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TECHNICAL PAPER NO. 21

ESKIMO ADMINISTRATION:
V. ANALYSIS AND REFLECTIONS

By

DIAMOND JENNESS

PUBLISHED MARCH 1968

THE ARCTIC INSTITUTE OF NORTH AMERICA

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PREFACE

At the suggestion of my friend Graham Rowley, whose organization, the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of Canada's Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, has been generously supporting my studies of Eskimo administration, I am supplementing the series with this long essay, which attempts to bring together the lessons that historians and administrators may learn from Volumes I to IV, covering the administrations in Alaska, Canada, Labrador, and Greenland, but not the Soviet Arctic.

Those studies revealed that Canada has faltered in her self-appointed task of leading her Eskimos out of their stone-age wilderness into our electronic civilization, and that she still is groping for ways and means to accomplish her mission. Drawing on the experience of other nations with Eskimo citizens, therefore, I have appended to this essay a few suggestions which may help the Canadian people, and their government, to resolve some of their present difficulties.

DIAMOND JENNESS
August, 1966

PROLOGUE: A PARABLE

The winter rains had ended, man had sown his grain in the damp, rich-smelling soil and the seeds had sprouted. Ahead lay the promise of a bountiful harvest, provided the owners tended their fields carefully and throughout the season of drought supplied an abundance of water from their over-flowing wells.

The rich owner of one estate, however, was blind and neglectful. He commanded his slaves to clear the irrigation ditches and repair the machinery of his wells, then carelessly assumed that they had carried out their duties because he could hear the steady creaking and rumbling of the wheels. Day after day he made the round of his wells, seeing nothing; day after day his blindfolded donkeys trod their weary circle, conscious of nothing but the monotonous patter of their feet on the hard-worn clay; and nearer and nearer came the time for harvest. No one told the master that his wells were half empty, that the big clay pots lashed to the rims of the wheels dipped up cupfuls only and spattered most of the water into the wells again. No one dared to inform him that dirt and weeds had choked his aqueducts and that no water was entering the irrigation ditches. Mechanically, from dawn to dusk, the donkeys turned the wheels and their sightless master inspected his fields; and deeper and deeper the hot sun burned those fields until the parched ears of grain hung down their heads and died.

Time had gathered the blind landlord to his fathers, and his grandchildren inherited and cultivated the old estate. But winters of scanty rains had failed to replenish the wells which the great drought had nearly emptied, and the fierce hot winds of successive summers carried away so much of the topsoil that seeds which had yielded a hundred-fold now yielded scarcely ten-fold, and only the charity of neighbours kept the household from starving. And now, alas, the neighbours too began to suffer distress, for the climate had become more arid.

They were still gathering in their scanty harvest when a party of strangers entered the village and requested permission to rest the night. "Our country across the mountain", they reported, "abounds in verdant pastures where the fat sheep always bear lusty lambs, and the olive and fig trees bow down to the ground with the weight of their fruit". And two of them added, "We have land in abundance for everyone. Why do you not join us?"

But when night drew near and the strangers retired to their tents some of them chided their companions for inviting the hard-pressed villagers to migrate to their country. "We must keep our spare lands for our own children and grandchildren", they said, "and for kinsmen from across the sea".

A villager overheard their words, and unhappiness spread through both camps.

CHAPTER 1

The record and its lessons

Introduction

At the time of their discovery—or re-discovery—in the sixteenth century the people we today call Eskimos extended from the Siberian side of Bering Strait to Greenland, occupying nearly half the circumference of our globe at the level of the Arctic Circle. Their clothing, customs, and religious beliefs varied throughout this immense range, of course, but not greatly; and even their language diverged significantly only around the Bering Sea. Nowhere, nevertheless, did they develop any political or social unit larger than the small group of closely related kin, self-regulating and self-sustaining; and so dispersed were the groups, so slight the communication between them, that in some regions natives only 300 or 400 miles apart were unaware of each other's existence. Of the vast world outside their Arctic they possessed neither knowledge nor comprehension. The deepest Eskimo thinker—and they did produce a few deep thinkers—never imagined that there could be lands untouched by snow and ice, lands where human beings as numberless as the mosquitoes of his Arctic obtained their daily food, not from fish or wild animals, but from grasses deliberately planted in carefully prepared ground.

Centuries had glided by, millennia lapsed, since the Eskimos first reached and occupied the arctic regions of North America; yet they continued to linger there, isolated and rarely disturbed save by nature alone. Then a series of historical accidents drew them into the world's orbit and subjected them to the rule of five separate countries. On the two sides of the Bering Strait Russian traders brought them under the domination of what is today the Soviet Union, a domination that ended on the eastern side of that strait when the United States purchased Alaska in 1867. Eskimos farther east along the arctic coast came under Canada's control, and those on the Atlantic coast of the Labrador Peninsula under the authority of Newfoundland, which itself was governed from London until the twentieth century. Two small countries, Holland and Denmark, disputed the sovereignty of Greenland during the eighteenth century, each hoping to gain the monopoly of its trade. Denmark won, and finding it impossible to build up a profitable trade, diverted her energies to training the primitive inhabitants to take into their own hands the reins of their future destiny. Today the far-flung segments of the Eskimo race are divided among four nations[1], and are learning to speak three European languages, English, Danish, and Russian[2]. They are freely intermarrying, too, with their white

[1]Newfoundland joined the Confederation of Canada in 1949, reducing the number of countries with Eskimo populations from five to four.

[2]In northern Quebec the Eskimos are now being introduced to French.

fellow-citizens, and gradually losing the physical peculiarities—the high cheek-bones, scaphoid heads, and other features—which once distinguished them from other races.

The four nations which have absorbed them sprang from different roots and developed different traditions. They acquired their Eskimo citizens, too, at different times and under different circumstances. It is not surprising, therefore, that they adopted different ways of dealing with them, particularly since geographical and biological conditions vary considerably from one part of the Arctic to another. It is on the differences in governmental policies that this essay concentrates, weighing in turn the merits and weaknesses of each one. Before embarking on our subject, however, let us glance very briefly at Russia's administration of the Eskimos in the North Pacific region prior to 1867, when she handed over its eastern shores to the United States. Since that date she has ruled only the few Eskimo-speaking natives who live on the Siberian side of the Bering Sea, Eskimos proper on the mainland of Asia, and Aleutians, transplanted from America, on the Komandorskiye (Commander) Islands; and these two groups, which in 1959 numbered only 1,111 and 339 respectively (Armstrong, 1965, p. 184), we may reasonably disregard until she provides more information concerning the changes that have taken place among them since the Bolshevik revolution of 1919.[1]

Alaskan Eskimos under Russian rule, 1799–1867

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Czarist Russia was wearing the shackles of a feudal system, and the explorers and adventurers she sent through Siberia's northern forests inevitably looked upon the uncivilized tribes they were subjugating beyond the Urals as inferior to the serfs who worked the estates of the great land-owners in the fatherland. Since subarctic forests do not favour agriculture, but abound in wildlife and fish, the conquerors could not restrict the wanderings of the natives by chaining them down to farmlands, but merely exacted from them a yearly tribute of furs and, in certain districts, conscripted their labour to wash out the alluvial gold in a few river beds. The home government, more concerned at that time with gaining a sea outlet to the Atlantic Ocean than with the development of its new territory in far eastern Siberia and beyond the Bering Sea, willingly committed to a commercial organization, the Russian-American Company, both the administration of Alaska and a monopoly of its trade, just as a century earlier England had bestowed on the Governor and Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay, better known as the Hudson's Bay Company, a monopoly of the administration and trade of the vast and unknown territory surrounding Hudson Bay. Encouraged by their respective governments these two companies, the Russian in northern Asia and Alaska and the English in Canada, drove ahead with separate empire-building programs; and while British and French-Canadian fur-traders explored the interior of Canada northward to the Arctic Ocean and westward to the shores of British Columbia, their Russian competitors pushed eastward from Siberia and southward down the Alaskan panhandle to secure a toe-hold in California. The world, both companies then discovered, is round. Their henchmen met face to face on the Yukon River, and on the Pacific Coast encountered rival traders from the United States.

[1]The reader will find a sketch of their present condition in Hughes, 1965.

Russia lost no time in tightening her grip on northwestern America, where she discovered, around the Aleutian Archipelago and along the shores of the Gulf of Alaska, large numbers of fur seals and sea otters, mammals whose pelts, then as now, brought extremely high prices in the world's markets. Her trading company launched against them a campaign as relentless as the campaign that contemporary American hunters were waging against the immense herds of buffalo that roamed the central plains of Canada and the United States; and it achieved a similar result. On the plains the buffalo herds vanished, bequeathing destitution and starvation to a dozen Indian tribes for whom they had been the staff of life; and in the North Pacific the sea mammals were nearly exterminated, and with them their Eskimo-speaking Aleutian hunters, whom Russia's trading company had conscripted to scour the stormy, fog-ridden ocean under all conditions of weather. Man seldom profits by experience, but having developed greater hindsight than foresight, destroys more zestfully than he preserves. Fur seals and sea otters survive today, and with them a few Aleutian Islanders, only because the sale of Alaska to the United States released the natives from their servitude, and because an international convention signed in 1911 by Russia, Japan, England, and the United States checked the ruthless destruction of the sea mammals and protected the breeding grounds of the fur seals on the Pribilof and Komandorskiye islands.

In the early years of Christendom the Fathers of the Church preached the brotherhood of all mankind, and tried to plant that seed in the growing body of their adherents; but it faded during the troubled decay of the Roman Empire, and eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans flatly rejected its application to the savages of newly discovered Africa and America, whom they considered inferior creations of Divine Providence. Russia's fur-trading company accepted this revised belief: it spared little thought for the welfare of Alaska's aborigines, but diligently laboured for what it regarded as the sole purpose of a commercial organization, a substantial profit on its operations. To be sure, it encouraged Russian missionaries to convert the natives to the orthodox faith, not, however, from any religious fervour or altruistic desire to promote their happiness, but because Christianity might reconcile them to the white man's yoke and make them more submissive to his rule. At the same time it sternly repressed any tendency on the part of the missionaries to make themselves a third force within Alaska, as Spanish missionaries had become in Central and South America. Russia's Orthodox Church was an arm of the state, as subject to the Czar and his ministers as the trading company itself; and in Alaska, where the trading company was the Czar's viceroy, it was subject to the company, which alone possessed the authority and the power to transport and maintain it. Its missionaries, therefore, dared not oppose the administration's policies, dared not champion the cause of the natives, any more than their co-clergy in Russia could champion oppressed serfs on the estates of the Czar and his nobles. In America, the company could say, "*l'état, c'est moi*".

This state within a state, this commercial company, retained unchallenged control over coastal Alaska until 1867. Apart from three or four trading vessels and exploring expeditions, no foreigners intruded on its preserve until 1841, when American whalers began to pursue the bowhead whales into the Bering Sea and through Bering Strait to Alaska's northern tip at Point Barrow, where heavy ice blocked their further progress for a quarter of a century. Russia's

trading company disregarded their activities, partly because it had never attempted to extend its own rule north of the Yukon River, but partly also—and this was the weightier reason—because its government in St. Petersburg shrank from adding the United States to its enemies while it was manoeuvring to secure unhindered access to the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Down to 1867, therefore, Alaska's Eskimos acquired nearly all their notions of European civilization from two sources: south of Bering Strait, from the imperious servants of Russia's profit-seeking, fur-trading company; north of that strait, from the lawless, multi-racial crews of American whaling vessels.

Not in Alaska alone, but elsewhere in the Arctic, whalers who were also traders preceded both missionaries and organized government in bringing to the primitive Eskimos metal tools, firearms, and other first-fruits of our western civilization: they brought them to the Mackenzie River delta, the Hudson Bay region, and western Greenland. To most of those places, too, these modern Danaoi brought unsolicited gifts of a more treacherous nature—alcoholic beverages, and hitherto unknown diseases such as influenza, smallpox, and tuberculosis, which swept away whole families and increased the disorganization of unsophisticated natives already confused by the changed techniques made possible by the new implements and weapons, by the changed values those techniques imposed on nearly everything they had known and practised before the coming of the white man, and by the sudden diminution of their food supply through the immoderate slaughter of game with deadly firearms. Only on the Labrador coast north of Hamilton Inlet did missionaries arrive before any whalers, traders, or administrators; and only in east Greenland did the first contact with the white man coincide with a formal administration which brought in its train the strictly regulated trader, the missionary, the educator, and other builders of a modern civilization. Looking back over mankind's chequered history and the spread of the numerous civilizations he has evolved during its span, we cannot help observing how greatly the character of a civilization's first emissaries influenced its reception and progress, and how much suffering the world's peoples escaped whenever those emissaries brought goodwill, help and understanding instead of disease, strife, harsh domination, and ruthless exploitation. The westward march of the Mongols from Central Asia almost to the Atlantic a thousand years ago left a legacy of ruin, hatred, and horror which has never completely vanished, whereas the nearly contemporary expansion of the Moslems over the southern and western Mediterranean elevated the social and intellectual life of all western Europe and helped to bring about the Renaissance.

In far northern Alaska, and in the Mackenzie River delta which adjoins it to the east, whaling crews left behind an Eskimo population reduced by European diseases and alcohol-promoted disorders to barely one-tenth of its earlier number; a population so demoralized that even today it has not recovered its pre-European virility. South of Bering Strait, in the region untouched by the whalers, Russian tyranny nearly exterminated the Aleutian Islanders, an inoffensive people sorely buffeted by their harsh environment and powerless to escape or resist their oppressors. History, nevertheless, must temper our judgement and soften our condemnation. The Russians merely followed the practices of their day, and very few nations would have acted differently. It was during

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that English and French settlers in Newfoundland remorselessly shot every Beothuk Indian caught pilfering their fishing nets, and even offered a bounty on the natives' heads until the tribe became extinct. In those same centuries, too, sea-captains from many European countries bought or kidnapped tens of thousands of negroes on West Africa's coast, packed them like cattle in the holds of wretched sailing ships, transported them to America, and sold them on the New World's slave markets to white cotton and sugar planters. The Second World War should have taught us that man, despite his vaunted civilization, his increasing knowledge of nature, and his growing control over some of her operations, is still a ravenous wolf, gentle and mild to his own brood but pitiless toward others. Can it be that he is merely adapting himself to two laws of nature which may not be reconcilable—the first, that

"Life's strongest instinct is self-preservation",

and the second, that

"Life, to exist, must prey upon life"?

Russia ended her incursion into the New World a century ago, and need not reappear in our court-room until she reveals more details concerning the Eskimos who still dwell on her side of the Bering Sea. We may excuse her further attendance, then, and pass on to the records of the other nations to whom history has entrusted the Eskimo race.

Greenland

Denmark's interest in Greenland dates back to the Middle Ages, when Scandinavian settlers in Iceland, the majority of them Norwegians, discovered an unknown land to the west of them and hived off several family groups to colonize its fiords. At that time, and right down to the Napoleonic wars, Denmark and Norway formed one kingdom whose people preserved many traditions about their Greenland outpost long after the colony itself disappeared in the early fifteenth century. In the sixteenth, Basque fishermen pioneered whale-hunting operations off the island's west coast, and a hundred years later whaling and trading vessels from Holland began to explore its shores. Around the middle of the seventeenth century King Christian IV of Denmark reclaimed it for Denmark-Norway, and directed one shipping company in Bergen, and another in Copenhagen, to open commercial relations with its Eskimo inhabitants. At that time Europe was being ravaged by the Thirty Years War, the bitter religious struggle in which King Christian espoused the Protestant cause; but just over the horizon an Age of Enlightenment was dawning, when subjects would question the policies of their rulers and probe into the foundations of monarchical rule. Christian IV seems to have sensed this intellectual revolution, for when he granted his Copenhagen company a monopoly of Greenland trade he attached a rider ordering its captains to bring back

> "a couple of young people from among the natives, of the age of sixteen, eighteen or twenty, who might here be instructed in religion, language and booklore, for the greater future bliss and well-being of that country." (Bobé, 1929, p. 82).

Throughout the seventeenth century Dutch competition stifled Denmark's feeble efforts to re-establish her hold on Greenland and dampened Danish

interest in that far-off island. It failed to extinguish Scandinavia's missionary zeal, however, or to destroy its pride in early Norse history, both of which nurtured Denmark-Norway's hope of recovering Greenland and greatly contributed to the success of its first colony there, the settlement which Hans Egede founded at Godthåb in 1721. Egede himself set as his goal the evangelization of the Eskimos, to be promoted by a trade which would serve as the mission's handmaid and supply its material needs; but his contemporaries, human beings more concerned with material than with spiritual needs, reversed the priority of the two activities and pushed the mission into second place. Notwithstanding this setback, the latter struck deep roots and progressed beyond expectation, whereas the trade languished and in many years failed to pay its way, even though the government itself took over the management and proclaimed a quarantine of the island to keep out competition. Foreign countries could, and probably would have protested had the trade flourished; and from time to time some of Denmark's own citizens called for the quarantine's abolition; but the government stood firm, maintaining that it helped to protect the Greenlanders from the incursions of deadly diseases, alcoholism, and other evils, and that Denmark was seeking no more than the accepted right of every colonial power, namely, a modest return on her investments of money, material, and man-power. The education her missionaries were providing the Greenlanders, she said, proved that she was not selfishly exploiting them, for it compared not unfavourably with the education European nations were offering their citizens before the flowering of the machine age.

Denmark has always exercised secular control over its Lutheran church, whose missionaries in Greenland were employees of the government no less than the traders: from the government they received their stipends, and to Greenland's governor or ranking official they referred all matters not strictly doctrinal.

During the eighteenth century, and even later, the mission waged an intermittent feud with the government's trade branch, even though it depended on the latter for transportation and supplies; for it was inevitable that the trade's exploitation of the natural resources and struggle to earn a profit should frequently clash with the mission's efforts to Christianize the natives and promote their social and spiritual welfare. Both services were suffering from a venial but costly error of their home government, which doggedly clung to the belief that the island's resources, efficiently exploited, could support a trade whose profits would cover all necessary expenditures (including those of the mission), and still leave a surplus for Denmark's treasury. Nearly two centuries passed before continual disappointments and mounting difficulties finally convinced the authorities that, unless the environment changed, Greenland's resources could yield no profit at all except in extremely favourable years, which were neither predictable nor frequent.

