

# SHAPING INUIT POLICY

## THE MINUTES OF THE ESKIMO AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, 1952-62

EDITED BY PETER CLANCY AND P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER



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Shaping Inuit Policy: The Minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, 1952-62

Peter Clancy and P. Whitney Lackenbauer

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# Shaping Inuit Policy

The Minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Committee,  
1952-62

Peter Clancy, Ph.D.

and

P. Whitney Lackenbauer, Ph.D.



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## The Life and Times of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, 1952-62

PETER CLANCY and P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER

The Eskimo Affairs Committee was established in 1952 as a means to bring together people within the public administration and outside it for consideration of Eskimo problems. It is chaired by the Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and includes senior representation from that Department and from National Health and Welfare. The Commissioner of the [Royal Canadian Mounted] Police, the Manager of the Northern Stores Department of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Bishops of the two churches, or their representatives, normally attend. The Committee does not have any executive power, but has been an influence on other government departments and others in the execution of policy in the Arctic.

R.A.J. Phillips to Lionel Massey, Secretary to the  
Governor General, 20 April 1959<sup>1</sup>

During the critical decade of the 1950s, Canada's federal government identified the northern territories as an object of policy meriting systematic attention. With the deepening of Cold War tensions the region assumed greater strategic and defence significance, renewing concerns about continental defence and Canadian sovereignty. At the same time, a growing awareness of social forces within the North generated changes that called for a state response. The economic pressures within the Indigenous hunting and trapping economy inflicted considerable hardship on most residents, while the advance of southern Canadian industrial interests into the North obliged the state to assume new regulatory and promotional roles. In responding to these drivers, Ottawa faced a complicated field of administrative jurisdictions, ecologies and social structures scattered across the largest land mass in the nation.

For ten years, 1952-62, the Eskimo Affairs Committee (EAC) served as a special mechanism to deal with some major public policy issues affecting the barrenlands of the Northwest Territories (NWT). During this time the economic future of Inuit (or "Eskimos," as they were known in non-Inuit or *qallunaat* circles at the time) was subject to extensive review. Specialists judged that the "traditional" wildlife harvesting economy was in decline, and they struggled to discern new structures to replace it.

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<sup>1</sup> R.A.J. Phillips to Lionel Massey, 20 April 1959, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 85, vol. 1513, file 1012-9(1).

Furthermore, elements of the post-war welfare state were reaching the northland, provoking an extended debate on their prospective impact. Concomitantly, the state faced the task of establishing an administrative field presence sufficient for its new responsibilities. It was thus questions of state intervention in economic structure, as well as social, educational and health services, that dominated the northern policy agenda during this decade. The EAC contributed to this process in several respects. At a time when formal channels between Ottawa and Indigenous arctic interests were virtually non-existent, the committee provided a link. In differing degrees it offered a forum for representation (albeit circumscribed), coordination, consultation and legitimation.

Canada's northern state had not lacked for coordinative and decision-making mechanisms before this time. Within the bureaucracy, interdepartmental bodies had long operated at senior and intermediate levels. Prior to 1951, the Northwest Territories Council, by virtue of its membership, functioned as a senior coordinating committee. From 1948, the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (ACND) widened the range of bureaucratic players, even if it failed to match the working calibre of the council.<sup>2</sup> At intermediate levels, various committees handled more specialized issues, such as the Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection, created in 1916, that advised the council and the federal cabinet on policy and legislative changes for half a century.<sup>3</sup>

When it came to representation, however, the lack of avenues for Northerners' popular input and control exemplified the strongly colonial character of post-war northern politics. For the NWT, electoral politics only began in a most rudimentary form after the Second World War. Even here, the single federal constituency and four Territorial Council seats were confined to the Mackenzie District south of the tree line. Inuit did not have any say in the choice of any Territorial representatives until 1966, raising issues about the legitimacy of northern policy. While consultation with Euro-Canadian organizations was no substitute for the process of popular representation, it offered a way to lessen the resistance by the organized interests that preceded the northern administration into the field. This concern with organizational

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<sup>2</sup> On the ACND, see Daniel Heidt and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, eds., *The Advisory Committee on Northern Development: Context and Meeting Minutes, 1948-67* (Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security No. 4, Calgary and Waterloo: Centre for Military and Strategic Studies/Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism, 2015, rev. ed. 2018).

<sup>3</sup> On the Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection, see Peter J. Usher, "Caribou crisis or administrative crisis? Wildlife and Aboriginal policies on the barren grounds of Canada, 1947-60," in *Cultivating Arctic Landscapes*, eds. D.G. Anderson and M. Nuttall (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004): 172-199; and John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

as opposed to popular legitimation is an apt reflection of the administrative colonialism then prevalent in the North.

### Parameters of Eskimo Administration

In law and in administration, the status of Inuit changed continually through the early twentieth century. Initially Ottawa acknowledged jurisdiction over Inuit in the Northwest Territories alone. While little was known of conditions amongst Inuit, formal responsibility for them was assigned first to the Department of Indian Affairs and in 1927 transferred to the Department of Interior. A lingering dispute between Ottawa and the Province of Quebec (over the financial responsibility for Inuit relief in Arctic Quebec) led the Supreme Court to rule in 1939 that all Canadian Eskimos (Inuit) were a federal responsibility under the *Indian Act*.<sup>4</sup> This re-opened the question of how Eskimo affairs should be administered, with both the Indian Affairs Branch (IAB) and the Northern Administration offices candidates for the job.

