists of Baffin Island and, in 1982, a conference for curators and specialists who work with Inuit art was held in Ottawa under the aegis of the council.

For many years the council tried to influence the National Gallery of Canada to include contemporary Inuit art in its Canadian collection. Our efforts were not in vain. In 1984 we succeeded in facilitating the development of a collections
program of contemporary Inuit art at the National Gallery.

Our two current projects, which were initiated by Mary Sparling, the chairperson of the council, are to document the history of Inuit art and to produce a film about Inuit art and artists. The National Film Board of Canada is an active participant in the film. The documentation is being computerized and will be available for students, galleries, journalists, anthropologists, museologists, curators, and art historians. The documentation program is unique. The thoughts and experiences of the artists were recorded on tape, and other people who have been involved with the art over a period of time were interviewed and recorded. It is a living history.

None of these endeavors would have been possible without the support, both financial and physical, of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The creative concept was the council's; the visible reality was the department's.

Every three to four years since 1953, someone has come forth in the news media with allegedly irrefutable evidence that Inuit art is dead. This has become an almost reflex action triggered by memories of the decline in the quality of North American Indian arts and crafts during the middle part of this century. Fortunately, the artists in the North appear to be unaware of these pronouncements.

The realities of change in social, political, and economic values are very evident among Canada's Inuit. Discussions are ongoing among Native groups and governments which involve land claims, self-government, and the division of the Northwest Territories into two regions. None of these problems have easy or instant solutions. Devolution, as a matter of policy, has been a priority in the Inuit Art Section of the federal Department of Northern Affairs. I prefer the word "evolution," meaning growth and development.

No one knows as yet what economic changes will occur and what impact these changes will have on the art of the Inuit. However, one fact remains abundantly clear: there must be a strong line of communication in the arts between the North and the South. These southern people — these communicators — must be at arm's length from all governments. They must be independent; they must have the freedom to call it as they see it. Their sight-line is not only what is happening in the arts in the Western world. Alan Jarvis was right when he said, "The finest work of the Inuit artist deserves thoughtful and dignified marketing, because it is fine art and not just a quick way to make a fast buck."

The federal government has acknowledged its responsibility to the professional Canadian artist through its funding agencies such as the Canada Council. Provincial and municipal governments also fund the arts through their agencies. I cannot conceive of any circumstances created by "evolution" whereby the Government of Canada would renege on its responsibility to Inuit art.

**Endnotes**

2 Taber, Dulmange, Feheley, Advertising and Art Studio, Toronto, Ontario.
5 A Travelling Competition/Exhibition for the Northwest Territories Centennial, 1970.
WHO ARE THEY?

If you know who these people are, please contact

The Inuit Art Foundation,
2081 Merivale Road,
Nepean, Ontario K2G 1G9.
Tel.: 613-224-8189.
Fax: 613-224-2907.
The Spring 1993 issue of *Inuit Art Quarterly* asked for assistance in identifying several photos of artists. Our thanks to Lena Arquiq of Gjoa Haven and to Arctic Co-operatives Limited in Winnipeg for identifying all of them. The mystery people are all from Gjoa Haven: (1) Katie Kamirmaalik (2) and (7) Mary Tavalok (3) David Siksik (4) Martha Kernerk (5) Melanie Salarina, deceased (6) Mark Tootiak (8) Lucy Imiqtatuq and (9) John Ulikataq, deceased.
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Effort is made to ensure that information in this calendar is correct, but you are advised to check dates and times.

EXHIBITIONS


TRAVELLING EXHIBITIONS


Northern Lights: Inuit Textiles from the Canadian Arctic, organized by the Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland, November 17, 1993 to January 30, 1994; Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, Guelph, Ontario, June 11 to July 19, 1994; Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg, Manitoba, August 18 to October 9, 1994. Further venues to be confirmed. Telephone 410-396-7427.

The Inuit and Diamond Jenness, organized and exhibited at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec, June 10, 1993 to May 1, 1994. Confirmed itinerary: Wellington County Museum and Archives, Fergus, Ontario, January 15 to April 9, 1995; Diichenbaker Centre, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, August 27 to November 12, 1995; Musée J. Armand Bombardier, Valcourt, Quebec, December 10, 1995 to March 9, 1996. Other dates to be confirmed. Catalogue and poster available. Telephone 819-776-7000.


Charles Camess Hospital Inuit and Indian Collection, on display in the main foyer of the Charles Camess Hospital, 12804-114th Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta T5M 3A4. Exhibition to travel; itinerary not yet confirmed. Telephone 403-453-9161.

PERMANENT EXHIBITIONS
McMichael Canadian Art Collection, selections from the permanent collection. Gallery 9. The current installation, which is changed quarterly, is available for viewing from November 12 to March 6, 1994. The gallery is open Tuesday through Sunday, from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

The Toronto Dominion Gallery of Inuit Art, open seven days a week, no charge. Guided tours Tuesday (11:30 a.m.) and Thursdays (2:00 p.m.). Lobby and mezzanine areas of the IBM Tower, 75 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Ontario. Telephone 416-982-8124.

Dennos Museum Center, Northwestern Michigan College, permanent exhibition entitled Inuit: A Cultural Reflection. Hours are Monday through Saturday 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.; Sunday 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.; additional summer hours: Tuesday through Saturday open until 9:00 p.m. Address: 1701 East Front Street, Traverse City, Michigan, 49684, U.S.A. Telephone 616-922-1055.