From the standpoint of the trade branch, therefore, the mission and its requirements were an unwelcome incubus imposed on a commerce already staggering under an excessive load; and the situation was equally unsatisfactory to the mission, which had to bear all charges for the Greenlanders' welfare without knowing what the term welfare involved. As mentioned earlier, when the first missions opened their doors the Greenlanders were so primitive that

Hans Egede and his successors considered them an inferior race; but by the late nineteenth century the schools which those missionaries founded had transformed the natives into a literate people who associated freely with their teachers and seemed ready to take into their own hands some of the tasks of their rulers. Were these new Greenlanders still an inferior people for whom the term welfare meant little more than the bare necessities of life? Or were they now entitled to the privileges their Danish rulers enjoyed, for example, comfortable homes, technical schools, well-equipped hospitals and the numerous amenities available to the citizens of civilized countries? And if they were entitled to those things, would the trade provide funds for them? And who would operate and maintain them?

So the years brought troublesome problems, for trade and mission had bedded uncomfortably side by side, a mismarriage which has occurred not infrequently during the course of history. From 1900 onward Greenland's economy improved a little with the development of a new industry, cod-fishing, but it remained weak and insecure until after the First World War; and the continuous trade deficit both embarrassed the mission and impoverished the island's social and cultural life. When Denmark had consolidated her hold on Greenland nearly two centuries before, she had built her rule on false premises and set for it impossible goals. These had been her premises:

1. Greenland was unsuitable climatically for extensive white colonization. It could support only an Eskimo or Eskimo-like population capable of adapting itself to the environment.

2. Greenland's Eskimo inhabitants, though they belonged to the human family, were an inferior race which should be converted to Christianity to gain salvation, but would and always should remain distinct from the favoured white race which God had illumined with the light of His Gospel.

3. Greenland possessed an abundance of sea mammals whose oil could defray all extraction and transportation costs and still leave a profit for its rulers.

4. Under Denmark's benevolent rule, and the careful supervision of her missionaries and traders, the native population would prosper and its population remain relatively stable, neither increasing nor decreasing to an extent that would strain or undermine the economy.

In the mid-nineteenth century Denmark added to these four premises a fifth, namely,

5. That Greenland, Denmark's only colony, could be a proving-ground for the motherland's physical and social scientists and attest the nation's right to be grouped among the leaders of civilization, despite her small size and inferior military might.

During the second half of the nineteenth century Denmark began to question the validity of her first three premises. Europeans were living quite contentedly in Greenland, despite its harsh climate; and so many of them had married native women that it was becoming difficult to separate whites from Eskimos. The economic situation, too, showed signs of instability. All along the southwest coast the sea mammals, until then the staple food of the Greenlanders, appeared to be diminishing and yielding their place to cod. No one could explain the cause of this mysterious phenomenon; no one could predict how far the change would proceed and how long it would continue; but low seal catches and the low prices that world markets were then offering for seal products had seriously depressed Greenland's trade returns and inflicted grave hardships and privation on its inhabitants. Some officials gloomily conjectured

that the Greenland trade never would produce any dependable revenue to the Danish government unless the prices for seal products rose spectacularly (and of this there was no sign), or the land uncovered great mineral wealth (and of that also geologists could find no convincing evidence).

Declining returns from Greenland's trade, and the disappointing assessment of the island's natural resources, compelled Denmark to re-examine her objective in the colony, and to modify the policies she had pursued there for the past 150 years. Europe had moved far ahead during that period and was now entering an industrial age of exceedingly rapid change. Factories in every part of the continent were pouring out car-loads of products which railways and steamers swiftly carried to distant lands; populations were increasing and congregating into ever-expanding cities; and the armies of industrial workers, together with the service forces which distributed and marketed their products, were thrusting aside the old aristocracy and rural land-owners who had dominated each nation, and raising the pillars of a more broadly-based society that threatened to transgress national boundaries. Britain and other nations were crushing the African slave trade, the United States was fighting a civil war for the release of its slaves, and maturing colonies were restively re-appraising their relationship with their motherlands. Goaded by faster communications and transportation the nations of the world were compressing into one society, and from every direction came the cry that the common man should be given the rights which nature had ordained for him, whatever his race or his colour. Clearly it was time for Denmark to take another look at her colony.

The emergency drew forth a man of the hour, Hinrik Rink, an eminent scientist and capable administrator who possessed a profounder knowledge of Greenland and its people than any other man of his generation. Rink persuaded the Danish government to accept a radically new theory of colonial rule, to concede that it should seek, not the enrichment of the ruler, but the advancement of the ruled; whence he drew the logical conclusion that thereafter Denmark should reject any material gain to herself from the Greenland people. He then reinforced this more altruistic conception of Denmark's obligations by introducing into Greenland's administration two reforms which implicitly acknowledged the Greenlanders' racial equality with Europeans, and committed Denmark to direct all her efforts towards improving their economic, social, and political condition. He created municipal councils of democratically elected Greenlanders to administer local districts and thereby learn the art of self-government; and he established a practical scheme for training young Greenlanders in Denmark, and developing from them a skilled labour-force which would supplement the small, élite body of native clergy and educationalists built up by the missionaries.

It was Greenland's first missionary, Hans Egede, who had planted the seed of the cultural élite. Desperate for funds and European assistants to aid his evangelization of the island, he struggled to learn the Eskimo language and to translate into that tongue the Lutheran catechism, a few hymns, and some passages from the New Testament, which he taught the native children to read, write, and memorize. His successors, who encountered many of the same obstacles as he had, extended his program by training some of their brightest pupils to evangelize and educate the outpost population. Generation after

generation then carried on the torch until by the Second World War illiteracy had been banished from West Greenland, 90 per cent of its school-teachers and clergy were Greenland-born, and a small but growing number of its boys and girls were qualifying for entrance to Danish universities and technical schools. It was the native teachers, the "non-commissioned officers" who graduated from Greenland's mission-controlled schools, rather than the "commissioned" administrators and technical officers sent out from Denmark, who led the rank and file of Greenland's inhabitants out of the abyss of the stone age and made them what they have become today, self-governing citizens of a Danish province marching alongside their European fellow-citizens in the front ranks of civilization's army.

In no other region of the Arctic have Europeans deliberately trained Eskimos to lead their people up civilization's steep path.[1] Canada and the United States have given them white administrators and teachers without stint, and wondered at their pupils' apathy, and their deafness to the well-intentioned instruction insistently dinned into their ears. They forgot that children learn more quickly from playmates of their own age than from ill-understood and ill-understanding adults, and that an undeveloped people will follow and obey leaders from their own ranks whom they understand, and who understand them, much more readily than leaders who speak to them in an alien tongue and bring them strange ideas from an unknown world. Only in Greenland have the educational authorities, almost all of whom have been missionaries, or pupils of missionaries, deliberately trained Eskimos and their Eskimo-speaking descendants to lead their people; and only there has an Eskimo population been successfully integrated into today's world.

We know very little about racial psychologies, and the influence they exert on forms of government and adaptabilities to change; but we cannot doubt that the Eskimo ancestors of the Greenlanders were a peculiar race, conditioned by centuries of living in arctic lands which isolated them from other peoples and debarred them from contact with foreign ideas. A precarious food supply prohibited them from gathering together in large numbers, but forced their dispersal into small family groups, which moved from place to place and reshuffled their members according to the season of the year. The severity of their climate, the extreme shortness of the winter days and the perpetual danger of famine and starvation, heightened their dependence on one another and demanded an intimacy, a closeness of association, hardly to be found in other lands. And from that intimacy they developed two qualities, both of which they seem to have handed down to their modern descendants: one was an ability to sense and react to each other's unspoken thoughts, the other a remarkable tolerance of each other's company and behaviour. In consequence, Eskimos were a definitely peace-loving people, though prone to sudden outbursts of anger which not infrequently led to murder and the blood-feud. They resented any attempt at domination. If you smiled at a man and asked him to do something, he would cheerfully carry out your wish; but if you ordered him to do it he would deliberately turn away and perhaps retreat out of your sight. Even parents rarely or never punished their children; and the children

[1]Except, perhaps, the Soviet Union, which seems to be adopting this policy on the Siberian side of Bering Strait.

in turn were remarkably docile and obedient. Of course, they were exposed to fewer temptations than European children: their villages offered no hiding-places, and their one-roomed cabins and snow huts contained no priceless bric-à-brac that cried out to be broken.

It was doubtless the two qualities I have mentioned that made Eskimo society amorphous. It tolerated no chiefs, delegated authority to no one, but left each man and woman his or her own master. I have accompanied a group of sixty or seventy Eskimos on winter migrations, when they piled all their possessions on dog-sleds and travelled ten or twelve miles from one sealing ground to another. They held no meetings to discuss these migrations, seldom or never decided beforehand the day or the hour when they would abandon their snow-hut village. All knew, however, from the day when the hunters began to bring home fewer seals, that it was time to move on, and when some individual, waking two or three hours before dawn, impulsively started to load his sled, every other man in the village sprang from his bed and did likewise. The same unanimous action without spoken words characterized the end of the day's journey: some individual in the migration train, weary of pulling on his heavily laden sled, halted his dog-team and began to probe for snow deep and compact enough for the building of a new snow hut; whereupon every other family immediately halted its sled and probed for a house-site also. They resembled the herds of caribou which they hunted for food and clothing: each animal grazed at will, but when the entire herd was travelling over thin ice some wise old bull went ahead to sound out a path with its hoofs, and the rest obediently followed in its tracks. Each group of Eskimos, large or small, recognized a leader, some man who had shown outstanding skill as a hunter, was respected for his integrity and wisdom, or feared because he possessed, or claimed to possess, influence in the world of spirits. But he was very far from being a chief. His group accepted him as their leader only, not their commander; their pilot, but not their captain.

Greenland's "second father", Hinrik Rink, understood these Eskimo traits, and consciously built on them when he created his municipal councils or, as he called them, "Boards of Guardians". He entrusted to them not local improvements only, but the settlement of disputes and the care of the aged, the infirm, and the needy; and he allowed them to plan and carry out their duties in their own way, free from dictation but provided with adequate funds and whatever assistance they called for. Today Greenland enjoys semi-autonomy, Rink's Boards of Guardians have evolved into District Councils and a provincial parliament, and many of the judgements they pronounced in settling long-forgotten disputes have been sustained and incorporated in Greenland's new Criminal Code.

From the retirement of Rink until the end of the Second World War the administration underwent several important modifications, but the objectives he laid down for it remained unchanged. By the first decade of the twentieth century all responsible Danes agreed that the ultimate target for the colony must be autonomy just as soon as its inhabitants were qualified to manage their own affairs. They agreed also that the quarantine and the trade monopoly must disappear, but violently disputed whether to cast off those two hawsers immediately or to retain them for some years longer. Copenhagen decided to

retain them, on the ground that the Greenlanders were still too inexperienced to navigate their ship of state alone without grave risk; but provisionally it enacted some new measures to raise the educational standard and increase the islanders' participation in the colony's government.

Meanwhile the southwest coast of the island, the home of 95 per cent of its inhabitants and the only region in close contact with Europe until the twentieth century, underwent a social and economic revolution. From 1910 onward cod steadily supplanted the seals which had previously underpinned the Greenlanders' existence, fishing replaced hunting as their main occupation, and the fast-growing population began to abandon some of its scattered hamlets and to concentrate in large villages or small towns, where the fishermen's wives could find employment in the canneries, and their families, settled in permanent and comfortable homes, enjoy the advantages and pleasures of an urbanized life. The vexed problem of the quarantine and trade monopoly seemed forgotten in the turmoil of the economic upheaval and the numerous adjustments it demanded from the majority of the population. Even the First World War and the subsequent years of depression came and went without raising any question of the constitutional future of the Greenlanders, or disturbing their peaceful evolution from a race of hunters to professional fishermen.

The Second World War which erupted in 1939 slammed Greenland's door on Europe but half-opened another door looking toward the United States. America's aircraft suddenly filled the island's skies, its soldiers occupied several harbours along Greenland's shores, and its goods, different in appearance and often in kind from the familiar Danish products, began to flood the island's settlements. Peering through the half-open door, like convalescents looking through the windows of their hospital, the Greenlanders could descry a new and exciting world that was threatening to break down their isolation; and the vision revived thoughts of the contentious quarantine and trade monopoly, awakened resentment at those artificial restraints, and strengthened the longing for close association with the multitudinous activities of the outside world. Greenlanders had sheltered too long under Denmark's wings, they felt, and they strained to beat their own wings. Yet they shrank from abandoning the motherland. Their loyalty to her had been deepened by the events of the preceding years, and they hoped that the binding ties could be drawn still closer.

They revealed their feelings in 1948, when Denmark's Prime Minister visited the colony to consult its two Provincial Councils; and they revealed them again in 1954, when the nation's King and Queen toured the island's west coast in the Royal yacht. By this latter date Denmark's parliament had granted the Greenlanders their wish. Their island was no longer a colony, but an integral part of Denmark; and its inhabitants were Danish citizens, many of them, especially the younger ones, bilingual, speaking both of Greenland's two official languages, Danish and Eskimo. Today (1966) they number roughly 35,000, a tiny, isolated minority—less than 1 per cent—amid Denmark's roughly four and a half million population; but a relatively contented minority which administers its own local affairs and elects two representatives to the parliament in Copenhagen.

The word "contented" in the last sentence does not imply that all racial prejudice has vanished and that no friction exists on the island. All men are

not saints, and Greenland is far from being Elysium. Friction does occur, but it springs from economic and cultural causes rather than racial. Today's disharmony between Tamils and Singhalese in Ceylon, Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, and French-speaking and English-speaking citizens of Canada, these and other examples remind us that wherever we encounter side by side two official languages, two distinct armies of workers, and two standards of living (whether or not the lower standard results only from a poorer environment), there we are sure to find friction, particularly if the group with the lower standard is given special consideration. It simmers below the surface in Greenland during the summer months, when Denmark pours in large amounts of capital and material for numerous construction projects, and contributes scores of skilled European labourers who receive higher rates of pay than Greenlanders because they are working far from home, are liable to military conscription, and pay heavy taxes from which Greenlanders are exempt. Yet friction may be too strong a word to apply to this peaceful island, where violent crime is almost unknown and until recently the only jail was a wooden, two-storey house, surrounded by a chicken-wire fence and furnished for only six lodgers. One should speak rather of a latent dissatisfaction, a malaise, that will probably disappear as the standard of living rises, education improves, and more Greenlanders learn to speak Danish as fluently as their native tongue.

The outsider who visits the island today cannot fail to be impressed with the Greenlanders' trust in Denmark and their implicit faith in her genuine concern for their welfare. Like Oliver Twist, they may sometimes ask for more than they have been given, and may disappoint their benefactors by appearing ungrateful; but the more educated among them—their scholars, writers, artists, and technicians—realize the beneficence of Denmark's past rule and appreciate the efforts she has made to give them a fuller and richer life.

To Denmark herself Greenland has been a challenge. She began her rule of the island in a spirit of missionary idealism strongly tinged with commercialism. The commercial incentive died of inanition in the nineteenth century, when the colony's resources and trade failed to produce the hoped-for revenues. To replace it, however, there has sprung up a new idealism, grounded in the satisfaction of having redeemed from savagery a grievously handicapped branch of the human race and trained it to work with the world's most advanced nations. That satisfaction has strengthened her determination to carry on the task, despite its heavy cost, and bring it to fulfilment. Today Denmark stands before the whole world as a staunch champion of the charter of the United Nations and of the ideals on which the charter rests.

We may note, finally, two rather unusual features in the mechanics of Denmark's administration of Greenland. The first has been the rareness of hasty improvisations or *ad hoc* innovations. Every important change has been preceded by careful planning, guided often by the prior investigations and recommendations of experts drawn from every walk of life in Denmark, not from the civil service alone. The second unusual feature has been the readiness —one may even say eagerness—with which non-government specialists have stood ready to answer their country's call to service, demanding for themselves no recompense beyond the gratification of contributing to Greenland's advancement.

Labrador

To Labrador's Eskimos, as to those of Greenland, the first century of contact with European civilization brought only intermittent barter, murder, rapine, and deadly diseases. The Indians who roamed the peninsula's southern coast enlisted the aid of white settlers, and of the firearms supplied by white traders, to exterminate their hereditary enemies, and the few Eskimos who escaped their attacks merged with the white liveyere population which squatted between the Strait of Belle Isle and Hamilton Inlet. Repentant Destiny then decreed that the five hundred miles of coastline from Hamilton Inlet north to Cape Chidley should become a vineyard of the Moravian Church, whose Greenland-trained missionaries had negotiated a truce between its hostile Eskimos and the British Crown. The Moravians established their first mission at Nain in 1771, and from that date until the outbreak of the First World War held undisputed control over northern Labrador's natives, ruling them in two capacities, as apostles of a Christian civilization and as unofficial representatives of the Newfoundland government. Throughout those one hundred and fifty years they received only the feeblest support from the outside world; but they carried on their double duties in a manner that completely satisfied both the Newfoundland government, and the Eskimos for whose welfare they had exiled themselves from their native lands.

During the eighteenth century Britain saw no value in any part of Atlantic Labrador except its southeast corner, which yielded a small quantity of fish and possessed some strategic importance for the protection of the fisheries on the Grand Banks. Of the unexplored coast north of Hamilton Inlet she knew only that it was less accessible than the southeast coast and, for that reason, probably useless. As long as there was no threat to her sovereignty from that quarter, and no demands on her for financial or other support, she was quite content to let the Moravians establish missions there, civilize its Eskimos, and maintain law and order. The Moravians themselves entertained but one objective, to convert the benighted savages to Christianity and lead them in the way of salvation; and that task they stood ready to perform without government aid by planting European missionaries and their wives at suitable places along the coast to share the lives of the Eskimos, learn their language, and organize schools to educate their children.

Trade, even though it promised to be very small, posed an embarrassing problem to the Moravians, since it could clash so easily with their spiritual objectives. Yet they needed its support because they were not paid government employees, like the Lutherans in Greenland, but dependent on voluntary contributions; and a trade that supplied the stone-age savages with the guns, metal tools, and other European products they now demanded, and indeed required, might also cover the expenses of the mission. They therefore requested—and the British government, dedicated to free enterprise and preoccupied with more serious problems, readily granted them—large land concessions in northern Labrador which would protect them from white interlopers, they hoped, and assure them a monopoly of the region's trade. On each of these concessions they quickly built a little church and, alongside it, a trading store, which effectively checked the Eskimos in their neighbourhood from wandering south to Hamilton Inlet and beyond, where unscrupulous private

traders might have cheated them and demoralized them with alcohol. The missionaries knew that their sect lacked the capital to underpin their trade, and that neither the British government nor any other would come to their rescue and absorb their financial losses. But they possessed faith: and down to the First World War neither their mission nor their trade lapsed into bankruptcy, partly because they accepted the region as their permanent home and identified their interests with those of their converts, and partly because the hosts of European immigrants who were populating the American continent by-passed northern Labrador's ice-bound coast, and only the mission's supporters in the outside world gave any thought to the region until the twentieth century. It attests the sincerity and zeal of the Moravians that during their long isolation, when they were the real though not the legal rulers of the coast, they consistently placed the welfare of the Eskimos above every other consideration even when they themselves were financially hard-pressed.