After the Second World War, senior officials considered the prospect of recombining the Eskimo and Indian programs under the IAB. For its part, the Northern Administration argued forcefully that “there should be a uniform policy for all Eskimos in regard to education, welfare and economic problems accompanied by an integrated development of the whole Eskimo group.”<sup>5</sup> The war had drawn attention to the strategic relevance of the Canadian Arctic and brought southern military personnel into contact with Inuit, not only initiating a process of “military modernization” that culminated during the 1950s<sup>6</sup> but also raising popular and political awareness about dismal health and living conditions amongst Inuit. The federal government, driven by embarrassment as well as expanding visions of the north as a new economic frontier, conceded the need to take at least modest action. “The universality principle in social legislation such as family allowances and pensions forced the federal government to publicly recognize Eskimos as Canadian citizens entitled to its services,” political scientist P.G. Nixon observed. “For a small, activist, and disproportionately influential group of ... public servants, making Canada a better place for its Eskimo peoples was a primary objective.”<sup>7</sup> In 1950 this responsibility was awarded to the Northern Administration Branch (NAB). The

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<sup>4</sup> See Richard J. Diubaldo, “The absurd little mouse: When Eskimos became Indians,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16, no. 2 (1981): 34-40; and Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 18-55.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wright to Gibson, 23 May 1950, LAC, RG22, vol. 253, file 40-8-1(2).

<sup>6</sup> On this theme, see Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 3 (2009): 517-544.

<sup>7</sup> P.G. Nixon, “Bureaucracy and innovation,” *Canadian Public Administration* 30, no. 2 (1987): 284.

choice of a new administrative apparatus, focused specifically on arctic conditions and unencumbered by a century of precedents in Indian administration, would have significant consequences for future policy.

The designated centre for this new mandate was the Department of Resources and Development (DRD), which was renamed the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) in 1953. The Arctic Services Section, which held responsibility for the barrenlands, was particularly important and initially consisted of a small headquarters unit with no field staff. Officers travelled north with the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol supply boats or relied on RCMP detachments for advice and support. Over the decade, the arctic administration evolved into a separate field service that, while not exhaustive of the northern state, emerged as its lead element in dealing with Eskimo (Inuit) affairs.

While northern matters in general drew greater attention in Ottawa after 1945, several factors highlighted conditions among Inuit. The fur market slid into decline in the late 1940s, bringing severe pressure to bear on indigenous hunter-trappers. At the same time, the federal government extended the new post-war social transfer programs of family allowances and old age pensions to the North, injecting new cash streams into the indigenous economy but also raising fears about the corrosive effects of the welfare state on a “simple” society.<sup>8</sup> Beyond this, reports circulated of distress and starvation among certain Inuit groups (mainly in the isolated Keewatin interior), a combined result of the closure of local trading posts and of a failure in subsistence game supply.

These compounding pressures triggered a policy review in the late 1940s. The Arctic Service Section of the Northern Affairs administration engaged James Cantley, a former Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) arctic trader, to assess the condition of the trapping economy. While he highlighted a marked variation in economic conditions across the region, Cantley showed the general effects of depressed fur prices and emphasized that the commodity needs of Inuit had to be met either through trapping returns or through social assistance transfers. The essential point was that the fur trade provided a declining proportion of Inuit total income relative to transfers. Cantley warned that the “relief economy” had the potential to undermine life on the land, drawing Inuit into permanent residence at the posts to subsist on whatever rations their social assistance would permit. He demonstrated that no response to the fur market could be framed independently of the welfare issue, and proposed a close working relationship between Ottawa and the HBC. Under Ottawa’s policy supervision, the Company could manage each Indigenous person’s trading account to control his level of credit and thus avoid the accumulation of excessive credits or

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<sup>8</sup> For a critical view, see Frank Tester, “Serializing Inuit Culture: The Administration of ‘Relief’ in the Eastern Arctic, 1940-1953,” *Canadian Social Work Review* 10, no.1 (1993): 109-23.

debts. Either in concert with or in addition to social transfers, the fur price level could be stabilized in periods of falling markets in order to reinforce the Inuit's commitment to hunting and trapping as a commercially productive activity. "The actual needs as opposed to the desires – of the average Eskimos are small, generally as long as he can obtain a minimum of food, clothing and shelter without exertion on his part he will be satisfied," Cantley asserted. "It is therefore easy for him to adapt himself to a relief economy and beg rather than work for a bare subsistence." In his conclusion, he emphasized his "firm conviction that Eskimos should be kept out on the land away from settlements, as they are primarily hunters and not workers."<sup>9</sup>

When circulated within federal circles, Cantley's report elicited some strong reactions. The official responsible for family allowances in the Arctic objected to the idea of delegating authority from the RCMP to the HBC, as did various RCMP officials. For example, L.H. Nicholson was wary of relying on the HBC as the core economic institution, proposing instead a Crown company to hold a trading monopoly. Various people had proposed this concept in northern administrative circles since the 1920s,<sup>10</sup> which was less popular in the Department of Resources and Development (which was close to the HBC) than was Cantley's scheme. The department decided to hold a meeting to consider this and other matters. Rather than restricting attendance to government agencies alone, the deputy minister, Hugh A. Young, also invited the HBC and the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, who controlled the largest (albeit "private") field organizations in the Arctic. Thus was born the Conference on Eskimo Affairs.