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, hours are Monday through Sunday 11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., and 11:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Saturday. Address: 1380 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec. Telephone 514-285-1600.

Chedoke-McMaster Hospital, open daily 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 p.m. Address: 1200 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario. Telephone 416-521-2100, ext. 5387.
WANTS OWN COPY
Would you please accept this small donation to help the cost of your *Inuit Art Quarterly*? Every time my father gets his copy of the magazine, I would take it home and read it until he calls and asks for it back.

I find the magazine extremely well-researched and edited, not to mention that I learn more about my own people's superior ability in creating such fine art. The photography in the magazine also explains well the process of how art is created along with the artists.

If possible, I would like to receive *Inuit Art Quarterly*. Although I'm not carvering at this time, I do carve once every 10 years or so. This spring I made a carving after not carving for over 12 years, and sold it to the co-op here in Repulse Bay. A few days later, it was sold off the shelf before it was sent down South, so I think I will start carving more often.

Again, I would like to express to you that you are doing an excellent job on *Inuit Art Quarterly*.

Joani Kringayark
Repulse Bay, NWT

AN IAQ COLLECTOR
Here is my small donation to the Inuit Art Foundation. I really enjoy the magazine and the carvings. I have been collecting the magazine from the beginning. I would like to keep on receiving *Inuit Art Quarterly* as long as possible. Keep up the good work.

Leo Tulugajuk
Iqaluit, NWT

APPRECIATED IN ROMANIA
Thank you for letting me have a copy of your summer issue which I found very interesting.

I am very interested in the Inuit culture and art and I find your magazine very good. Moreover, I would like to know more about the people, their customs, and their history. Unfortunately, the Canadian Embassy in Bucharest cannot be of much help as they lack written information. Also, about a year ago, I approached the Northwest Territories Government with the same request. I received some leaflets and a draft of a future information booklet on the Inuit from Epp Aruja, who also very kindly promised to get back with more information. Although I have written again, I have not heard from her since.

I would be grateful if you could introduce me to some of your readers/staff. I am a Romanian citizen. I work for the British Council of Bucharest, and I am a graduate of English from Bucharest University. I would like to find friends in the Northwest Territories who could tell me more about their culture and their customs. As far as Inuit art is concerned, I am particularly interested in the pictorial side of it — those lovely abstract birds and sea animals.

I look forward to receiving my next copy of *Inuit Art Quarterly* and I promise to write back after I have read it. I very much hope to receive some letters as well from young (7 to 107 years old) people who would like to have a friend in remote Romania.

Best regard and many thanks.

Jackie Polin
c/o The British Council
casa Doamnita 14
Bucharest, Romania

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**McCord Museum of Canadian History,**
hours are Monday through Friday 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. (Thursday 10:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.), Saturday and Sunday 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Address: 690 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec. Telephone 514-398-7100.

The **Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec,** a rotating exhibit of work from the Inuit collection, is on display at the Guild during opening hours: 9:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Tuesday through Friday, 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Saturday. Catalogue of permanent collection available from the Guild of Crafts, 2025 Peel Street, Montreal, Quebec. Telephone 514-849-6091.

**CONFERENCES**

Inuit Pride and Identity, the 9th Inuit Studies Conference, will be held in Iqaluit, Northwest Territories, June 12 to 15, 1994. For registration, contact: Inuit Studies Organizing Committee, c/o Arctic College, P.O. Box 600, Iqaluit, NWT X0A 0H0, Canada.
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Ookpik Pitsiulak (Cape Dorset), Mother and Child, 1993, height 9"

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"Ashaona family, 1967"

"Pitseolak and Napachie with daughter, 1967"

These photos are copies of polaroids that were found by writer John Ayre in the papers of his deceased uncle, Robert Ayre, who was an art critic for the Montreal Star. Robert Ayre visited Cape Dorset in 1967.
The Inuit Art Foundation was incorporated in 1987 to facilitate the creative expressions of Inuit artists and to foster a broader understanding of these expressions worldwide. Core funding provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is supplemented with private sector funding for the following programs of the foundation:

The Scholarship Fund
Scholarships are provided to Inuit artists to attend art sessions organized by the Inuit Art Foundation in collaboration with other art institutions. Awards are also made annually to Inuit artists, selected by a jury of their peers, to attend regular sessions at art schools and studios.

Friends of Inuit Artists
A number of donors have contributed towards the provision of portable art libraries in Arctic communities. Inexpensive instructional videos, on such topics as protection against the health hazards of stone dust and how to photograph artwork are included in the libraries, along with art books and catalogues.

Artists’ News
Posters, comic books, brochures and newsletters provide information to Inuit on art and art-related topics. A health module consisted of a comic book, a poster, a mask to wear when carving. This fund also enables us to print extra copies of Inuit Art Quarterly to send free to approximately 2,000 artists in the Northwest Territories, Nunavik and Labrador.

Donors will receive all press releases issued by the Inuit Art Foundation and will be acknowledged in Inuit Art Quarterly. Tax receipts will be issued to all Canadian donors and we are in the process of registering with the American IRS. Please call for more information about these programs.

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