Northern Labrador's isolation began to break down in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Newfoundland fishing fleet worked the inshore waters as far as Cape Chidley, and land fishermen, creeping farther and farther up the coast, built cabins in numerous sheltered coves not far from the Moravian missions. Many settlers attended mission services given for their benefit in English,[1] married mission-trained Eskimo women who were devout Christians able to read and write their own language, and enrolled their mixed-blood children in the missionaries' schools. Thus the entire coast became a melting-pot in which it was no longer easy to separate native from white. Other outsiders then pressed in to challenge the Moravians' trade monopoly and rule, which began to crack when the aggressive Hudson's Bay Company set up trading establishments north and south of them,[2] and the captains of a few fishing schooners—only a few, happily—audaciously lubricated barter with rum right under the windows of the missions.

Despite these pressures the mixed Eskimo-settler society that was springing up stood unshaken on the moral and religious foundations the Moravians had built beneath it. By 1900, 90 per cent of the population was literate, even if poorly educated from a modern standpoint; peace and order reigned everywhere; and crime was virtually unknown, although, as in contemporary Greenland, not a single village saw a policeman until the very end of the nineteenth century (in Greenland, indeed, not until after the Second World War), and Newfoundland could provide no jail nearer than the penal building in St. John's.

We are tempted to congratulate the Moravians on their good fortune in escaping the intrusion of any rival sect to proselytize their converts, as they themselves had invaded the domain of the Lutherans in Greenland. In large measure, however, it was their own foresightedness which gave them that immunity. Their leaders had reached an informal agreement with the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches operating in Canada that their mission would refrain from crossing the Canada-Newfoundland boundary and establishing any missions in Quebec if the other two sects refrained from invading the Moravians' Eskimo field in Labrador. That sensible arrangement has endured

[1]Down to the twentieth century the Moravian missionaries were recruited in Europe, spoke German as their mother tongue and preached to the natives in Eskimo.

[2]In 1925 the Moravians leased their trading rights, their stores, and their wharfing facilities to the Hudson's Bay Company for twenty-one years.

to the present day, though the Roman Catholic church recently built a chapel in Northwest River, and another in Davis Inlet, to serve two large groups of Indian converts who had abandoned their old hunting-grounds in the interior of the Labrador Peninsula and settled permanently on the coast. Now that mining and hydro-electric activities are peopling the hinterland on both sides of the Quebec-Labrador boundary, and daily aircraft services link Goose Bay in Hamilton Inlet with the rest of Canada, northern Labrador is in a state of flux. Fortunately, its inhabitants have become relatively mature, and probably no longer need any special agreement to protect them from the unseemly strife of discordant sects which still plagues the arctic regions of both Canada and Alaska.

Our twentieth century has weakened the authority of the Moravians in northern Labrador and given their mission the status of a conventional church. The century's first quarter brought motor-boats and aircraft, which revolutionized transportation and encouraged more white men to settle on the coast and explore the interior. It brought, too, a temporary boom in the fur trade which diverted the Eskimos from seal-hunting and cod-fishing to the trapping of foxes, mink, and other fur-bearers; and this made them more dependent than ever on the outside world. Then in 1934, at the height of a world-wide economic depression, Newfoundland's government assumed responsibility for law and order throughout its Labrador annex and, following the example of Canada, stationed two policemen north of Hamilton Inlet to enforce the peace. It quickly discovered, however, as did Canada later, that the north needed agencies more constructive than police to combat the economic distress that had followed the sudden collapse of the fur market, and to reduce the shocking death-toll levied by tuberculosis and other invading diseases.

After the economic depression came the Second World War and the cold war, when military and paramilitary activities convulsed both Hamilton Inlet and the coastline north and south of it. They drew Labrador closer to Newfoundland and increased its importance as a link between that island and a booming Quebec. The continued weakness of the world's fur market almost obliterated the trapping which had become northern Labrador's major industry, and the Hudson's Bay Company closed its posts, throwing on the shoulders of the government the whole burden of trade and supply which it had taken over from the Moravians. In partial compensation a strong demand for wage labour began to sweep the coast and to offer the inhabitants a new resource just when it was most needed.

This new resource brought into sharp focus the future of northern Labrador's Eskimos, and the role their Moravian mentors would play in that future. The latter had given the region peace and tranquillity, had led its once savage inhabitants into civilization's fold and shielded them, as far as was humanly possible, from civilization's ills. They had done their work well, and their wards, the best-educated people along the whole Labrador coast, in the opinion of Sir Wilfred Grenfell, were taking their place alongside other Newfoundlanders in all the new activities that were agitating their land. The missionaries had supplied its educational and other secular needs for nearly two centuries; but that task had now outgrown their capacity. It was time to pass it over to stronger hands and to concentrate on what had always been their main preoccupation, the spiritual welfare of their "flock in the snows".

The problem of the Moravian mission's future role lies outside the scope of our enquiry. Its parent, the Moravian Church in Europe, emerged as a protest against the religious environment of its day, from a dissatisfaction with the existing establishments such as had evoked the Franciscan Order five hundred years earlier, and, earlier still, Christianity itself. Even religions conform to nature's law that all things must change, all things must re-adapt themselves whenever their environments change. Labrador's Moravian mission is now re-adapting itself to present-day conditions, but its more distant future lies hidden in the fog which conceals the future of every existing branch of the Christian faith.

Newfoundland's government took over the helm of the mission's administrative ship and piloted the vessel into a safe harbour. At the war's end, when the colony negotiated with Canada the terms under which it would enter Confederation, it failed to clarify the status its Eskimos would receive under the new dispensation. Canada had classified her own Eskimos as Indians and was ruling them through a special branch of the Dominion government in Ottawa, whether they lived in northern Quebec or in the delta of the Mackenzie River. Was she to classify as Indians also their cousins in northern Labrador?

Newfoundland flatly rejected that solution a year or two later when the question came up for consideration. The majority of northern Labrador's population, she declared, was of European or part-European descent. Even individuals who possessed the features of Eskimos and spoke the Eskimo language had lost all vestige of the old Eskimo culture and were as European in outlook as their neighbours. There were in fact no real Eskimos in Labrador or, if there were, Newfoundland's officials had been unable to distinguish them from the rest of the population. All that region's inhabitants, whatever their appearance or speech, were citizens of Newfoundland; and if Newfoundland was to become a loyal province of Canada they should not be downgraded into second-class or third-class citizens of the Dominion, but enjoy the same constitutional status as the inhabitants of Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver.

Newfoundland won her case. Today the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Labrador's stone-age Eskimos who, in the words of an early explorer, lived

> "in Caves of the earth . . . even as the bears and other wild beastes do",

are proudly marching in the ranks of Canada's citizen army towards its unknowable future. Constitutionally there are no Eskimos in Newfoundland's Labrador, although several hundred individuals use the Eskimo language in their everyday life. Some still encounter an unreasoning prejudice strong enough to discourage them from venturing into untried environments or mingling with Canadian citizens outside their present home. This, however, is no longer a racial prejudice, but rather a social snobbery akin to the indifference and scorn of some affluent white citizens for the very poor, of some college graduates for semi-literates, and of some skilled workmen for ignorant labourers. It is a social disorder deeply seated in human nature everywhere, even in countries which are racially homogeneous.

Our brief summary reveals that the post-European history of Labrador's Eskimos closely parallels that of the Greenlanders. In both countries it was a missionary organization, Moravian in Labrador and Lutheran in Greenland,

which in the eighteenth century undertook to civilize the primitive aborigines and bring them within the orbit of western Europe. Both missions accepted the current European belief that the Eskimos were a lower order of human beings, as inferior to whites as the black-skinned natives of Africa and the yellow-skinned peoples of farther Asia; and both discarded that belief a century later, although it still survives among an astonishing number of whites in North America. The Moravians, being for many years the only Europeans in northern Labrador, were able to impose a benevolent theocracy which guided the Eskimos' activities and monopolized all their trade; but in Greenland the Danish government monopolized the trade, and the government's trading officials exercized more authority than its Lutheran mission. That mission, nevertheless, retained one key portfolio, education, and from the earliest days deliberately trained Greenland's Eskimos to teach the next generation of their countrymen, sending many of them to Denmark to receive the same instruction as Danish clergy, school-teachers, and artisans; and it was these well-educated Greenlanders, rather than their European tutors, who captained the march of the islanders from savagery to civilization. The Moravians never attempted any program of similar scope in Labrador, partly because they lacked the financial resources, and partly because they were dealing with a very much smaller population which they felt they could captain themselves. Between their Eskimo converts and the kindly white fisher-folk who settled around them they recognized no distinction except that of language, but taught to both the same lessons, whether based on the Bible or on school textbooks; and it was with the aid of these fisher-folk that they steered the Eskimos towards complete integration. So northern Labrador and Greenland came of age contemporaneously at the end of the Second World War. The inhabitants of the former, some of whom still call themselves Eskimos, are citizens of Canada; those of the latter, who speak the Eskimo language but prefer to be known as Greenlanders, citizens of Denmark. Both are now integrated into larger communities, and both are beginning to seek larger responsibilities and undertake larger tasks. What is perhaps even more significant, both have retained the courage and cheerfulness of their ancestors and face the future without apprehension. Civilization has softened the rigours of their lives without destroying their independence or robbing them of happiness.

Canada

White explorers, whalers, traders, and missionaries encountered Canada's Eskimos long before the country's government noticed their existence or acknowledged any responsibility for their fate. Ottawa viewed its Arctic as remote and valueless. It discounted the region's fur trade because that had been the prerogative of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1670, and it brushed aside the Eskimos as an inferior people who had always formed part of the region's fauna, and always would. The company's traders, and the missionaries who were spreading the Christian faith, could teach them all they needed to know about the white man's civilization; and both the missionaries and Ottawa's own moralists counselled the government to disturb them as little as possible because, like their muskoxen, they were happier isolated from the outer world, living their own primitive life.

Down to the twentieth century, therefore, Canada deliberately turned her eyes away from the Arctic and allowed events there to run their course unhindered. Only a threat to her sovereignty over the islands fringing her far-northern mainland could rouse her from her lethargy. It was that threat and not, as in Greenland, any concern for the Eskimos, which in 1903 provoked her to set up an arctic administration.

She inaugurated it by posting notices on a few headlands in the Eastern Arctic proclaiming that she was enforcing her sovereignty over her far north, and warning all foreign vessels entering its waters that they were subject to custom's control. To put teeth into the notices she stationed police detachments in two strategic locations frequented by foreign whaling ships, one on the northern coast of Hudson Bay and the other on Herschel Island, off the mouth of the Mackenzie River in the Western Arctic. During the two decades that followed she added other police posts until today they stretch from one side of the Arctic to the other.

There were no long-range bombers or transcontinental missiles, of course, in the first half of the twentieth century, and the protection against external foes which arctic police posts provided was purely psychological. However, the government found a practical use for them: they could introduce the reign of law, Canadian law, among the primitive Eskimos, a people who spoke no language except one that was unintelligible to outsiders, had never known a ruler nor heard of any laws save the unwritten customs of their forefathers. Accordingly, from the beginning of the century the laws of Canada prevailed throughout the Canadian Arctic, and Eskimos who offended them could be—and were—arrested by white police, tried by white judges, and subjected to penalties not intelligible to them, all with that perfect legality which salves the most tender conscience.[1]

There is no indication that before she set up this police administration in her far north Canada had glanced next door at Alaska, whose Eskimo region had just received its first resident law-enforcement officer, a judge backed by soldiers to keep peace, not in the native settlements but among the unruly white miners at Nome; no hint either that she had studied the situation in neighbouring Greenland, where neither the natives nor their Danish rulers saw any need for a police force until after the Second World War. As early as the eighteenth century, indeed, Denmark had realized that a legal code built up over long years to fit the requirements of a very complex society was totally

[1]In 1924 two Eskimos were hanged for murder, although neither had seen a white man until ten years earlier and one was a youth only 17 years of age. This case must not be considered typical of Canadian justice, but a more recent one highlights the danger of judging by modern laws people not fully integrated into modern civilization. During the Second World War an Indian living on the north shore of Lake Huron was arrested and tried for shooting a fellow-Indian, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. The judge's files were referred to the Indian Affairs Branch of the federal government in Ottawa, which immediately appealed the sentence on the ground that while in law it might be just, in equity it was exceedingly unjust. The murderer, educated as an Indian and not as a white man, had shot his victim in honest self-defence, believing that the man was a witch-doctor who was attempting to kill his wife and himself by haunting their home night after night in the shape of a were-wolf. So long as Canada kept her Indians in wardship and failed to teach them the culture which lay behind her criminal code, declared the Branch's officials, she had no right to apply to them the code's full rigours. The government then commuted the sentence to two year's imprisonment.

unsuitable for a people who knew no way of checking violence except the blood feud, and who lacked any conception of real estate or the individual ownership of any object apart from home-made clothing and tools. She therefore forbade any blind application of the Danish legal code and its penalties, but placed on the local Danish administrator the onus of determining the appropriate punishment for any wrong-doing. Then, early in the twentieth century, she established mixed courts of Greenlanders and Danes to settle disputes and punish offenders; and she decreed that the senior Danish official in the region should preside at all important trials and consult, not the Danish Code alone, but a corpus of Greenland customary law, compiled and published on the initiative of Hinrik Rink, which recorded the judgements reached in earlier cases. Still later, when Greenland became a province of Denmark, a legal committee drew up a special Greenland Criminal Code, identical with the Danish one except in certain penalties, which it modified to suit the arctic island's geographical conditions and historical development. This new code, we may note in passing, does not include the death penalty, which has never been pronounced in Greenland, and in Denmark was abolished many years ago.

Canada's police faithfully imposed the reign of Canada's law on her Arctic, enforced the game regulations, searched for lost persons, conducted censuses, and performed a hundred other miscellaneous duties; but their rule was sterile, as police rule always must be because it cannot change or initiate policy, but merely enforce a policy laid down by others. The tasks that needed to be done, the education and training of the Eskimos and the care of their health, the government abandoned to the missionaries because it was easier and more economical; but the missionaries, dependent on voluntary contributions and lacking both the funds and the staff to carry out those tasks efficiently, provided kindergarten instruction only and completely failed to check the ravages of European-introduced diseases. So the Arctic stagnated. And the fault lay in Ottawa, where the government, though overly jealous of its sovereignty in the region, could not decide what it should do with it, or with the Eskimos who inhabited it. Its northern administration drifted without a goal, and the police it stationed throughout the north could do no more than try to maintain the *status quo*.

Inactivity brings its own nemesis. While the government idly drifted, the fur trade collapsed, dragging in its fall the only pillars that were holding up the Eskimo's economy. Destitution and hunger stalked the Arctic, and Ottawa could see no remedy except unending relief.

The Second World War, and the cold war which succeeded it, convulsed Canada's far north as it did Labrador and Greenland. It bared to the world the ineptitude of her administration and the degradation of her Eskimos, many of whom it dragged out of their isolation and caught up in its turmoil. In some localities the building of airfields and radar stations temporarily relieved the economic distress by creating a market for unskilled labour, but when the construction phase ended and the unskilled workers were discharged the distress returned and seemed less endurable than before. About seventy Eskimos found employment at a nickel mine which opened on the west coast of Hudson Bay;

they too lost their jobs a few years later when the ore body petered out and the mine had to close down. Meanwhile Canada's northern administration had emerged from its hibernation and was attempting to buoy up the sagging economy by promoting char fisheries, handicrafts, and other small enterprises; but those much advertised projects yielded only a negligible income, and the Arctic's relief rolls grew longer and longer.

Yet the picture was not all dark. The war had stirred the government into activity and forced it to take into its own hands the tasks of health and education which for fifty years it had shuffled off on the missionaries. It joined Denmark, Newfoundland, and the United States in organizing a vigorous health campaign against the tuberculosis and infant diseases which were rampant throughout the whole north. Year after year it sent ships and aircraft into every accessible settlement to X-ray and immunize the inhabitants, and to transport to southern Canada every Eskimo who needed treatment and care in a modern sanatorium; and at strategic locations along the arctic coast it planted small but well-equipped nursing stations to provide medical assistance during every month of the year. Equally vigorous was its educational program. From the Canadian-Alaskan to the Canadian-Newfoundland boundary it built attractive schools and comfortable homes for the teachers wherever the size of the population warranted them; and at Inuvik in the Mackenzie River delta it established a large boarding-school capable of accommodating 500 pupils and of educating them up to matriculation standard. It attempted also to introduce vocational training, and provided instruction in carpentry, plumbing, motor-mechanics, and other trades. At the present time, unfortunately, there is little demand for these skills in the Arctic, where the mineral resources still await exploitation and virtually the only employer is the Canadian government. So most of the vocational trainees must either forget what they have learned and drift back to their hunting, fishing, and trapping, or seek work somewhere in the south; and for the latter they still lack sufficient knowledge of the English (or French) language and adequate training in their special skills. Greenland's trainees pass the same journeymen's examinations as Danes, and are qualified to practise their trades either in their homeland or in Denmark; but Canada must greatly improve both the formal education and the vocational training of her Eskimos before they can enter her skilled labour market, and become integrated into her national life.

Since the early post-war years Ottawa has spared neither money nor effort to expand her northern health and educational programs, and to discover ways and means of making them more efficient. She has flooded the Arctic with white administrators, school-teachers, doctors, nurses, and welfare officers, all committed to raise the Eskimos' cultural level and improve their standard of living; but progress has been disturbingly slow, and nearly twenty years of effort have aggravated her problems rather than solved them. To be sure, she has arrested the decline in the population, which is now growing at the very high rate of about 4 per cent annually; and she has increased the number of primary-school children entering high school, though as yet very few have reached matriculation level. But the economic situation is worsening steadily because there are more mouths to feed and less wage-employment; and the universal indigence is sky-rocketing the government's relief expenditures and sapping the courage and energy of the Eskimos themselves.

Why have the government's strenuous efforts in recent years proved so ineffectual? Why has the situation deteriorated rather than improved?

One reason, of course, is the want of exploitable resources now that the fur trade has collapsed and military activities no longer offer an alternative livelihood; for the Eskimos lack both the knowledge and the capital to work mineral deposits, or to extract and market the oil and gas which may underlie certain regions of the Arctic. Canada's northern waters are too cold and barren to attract the shoals of cod which have banished famine from Greenland and brought its inhabitants a steady income; and nowhere in her Arctic has man discovered other fish or mammals plentiful enough to abolish hunger for more than a few weeks, or to pay for the food, clothing, guns and other goods which the Eskimos must import if they are to survive. Government officials reported this to Ottawa before the Second World War; but their superiors shut their eyes to the complex problem because they could see no way of solving it. The war and its aftermath then deposited it right on their doorstep.