## The Origins of the Eskimo Affairs Committee

Although the Eskimo population of Canada is now receiving family allowances, pensions, free education and free medical and nursing service, tuberculosis and other diseases are spreading among them according to reports made during a two day meeting [in Ottawa] of a continuing committee representing the main organizations interested in the Eskimo.

The conference was generally in agreement that present measures for the care and advancement of the Eskimo were sound but that they should be unified and intensified.

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<sup>9</sup> James Cantley, "Survey of Economic Conditions among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic" (Ottawa: Department of Resources and Development, 1950), 51, excerpts reproduced as document 0A.

<sup>10</sup> The idea of a government-run trading organization had been proposed by Cory in 1924 and Gibson in 1946. David Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 44.

At the same time, facing the facts of constant Eskimo deterioration as a result of contact with the white man's ways, it was recommended that they should be encouraged and helped to live off the land and to follow their traditional way of life.

“Eskimo's Life Declines,” *New York Times*, 22 May 1952.

The initial conference agenda was extremely ambitious, underscoring a wide range of substantive questions perplexing “experts” in the northern field. It began by considering Cantley's analysis of the “new” Inuit economy and the cumulative effects of government interventions. From here a number of responses were set out, ranging from the crown trading company, the creation of “Eskimo agents” in the field and price support for furs to Cantley's proposal for managing the trade in consort with the HBC. Finally, moving beyond the trapping field, alternative questions were proposed regarding Inuit education, employment practices, housing, health and wildlife harvesting. Correspondence leading up to the conference also revealed deep-seated paternalistic attitudes consistent with the invitation extended by Deputy NWT Commissioner F.J.G. Cunningham which summarized “the basic issue” as a question: “are we to regard the Eskimo as a fully privileged, economically responsible citizen with the right to spend his income as he pleases, or are we to regard the Eskimo as backward people who need special guidance in the use of their income? ... I personally feel that if we are realistic we must consider the Eskimo to be in the second category.”<sup>11</sup> The use of “we” was particularly telling.

Not surprisingly, the May 1952 conference attracted a strong attendance: fifty-five people from ten federal agencies, the Anglican and Catholic churches, and the HBC. After several days' discussion, a concluding press release suggested that the participants had reached a cautious understanding. Although careful not to censure the federal policies in place, the participants affirmed the need to push forward: “present measures for the care and advancement of Eskimos were sound, but efforts should be unified and intensified wherever possible.”<sup>12</sup> At the same time, there was little consensus on the advisability of launching new economic initiatives. Thus, officials would encourage Inuit to remain on the land and follow their traditional ways for the time being, while the school curriculum could be “improved.”<sup>13</sup> From these tentative observations would later spring a clutch of new policy initiatives.

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<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 45.

<sup>12</sup> Press Release. Department of Resources and Development. 22 May 1952, LAC, RG22, vol. 253, file 40-8-1(2).

<sup>13</sup> Gordon Robertson noted that “Notwithstanding the facts of increasing welfare needs especially in the Arctic areas in the early 1950s, and of falling fur prices,” the affirmation that Inuit should be encouraged to “follow their traditional way of life ... stemmed more from the lack of any apparent alternative to the 'traditional way of life' than from conviction that trapping and hunting could be sufficient for the future.... [and] there was nothing in the report to impart a sense of urgency to the limited program that had begun

At the initiative of senior officials in the Department of Resources and Development, the Eskimo Affairs Committee was born as a continuing consultative body. Its members were drawn from the upper echelons of the organizations, both public and private, most active in the North. Chaired by the deputy minister of Resources and Development (later Northern Affairs and National Resources), it included the RCMP commissioner, the director of the Indian Health Service (Department of National Health and Welfare) and the head of the Arctic Section (Department of Resources and Development). Additional members were the Anglican Bishop of the Arctic (Rev. D.B. Marsh),<sup>14</sup> the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Arctic (Rev. J. Trocellier) and the Fur Trade Manager for the Hudson's Bay Company (R.H. Chesshire).<sup>15</sup>

Given the breadth and complexity of the topics discussed at the initial conference, standing up a continuing committee made sense given that it would take years to frame an appropriate response to such diverse matters. The conference had admitted candidly that on the economic issues "no definite conclusions were reached on what could be done."<sup>16</sup> A newspaper story at the time observed that:

The men who have the lives and the future of Canada's Eskimos in their hands are taking a long look at what the white man's invasion of the Arctic has done to the Natives.... They agreed that the salvation of the Eskimo lies in his living off the food his land and sea produces—the seal, walrus, caribou and other meat-and-fat producing animals. They were concerned about the inclination of Eskimos to live at white settlements on charity instead of killing their own game. Employment of older natives by whites left young men without training in their traditional way of life.<sup>17</sup>

The perspective offered by Farley Mowat in the *People of the Deer* – a recently published bestseller on the fate of Inuit on the Barrens west of Hudson Bay who were "being slowly starved to death by changes made in his life by the white man" – was a more damning indictment of Canadian government neglect. "Whites have made the Eskimo almost helpless by weaning him away from hunting food and into trapping

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in 1947." Robertson, *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant: Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 118.

<sup>14</sup> On Marsh, see Donald B. Marsh, *Echoes from a Frozen Land*, ed. Winifred Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> "Northern News," *Arctic* 6, no.1 (1952), 62; reprinted from *Arctic Circular* 5, no.6 (1952): 63-64.

<sup>16</sup> Eskimo Affairs Conference. Summary of Conference Proceedings. 19-20 May 1952, LAC, RG22, vol. 253, file 40-8-1(2).

<sup>17</sup> "Our Eskimo Problem," *The Canadian* [Carleton Place, ON], 29 May 1952.

and fishing,” the newspaper summarized about Mowat’s call to action, “and then deserting him when trapping and fishing lose their profit.”<sup>18</sup>

The agencies most keenly affected by the agenda topics were invited to participate in creating follow-up machinery. The Department of Resources and Development was the sponsoring agency, given its mandate for both Inuit and the territorial administration in general. Since the future of the fur economy loomed large in any strategy, the HBC and the RCMP held central roles. Both emergency and preventative health care hinged on action by the Indian (later Northern) Health Service. Given that the latter had yet to operate on the barrens, the church mission stations and the police acted as the first level of medical aid, with the former even operating several small hospitals. The missions also served, along with the police, as sub-agents for issuing welfare and other social transfers. In this capacity they authorized the credits on which Inuit drew at the HBC posts. Finally, because officials viewed education as a crucial lever for social adaptation, the churches were again front and centre – although it remained unclear how the arctic school system would evolve. While the Arctic Section had placed its first six “welfare-teachers” into the field, the churches furnished the core of the instructional manpower and facilities in the Mackenzie District. They firmly intended to extend their reach into the Arctic and would not be displaced easily. In fact, a sub-committee on education was established at the outset to address just this question, with its membership mirroring the composition of the main committee. Chaired by James Wright (Head, Arctic Section, DRD), it included Father Laviolette (O.M.I.), Reverend H. G. Cook (Ang.), the Superintendent of Education (Department of Resources and Development) and a representative of the Indian Affairs Branch.<sup>19</sup>

As the core committee, the Eskimo Affairs Committee (EAC) met twice yearly (in May and October). This schedule brought the members together at the beginning and at the close of the northern travel season, facilitating regular reports on field conditions. As the minutes published in this volume reveal, each meeting began with briefings and policy proposals from the northern administration, then carried on to solicit members’ views on the soundness, timing and fit of the various items. One participant remarked retrospectively that “to a considerable extent, the agendas have consisted of reports by the Department, which other agencies have then discussed.”<sup>20</sup> Agendas were circulated in advance, minutes were recorded, and the deputy minister kept the ACND informed of the new initiatives vetted by the Eskimo Affairs

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<sup>18</sup> “Our Eskimo Problem.” See Farley Mowat, *People of the Deer* (Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1952).

<sup>19</sup> “Summary of the Proceedings at a Meeting on Eskimo Affairs held May 19 and 20, 1952, in the Board Room of the Confederation Building, Ottawa,” LAC, RG 85, vol. 1513, file 1012-1(1), reproduced as document 0b in this volume.

<sup>20</sup> Stevenson to Robertson, 21 April 1959, LAC, RG22, vol. 335, file 40-8-19.

Committee. Hugh Young explained the role of the EAC in policy formulation as follows:

As a long term policy, emphasis was being placed on the provision of adequate education but in the meantime there were many short-term problems. He had set up a Committee on Eskimo Affairs ... which had made valuable proposals for the solution of some of these problems.<sup>21</sup>

The EAC may have played a more extensive, and more subtle, role than this implied. Despite the absence of substantive Inuit input, a committee consensus on specific policy measures could serve to legitimize dramatic plans for social change, while prior consultation could reduce the prospects for institutional resistance in the field. First, the flow of information was decidedly two-way. It was often difficult to say who was the consultant and who the consultee, as Ottawa remained desperately short of accurate information on field conditions in the Arctic. At the same time, the federal officials in the Northern Administration Branch already held some definite ideas for future programs. What they needed was, first, the broad concurrence of committee members and, second, the support of the non-governmental agencies in the implementation of certain key measures. Both functions took on a particular importance given that their shared clientele, the Inuit themselves, were not politically organized beyond the camp level and could not be effectively consulted during the preparatory work. At one point, consideration was given to establishing local advisory committees in the North, whose membership would parallel, so far as circumstances allowed, the main Eskimo Affairs Committee.<sup>22</sup> In the end, however, departmental officials decided that “the time is not yet opportune to set up local committees.”<sup>23</sup>

### The Committee in Action

Through its decade in operation, the Eskimo Affairs Committee reflected many of the “contradictions and conflicts embedded in government policy”<sup>24</sup> – as well as the Northern Administration’s tendency to sway “between nominal egalitarianism and excessive paternalism.”<sup>25</sup> With the education question hived off into its own sub-committee, the main committee devoted most of its time to “improvements to the

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<sup>21</sup> Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development, 11<sup>th</sup> meeting, 14 September 1953, LAC, RG22, vol. 254, file 40-8-1(4), reproduced in Heidt and Lackenbauer, eds., *The Advisory Committee on Northern Development*, document 11, 180-81.

<sup>22</sup> F.J.G. Cunningham to Wright, 15 October 1952, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1513, file 1012-1(1).