There is a second reason, however, why Canada has grievously fumbled in her Arctic. She has never faced its problems squarely, never set forth any clear statement of her aims in that region or coordinated her numerous programs to ensure their working in harmony. Her policy-makers have never defined the role that the Eskimos might play in Canada's future, the contribution they could make to her development; and although they have spent millions of dollars since the Second World War on Eskimo education and health, and on attempts to rebuild the Arctic's shattered economy through reindeer-herding, char-fishing, handicrafts, relocation of settlements and other projects, they have failed to draft any over-all plans such as both Denmark and the Soviet Union have drawn up and implemented in their arctic regions. Lacking such plans their agencies have operated blindly and independently, setting their sights on limited objectives and frequently working at cross purposes.[1] A general does not send disabled soldiers back into the line save in a grave emergency; yet after Canada's health department, at great expense and trouble, had transported hundreds of tuberculous Eskimos to southern sanatoria and given them the best care its doctors could provide, it saw its work undone when the convalescents were returned to arctic homes and an arctic life for which they were no longer fit.

This was not an isolated blunder, not a mere accident. When Canada began to construct her line of schools and nursing stations across the far north no one knew—and no one knows today—whether she planned to keep her Eskimos segregated in the Arctic and Subarctic and to train them only in those skills and techniques which would enable them to help white Canadians administer and exploit that region, or whether she intended them to become first-class citizens, enjoying all the rights and privileges of other citizens and acquiring, in southern Canada whenever necessary, skills that they could freely exercise anywhere in the Dominion. No competent general will undertake a campaign without clearly defining his objectives, and briefing his principal field officers so that they can coordinate the movements of their forces and support one another; yet Canada's

[1] Cf. the remarks of a Canadian official in 1950, and of a Danish administrator who visited Canada's Eastern Arctic in 1952, concerning the lack of any over-all plan in Canada's Arctic and the absence there of any coordination among her various agencies (Jenness, 1964, pp. 90–1).

policy-makers have sent scores of teachers into the Arctic to educate and train the Eskimos for tasks that have never been specified, and they have poured out their wealth to lower a high Eskimo death-rate and increase a crop of babies whom the workless, destitute parents cannot raise without the aid of heavy doles.

Denmark realized over a century ago that a ship without a compass is likely to crash upon a reef, and whenever she was uncertain what course to pursue with her Greenlanders she appointed a non-political committee of her most highly qualified citizens to investigate conditions and advise her. What is more, she weighed their advice carefully, and rarely failed to accept and implement it (cf. p. 18). But between Greenland and Canada's Baffin Island stretches the 250-mile-wide Davis Strait, and across that body of water no word of Denmark's policy reached Canada, or if it did, the latter paid no heed.

Today she is paying the price of her pre-war governments' negligence and incompetence. Recently, too, she has aggravated her arctic problems by effecting a swift break-through on the health front, but only a very slow advance on the educational one.[1] At the beginning of the Second World War her Eskimo population numbered only about 8,000; today (1966), through the work of the government's health department, that figure has risen to about 13,000, and each year sees it increase by 400 or 500. Naturally it costs far more to feed and educate 13,000 than it does 8,000, especially when most of the 13,000 lack regular employment and must be supported by the public purse; and with the rapidly increasing population it will cost twice as much ten years hence, unless arctic conditions undergo a major change. Yet at this moment Canada's industries are loudly complaining that their expansion is being crippled by a dearth of skilled labour, and the government's immigration department is trying to lure thousands of trained workers from foreign countries to supply their need. Why should not other government departments, and industry too, train not only Canada's ill-educated whites, but her impoverished Eskimos and Indians, just as Denmark trains her Greenlanders, and the Soviet Union her Eskimos and other natives living on the Siberian side of the Bering Sea?

The chief obstacle to so logical a policy has been the Canadian government, which in this respect has merely reflected the outlook of the mass of the Canadian people. In the United Nations Canada has presented the image of a Knight Errant, a champion of undeveloped and oppressed peoples and a builder of international peace and goodwill; but within the Dominion, half-hidden from the world's view, she has shown a different face. There she has secluded most of her Indians on out-of-sight reservations[2] and confined her Eskimos to the Arctic, refusing to invite either race to unite with her in developing the common homeland, but clinging irrationally to the pre-Darwinian myth of the white man's superiority. Time works curious changes, and our modern age, which has learned to put new wine into old bottles, often gives old titles new interpretations. The citizenship which ennobled Paul the Apostle and other

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[1]The *Atlantic* (Jan. 1966, p. 10) quotes this remark by Francis Keppel, ex-Dean of the Harvard School of Education and today a leading figure in the United States' anti-poverty campaign: "Improvement of education is the first step in any successful fight against poverty and discrimination, as well as the basic support for a growing economy".

[2]This policy is now fast changing.

foreign subjects of Rome in the days of Augustus Caesar now entitles Canada's destitute Eskimos to *Family Allowances!*

At this moment the Dominion stands at a cross-road, confused by counsellors who offer her conflicting advice. One group, a pragmatic one, urges her to cast aside all racial prejudice and to provide the descendants of her aboriginal peoples, now partly white through racial intermarriage, with educational and employment opportunities equal to those of her citizens of European origin. But another more romantic group counsels her to keep the Eskimos in the Arctic living "off the country" (so far as that is still possible), preserving their own language and maintaining whatever they wish of their pristine way of life. They were contented and happy before the white man came, say this group; why drag them into a civilization for which they are totally unfit?

Observation of Indian reservations in southern Canada should have taught the romanticists both the impossibility and the futility of any isolation policy. It has not helped either Indians or Eskimos to preserve their earlier mode of life: that was lost beyond recovery. Nor has it made them more contented; on the contrary, they have become more depressed and dissatisfied. Whatever idealists may dream, serpents and sin have lurked in every earthly Eden from the beginning of recorded time. Even in the remote north famines, strife, and murder haunted the Eskimos both before and after the coming of the white man: in one district alone, just half a century ago, Eskimo parents deliberately killed five newly-born babies during a severe but not abnormal winter. Our civilization has brought many evils to the Canadian Arctic, as it has to other regions; and it has brought also some blessings, not the least being greater security from recurrent famines, and a religious faith more comforting than the aboriginal belief in malicious demons and witchcraft. But whether the coming day promises good or evil man can never make the sun stand still: he cannot stop the flow of history. In his 1965 Massey lectures at the University of Toronto the well-known Harvard economist and ex-ambassador to India, J. K. Galbraith, recalled a visit he once made to the small Himalayan state of Bhutan. He returned from the trip, he said, fervently praying that our mechanized western civilization might never force its phrenetic turmoil and strife on that secluded and peaceful state. In his heart he knew that the wish was vain, but the prayer rose to his lips notwithstanding.

Canada has halted at a cross-road, but she cannot linger there. Unwittingly she chose her route at the end of the recent world war, when she sent an army of doctors and nurses into the Arctic to fight the ravages of diseases and reduce the extremely high mortality rate. Their efforts are causing its population to grow much faster than southern Canada's; and unless the next two decades produce so strong a demand for arctic labour as to offer the Eskimos a secure livelihood, the government may soon be called upon to feed and clothe not 13,000 only, but 25,000. And how long will the country's tax-payers endure that unwelcome burden if it promises no ending?

We observed a page or two earlier that modern Greenland has obtained through her cod-fishing an economic base capable of supporting her rising population for an indefinite period to come, but that Canada's Arctic possesses no equivalent resource except perhaps minerals, whose exploitation the Eskimos can aid but not initiate without long training and experience. Only education

and training, indeed, can unlock the door to their rehabilitation, but hitherto segregation and racial prejudice have blocked that door and discouraged any ambitions the Eskimos may have nurtured when they saw all the fine schools the government was erecting for their benefit. In Canada's far north today neither the children nor their parents display the eagerness for learning so noticeable in Greenland, because what their schools are teaching them bears so little relation to their present life; and they can see no other life ahead of them. Yet Eskimo boys and girls educated alongside white children in Montreal or Ottawa have learned very quickly to keep pace with their class-mates. They fall behind only in that general background of useful knowledge and its associated vocabulary which white children absorb from infancy—in that half unconscious intimacy with the details of life around them, the woods and the fields, cattle and sheep, rumbling trains, honking motor-cars, neon lights that turn night into day, and jostling crowds of people hurrying along narrow streets where lofty buildings almost block out the sky. The Eskimo who lacks this general background of knowledge, who has never experienced the sights and sounds of an industrial-commercial-agricultural society, cannot understand the southern textbooks which have been used in arctic schools, or acquire that wide familiarity with the English (or French) language without which he cannot work his way through technical school or college and become a doctor, an engineer, or a professional in any other field. Canada's northern education, if it is to become really effective, must provide every Eskimo boy with the opportunity for post-primary education in southern Canada, and for the training that is available there to white children, so that he may qualify for steady employment anywhere in the Dominion. Greenland has known such a policy for a hundred years, and has now produced a substantial body of bilingual professionals and technicians who can find employment in Europe almost as readily as in their native land. Canada possesses the means for a similar program, but has scarcely taken the first hesitating steps; and not unless she brushes aside every trace of racial prejudice will she achieve the same success.

Integration with other citizens of the Dominion is the only goal possible for Canada's Eskimos. They cannot revert to the life of their forefathers, for not only have they lost the old hunting skills, but game has become much scarcer, and the number of mouths to be fed much greater. Should Canada attempt to keep them isolated as they are today—the advice some romanticists prefer—she would be treating them as she has treated her buffalo, confining them to a zoological park where officials could check any embarrassing increase in numbers by the well-tried methods farmers apply to their cattle. It was the Canadian people and their governments who made the Eskimos a bewildered and depressed people, unsure of themselves and unsure of their future. Surely her vaunted civilization can offer them something better than confinement in a zoo!

Future historians may be tempted to seek a deeper reason for the Dominion's blunders with her Eskimo and Indian minorities. She was a part of a New World, they may say, a young world of short history and immense resources which dazzled her eyes with material riches and clogged her mind with material values. She slanted her educational system to exploit her material wealth, to raise larger and larger crops, produce more motor-cars, and manufacture more radios and television sets, forgetting that with the growth of

science and automation the working days of her citizens would become shorter and shorter, their hours of leisure more numerous, and their average span of life lengthened until their "post-productive" years, as she foolishly calls their retirement periods, would almost equal those of their youth. Her schools taught children to sacrifice everything for success, and measured success in material terms—in the bigness of a man's home, the newness of his motor-car, and the size of his credit at the neighbourhood bank, things which neither enrich the mind nor bring peace and contentment. Everything that obstructed or delayed the attainment of that success she pushed to one side, and among them her aboriginal population, which survived only by picking up the crumbs from her overladen tables. The exposure of this policy during the Second World War, and the fear that it might damage Canada's international prestige, belatedly aroused the nation's leaders, who hastily improvised a program for Eskimo rehabilitation.

That program has started with an excellent system of medical care and the framework for a good educational organization; but what will follow depends on policy decisions still to be made in Ottawa's council-chambers. Those decisions should no longer be shuffled off upon police commissioners, deputy-ministers, and other civil servants, but worked out and proclaimed by the prime minister himself and his cabinet, who are answerable to parliament and the people of Canada for the welfare of all Canadian citizens, whether they be Newfoundland fishermen of English origin, French-Canadian settlers around Lake St. John, prairie wheat-farmers of Ukrainian descent, Indian aborigines or Japanese immigrants in British Columbia, or the Eskimos of Canada's Arctic.

Alaska

For about fifteen years after she purchased Alaska from Russia the United States gave little thought to her new possession. True, she sent a revenue steamer each summer to the Bering Sea, and the Arctic Ocean beyond that sea, to enforce law and order on the crews of the whaling vessels which frequented the region and on the Eskimos whose settlements dotted its shores. The revenue steamer provided emergency medical care to both whites and natives, charted the coastline, and carried out a few scientific observations. But it was a summer visitor only: with the ducks and the geese it headed south before the first snowfall to escape the deep freeze which for the next eight months would sever the region from the outer world, and its departure carried with it all vestiges of a sovereign power. The United States had coveted Alaska for strategic reasons, but a large and influential section of its public could see no value in a remote territory that straddled the Arctic Circle. It is a barren waste, they protested, strategically unimportant and economically worthless. Forget Seward's Folly. Why throw good money after bad?

So Washington tried to forget the territory. But the whale fishery continued to flourish in northern Alaska, several nations battled over its fur-seal industry, the salmon-canning industry spread rapidly around the North Pacific rim and into the Bering Sea, prospectors discovered minerals in the panhandle, and zealous missionary societies whose operations embraced the whole uncivilized world gained foot-holds at various points along the coast. All these

activities kept the region in the public eye and at last compelled Washington to set up a formal government. The First Organic Act, passed by Congress in 1884, empowered the President to appoint for the territory a governor, a judge, a marshall, and several junior officials, decreed that Sitka should be the seat of a government which would enforce the laws of the State of Oregon so far as they were applicable, and directed the Secretary of the Interior to provide instruction for all Alaskan children without reference to race, pending the setting up of a permanent educational organization.

The American Civil War had ended only nineteen years before, and the United States had abolished slavery from her lands. A century earlier Denmark had undertaken to civilize the savage Eskimos of Greenland, and the Moravian Mission to perform the same task among the equally savage inhabitants of Newfoundland's Labrador coast. Those early New World apostles of Christianity and European civilization, we noted, considered the white race superior to every other, and themselves the chosen instruments of Divine Power in bringing the Christian gospel to some of the world's less fortunate peoples. After their time, however, other Europeans began to explore the far corners of the earth and the depths of the heavens, and with their larger horizons seriously discredited that comforting doctrine. By the late nineteenth century, indeed, the white and some of the coloured races were uniting in brotherhood again, at least theoretically, and the two American continents were melting-pots for peoples from both the Old World and the New, although the United States still segregated her Africans socially, and held many of her Indians closeted on out-of-sight reservations, where they have troubled her conscience down to the present day. Eighty years ago her leaders already harboured a sense of guilt for their plight, and had decided never to repeat in Alaska the mistake their predecessors had made in the south; never to convert the territory's Eskimos and Indians into problem citizens, but to absorb them swiftly and painlessly into her social and economic life. The First Organic Act and the measures which flowed from it clearly enunciated that goal, and also outlined some of the principles which, in the judgement of the Secretary of State and his advisers, should govern the territory's administration.

Washington firmly believed that education could open the gate to absorption in the national life, and that in Alaska, as in the United States, education should be a function of the government, not of any church or missionary organization, although the government should not hesitate to employ missionaries whenever it appeared desirable. This was its first point of divergence from the policy Denmark had pursued in Greenland. It insisted, furthermore, that there should be no effort to preserve the aboriginal way of life, no attempt to segregate Alaska's Indians and Eskimos on special reservations and provide them with separate schools. They and all white children in their neighbourhood (wherever there were any) should attend the same government schools and use the same textbooks; and all children should be instructed in English, not in any native tongue. This last regulation too contravened Denmark's contemporary policy in Greenland, and blazed a new path which Canada was to follow at a later date.

In compliance with Congress' directions the Secretary of the Interior created a new organization, the Bureau of Education for Alaska, and appointed

to superintend it a very energetic and able administrator, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, previously the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Missions. Within six years Jackson had established no fewer than sixteen schools at strategic places along the Alaskan coast, and was actively supporting nine missionary schools in localities where he was unable for the moment to set up government ones. During the following two or three years he completely laicized education in the territory by taking over virtually all the missionary establishments, and at the century's end was operating a continuous chain of classrooms from Point Barrow on the arctic coast to the southern tip of the panhandle. He imbued the teachers who staffed them with some of his own missionary fervour, added to their educational duties a responsibility for Eskimo welfare, and charged them with the task of weaning both children and parents from their old primitive customs to a full acceptance of the "American way of life". With the help of his dedicated teachers he imported domesticated reindeer from eastern Siberia to replace the vanishing sea mammals which had supplied much of the food and most of the clothing in aboriginal days, and through this statesmanly act created a livestock industry which underpinned the Eskimos' rather shaky economy for the next half-century. With his teachers' cooperation, too, he protected the native trappers from the exploitation of white fur-traders by arranging that a United States post office be stationed alongside every government school, and by encouraging the Eskimos to mail their furs to the office of his bureau in Seattle, which would sell them free of charge on the city's fur-market and relay the full proceeds to its clients, either in money or, if requested, in goods of equivalent value. He knew that the trade monopoly Denmark was enforcing in Greenland gave greater protection than his own expedient; but he knew also that Alaska's long and easily accessible coastline would render a similar monopoly very costly and perhaps impracticable; also that the United States public was far too enamoured of free enterprise to sanction any restraint of that nature.

Economic and social conditions began to change at the end of the nineteenth century, when the whaling industry collapsed and a gold rush flooded northern Alaska with an army of white miners, prospectors, and other adventurers, including numerous women. The majority, of course, were men, many of whom, unable to obtain wives of their own race, married or formed liaisons with native women and brought up their half-breed children as whites. Now the First Organic Act had decreed that the territory's white, native, and mixed-blood children should all be educated together; but Washington had neglected to supply adequate funds for an efficient educational system, and did not realize how intolerant whites can be when a primitive people for whom they are responsible fails to leap into modernity at one bound. Because the general backwardness of the native and half-breed children attending Alaska's new schools handicapped the progress of their white classmates, the latters' parents became impatient and demanded separate schools for their own children, and for the English-speaking children of mixed blood whose parents had adopted the ways of whites. Congress sanctioned the fatal change in 1905 while Jackson still held office, and from that time to the present day Alaska has been operating two educational systems side by side—one, for Eskimo children only, controlled by the federal government, the other, for white children and

children whose parents have become assimilated, under the control of the territorial authorities.[1] From that time, too, the blind prejudices that are always intensified by school segregation, whether that segregation rests on racial, religious, or other grounds, gravely blocked social and economic collaboration between Eskimos and whites, and obstructed that gradual integration of the Eskimos which Alaska's first administrators laid down as education's main goal. It was largely owing to racial intolerance that the numerous white settlements which sprang up in northern Alaska during the early decades of the twentieth century attracted only a few Eskimos, who lived aloof on the outskirts of the settlements and struggled to scratch out a meagre livelihood by casual wage-employment. Most of the natives lingered in their villages, supporting themselves by the time-honoured pursuits of hunting, fishing, winter fur-trapping and, until the outbreak of the Second World War, reindeer-herding. Apart from the school-teacher and his family they seldom saw whites unless a trader or a missionary happened to settle in their midst, and their contacts with those two representatives of the ruling race were as superficial as with the teacher. The schools gave them an English vocabulary of 400 or 500 words. In their homes they spoke only Eskimo.

In 1908 Jackson left the government service, and his successors in Washington, lacking his energy and vision, allowed his organization to lapse into an uninspired and uninspiring bureaucracy which either lost sight of its main reason for existence, namely, to merge Alaska's Eskimos and Indians into the mass of the American people, or else deferred the attainment of that goal to a far distant future. They ceased to aim at a united population working harmoniously to develop the common homeland and promote the common weal. Instead, they spoke of a separate people in northern or "Native" Alaska, some of them reindeer-herders and caribou hunters wandering through the interior of the territory, others seal-hunters and trappers along its shores, but all alike contributors of meat and furs to Alaska's economy in exchange for necessities and luxuries from the United States. Until the fourth decade of the century it never occurred to these administrators that herds of reindeer, badly managed, could dissolve into the herds of wild caribou, or overgraze their pastures and waste away from starvation, predators, and disease; that furs could suddenly slump in value until trapping almost ceased to be profitable; and that improvements in medical care could so lessen the ravages of white-introduced diseases that the Eskimo population, hitherto stationary or nearly so, would rapidly increase and outstrip the natural resources on which its livelihood depended. They assumed that in northern Alaska tomorrow would never vary from yesterday, that the land and its inhabitants were changeless, and that the education Washington's Bureau was providing the Eskimos, supplemented perhaps by some elementary vocational training, would satisfy all their present and future needs.

So the new administrators, fearful of disturbing the seeming equilibrium, only half-performed some of their designated duties. Their schools taught sufficient English to meet the requirements of village life in the far north, but not of life in an American city; not sufficient, unhappily, to qualify the Eskimos for technical schools and colleges which would give them professional skills;

[1]Independent missionary schools also existed.

and the training the administration offered in its own schools did not measure up to any recognized standard. The cooperative stores, too, which Washington promoted throughout Eskimo Alaska and buttressed with easy loans from a revolving fund, failed to accomplish their two main purposes: they neither broadened the economic base nor trained the natives in business management. They failed in this latter objective, investigators reported, because the Washington authorities who supplied the capital and the technical advice maintained too rigid a control over their operations and dampened every tendency of a native manager to act on his own initiative. Government control that may prove equally crippling broods over the fishing and handicraft cooperatives which Canada is now promoting in her Arctic, and threatens also the local councils she has encouraged there to teach the Eskimos municipal responsibilities. Hinrik Rink, Denmark's mid-century administrator in Greenland, shrewdly avoided this mistake when he created "Boards of Guardians" to function as municipal councils, welfare agencies, and junior law-courts; for he stipulated that half their members should be Greenlanders elected by their own people, and made them financially and administratively independent by allocating to them, free of all strings, a percentage of the duties on exports. A later administration restricted membership to Greenlanders alone, and as decade followed decade Denmark deliberately increased their responsibilities until by the close of the Second World War their island was ready to receive the status of a Danish province, and the West Greenlanders, who comprised more than 90 per cent of the population, had proved themselves fully qualified to administer all matters that normally lie within the competence of a province.

An unimaginative or incompetent bureaucracy can never awaken the spirit of dedication that had fired Jackson's field staff and given them the courage and strength to build solid foundations for their infant educational system. The later teachers Washington sent into northern Alaska, lured by high pay and the glamour of arctic adventure from one or other state of the union, sometimes even from the race-plagued south, could not withstand the shock of isolation among poverty-stricken, badly-housed natives who spoke an unintelligible language, ate unfamiliar foods, and lacked all knowledge of the amenities of civilized towns and villages except—let us whisper it—a Lappish card game similar to poker to which some of them had become passionately addicted.[1] Second generation teachers could enjoy the smiling, care-free faces of the children who flung their parkas on the floor of the school porch and stamped into the classroom; but the climate of their strange environment was too severe, life too dreary and lonely. More than 30 per cent of them terminated their contracts after one, or at the most two years, and hastened to catch the first boat or plane that would carry them home again.

This high turnover of teachers still plagues northern Alaska's educational system; and it cripples also the well-equipped schools with which Canada has dotted her Arctic. Hardships, and the loneliness of life in a remote Eskimo village, appear to be only one of its causes; a second, less apparent in Alaska perhaps than in Canada, is the absence of any clear goal for Eskimo education, and in consequence a lack of enthusiasm for schooling among both pupils and

[1]The Lapp herders hired by Sheldon Jackson to tend the imported reindeer had taught the game to their Eskimo apprentices, who quickly carried it to the villages.

parents. But a third and deeper cause, I suspect, lies in the kind of education the teachers themselves receive in North America's schools and colleges, which channel the idealism and enthusiasm of youth toward achievements in the scientific, engineering, and other fields that promise quick and visible results, and demotes the teaching profession from a moulder of human minds and human society to a computerizable mechanism for imparting technical skills. This virus, of course, attacks the educational systems of other continents, but it would seem especially active in North America.

The celebrated Danish explorer and Eskimo scholar Knud Rasmussen, who for two years studied Canada's Eskimos in Hudson Bay before they became acquainted with schools, then in 1923, the third year of his expedition, sledded across the top of the continent to the Bering Sea, considered the educational system in northern Alaska at that date superior to the contemporary system in his native Greenland, because in his country not more than 5 per cent of the permanent population was learning any tongue except Eskimo; and Eskimo, in addition to being unknown outside the sparsely inhabited Arctic, lacks the vocabulary and the flexibility needed for studies beyond primary school. How can Eskimo-speaking Greenlanders become truly civilized, he asked, and maintain cultural and commercial relations with the outside world, unless they learn to speak and read some more widely-used tongue? In Alaska's primary schools Eskimo children from the first grade onward are hearing and speaking no language except English, whereas in Greenland schools they are taught in their native tongue and only a few top-grade pupils learn a little Danish, too little generally to qualify them for entrance into the island's high school or to train for a professional career.

Rasmussen saw the strength of the Western Arctic's educational system, but remained in Alaska too short a time to observe its weaknesses. There and in Washington his remarks passed unnoticed, though they attracted considerable attention in Denmark, where they helped to shape the 1925 legislation which so greatly expanded the teaching of Danish in Greenland schools. In northern Alaska education underwent no significant development before the Second World War, which violently shattered the equilibrium Washington believed she had produced and disrupted not the schooling only but all other activities of the everyday life.

That war, and the Korean war which succeeded it, reached into the remotest Eskimo villages and drew hundreds of youths into their orbits, a few for front-line duties, many for home-guard duties as members of the Territorial Scouts, the majority for such paramilitary tasks as the building of airfields and the laying of oil pipe-lines. In both lines of service the neophytes acquitted themselves well. So demanding was the labour market throughout those years that Eskimo sealers abandoned their hunting gear, reindeer-keepers their herds, and buoyed with extravagant hopes marched off with their families to the military establishments to profit from steady wage-employment, mountains of food and other supplies that never diminished, and life-saving medical services available to every adult and child without charge. But the prosperity which came so suddenly disappeared just as quickly. The military forces withdrew as soon as the crisis ended, the employment market collapsed, and the bewildered natives, abandoned once more to their own resources, drifted back to their

villages to hunt, fish, and trap as in pre-war days, earning only a bare subsistence which they eked out now with government pensions and family allowances. Some few who had gained special skills either before or during the war sought summer employment in the Bristol Bay fisheries, or in distant towns such as Fairbanks and Anchorage; but the majority stagnated in their settlements, which through lack of a solid economic base or bases began to degenerate into squalid slums.

Nevertheless, the wars had planted the seeds of a genuine revolution. They had expanded the horizons of the Eskimos, increased their knowledge of the English language, and impressed on them the importance of education and training. By thrusting northern Alaska into the foreground, too, they had discredited the pessimistic prognostications of earlier strategists concerning that "barren waste", and directed attention to the services its native inhabitants had rendered in the defence of the North American continent, and might render again, perhaps, in some future emergency; for as long as jet bombers and intercontinental missiles stood poised below the horizon, the United States would certainly need a garrison of arctic experts to protect so important a flyway linking the Old World with the New. While American soldiers, then, were battling in the Aleutian Archipelago to dislodge its Japanese invaders, north of that island chain American army doctors were helping civilian authorities to clean out the nests of tuberculosis among the disease-ridden Eskimos and provide those locally-born experts with more sanitary homes; and in army camps and rest centres throughout Alaska senior officers were quietly suppressing any symptoms of racial prejudice that could damage Eskimo morale.

Alaska's natives and her white settlers presented a common front during the Japanese invasion; for colour does not sink beneath the skin, and in emergencies the most dissimilar races unite without hesitation. The common front survived the danger period, for as soon as the war ended the territorial government offered to share with Washington the responsibility for Eskimo welfare: in 1948 it welcomed two Eskimo members into its House of Representatives, members democratically elected by their own people to uphold their special interests. Then in 1958 Congress passed a bill converting the territory of Alaska into a state of the union, and authorizing it to assume all the functions of a state; and before 1960 this 49th state had enrolled the majority of Eskimo children into its non-racial schools and was preparing to take over the few schools still remaining under Washington's control. By that time federal and state governments working in unison had checked the ravages of tuberculosis and children's diseases which were keeping the Eskimo population from increasing; they had provided high-school education for all who desired it and university scholarships for students sufficiently advanced to use them; and they had buried, superficially at least, any lingering traces of racial discrimination[1]

[1]The grave they dug was too shallow, alas, and the Eskimos still have to fight discrimination. Cf. "Technical adaptation can be aided through education and training programs. But the infinitely more important and hazardous process of social and cultural adaptation requires much more, both on the part of the native and the non-native Alaskan. . . . the native must assume a new identity which means a breaking with past cultural patterns. *This task is made more difficult because, consciously or without realizing it, most white Alaskans practice some form of race discrimination and administratively the natives are treated as a race apart.*" (Rogers, 1962, p. 80). Italics are author's.

under the more transitory prejudices arising from occupational differences and economic inequalities.

So Washington's commitment in 1884 to fit "the natives of Alaska . . . for the social and industrial life of the white population of the United States and promote their not-too-distant assimilation" appears well on the road to fulfilment. Her Eskimos have advanced much farther than Canada's; they have now reached a level comparable to that of the Greenlanders before the First World War. Since that war, however, the Greenlanders, at least the 90 per cent of them who live in West Greenland, have made phenomenal progress: economically they have changed from a hunting people living precariously on sea mammals to prosperous fishermen, and politically from a colonial people with little voice in their own affairs to self-governing citizens of a Danish province. Alaska's Eskimos cannot hope to reach that high level until they take more advantage of the education and training now available to them, and can earn larger incomes to improve their present substandard living conditions and set them on an equality with Alaska's whites. What occupations will give them those larger incomes, however, poses a problem that is still baffling both the Eskimos themselves, and their administrators.

One thing appears certain. They sorely need leaders from their own ranks, not just the one or two individuals they have already thrown up, but an élite corps trained in modern skills and familiar with the day-to-day pattern of America's social and industrial life. They need this vanguard to draw them out of their semi-isolation and merge their activities and interests with those of white Alaskans. In Greenland, the reader will remember, Denmark began to create the nucleus of just such a corps as early as the mid-eighteenth century, when she set out to build a cultured native clergy to whom she could entrust the education of their fellow-countrymen (cf. p. 14). Since the end of the nineteenth century she has insisted that this clergy perfect its training in Denmark; and in Denmark also she has trained many Eskimo professional men and skilled workers, from all of whom, as well as from the clergy, she has demanded the same standards as for Danes born and brought up in Europe.

Alaska's Eskimos have lacked these opportunities until quite recently. Nearly all their teachers in the north have been short-term exiles from the United States, ignorant of the language and way of life of their pupils, and neither eager to promote their speedy assimilation nor interested in the future of Alaska itself. Comparatively few Eskimos have visited the United States: fewer still have received any higher education and training there or obtained regular employment. The authorities recently found jobs for about one hundred Eskimos in various cities of the western United States, but the experiment was only partly successful, for a very high percentage of them quickly returned to their homes. Nevertheless, it would seem worth while to repeat it, basing it less on individual workers than on small colonies of married and unmarried natives to diminish the danger of nostalgia and loneliness. It may be that such a policy, vigorously pursued for a number of years not with bureaucratic impersonality, but with the human sympathy and understanding one sometimes meets in a well-run hospital, would greatly hasten the integration of northern Alaska's still under-privileged population and at the same time ease the heavy strain on its economy.

Appendix to Chapter 1

After this report had gone to press I received from Dr. George Rogers, the economist quoted in the footnote on p. 37, a brief abstract of the remarkable changes that have occurred in Alaska during the last eighteen months. With his kind permission I quote it unchanged:

"*August 1967*: During the 1960s the Eskimo progressively found a means of making his political voice heard, appeared to be producing a new breed of aggressive young leaders who would no longer tolerate the *status quo* in Eskimo administration, and formed regional associations for purposes of promoting or protecting what were considered to be Eskimo interests or rights. In order to push their aboriginal land claims better, the Eskimo associations united with other native groups in the Alaska Federation of Natives in October 1966. By mid-1966 the several associations had submitted aboriginal land claims covering approximately 290 million acres of Alaska's 375 million acres. The resulting conflict with the stepped up program of land selections by the State and increasing applications of petroleum exploration forced the Secretary of the Interior to halt all further land disposal and leasing actions until the rights of the native claimants had been determined by the United States Congress. The threat these events posed to both the fiscal condition of the State government and Alaska's natural resource development forced an awareness of the native Alaskan's plight and aspirations upon the rest of the citizens of the State. The evidence presented of potent political power was not lost on the 1966 political candidates. The rise of the Eskimo from political impotence to political power has profound implications for the future of administration. More than mere land claims are involved. The Eskimo is demanding that he be accepted as a partner in the administration of affairs which concern his future and well-being, not continue to be treated as a passive subject. Furthermore he appears to have effective means at hand to make his demands heard."

CHAPTER 2

The hour of crisis[1]

If we disregard the Atlantic coast of Labrador, where Newfoundland has refused to separate its citizens of part-Eskimo descent from those of European extraction, there are today (1966) in North America about 43,000 Eskimos, 30,000 of them in northern Alaska and 13,000 in northern Canada. Not more than 10 per cent, if as many, earn their livelihoods from wage-employment; the rest gain pittances from hunting, fishing, trapping, handicrafts and various odd jobs, but depend for many of life's necessities on government subsidies. The majority are literate to the extent that they can sign their names and write simple letters, but only a handful of Canadian Eskimos, and comparatively few Alaskan, have reached matriculation standard or attained professional or skilled worker status. Desperately poor, ill-educated, and hopelessly adrift, this tiny segment of North America's population is struggling to wrest a meagre subsistence from an extremely harsh environment on the fringe of the world's two most affluent nations, neither of which has yet discovered how permanently to improve their sub-marginal existence. Both have vigorously combatted the diseases which once ravaged the natives' settlements, and have reduced the high mortality which kept their graveyards overflowing; but this medical triumph, so far from raising the economic standard, has released a population explosion which, if unchecked, will double the number of America's Eskimos within twenty years and strain more than ever their limited resources.

East and northwest Greenland face a similar situation: their native hunters are increasing so rapidly that they may soon outstrip the resources of their environments. Most of Greenland's population, however, is concentrated in the southwest from Disko Bugt to Kap Farvel (Cape Farewell), where the waters washing that part of the coast breed incomputable shoals of fish, mainly cod, halibut, wolf-fish, and shrimps—not paralleled in America's far north save in Bristol Bay and around the Aleutian Islands, where the salmon shoals might be equally innumerable did not large commercial companies from the Pacific coast of the United States vie with Soviet and Japanese fishermen in exacting a tremendous toll. German, Portuguese, and other foreign vessels are exploiting Greenland's fisheries too just outside her territorial waters, but as yet they have not visibly reduced the multitudes of fish or endangered the islanders' livelihood. So abundant are her cod, indeed, that if her fishermen, who are now increasing as fast as the Eskimos of arctic America, could acquire and learn to use the larger vessels and more efficient gear of foreign fishermen, she might derive from her fishing banks an economic base strong enough to sustain not

[1]The author begs the indulgence of the reader for any passages in this chapter which needlessly restate arguments already set forth in Chapter 1.

just her present population of 35,000, but twice and perhaps even thrice that number.

The situation is clouded, however, for the present abundance of fish may be no more than a temporary phase in one of nature's cycles, whose next phase may bring a retreat of the fish to the ocean fastnesses from which they emerged a century ago. If that should happen—and our biologists who have raised the question cannot answer it—Greenland's fishing industry will decline as quickly as it arose, seals will probably dominate her coastal waters again, and all the money and effort that Denmark is now pouring into the island to expand its fisheries and strengthen its economy will have drained away like water through the meshes of a housewife's sieve.

The gods who presented Pandora with her casket of evils concealed Hope in the bottom, and there it has remained ever since to inspire man with optimism and courage. Nature may not reverse the cycle in Greenland, or she may reverse it so slowly that the change will be imperceptible for several generations; cod may continue to frequent the island's waters for many decades, even centuries; and its fisheries, supplemented by its land and sea mammals and perhaps minerals, may be capable of supporting its mounting population for an indefinite period to come.

It is on this faith that Denmark is now building. Under a new ten-year plan which she expects to launch this year (1966), she will equip and train the Greenlanders to compete successfully with foreign fishermen on the island's offshore banks and take home a very much larger percentage of the catch. Furthermore, she will intensify the never-ending search for Greenland's mineral wealth, believing that the combined exports of minerals and fish will defray, more nearly than today, the costs of the island's administration and imports, raise the living standard of its inhabitants and create a balanced or nearly balanced economy. Many Greenlanders now speak fluent Danish, and being Danish citizens, can freely travel to Denmark and visit any foreign country to which a Danish passport entitles them; but because Denmark is too small and crowded to absorb any large number of immigrants, both she and the Greenlanders anticipate that their new plan, backed during the ten-year period by over four billion crowns from her treasury, will discourage any sizable emigration to the motherland by providing every Greenlander with steady employment, and living conditions easier and pleasanter than those he enjoys today. It will be necessary, no doubt, to abandon a few small outposts, and to re-settle in the fishing towns of southwest Greenland the overflow of the hunting groups in the eastern and northern parts of the island; but these minor adjustments will not impair the broad policy of maintaining the Eskimos in their own land for as long as they are contented to stay there. Even Newfoundland had to resettle the inhabitants of Labrador's two northernmost villages, Hebron and Nutak, during the 1950's, when a dearth of fish and game compelled them to abandon their homes and retreat to the south, leaving uninhabited the entire three hundred-mile stretch of coastline from Nain to Cape Chidley.