<sup>23</sup> Minutes, Eskimo Affairs Committee, 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting, 6 May 1953, LAC, RG 22, vol. 253, file 40-8-1(3). Reproduced as document 2.

<sup>24</sup> Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes)*, 343.

<sup>25</sup> Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC), *The Official Mind of Canadian Colonialism* (Iqaluit: QIA, 2013), 32.

Eskimo economy.” At the EAC’s inaugural meeting in October 1952, the administration presented several complementary initiatives for consideration. It was clear that the committee would not accept the proposals to have either the Hudson’s Bay Company or a Crown trading company act as the fulcrum for economic policy. Nor was there a consensus on the advisability of social transfers *per se*, given that the administration had always been sensitive to the disruption that such programs could bring. When family allowances and old age pensions were first introduced to the Arctic,<sup>26</sup> the NWT Council prepared special rules for their distribution, aimed principally at ensuring that the new purchasing power was expended on useful producer and consumer goods.

This did not prevent continuing controversy about the impact of social transfers. Lamenting “the socialization of the Eskimo,” Bishop Marsh argued in 1953 that “government doles are ruining the morale and undermining the health of the Eskimo.”<sup>27</sup> During the winter of 1952-53, this issue had attracted a brief and exaggerated notoriety in the North American press, with the *Wall Street Journal* reporting that Inuit were applying their social transfer credits to the purchase of esoteric goods such as phonographs and alarm clocks.<sup>28</sup> Despite rebuttals from Ottawa, this image of the self-sufficient nomad losing his will for independent living was presented as a symptom of the demoralizing effect of the welfare state. Marsh lent his voice to this viewpoint. There is no evidence, however, that the committee ever questioned the social transfer system as a whole. If this underlines the essentially reactive posture of the committee, it also shows how the committee exerted influence after the Cantley proposals had lapsed.

For the time being, the Eskimo Affairs Committee chose to set aside the broad issues of merchant relations and social transfers. Instead, the Department of Northern Affairs generated a flurry of new proposals that aimed to encourage new economic activities for Inuit. An Eskimo Loan Fund was outlined to provide Inuit with capital over and above the short-term credit represented by the “trader’s stake.” Its immediate purpose was to fund producer goods such as boats, traps and, later, snowmobiles to augment the trapping industry. The loans also could be applied to alternative economic initiatives. One of these called for the promotion of small settlement-based enterprises in such areas as handcrafts, clothing, and boat building, which could be sustained in single communities and could provide cash income other than trapping. Another measure addressed the problem of land-based Inuit by proposing that select hunting and trapping groups be resettled from marginal lands to more promising but vacant territories. Still another plan called for the redirection of land-based Inuit from trapping into wage employment in settlements. The Eskimo Loan Fund could

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<sup>26</sup> See Elizabeth Chant Robertson, “Family Allowances in the Canadian Arctic,” *Polar Record* 6, no.43 (1952): 345-47.

<sup>27</sup> “The Provinces,” *Time*, 19 January 1953: 32.

<sup>28</sup> *Wall Street Journal*, 2 December 1952:13.

provide capital to support all of these activities, and its endorsement by the committee opened the way for launching many diversified initiatives.<sup>29</sup>

The Loan Fund did not support Inuit cooperatives, and this issue arose (and was resolved) in a revealing way.<sup>30</sup> The senior administrative ranks already harboured doubts about cooperatives when, in 1954, the Development Section (NAB) suggested investigating this model. Indeed, when an Inuit group at Aklavik called for help in organizing a local co-op, the response was anything but positive. The NAB director surmised that the principle was poorly understood and was being forwarded simply as a means to reduce retail prices. Although it is unclear whether the question of cooperatives was ever put directly to the committee, the administration cited it in its efforts to downplay the Aklavik request. Interpreting the latter as a call for “the government [to] enter the trading field,” the director replied that this question had been resolved at the policy level.<sup>31</sup> Senior NAB officials harboured reservations about cooperative development on ideological grounds, viewing them as socialist experiments incompatible with the federal government’s outlook.<sup>32</sup> The “project” approach to local enterprise, which the NAB had devised and the EAC had vetted, offered an alternative frame of reference to deflect the cooperative option. Cooperatives were not seriously considered again until 1959, when social mobilization was accorded more importance. At this later point the HBC led the opposition, mounting a sustained campaign to limit the spread of Inuit cooperatives which it feared as a potential source of commercial competition.<sup>33</sup>

A third issue arose out of the administrative implications of the new arctic development program and particularly the new field presence that it presumed. The 1952 conference had resisted the creation of any new arctic field service, which may have conjured up images of a new Indian Affairs bureaucracy for the far north. While the new initiatives needed special logistical support, continued opposition within the committee caused the field staff question to be deferred for several years. Arctic Section personnel were assigned to the pilot projects, but the RCMP continued to serve as the general government field service for the time being.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> On the Eskimo Loan Fund or “ELF,” see Diubaldo, “Historical Overview of Government-Inuit Relations,” 36-37; Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 114-16; and Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes)*, 165-68.

<sup>30</sup> On Inuit cooperatives, see Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Cunningham to Robertson, 10 January 1955, LAC, RG22, vol. 298, file 40-8-1(5).

<sup>32</sup> B.G. Sivertz, personal communication with Peter Clancy, 1983.