In Greenland, then, Denmark would seem to have her population problem well under control. But what is to happen to America's Eskimos, the descendants in direct line of the earliest inhabitants of its Arctic? If they continue to increase at their present rate, by 1980 they may number 75,000, which is far

more than the resources now available to them seem capable of supporting even at the level of bare subsistence. In prehistoric times, and right down to the present day in the Central Canadian Arctic, the toll of famines, sickness, accidents, blood-feuds, infanticide (particularly of girl babies), and suicides of the aged and infirm restricted the size of their bands to the number of mouths their hunters could feed from the daily catch, and in so doing bred in the race an astonishing endurance of life's hardships and a fatalistic resignation to its blows. Agriculture and the expansion of commerce over the whole world has enabled civilized nations to discard some of those harsh population checks, and today we are trying to banish them from the treeless Arctic, where agriculture is impossible and commerce negligible. At the same time, however, our health programs, family allowances, and relief payments are lowering Eskimo death-rates without discouraging the high natality, and as yet we have formulated no plans to combat the impending over-population.

Both the United States and Canada realize the crisis they face in the Arctic, but they grope with it blindly, Canada more blindly than her neighbour because her problem appears more insoluble. For one reason her Arctic is larger and less accessible than northern Alaska, its geography more varied, its climate more severe and its population more scattered. Less abundant, too, are its fish and game: the famines which have chequered its history down to and even after the Second World War passed northern Alaska by. When nature cursed Canada's Arctic with a physical environment more unfriendly than Alaska's, she rendered its administration correspondingly more difficult.

Arctic America, we must remember, lacks any renewable resource similar to Greenland's cod which can withstand the inroads of a growing population and provide the basis for a viable economy. Its animal life, the whales, walrus, and seals in the ocean and the bears, caribou, and small game on land, still furnish substantial amounts of food and clothing material; but the supply is so uncertain, and in many districts so limited, that even its Eskimo inhabitants must now import about half their food from the affluent south. The market for fine furs which gave them a reasonably adequate income during the first three decades of this century collapsed before the Second World War, and neither today nor in the predictable future does trapping promise any greater reward than pin-money. As for the phenomenally inflated prices which fur-dealers are now offering for sealskins, they surely indicate no more than the momentary flutter of a fugitive fad.

Minerals, perhaps, are capable of providing a strong economic base—the iron ores which certainly abound, the copper and other minerals which occur in unknown quantities, and the vast but undetermined amounts of gas and oil which presumably underlie the surface of both land and sea. World consumption of both minerals and fuels is mushrooming, improved transportation is making the Arctic more accessible, and before the end of this century the submarine tankers already sketched on the drawing boards of three or more ship-building firms may be carrying oil from Alaska's Arctic Slope to eastern Asia, and from Canada's arctic archipelago to western Europe. Because the Eskimos possess no capital, however, and only a few score of them can claim even the most superficial acquaintance with mining operations, the exploitation of far northern minerals and fuels, if and when it occurs, will require very large

investments of capital from the outside world, and the hiring from that same world of both skilled and unskilled labour. It may easily happen, therefore, that even a mining boom will bring little or no benefit to the Eskimos, not even the indirect profit which Greenland derived from the royalties on its now exhausted cryolite mine. They may be pushed to one side as lightly as were the Indians in the Yellowknife goldfield, and the services they could have rendered be performed by more experienced and disciplined white workers recruited through labour unions.

Theoretically there are four ways in which Canada and the United States can deal with excessive population in their arctic regions:

1. They can allow the population to grow unchecked, provide at the expense of southern tax-payers whatever needs the Eskimos cannot themselves supply, and let the situation work out its own solution;

2. They can allow the population to grow unchecked, but exploit with greater intensity the Arctic's natural resources, and explore every other avenue there for wage-employment which will provide the Eskimos with larger incomes, and enable them to pay for all or some of the goods they must import from the outside;

3. They can encourage family planning by spreading the knowledge and use of contraceptives and in that way check the population growth;

4. They can bring south, or encourage to move south, all Eskimos and their families who are unable to support themselves in the far north, and absorb them into the agricultural, industrial, and commercial life of the continent.

The first of these methods predicates an utter lack of responsibility which would strike at the roots of every civilization that has survived the centuries. If Canada and the United States sit idly back and watch their arctic indigents multiply in number and misery, they will be proclaiming to the world that, despite their vaunted wealth and their claim to lead the family of nations, they are incapable of guiding the destinies of the few thousand Eskimos over whom they claim sovereignty, or else are deliberately evading that self-imposed responsibility. No one will believe that they actually lack the means to redeem their arctic citizens from destitution and want. The world will therefore judge them conscienceless, blinded by crass egotism to the interests of their fellow-men, and indifferent to the welfare of any people but themselves. What future can there be for mankind, it will ask, if the strongest and richest among us, like thoughtless children, deliberately permit their weaker neighbours, even fellow-citizens, to be crushed against the wall?

Let us hope that this first method of dealing—or not dealing—with the population crisis in arctic America will never see the light of day; and let us pass on to the second method, the policy which Denmark has been pursuing in Greenland since the end of the nineteenth century and is now feverishly expanding there, confident that, however grievous the burden it imposes on her European tax-payers, it will succeed in the end, provided only that the island's fishing banks contribute as large and stable an economic base as she anticipates. Seventy-five years ago the United States committed itself to this method in Alaska when it introduced domesticated reindeer from Siberia, and Canada has tried it in her Arctic since the Second World War; but because the Arctic of these two countries lacks fisheries comparable to those of Greenland, they are awaiting the development of the minerals and fuels in their far north, hoping

that those resources will enable them to stem the population crisis and to improve the condition of their Eskimos. There seems little prospect, however, that arctic minerals and fuels can do either. In any case, world markets have not yet stimulated any mining activities at all in America's far north beyond a little prospecting and sampling, and another quarter of a century may elapse before man begins to harvest its mineral wealth. Meanwhile its population is swelling year by year, and neither wage-employment nor the resources it is currently exploiting provide even a marginal existence. For two decades Canada and the United States have been honestly striving to advance the welfare of their Eskimos, but the economic problems have baffled them and repaid their efforts with unending frustration and despair.

The third way of grappling with arctic America's crisis, the promotion of the knowledge and use of contraceptives, could well reduce the exceedingly high Eskimo birth-rate and ensure a population that would not seriously outstrip the natural resources. Contraceptive practices may soon reach Eskimo-land without any promotion, but no government dare officially support their diffusion in the American Arctic lest it be accused of genocide, a crime which some negro writers in the United States are already levelling against their white fellow-countrymen because the fertility of negro women in some of America's largest cities has been noticeably declining. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that contraceptives alone can ever solve the Arctic's economic problem, however much they may lighten it. They can scarcely protect hundreds and perhaps thousands of Eskimos from destitution and misery.

There remains yet one other method of dealing with the threatening overpopulation of arctic America, the time-honoured method of emigration. This, and this alone, appears to offer an immediate and permanent solution. Yet people cannot migrate successfully and painlessly to lands that are already well populated unless conditions are favourable. The emigrants must be strong, physically and mentally, to withstand unexpected difficulties; they should know something about the land to which they are migrating, speak (or rapidly learn) its language, and possess skills that will quickly secure them employment. What is perhaps even more important, the new land must be prepared to welcome them, to throw its doors wide open and help them over the early stages of settling in.

These are the conditions that have aided the emigration of so many foreigners to America, and to other lands dominated by Europeans. Before and since the opening of this twentieth century thousands of Italians and Greeks have found homes in Canada and Australia, thousands of Germans have settled in Uruguay and Brazil, and thousands of Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Russians have staked out new lives for themselves in various countries of North and South America. Asiatic peoples too, particularly Chinese and Japanese, have streamed into every continent, as well as into islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans: everywhere they have established small colonies, which in the two Americas are slowly dissolving in the continents' huge melting-pots. All these immigrant peoples have prospered, because they have encountered open doors and hands outstretched to welcome them.

North America's Eskimos, in contrast, stagnate in the Arctic, though they are pioneers on this continent and legal citizens of Canada or the United States.

They dare not abandon their homelands and seek a better life in the south because they know too little of the outer world and cannot migrate without guidance; and hitherto their white fellow-citizens have failed to help them migrate or to open up a place for them in the hemisphere's economic and social life. Their Arctic has thus become a New World Bantustan in which European immigrants are discreetly confining the aboriginal Eskimos and segregating them from the rest of the continent.

How did this come about?

White Americans, it seems, are unwitting victims of their own past histories. They have never succeeded in uprooting from their minds traces of that irrational superstition that Eskimos, mentally if not physically, are inferior to whites—a superstition as untrue as the notion, current still in Shakespeare's day, that the New World breeds men "whose heads do fall beneath their shoulders". Time has long since disproved any mental differences between races, but many North Americans still cling to the fallacy, and it infects, or has infected, many teachers they have sent north to Eskimo schools. I have heard a Canadian administrator remark that the experiment of bringing Eskimos to live in southern Canada never succeeds, that in fact it sometimes results in tragedy, because they are incapable of adapting themselves to our western civilization.

Delusions of this character are usually hard to dispel because they appeal to human vanity; but for the hallucination of Eskimo inferiority Denmark has provided an almost infallible remedy. She offers the outside world a delightful summer cruise up and down Greenland's west coast in the comfortable Danish steamer *Kununguaq*, which carries scores of Greenlanders among its passengers and calls at a dozen or more small settlements, half of them fishing villages. Provided they have not wilfully blinkered their minds beforehand, passengers suffering from the delusion of the white race's superiority will return from this trip with a greatly heightened respect for the Greenlanders, and with a heightened respect too, one hopes, for the cousins of the Greenlanders in arctic America.

There is a second fallacy which white Americans must discard, the fallacy that they can preserve the Eskimo race and culture to all eternity, or at the least, for several centuries. That is not possible, however greatly we may regret the passing of a unique people who fought and conquered nature where others failed. We can preserve in our books the trappings of their lives, their language, and their customs; and their bones, like those of dinosaurs, we can keep in our museums. But the race itself will disappear. Already it has interbred with whites, and despite every barrier of isolation and prejudice we throw in its path, it will continue to interbreed until it becomes no longer distinguishable: for inscrutable Nature—or evolution—has ruled that if two races of the same species, whether they be birds or animals, share the same territory, sooner or later they will merge. Furthermore, in the infinitesimal part of her plan which Nature makes visible to man, she has decreed that every generation of living things must bequeath part of itself to the generation that follows; and that next generation, despite the gloomy predictions of the poet Horace,[1] may prove superior to its parents, not inferior. May we not hope, therefore, that when the Eskimo race completes its life cycle and departs from Nature's laboratory, it

[1] 'Odes', iii, 6.

will bequeath to mankind the remarkable patience, endurance, and cheerfulness which helped it to overcome the Arctic, and which can long survive almond eyes, high cheek-bones, and keel-shaped skulls?

The three virtues I have just enumerated are not trivia, but rank among society's strongest bonds. For untold centuries they fortified the Eskimos in their struggle for survival until, in Nature's mysterious way, they became "dominant traits" (to use a genetical expression), which each generation still passes on to the succeeding one, even although most of its successors are now hybrids. They appear in today's half-Danish Greenlanders and the Americanized Eskimos of Alaska just as strongly as in the relatively pure-blood natives of the Central Canadian Arctic between the Coppermine River and the Magnetic Pole; and they unify the Eskimo people more than either language or customs. The Greenland-born explorer Knud Rasmussen felt as much at home among the Eskimos of Point Barrow, at the northernmost tip of Alaska, as among his compatriots in Godthåb and Angmagssalik; and I myself, when visiting Greenland for the first time in 1964, received the distinct impression that I was meeting relatives of the Eskimo friends along the arctic coasts of Alaska and Canada with whom I had lived and travelled half a century before. The human race will continue its journey uninjured if the Eskimo language disappears without trace save in a few printed books; but it will suffer an irreparable loss if it fails to inherit from the Eskimo people those three prime virtues, patience, endurance, and cheerfulness, which man needs today more than at any other stage in his history.

For three centuries now Fate has been intertwining the fortunes of America's Eskimos with those of its immigrant whites, and the strands her loom has entrusted to history can never be unravelled. Both Canada and the United States, then, should tightly block their ears against those seductive but treacherous voices which counsel them to keep their arctic citizens in cold storage, to immobilize them in the far north and preserve their pristine innocence. We smote those baneful counsellors in an earlier passage (p. 29), but, like the hydra, they spring up again, and as often as we lop off one of their heads they sprout a new one. So we will smite them once more. We will reject their policy because it is not even feasible; because from the day we Europeans allowed our traders and missionaries to settle on Eskimo shores we destroyed all possibility of shielding the aborigines from the outer world, except in the grave. We replaced their stone knives with knives of steel, their bows and arrows with rifles and shot-guns, their garments of caribou fur with clothes of factory-woven cotton and wool, their home-made boats with motor-boats, their log cabins and snow huts warmed by lamps burning animal-fat with frame houses heated with wood-burning and oil-burning stoves; and for the ancient songs and dances which had relieved the tedium of their long winter nights we substituted Christian hymns. They may speak the Eskimo language still; they may still roam the hunting-grounds of their forefathers; but most of them are Eskimos no longer. From the south we bring them food, clothing, homes, tools, weapons, boats, even a new religion; and if now we should try to isolate them again, if we should cut off the flow of these necessities, they would perish as quickly as would the white school-teachers, missionaries, and administrators we station among them. We have banished their old life beyond recall. What new life are we offering them now in its place?

And here we must ask ourselves a very important question. If destiny has decreed that America's Eskimos must merge with the white race why should we isolate them in the Arctic, in those parts of it at least where they can neither support themselves nor make any worthwhile contribution to civilization's advance? It is not practicable to educate them there, or to teach them the skills they will need to work alongside whites and participate in all the activities of American civilization. What advantage then is there, either to them or to us, in immuring them in the Arctic, and squandering huge sums of money in that desolate region to build for them, at the expense of southern tax-payers, schools, hospitals, and the many other requirements of civilized communities, including, whenever our purses are bulging, sanitary homes equipped with running water and electric light to reduce the excessive death-rate, particularly of infants in their first year of life?

Some one will interject that the Eskimos prefer to live in the Arctic, and that we have no right to urge or force them to move elsewhere. It is the homeland of their ancestors, the only land with which they are really familiar. Other peoples dread the cold and darkness of the long winter, but more than one Eskimo has told me that, except when blizzards rage, he prefers its winter season to its summer because everything is so white and still, and neighbours draw closer together to enjoy a fuller social life. Even a few whites find rest and contentment in the region, gladly enduring its hardships because the atmosphere is pure and invigorating, and because there reigns throughout most of the year a peace and quietness untroubled by the usual stresses and strains that plague man in more temperate lands, especially since the coming of the industrial age. Arctic settlements are small and long distances apart: in Greenland the largest contains less than 5,000 inhabitants scattered over an area of three or four square miles, while in Canada and Alaska not a single predominantly Eskimo settlement counts half that population. The north's wide-open spaces draw man much closer to nature than our cities permit, and nature is impersonal. She can be hard and cruel, but she is not malicious; and her cruelty is endurable because it creates no resentment and stirs up no craving for revenge. So even when she demands a ceaseless struggle against solitude, cold, and hunger she can still leave happiness unmarred. And sometimes the Arctic's calm, unhurried silence transforms itself into a soothing balm which heals the minds of fevered whites overwrought by the clamour and frenzy of our modern civilization. Those seemingly lonely men whom one encounters here and there in remote places may not all be human outcasts whom the world has rejected, but hermits —some of them perhaps saints—who have found our modern society inadequate and seek in nature the satisfaction and contentment which we have failed to give them. They are men like the late Jack Hornby, a reticent but strangely lovable individual, whose tragic death in Canada's Barren Lands thirty years ago dragged with it the lives of two English youths ill-prepared to share his fate.[1]

Hermits of Hornby's type, however, are evolution's rare sports. For most human beings, Eskimos included, life is not unending calm, but constant movement and change, action and reaction, growth and decay. Men and women, whether savages or kings, cannot fold their arms and spend their hours in idleness and empty dreams; for the brain which is not exercised atrophies, and

[1]See Whalley, 1962.

the limb which is not used withers and dies. To live contentedly in the Arctic (and indeed anywhere) man must be active, and his activities must bring him satisfying rewards. In pre-European times hunting and fishing kept the Eskimos healthily energetic, and in normal seasons provided everything they needed to maintain themselves and their families in relative contentment. That era, however, has passed. Game has greatly diminished in the Arctic, and human requirements greatly increased. The wage-labour which might provide an alternative activity to hunting is very scarce, and such occupations as handicrafts bring in too small a revenue to supply the daily food, not to mention other necessities. So today the Eskimo citizens of America's two richest nations live on the charity of their affluent fellow-citizens in the middle of the continent; and though unceasing charity may elevate the minds of the givers, it insidiously poisons the souls of the recipients.

Alaska's Eskimos are less demoralized and depressed than Canada's, partly because they find more opportunities for wage-employment and can count with more certainty on fish and sea mammals for their daily needs, but partly also because they are better educated, on the average, and more familiar with the outside world, which has repeatedly knocked on their doors since prehistoric times and stirred up radical adjustments and changes. At irregular intervals before the Christian era elements of culture and occasionally new peoples trickled across Bering Strait from Siberia, bringing to America new languages, new ideas, new customs and new techniques. From over the strait came bows and arrows, the technique of whaling, the practice of harnessing dogs to sleds, the manufacture of pottery and other traits, a few of which drifted eastward across the top of the continent until they reached Labrador and Greenland; and from Indians whose forefathers had migrated to America from northeastern Asia, and occupied the Pacific coast and forested hinterland south of the Arctic, the Alaskan Eskimos acquired a rich ceremonial life, and certain novel beliefs that went along with it. During Christianity's first millennium, when European nations were crying *ex oriente lux* and seeking from Byzantium and the Near East the light of knowledge and wisdom, Alaska was still drawing its enlightenment from farther Asia; for Bering Strait has united, not divided, the Old World and the New ever since the great ice sheets of the Pleistocene period began to shrink and open up its approaches. Even now this ancient highway draws men eastward. Only two hundred years ago—and two hundred years is but a small fraction of the 5,000 or 6,000 years that Eskimos have roamed America's Western Arctic—Russia's trading company pushed its way across Siberia and entered Alaska via the Bering Sea, bringing with it a new religion and a social order different from any that had gone before; and in our own day a Japanese task force invaded the Aleutian Islands and threatened to seize the narrow waterway between the two continents, thereby dispelling any lingering doubt of Alaska's continuity with Eurasia and of its strategic importance should a third world war erupt during the dying years of the twentieth century, beyond which no responsible strategist in this nuclear age will dare to speculate.