<sup>33</sup> J. Peter Clancy, “Caribou, fur and the resource frontier: A political economy of the N.W.T. to 1967” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, 1985).

<sup>34</sup> See Ryan Shackleton, “‘Not Just Givers of Welfare’: The Changing Role of the RCMP in the Baffin Region, 1920–1970,” *Northern Review* 36 (2012): 5-26.

Developments during the winter and spring of 1954 served to recast this question. The spectre of social hardship brought a sense of urgency, which dissolved the resistance. There was a rash of reports of food shortages, local destitution and even starvation among Inuit at isolated posts. In several cases emergency airlifts were organized to deliver relief rations. In other cases, confusion arose subsequently over the degree of actual privation that had occurred. Either way, external commentators questioned the administration's surveillance and reporting capacities, and publicity attached to these reports brought censorious editorial comment in the southern Canadian press as well as criticism from the parliamentary opposition. Apart from charges of social neglect, the deficiencies of the patchwork field network became starkly evident. In response, the administration attached greater urgency to the alternative economic programs and upgraded their staffing.

At its fourth meeting in May 1954, the Eskimo Affairs Committee was briefed on the establishment of a new headquarters unit, the Arctic Division, which would handle all Eskimo programs except education and game. For the field, the new position of Northern Service Officer (NSO) was announced, along with six initial postings. "It is not intended that these men [NSOs] will take over the functions presently being performed by R.C.M.P. or others in the field," the Northern Administration sought to reassure committee members, "but rather that they will endeavour to co-ordinate the activities of all field organizations with a view to making the greatest possible use of all resources available and to improving the economy and living conditions among the Eskimos in the areas to which they are assigned." Under the circumstances, the committee could offer little principled objection. On the economic issues, "it was generally agreed that satisfactory progress was being made in this direction and that the program being followed was meeting the immediate need and could be expanded gradually as needs arise and required information becomes available."<sup>35</sup>

The Liberal government's new policy approach was unveiled in a 1955 article in *The Beaver* magazine by Jean Lesage, Minister of a newly-created Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR). Echoing Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's December 1953 speech in parliament that announced the new department,<sup>36</sup> Lesage acknowledged that Canada had, in the past, administered the north "in an almost continuing state of absence of mind." His policy statement suggested that this was going to change:

The objective of Government policies is ... to give the Eskimos the same rights, privileges, opportunities, and responsibilities as all other

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<sup>35</sup> Minutes, Eskimo Affairs Committee, 4<sup>th</sup> meeting, 10 May 1954, LAC, RG22, vol. 298, file 40-8-1(5), reproduced as document 4 in this volume.

<sup>36</sup> Canada, House of Commons *Debates* (8 December 1953), 696-7 (Mr. St. Laurent). See also Robertson, *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant*, 114-15.

Canadians, in short, to enable them to share fully in the national life of Canada .... Sentimentalists of earlier days used to speak of the noble savage, of the degradation of civilization, of the beauties of primitive life and of a return to nature. Their counterparts today advise that the Eskimo be left alone lest he be spoiled. It is easy to understand and share the regret often expressed at the passing of the self-sufficient primitive Eskimo. But a little reflection makes it clear that the preservation of the Eskimo in his primitive state is not a real alternative, for it is not possible.<sup>37</sup>

Historian Richard Diubaldo noted that this marked “a grudging change from a policy of keeping the native native, to one of tutelage and advancement by a still paternalistic government. Oftentimes, government effort would be muddled and frenzied, long on compassion but short on understanding. Gains would be made, but a price would be paid.”<sup>38</sup>

The pace of administrative change quickened after Lesage announced the results of the educational policy deliberations in March 1955. The new policy involved “an extensive program of construction of schools and hostels to provide better education for children in the N.W.T.”<sup>39</sup> The educational issue was one of the most complicated that Ottawa faced in the 1950s, in large part because of the entrenched church interests and the need to break with longstanding arrangements. Here developments in the Arctic were tied to negotiations in the Mackenzie District, and Lesage’s announcement marked the culmination of a decade of manoeuvring. The government established a single integrated system of day and residential schools across the NWT.<sup>40</sup> Over a six-year period, Ottawa proposed to build, fund and operate the schools, while also funding church-run residential hostels. In the arctic region, this represented an entire new program in practical terms, with the schools actively contributing to the migration of Inuit to settlements.<sup>41</sup>

The middle years of the EAC saw a shift in focus in committee deliberations. The program outlined after 1952 embraced a multiplicity of small projects, whose general impact depended on their cumulative success and steady extension. For instance, several small groups of a dozen families or fewer had been relocated to new

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<sup>37</sup> Jean Lesage, “Enter the European: V. Among the Eskimos. Part 2,” *The Beaver*, outfit 285 (Spring 1955): 3-9.

<sup>38</sup> Richard J. Diubaldo, “A Historical Overview of Government-Inuit Relations, 1900-1980s” (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1992), 30.

<sup>39</sup> Press Release, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 28 March 1955, LAC, RG22, vol. 298, file 40-8-1(6).

<sup>40</sup> R.J. Carney, “Relations in education between the federal and territorial governments and the Roman Catholic church in the Mackenzie District, N. W.T. 1867-1961” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971).