Intermittently since the days before history, then, the long peninsula which looks into northern Asia has received from the Old World powerful stimuli, some of which spent their force in the region while others worked their way

eastward to Greenland, generally losing part of their strength in transit. They made the Alaskan Eskimos more alert, more responsive to outside influences than their relatives in Canada, whose world ended with their immediate kinsmen on either side and the feared and hated Indians fishing and hunting in the woodlands to the south. The western natives were much readier than the Canadian to adopt the white man's outlook and way of life, and to welcome the education he offered their children. Conscripted to work and fight alongside other Americans during the Second World War and the subsequent Korean War, they acquitted themselves so well that Washington's Secretary of Defense paid this unusual tribute to the two scout battalions they contributed for the defence of the sparsely settled areas of northern Alaska:

> "They are obviously the only military personnel who could, in time of emergency, live off the land and exist in this barren, frozen territory. They have had considerable military training in camps and are considered a most valuable adjunct to the security of this entire area."[1]

The cauldron of world politics simmers endlessly, and as long as it keeps bubbling Alaska will continue to be a frontier region requiring a loyal population to protect the mass of the continent behind it, a resident population similar to the colonies of Roman soldiers and their British wives whom the Emperor Hadrian settled 1800 years ago along the line of the great wall he built across the north of England to keep out marauding Picts and Scots. Its Eskimos, tested in the fires of two world wars, provide a garrison already in position. They are loyal and hardy, have traversed their homeland at every season of the year, know its terrain better than any white man, and prefer it to every other region with which they are acquainted. Will southerners guard this northwest frontier of America more faithfully than the natives who have lived there for centuries, provided of course that we train them and keep them healthy and contented?

How large a garrison America needs there at this time we must let her strategists decide: it may be that it should be no larger than the region's present man-power. Whatever its size, the United States can easily afford to maintain it, even should it contribute nothing to its own support and double its number within the next quarter-century. Actually Alaska's Eskimos are contributing very substantially to their maintenance by netting enough fish and capturing enough sea mammals to supply most of their food; and they would demand no further aid from the outside world if they were given more wage-employment so that from earnings, not doles, they could pay for life's other requirements. The United States could provide this wage-employment, and make the region economically prosperous, by enrolling the majority of the able-bodied men in her regular army as a Northern Frontier Guard, training it on a year-round basis and granting it regular army pay and allowances; but a military environment stifles human initiative, inhibits growth, and in the long run breeds disaffection and unrest. The government has contented itself, therefore, with a voluntary cadet corps, and rejected a military basis for the region's economy in favour of one which will take longer to build, but in the end may prove more lasting. It is encouraging more Eskimo boys and girls to take advantage of the high school and university education it is placing within their reach, and slanting

[1]Quoted from Jenness, 1962, p. 39.

their vocational training so that they can qualify for many of the jobs in their homeland now being performed by whites—can staff the schools, the hospitals and the power plants, operate and service the local air-line and the coastal shipping, handle trade and banking, in short, administer all or most of the affairs of a small self-governing region. Such, at least, is the present plan. Efficiently executed, it should open to the Eskimos much more wage-employment than is available today, for our age of automation is gathering in technicians and professionally trained men and women from nearly every corner of the globe; and other states of the union will quickly find places for Eskimo specialists not needed in northern Alaska, particularly for those —a high proportion, one hopes —who will receive or round off their training in the south. We may note in passing that Soviet administrators on the Siberian side of Bering Strait appear to anticipate the same future for some of their Eskimos, since in 1963 they were employing an Eskimo woman scientist at a research institution in Central Asia.

An American economist who has lived in Alaska for two decades warns his countrymen that

> "The further development of the native Alaskan as a self-reliant member of the new society represents one of the most important problems faced in Alaska today. He can become either a productive part of the new Alaska's labor force, or a permanent welfare burden." (Rogers, 1962, p. 80).

In that study of Alaska's future Rogers disregards the differentiation of the native population into Eskimos and Indians because both peoples have the same stake in the common homeland, both are weighed down with a grinding poverty from which they are unable to extricate themselves without aid, and both are intensifying that poverty through their very high birth-rates. Northern Canada resembles Alaska in these respects. It too is undeveloped, or under-developed; it too counts thousands of Indians as well as Eskimos in its population; and the plight of all its natives is more tragic than that of impoverished whites because they labour under two handicaps, a half-concealed prejudice on account of their race and a still inadequate knowledge of the language and mode of life of their overlords.

A mist veils the future of Alaska's Eskimos. Nevertheless, there are good grounds for hoping that if the United States vigorously presses forward with her education-and-training program, and at the same time revives, improves, and expands the scheme she recently operated to help Eskimos settle in the United States, she need fear no further anxiety about their high birth-rate and rapidly growing population. As their mobility increases and they mingle and merge more freely with their fellow Americans, their manners and outlook will change and their birth-rate level off, probably, to that prevailing elsewhere in the Union. Thus by providing no more assistance than she extends to her other under-developed regions the United States would harness northern Alaska's overflowing population to serve the national interest, maintain a contented Eskimo garrison there for as long as she needs one, and absorb any excessive increase in its number by encouraging individuals to settle in the panhandle and farther south.

The outlook for Canada's Eskimos is less favourable. During and after the Second World War, when both the United States and Canada were installing a

number of military outposts in the Arctic, its inhabitants contributed nothing to the defence of North America except their unskilled labour. Logistic considerations prevent their homeland from providing hostile invasion forces with a base or bases from which to attack the North American continent, even though nuclear-powered submarines armed with nuclear missiles might hide within its fringing waters. Canada does not require a garrison in that region, therefore, to defend it from enemy attack, nor radar stations to warn against hostile planes, now that man can launch intercontinental missiles of fantastic speed and manned and unmanned satellites to spy out the whole world. So far as we can see today her Arctic, unlike northern Alaska, no longer possesses any strategic importance.

In certain far northern localities, nevertheless, the Dominion may wish to maintain a few Canadian citizens the year round to attest her "effective occupation" of the land areas in her arctic sector and safeguard her sovereignty over them; and Eskimos born and raised in the region can perform this service as effectively as would military encampments. But when she can accomplish the same purpose, and at the same time obtain useful meteorological and other information, with ten or twelve scientific stations manned by small rotating staffs and serviced relatively cheaply by air, why should she dissipate large sums of public money there in supporting either military encampments, or thousands of destitute, underprivileged Eskimos?

Let us be honest with ourselves and frankly admit that at this stage of the world's political evolution Canada does not need any Eskimos in her Arctic to uphold her sovereignty or to defend the region against invasion. Nor does she need them to exploit its mineral resources, a task for which they lack both the knowledge and the capital. So we repeat the question "Why should she keep them there"?

It is certainly true that many Eskimos, perhaps most, do not wish to leave the Arctic. Hundreds of their race never saw white men until the early years of the twentieth century, and knew of their existence only from ancient legends which depicted them as human in form but more peculiar and unpredictable than even Indians. Can we wonder, then, that their now adult children, to whom southern Canada is still as mysterious as Tibet, instinctively cling to their homeland, and blame the white man for their present destitution? He brought terrible sicknesses among us, they say, and his guns have driven away the game. If we can no longer support ourselves in our own land should not he supply our needs?

Today, therefore, they tend to concentrate around the administrative offices, the schools, the police posts, and the nursing stations which the government has set up for their benefit, and the trading stores of the Hudson's Bay Company which purchase their furs and their handicrafts and sell them life's necessities. Most of them divide their days between permanent homes in these settlements and temporary fishing, hunting, and trapping camps in the vicinity, where they revert to the pursuits of their forefathers, using imported rifles, motor-boats, and steel traps instead of the ancestral kayaks, harpoons, and bows-and-arrows which many have never seen. Some of their children accompany them on their excursions: others remain in the settlements to attend the government schools, or are transported by the government to schools far distant

(but still in the Arctic) from which they return to their parents during the summer vacation. Children between the ages of seven and sixteen must attend school, says the law, and they may remain at school, if they wish, until they reach matriculation standard or become eligible for some kind of vocational training; but of this latter privilege very few take advantage, and still fewer of the free university education available. Almost all gladly abandon school at the age of sixteen, learn from their parents whatever survive of the old hunting and fishing skills, marry while they are still in their teens, and settle down to the frustrating life of rudderless indigents, relying on the subsidies which the government hands out to keep them from starvation.

The white traders and missionaries who live in Canada's Arctic, and the white civil servants whom the government stations there, provide very little wage-employment. There is a small exchange of washing: the whites acquire well-paid jobs and comfortable homes for attending to the health, educational, and other needs of the Eskimos, and they repay a roughly equal number of Eskimos by offering them minor jobs as domestic servants and unskilled or half-skilled labourers. Economists are not happy with this ill-balanced, symbiotic arrangement, because the tax-paying world of the south is pouring goods and services into the Eskimo world valued at many million dollars annually, and receiving in return furs, handicrafts, and other products that bring in no more than three million. Humanists would write off the dollar imbalance as irrelevant if the symbiosis was bringing non-material wealth and contentment to both parties; but it brings those blessings to neither. Indeed, what benefits white Canadians derive from it would be hard to determine. As for the Eskimos, it certainly alleviates some of their former hardships, preserves them from outright starvation, and protects them from the worst ravages of tuberculosis and other diseases. But even those diseases they owe to the white man, who introduced them when he shattered the Eskimos' old economy and destroyed their self-sufficiency and high morale. So for the Eskimos too symbiotic existence with whites has heavily weighted the scales on the debit side.

At this moment Canada is attempting to rectify the imbalance by raising the Eskimos to their economic feet again, restoring their morale, providing their children with an education similar to that of white children, and through that education lighting their path towards a more prosperous and satisfying future. Unhappily, she is trying to erect a skyscraper in the Arctic without drafting an architectural plan or locating a firm foundation. We have seen already that the fish and game of the region often fail to provide the Eskimos with a daily meal, and that even its mineral wealth, when our metal-hungry world finally demands its exploitation, will probably become the exclusive monopoly of whites, and supply little or no wage-employment to the work-hungry Eskimos or their Indian neighbours. Such, at least, has been the experience of the last half-century at such places as Schefferville in northern Quebec, and Yellowknife and Pine Point in the Northwest Territories; and there is no reason to believe that today's mining entrepreneurs are more altruistic than their predecessors, more ready to sacrifice a little of their own or their companies' profits by providing wage-employment for untrained and indigent natives. Under such conditions, where in the Arctic will Canada find a solid foundation for her skyscraper, an economic base that will firmly support her Eskimo population, not just the

13,000 who live there today, but the nearly 20,000 ten years hence? Let us ponder for a moment what the following statistics imply, those for 1957–8 and 1961–2 being the official figures of the Canadian government (see Jenness, 1964, p. 158), those for 1975 being estimates from present-day trends.

Year	*Eskimo population*	*Expenditures on Eskimo relief*
1957–8	8,989	$166,000
1961–2	11,453	$335,000
1975	19,000 (est.)	$900,000 (est.)

Canada's schemes for the economic regeneration of her Eskimos zigzag uncertainly forward through a dense fog. Equally befogged and groping is her educational program, because it lacks both direction and purpose. The chain of schools she has built across her Arctic, and the "Young Canadians" she is enlisting to teach in them, cannot boost the morale of the Eskimos, or light their pathway to a brighter future, until she herself decides the kind of life for which she is training their children and wins approval and support for her goal from both parents and teachers. Hitherto even her top administrators have been working in darkness, not knowing whether she will insist on the children living out their days in the Arctic on the fringe of the habitable world, banished like Ishmaels to hunt and fish and trap throughout their active years, then when overtaken by infirmity or old age to end their days unflinchingly by suicide, as some still do, rather than burden their kith and kin; or whether, on the contrary, she will unite them with her white children and train them for work in offices and factories, in cities or on the land, with the prospect before them of a comfortable old age surrounded by their children and grandchildren. No Canadian government has ever pondered that question, apparently, or laid down any guide-lines for its blindfolded administrators. Consequently, past administrators have ruled that teachers in arctic Canada, with the help of Ontario and Alberta school-books, should train Eskimo pupils who have never seen a tree or a field of wheat, and probably never will see either, how to protect the nation's forests from destructive fires and prepare the ground for bumper wheat crops.[1]

If history can teach man anything, it should have revealed to him that only work, steady rewarding work, can bring prosperity to a land and contentment to its inhabitants. We cannot soften the polar climate to make grain and fruit trees grow on these northern soils. Even if we, or the Eskimos, discover in northern Canada rich mineral resources which they can help us exploit, they can never expect to enjoy in that region the amenities available to dwellers of more temperate lands, never extricate themselves from a perpetual struggle against what most Americans consider dire poverty, i.e. a family income in cash and kind less than $3,000, or whatever the amount may be that our economists regard as the minimum for an acceptable living in northern Canada. Our

[1]Today (1966) the Mackenzie educational district, which covers the Mackenzie River delta and the arctic coast eastward to Queen Maud Gulf, including Victoria Island, uses Albertan textbooks, and the Keewatin district, which comprises the mainland from Queen Maud Gulf to Churchill, uses Manitoban textbooks. Baffin Island retains the textbooks of Ontario schools, while the new district of Northern Quebec, i.e. the west and north coasts of the Labrador Peninsula, has been assigned the textbooks used in the Protestant schools of southern Quebec. Jacob, the Scriptures tell us, wore a coast of many colours. Why should not Eskimos also?

world is changing fast, it is true, and it may soon compel economists to qualify their definitions of wealth and poverty, which should never be measured by income and bank balance alone; for all the gold that Croesus stored in his treasure-house cannot make a moron rich, or life acceptable to a psychopath. Money measures man's valuations of material things, and of the services required to make those material things available to him or to transfer them to other men; for without some of these things, e.g. food, he perishes. But life's most precious possessions are neither material nor transferable. We cannot calculate in terms of money the value of physical and mental health; nor can we assess in dollars and cents the blessings of peace and contentment, the happiness of friendships, the pleasures conferred by beautiful things or the enjoyments of a well-stocked mind. The man to whom fate has denied these non-material riches is poorer than Lazarus, though his bank-book may credit him with a million dollars.

For uncounted years before Columbus the Eskimos knew nothing about money, stocks, and bonds, or real and personal estate. Of things material, they called their own only the clothes they wore on their backs, and the tools and weapons they made with their own hands. Yet they possessed enough of life's non-material wealth to be content with their hard environment so long as it provided them with life's material necessities, food, clothing, and shelter; and when it withheld those necessities they loaded their sleds and umiaks and moved to another environment, another locality in that Arctic which for them was the only world. Today their Arctic has changed, and for most of the natives in Canada's sector has ceased to provide life's necessities. Everywhere their local resources have diminished, and the white man is absorbing them into his money economy without offering them enough work to feed and clothe themselves and their families. Small wonder that they are bewildered, and unhappy. The dole which the government issues them, and its school-books and hymn-books—*panis et circenses:* "hot dogs and baseball"—cannot make real men of them again, men of dignity and sturdy independence. Only steady wage-employment can restore their lost independence and rescue them from the slough of despond into which they have fallen; and because only the white man can provide that employment they must acquire the white man's speech and the white man's education. Overnight they must discard their bow-and-arrow mentality and adopt a nuclear outlook, leap from the stone age into an electronic one, and learn the special skills of the white man; for the society which is engulfing them is dedicated to free enterprise, and free enterprise compels even skilled workers to struggle against one another in their particular trades and professions, while it mercilessly pushes the unskilled and the half-skilled into the bottomless pit of the unemployed.

At the present time, however, the Canadian government holds a dark cloth before the eyes of its Eskimos and hides the future from them. Like parents in other lands, they hope that their children will enjoy more satisfying lives than fate has spun for them; but so great is their ignorance of the outer world that they can neither understand how they fell into their present abyss nor see any ladders which could lead them out of it. They only know that the education the white Canadians are imposing on their children unfits them for the ancient way of life which a few old people still remember, but offers them no visible alternative. They have become pawns on the white men's chess-boards, and

the white players are either not interested in their fate or unable to discover how to better it.

Sooner rather than later Canada must decide what to do with her Eskimos, for she cannot much longer clasp her hands in uncertainty and watch them soar in number while the scrolls registering government expenditures for their relief lengthen and lengthen. Her tax-payers will quickly weary of feeding their hard-earned money into a charity slot-machine which devours everything it receives and delivers nothing in return. She cannot increase the fish and game in the Arctic, and if she should attempt to provide wage-employment there by establishing industrial plants not based on the region's natural resources—for example, textile mills—they would prove so unprofitable as to be only charity institutions in disguise. Mining and industrial plants associated with mining could succeed, if launched at the propitious moment when international markets were receptive to their products; but the government cannot predict that moment, nor for ever procrastinate in anticipation of its arrival. If only the Eskimos were sheep Canada could reduce their swelling flocks until they more nearly balanced the present carrying capacity of their land; but they are not sheep, and genocide, we hope, died a long-overdue death with Adolph Hitler.

During the long ages when men were few in number and widely dispersed, they learned to be the keepers of brothers with whom they shared their daily bread, but not of cousins and neighbours beyond their sight whom they encountered too seldom to accept as kith and kin. Today, however, the world is so crowded, communications and transport so rapid, that what concerns one people or nation concerns them all, and a spark struck in eastern Asia may kindle a blaze in central Africa or Brazil. The Arctic itself has acquired a new importance because it offers the shortest air routes between the Old World and the New, and therefore obliges every large nation to screen with care events and developments around the Polar Basin. Newspapers, books, and television carry to every part of our globe descriptions and pictures of its native inhabitants, so that it is no longer possible for Canada to hide the destitution of her Eskimos, or the failure of most of her efforts to extend to them the prosperity her southern regions enjoy. What will she attempt next?

To the shortsightedness of the pre-war years she is now adding the fault of indecision; and procrastination is increasing her difficulties. When the Arctic was far away and communications difficult she deliberately averted her eyes from the Eskimos because that policy offended (and benefited) no one; and now that air travel has brought them very near she cannot make up her mind what to do with them. Already the aircraft is landing them at the door of the world's theatre and they are marching through its corridors to the stage; and still she stands wondering what role she can offer them in the drama of history.

Officials in Canada today are asking the wrong questions. They have shut their eyes to what has already happened in Greenland and Labrador, and have failed to see that Time is marching with the Eskimos, mowing down with his scythe old notions and old superstitions. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been dominated by the white race, which has imposed its mechanized civilization on the entire land surface of our globe and is now reaching into the sky and down to the oceans' floors; but the twenty-first century may well belong to the yellow race, which is fast overtaking the white and threatening its

hegemony. Marco Polo, the thirteenth century Venetian traveller, half predicted that this would happen, and he knew whereof he spoke; for after crossing the Gobi Desert to Xanadu (Shangtu), in the fabled kingdom of Cathay, he entered the service of its Mongol monarch Kublai Khan and for eleven years, in one province after another, observed how efficiently that great emperor ruled a kingdom which stretched from the China Sea almost to the Urals. Today Cathay (China) is undergoing a rebirth: already she has constructed her own nuclear power stations and exploded her own atomic bombs. Her neighbour Japan has developed a ship-building industry which leads the world, its financiers are investing huge amounts of capital in foreign lands to corner a continuous supply of minerals, oil, and other raw materials, and its merchants are invading the North American continent with textiles, automobiles, and numerous types of electronic equipment. Behind those two world powers stand the lesser nations of Eastern Asia, Korea, Outer Mongolia, Formosa, and Indo-China, swelling the yellow host to nearly a billion men, women, and children every whit as intelligent as whites; and these nations too are rapidly automating their industries and pouring their products on to world markets. By the year A.D. 2000—or shall we say 2050—Canada, if she still holds together, may be pointing with pride at her own pioneer citizens of the yellow race, Eskimos who are not Mongolians, Chinese, or Japanese, but were nevertheless the first conquerors of America's Arctic. By that time also a new generation of Canadian officials may be asking one another, not "How can the Eskimos adapt themselves to our western civilization", but "How can we adapt ourselves to this Asiatic civilization, founded on philosophies so different from our own, and propounding theories concerning the relations between mind and matter, man and nature, good and evil, which flatly contradict the doctrines Christianity has taught us during the last two thousand years?"

If the yellow peoples of Asia do succeed in wresting the torch of progress from the palsied hand of the white race, will mankind suffer an irremediable calamity? I do not think so. Their civilization—although I cannot claim deep knowledge of it—seems in many ways less crass and materialistic than our North American one, and the people more industrious. Surely it is not just an historical accident that they do not clamour for a 35- or 40-hour work-week with double pay for overtime, paid holidays and fringe benefits, so that they may fritter away most of their lives at the races and the cocktail lounges, the ball parks and the pool rooms, like eight-year-old children just released from tedious classrooms. Man certainly needs play to relieve some of his tensions; but play should be the junior partner of work, not a substitute for it. And work should unite with education to help man travel a few paces farther along the road that leads to his becoming what Carlyle calls, "all that he was created capable of being".

Education and work. Those two keys, and those alone, can unlock the door of Canada's baffling Eskimo problem. Neither by itself can be effective, for education cannot supply work where there is none, and work, steady work, is scarcely attainable today without education. Since there is virtually no wage-employment in Canada's Arctic, her Eskimos should leave their homes and emigrate to wherever employment beckons; and it is the government's duty to help them pack their bags and move to that employment. It is equally its duty

to prepare them for the move by teaching them to speak English (or French) as fluently as do white children, and by educating as many of them as possible to matriculation level. Not all Eskimos can or should migrate immediately, of course, for comparatively few are ready for the change; and if all were removed to the south now, most of them would remain public charges for the rest of their days. But the outflow should begin without further delay, an outflow not of three or four individuals only, as now, but of scores and perhaps hundreds. And it should continue for as long as there are adult Eskimos in the Arctic capable and willing to support themselves and their families, but denied the opportunity to do so.

Education is the first step in the regeneration of the Eskimos, and the government has already built the schools it deems necessary and provided the teachers. But to educate Eskimo children raised exclusively in the Arctic requires more imagination and judgement than is demanded from the run-of-the-mill teacher in southern Canada. Many of the rules taught in southern training schools do not apply to the far north, because they relate to a world with which Eskimo pupils are unfamiliar, and assume a knowledge and ideas which could never have entered the consciousness of dwellers in arctic lands.[1] Moreover, the mother tongue of Eskimo pupils is constructed differently from English, French, or any other Indo-European language. It is both inflectional and polysynthetic, so that a speaker can compress into a single word ideas for which other languages require long sentences; and compress those ideas, too, in a different sequence. Consequently, an Eskimo raised to talk in his mother tongue but pressured later to learn correct English must transform the electrical wiring of his brain, as it were, and alter the entire pattern of thinking that he imbibed with his mother's milk. This is not too hard for children below the age of puberty, but it becomes increasingly difficult after that age. Professor Aage Bügge, today's leading authority on the Eskimo language and its dialects, once remarked to me that no adult European, in his opinion, could learn to speak Eskimo fluently and correctly because his brain worked differently; and his remark confirmed my own impression gained from living three years with Eskimo families and diligently studying their speech.[2] Eskimos doubtless experience the same difficulty in learning English; and unless they acquire, before they reach their teens, the ability to think in English instead of merely translating their Eskimo thoughts into English, unless our language flows from them as unconsciously as it flows from our own children, we may question whether they can ever attain the competence they need to escape being gravely handicapped in assimilating or adapting themselves to our complex civilization.

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[1]The dialect of the Eskimos in Canada's Central Arctic fifty years ago contained no word for any fraction below one-half or for any quantity above four except "many", so that an Eskimo housemaid told by her white mistress to add an eighth of a teaspoonful of salt to the soup was likely to put in ten spoonfuls. Yet in a region where Sir John Franklin and a hundred hardy British seamen perished from starvation slightly over a hundred years ago, these Eskimos had been catching enough fish, and killing enough seals and caribou, to raise, century after century, more laughing children than their primitive numerical system could keep account of.

[2]Hudson's Bay Company traders and others who have spent many years in the Arctic often employ a simplified trade jargon which dispenses entirely with grammar and contains many English words.

Canada's arctic schools today do not impart to them this ability. Their Eskimo pupils are only slightly more bilingual than English children who learn French in the primary and middle schools of Ontario and British Columbia. I myself studied French long ago in a New Zealand high school, where I read the usual French textbooks of an English school at the beginning of the twentieth century, e.g. half a dozen plays of Molière, Racine, and Corneille, selections from French poetry, a few essays and short stories, and a book or two of travel such as Taine's 'Voyage aux Pyrénées'. But because almost no French people had emigrated to New Zealand, no conversation in French, no speech or lecture in that tongue, ever touched my ears. Then I visited France, and at Paris' Gare de Lyon asked an official, in impeccable French, to direct me to the Marseilles train. He answered me courteously in equally impeccable French, but the only word I understood was "Monsieur".

In one respect Canada's Eskimos are being better trained than I was. My ears were totally unfamiliar with the sound of the French language, whereas Eskimos are taught in English, and only English, from the day they enter a classroom. No arctic school, however, not even the 500-pupil school at Inuvik, which carries its students from primary school to matriculation, has yet qualified more than one or perhaps two Eskimos for a university. The government's schools unquestionably give Eskimo children a smattering of conversational English sufficient for their present environment, which is the only one most of them know, or ever expect to know. But is it the only one they should know, or that the Canadian government and people wish them to know?

Of one thing we can be certain. In their present environment there is very little wage-employment today, and little prospect of more employment for an indefinite number of years to come. The overwhelming majority of the Eskimos must move out of their homelands if ever they are to earn incomes large enough to erase their names from the government's relief rolls. They cannot strike their tents and migrate south without government help, for they are penniless and totally ignorant of civilization's ways. Yet if Canada could speedily train, and settle in permanent jobs outside the Arctic, two thousand or three thousand of their young men and women, she could resolve her Eskimo problem, I believe, within a single generation. Those two or three thousand trained workers, no longer condemned to a life of indigence in the far north, but standing on their own economic feet and governing their daily lives as freely as their white fellow-workers, would not totally forsake the kinsmen they had left behind, but would maintain close links with them and gradually draw many relatives to their brave new world in the south. Many others, no doubt, especially the older people, would fear that unknown world and refuse to join them; they would cling to their homes in the Arctic and for many more years continue to burden the Canadian tax-payer, not so heavily as now, probably, because there would be fewer idle hands, and some of those hands might receive remittances from the south.[1] But a steady rivulet of emigrants would relieve the excessive population which now lours over arctic settlements, and a knowledge of birth-control methods filtering in from relatives in the outside world would quickly reduce the unusually high birth-rate and stabilize the region's population at more nearly the level of its resources.

[1]Many families in impoverished Greece and southern Italy still receive, and indeed depend upon, remittances from relatives in North and South America.

Canada should welcome a small and contented population in her Arctic, even if it must struggle desperately for a livelihood and never quite succeed in escaping greater than average dependence on the public purse. She can well afford to keep a few hundred, even a few thousand Eskimos there, not for any contribution they may make to her economy—for their contribution will always be negligible—but for the same reason as she supports her subsistence farmers who scratch a bare living on the margins of agriculture, and her fishermen who harvest scarcely enough fish to hold body and soul together. In the ancient Mediterranean world the sybaritic townsmen of southern Italy and of Lower Mesopotamia drew strength and protection from the hardy mountain dwellers behind them and the sun-baked pastoralists in the deserts round about; and we sybarites of a later civilization can likewise derive inspiration and courage from our own frontiersmen, whether they are farmers in the valley of the Peace River or Eskimos in the Arctic. Their resolute struggle against nature's wildernesses forever remind us that man's most abiding possessions are not civilization's flesh-pots, not its material luxuries, but the conquest and achievements of his own mind. But we for our part must always keep faith with these frontiersmen: we must pay the debt we owe them by ensuring that their children, so far as it lies within our power, are given the same opportunities in life as our own children, are offered all the educational and other services that are indispensable for physical and mental health, without discrimination on account of race, speech, or economic and social standing.

A thousand years ago one of those flood tides which at long intervals carry men on to fortune bore a few Eskimos right across the top of Canada to Greenland, where their descendants, respected citizens of a Danish province, are contributing their mite of effort to civilization's forward drive. Today once again small ripples are agitating the waters of America's Arctic, portending a new tide which may carry many of today's Eskimos into southern Canada, and probably also into the United States. Should not both these nations extend to them the same warm welcome and assistance that they accord the hosts of immigrants who reach them from over the sea? By merging their Eskimo pioneers with citizens of Old World descent, by uniting the fortunes of America's oldest and newest inhabitants, they may ease the struggles and brighten the future of them all.

APPENDIX

In the concluding pages of this essay I pointed out that

a. Children learn a second language more easily and quickly than adults, and can become perfectly bilingual, i.e. can think as well as speak both their mother tongue and a second language, before they reach adolescence.

b. In arctic America, and particularly in arctic Canada, government schools are not imparting to Eskimo children the proficiency in English which is essential for post high-school education, or for advanced training in any technical or professional field.

Furthermore, arctic schools can never give their pupils that background of general knowledge and familiarity with American civilization and its ways which is just as important as formal education. In southern Canada children soak up this background from their environment, but it lies beyond the reach of children born and raised in the Arctic.

c. The deficient knowledge of the English language, and the consequent difficulty in profiting from higher education and training, and in acquiring special skills, are effectively closing the doors to the steady employment of Canada's Eskimos and perpetuating their almost universal indigence.

The above analysis of educational and employment problems in arctic Canada underlines the necessity for a number of policy changes. Accordingly, I submit for the government's study the following recommendations.

Recommendations

1. *That during the last two or three years of their primary-school education Eskimo children be taught in a predominantly English-speaking environment where they will be exposed to English conversation every hour of the day, not during the school period only.*[1]

Furthermore, that the brighter children, i.e. those who would clearly profit from post-primary schooling, receive this "foreign language" indoctrination outside the Arctic, in a new and stimulating environment that will widen their horizons and give them a broad background of useful knowledge to supplement what they learn in school.

To implement this policy Canada should devise, and put into execution without delay, some concrete scheme for distributing from 200 to 400 Eskimo pupils aged 11 to 15 years among a large number of southern schools, not more than ten, perhaps, to any one school. Except in the summer vacations, when they should return to their homes, the government should keep the children in those schools until they are ready to enter high school, or, alternatively, for two years.

Comments: To tear children from their homes for so long a period is not a light undertaking, although Canada has been doing this in the Arctic for many years, e.g. educating Coronation Gulf children in the Inuvik school. Fortunately, it is an undertaking in which women's organizations can render

[1]In Northern Quebec political considerations and employment opportunities may dictate the substitution of the French language for English. In all such cases the deciding factor should be the welfare of the Eskimos themselves.

very great service, especially organizations with branches in many cities, such as the Women's University Club.

A few families in Montreal and Ottawa have taken young Eskimo children into their homes for several months to speed and broaden their education. In the two or three cases that have come under my observation this arrangement, very common in Denmark, has seemed to work very well. It should be integrated into the larger scheme, however, and carefully supervised, as are other "adoption" practices.

2. *That the government assist Eskimo students who have passed Grade 10 in the Arctic to take Grades 11 and 12 in southern high schools, so that their educational standard when they obtain senior matriculation will fully equal that of southern students.*

3. *That the government establish an Eskimo-Indian "placement-office" or "function" within existing federal and/or provincial bureaus, to maintain*

a. *Up-to-date lists of all large employers of manpower (e.g. automobile manufacturers, electrical companies, etc.) which would be willing to accept Eskimo and Indian apprentices with senior (junior) matriculation, and train them for special occupations, with the government paying all (half) their apprenticeship costs.*

b. *Similar lists of hospitals which will accept matriculated Eskimo and Indian girls for training as nurses, laboratory technicians, etc.*

c. *Lists of other opportunities for Eskimos and Indians to obtain job training and wage-employment.*

Comments: Such a placement-office or bureau might conceivably form a small section in the newly-created Department of Manpower, and be given the special function of training, and absorbing into the country's agricultural, industrial and commercial life most of northern Canada's "unsettled" population, irrespective of race—a population which includes the Eskimos of the Arctic, Indians and Métis beyond the limits of agriculture, and a few families of white trappers and other frontiersmen whose under-privileged children could be equated with Métis.

The placement-office should work in very close liaison with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and also, of course, with the governments of the provinces and territories.

4. *That the government study the advisability of establishing a small Seamen's School (or Navigation School) to train Eskimo youths for the merchant marine and the Department of Transport. This school should give particular attention to navigation in ice-strewn waters, and its students receive practical training on Department of Transport icebreakers, in winter on the St. Lawrence, in summer in Hudson Bay and the High Arctic.*

Comments: At the present time it would seem advisable to locate such a school at Montreal or some other port on the St. Lawrence, where the trainees could combine academic studies on land with practical training on shipboard. The government might give serious thought, however, to the claims of

Churchill, either now or in the near future. Situated on the edge of the Arctic, it contains a mixed population of Eskimos, Indians, and whites, the two former being nearly all indigents sorely in need of better education and wage-employment. The growing use of strengthened freight-vessels in ice-strewn waters raises anew the question of extending the summer navigation season in Hudson Bay by at least two weeks, which would permit the shipment of larger quantities of wheat through Churchill and increase perhaps the trickle of imports through that port. This would apply with special force to trade with the Soviet Union, which will probably require Canadian grain for many years to come and which handles, I believe, its own marine insurance.

Other factors favour the growth of Churchill in the near future. The world's increasing demands for minerals and timber, and Canada's fast growing population, will probably provoke an early expansion of the mining industry west and southwest of Hudson Bay, the exploitation of the timber on the Nelson River, and the extension of northern Manitoba's road network to the port of Churchill itself, thereby doubling its transport connections with the prairies and increasing its importance as a trade outlet.

Churchill's inhabitants are already agitating for a junior university affiliated with the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg; and if the town grows as they anticipate, that agitation will increase. In that case an Institute of Technology would logically accompany such a university, and the institute could well absorb or include a small navigation school.

It is worth noting that Denmark has successfully operated a small navigation school in Godthåb, Greenland, for many years. She is now expanding it so that it will train Greenland fishermen to work their offshore fishing banks in well-equipped vessels of from 250 to 400 tons, in competition with fishermen from Germany, Portugal, and other countries. At the same time she is building in Greenland new shipyards capable of handling 400-ton vessels.

It should be noted, too, that the J. Lauritzen Lines of Denmark, which specializes in arctic and antarctic navigation and pioneered the winter freight service first to Quebec, then to Montreal, enlists Greenlanders among its crews and trains them with Danish seamen in its large Seamen's School at Kogtved, Denmark, a school with an international reputation.

5. *That the government inaugurate a positive Eskimo "colonization" program as soon as the "education-and-training" program outlined in Recommendations 1–3 matures, and is sending out streams of graduates with marketable skills.*

Comment: Some of the graduates should be groomed to replace white administrators, school-teachers, and nurses among their own people. The majority, however, will have to accept jobs in southern Canada; and they will accept them, undoubtedly, without hesitation. At this stage in the program the government should bring south—or assist in bringing south—whole families, and settle them in small "colonies" around nuclei of their permanently employed kindred, "colonies" similar to Canada's numerous enclaves of Italians, Russians, Chinese and others, most of which will probably disappear as the population of the country increases and the children of these immigrant groups become fully assimilated.

6. *That the government arrange, or at least supervise, all movement of the Eskimo school-children, trainees, and families it brings south, and all accommodation for them, until such time as they or their relatives can take this responsibility on their own shoulders.*

Comment: Canada's Eskimos know so little about life in a southern city such as Montreal or Vancouver that, unless they are met at the dock or airport and protected for several weeks or months, they may be victimized within an hour of landing. This is particularly true of young women. One mishap of this kind, publicized in the newspapers, could discredit an entire program.

In some places it may be advisable to build for Eskimos special hostels such as universities provide for their students, hostels that would be homes rather than common boarding-houses.

7. *That the government promote the concentration of those Eskimos who remain in the north into larger and more accessible communities which will offer better facilities for the education of the children, possibilities of a little wage-employment, and resources of fish and game within a reasonable distance.* The active hunters in these communities should be encouraged to exploit, cooperatively whenever feasible, as wide a radius as they can reach with motor-boats, skidoos, and other methods of transport, leaving their families in the settlements during brief excursions, as some of them do now.

Comment: It should be clearly understood that this concentration of Eskimos is merely a temporary expedient, foreshadowing a time not too far removed when families which cannot support themselves in the Arctic will be able to move into southern Canada and find employment there. Their temporary relocation in more accessible localities should facilitate the education of their children without gravely increasing the prevailing destitution.

In line with this policy the government should carefully weigh the alternative of relocating the inhabitants of remote settlements in the Arctic which may be difficult to staff and service, before it commits itself to the building of any new schools or nursing stations.

8. *That the government study (or re-study) from both the economic and the social angle, the merits and demerits in arctic Canada of various types of dwellings, particularly the one- or two-roomed wooden cabin without running water but heated by a small, oil-burning stove, and the two- or three-storey concrete building containing up to a dozen two-, three- and four-roomed apartments centrally heated and provided with running water throughout.*[1]

Comment: The one- or two-roomed wooden cabin prevails throughout northern Alaska and Canada, and was formerly the usual type in Greenland. Today, however, in the fishing villages of west Greenland, Denmark is feverishly erecting scores of concrete multi-storey apartment houses similar to those in the Soviet city of Noril'sk.

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[1]The Canadian government is now building two- and three-bedroom houses with running water and electric light in many settlements.

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