<sup>41</sup> On this process, see Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*.

hunting and trapping territories by 1954 at Resolute Bay (Qausuittuq), Craig Harbour, Banks Island (Sachs Harbour), and other locations.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, on the wage employment front, groups of Inuit men were sent to Churchill and Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) to learn maintenance skills, while others were placed at mines in the Ungava and at Rankin Inlet (Kangiqliniq). The local manufacturing projects were similarly diverse: boat building and repair at Lake Harbour (Kimmirut) and Tuktoyaktuk, art at Cape Dorset (Kinngait), and small stores at Craig Harbour and Herschel Island (Qikiqtaruk).

While this thrust continued, and accelerated after 1959, the situation at mid-decade opened a new set of possibilities. The advent of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line defence installations, along with the nickel mine being developed at Rankin Inlet, held out the prospect of absorbing not handfuls but hundreds of Inuit workers. While the Department of Northern Affairs was concerned about the social impact of such developments, it also recognized the economic possibilities they brought and their obvious fit with a second economic strategy.<sup>43</sup> The Canada-U.S. treaty on the DEW line included rules governing the use of local labour, and stipulated that “matters affecting the Eskimos, including the possibility of their employment in any area and the terms and arrangements for their employment, if approved, will be subject to the concurrence of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.”<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, one of the NSOs’ most important early

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<sup>42</sup> The High Arctic relocations have been well documented in previous studies, most of which were written to encourage the federal government to apologize to and compensate the relocated Inuit. See, for example, René Dussault and George Erasmus, *The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953-55 Relocation* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994); Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit and Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994); Alan R. Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995); and Shelagh Grant, *Errors Exposed: Inuit Relocations to the High Arctic, 1953-1960*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) no.6 (Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 2016). For critical responses, see Magnus Gunther, “The 1953 Relocations of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic – A Documentary Analysis and Evaluation” (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1992); and Gerard Kenney, *Arctic Smoke & Mirrors* (Prescott, ON: Voyageur Publishing, 1994).

<sup>43</sup> Lesage, “Enter the European,” 3-9.

<sup>44</sup> The Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America Governing the Establishment of a Distant Early Warning System in Canadian Territory, 5 May 1955, asserted that: “The Eskimos of Canada are in a primitive state of social development. It is important that these people be not subjected unduly to disruption of their hunting economy, exposure to diseases against which their immunity is often low, or other effects of the presence of white men which might be injurious to them. It is therefore necessary to have certain regulations to govern contact with and matters affecting Canadian Eskimos.”

assignments, other than organizing training projects, came in the form of liaising with DEW Line managers, helping to screen applicants for employment, and monitoring wage and work conditions.<sup>45</sup> The EAC had considered the prospect of setting a uniform wage rate for all Inuit labourers, which would either have forced the older northern agencies up to DEW line standards or allowed the defence contractors to pay their Inuit employees a lower wage that reflected the northern average. In the end, the committee concluded that the uniform wage was not practical and instead asked organizations to simply “inform the Arctic Division of the wages being paid by their various establishments so that this information may be available in considering the various aspects of employment.”<sup>46</sup>

Canadian officials were concerned about the effects that military projects would have on Inuit. At the request of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the bilateral agreement laying out conditions for building the DEW Line included provisions to protect the Inuit from any fundamental disruption to their way of life and health. Commentators took note. The government “insisted that no activity in any form should interfere with the Eskimos’ normal way of life, or of making a living,” Richard Morenus wrote in his epic 1957 book on the DEW Line. “Eskimos could be used as guides or as workers in certain types of jobs, but only after the Department agents had given their okay.” He painted a positive portrait of “very intelligent” government support:

These people, they explained firmly, were Canadian Eskimos, and Canada planned to have them stay that way. Eskimos, living as Eskimos have always lived, will remain a proud and valiant race with intelligent co-operative help. Canada will never allow her natives to become serfs or charges through assimilation if she can possibly prevent it.... They are not menials or servants. They are a proud people in their own land. The result is a splendid sense of equality among all the men working on the Line. There is no segregation, favoritism, or sense of superiority in one human over another. Up there in the Arctic there is a common bond in one world.<sup>47</sup>

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<http://www.treaty-accord.gc.ca/text-texte.aspx?id=101010>. R.A.J. Phillips explained that “in this way the Canadian government hoped to avoid conscious or unconscious exploitation in trading or in sex, and to be spared the ill effects of misguided acts of intended kindness.” Phillips, *Canada’s North* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 171.

<sup>45</sup> “Instructions for NSOs,” paper for 6<sup>th</sup> meeting, Eskimo Affairs Committee, 30 May 1955, LAC, RG22, vol. 298, file 40-8-1(6).

<sup>46</sup> Minutes, Eskimo Affairs Committee, 5<sup>th</sup> meeting, 29 November 1954, LAC, RG85, vol. 1513, file 1012-1(2), reproduced as document 5 in this volume.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Morenus, *The DEW Line: Distant Early Warning, The Miracle of America’s First Line of Defense* (New York: Rand McNally, 1957), 82.

Others were less certain that traditional Inuit life could withstand the new pressures. “The question whether the DEW Line will serve any useful military purpose has still to be answered, but there is no doubt that it will have a profound and lasting effect on the Arctic,” C.J. Marshall, the director of the Northern Research Co-ordination Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, anticipated in 1957. “Inevitably, the lives of most of the Eskimos in the region will be drastically altered.” Material prosperity brought benefits and temptations that would usher in a “new pattern of life” for the Inuit, but Marshall ended with optimism: “The adjustment will not be easy but with reasonable controls and guidance there is no reason why the DEW Line should not be a boon to the Arctic even if it does not prove to be a shield for the rest of North America.”<sup>48</sup>

The question of how to build a new, diversified Northern economy that would provide stable wage employment for Inuit “inclined to experiment with a new life,” which spread thin the Arctic Division’s modest resources,<sup>49</sup> also occupied much of the EAC’s energies. “The employment opportunities for local labour, created by the construction of the Distant Early Warning line, the move of Aklavik, and other government construction programs have provided some much needed additional income for a number of those who were formerly dependent upon fur trapping for a livelihood,” the DNANR Annual Report for 1955-56 noted. “These and similar opportunities will occur for several years, but only a relatively small proportion can be counted upon to continue for longer than that. They therefore cannot be regarded as a cure for the problem of economic distress in these communities but merely as a short-term palliative.”<sup>50</sup> At the peak of its brief but intense construction phase from 1955-57, the DEW Line employed from 200-250 Inuit. An estimated one-quarter of the Western Arctic population depended directly or indirectly on the radar system for employment, and construction jobs offered larger cash rewards than trapping, changing the local socio-economic and political hierarchy.<sup>51</sup> “Men whose force of character or superior skill and prowess in hunting gained them acknowledged influence over their fellows” were supplanted from traditional leadership positions, anthropologist Diamond Jenness noted, by southern “strangers, ignorant of the

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<sup>48</sup> C.J. Marshall, “North America’s Distant Early Warning Line,” *The Geographical Magazine* 29, no. 12 (April 1957). On these themes, see P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “At the Crossroads of Militarism and Modernization: Inuit-Military Relations in the Cold War Arctic,” in *Roots of Entanglement: Essays in Native-Newcomer Relations*, ed. Myra Rutherdale, Kerry Abel, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 116-58.

<sup>49</sup> Phillips, *Canada’s North*, 172.

<sup>50</sup> Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources Annual Report, 1955-56, 101-102.

<sup>51</sup> J.D. Ferguson, “Field-Work in the Western Arctic,” LAC, RG 85, vol. 1654, file NR2/3-3 pt.1.

language and thoughts of the Eskimos.”<sup>52</sup> With the radar installations all but complete by late 1957, about 100 Inuit retained permanent positions as maintenance workers across the Canadian Arctic. The timely opening of the North Rankin Nickel Mine in 1957 served to sustain the drive for training and wage employment. During its operating years (1958-63), the mine employed an average of 80 Inuit workers.<sup>53</sup> To bridge the skills gap, various types of training was offered at Frobisher Bay and Churchill, as well as at the Leduc Vocational Training Centre in Alberta. Discerning opportunities for technical training and the development of transferrable skills for a wage economy (or mixed economy) increasingly occupied the committee’s agenda in the late 1950s.

The function of the Eskimo Affairs Committee began to change to meet wide-ranging state initiatives. Increasingly it was presented with detailed reports about projects with underlying rationales that lay beyond committee debate. Social and economic pressures originating in the North had forced Ottawa to act according to a timetable and on a scale not unanimously supported at the committee level. For example, RCMP Commissioner Nicholson grew increasingly apprehensive about the plans for social change and outlined these concerns publicly in a 1959 article in *The Beaver* magazine.<sup>54</sup> Nicholson also urged caution on his committee colleagues, though senior northern officials saw this as a backward-looking effort “to insulate the Eskimos to a degree that we think is not realistic or in the long run advantageous.”<sup>55</sup>

Some northern officials were uncomfortable with the fast pace of action. In an early 1955 memorandum, James Cantley, the secretary to the EAC, questioned the efficacy and even the legitimacy of the expanded state role. “We should never delude ourselves into believing that Eskimos are just waiting to be shown a better way of life,” he cautioned: “their present way suits them very well so long as they can be assured of the necessities and a few small luxuries.” To provide a modicum of control over how Inuit spent their income and prevent excessive dependency, he again recommended the HBC and the RCMP. “Once the break from the traditional ways has been made, there can be no turning back,” Cantley warned. “How will [Inuit] regard all these plans we are making on their behalf?” Turning specifically to the role of the EAC, he noted the difficulties that a functionally-defined administration faced in reaching even internal agreement on policy. In Cantley’s assessment, the EAC had not fulfilled its mandate as a coordinator. On the contrary, he lamented that “each

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<sup>52</sup> Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 162.

<sup>53</sup> Robert G. Williamson, “Eskimo Underground” (Ph.D. dissertation, Uppsala University, 1974).

<sup>54</sup> L.H. Nicholson, “The problem of the people,” *The Beaver*, outfit 289 (Spring 1959): 20-24.

<sup>55</sup> Robertson to Sivertz, 22 December 1958, LAC, RG22, vol. 298, file 40-8-1(10).

faction sees to its own interests.”<sup>56</sup> The memorandum was not well received, and Alexander Stevenson replaced Cantley as the committee secretary soon thereafter.

Not surprisingly, the committee played a diminished role in the latter half of its life. After May 1955, meetings were trimmed to once yearly, in the spring. The motors of social change had shifted from the old institutional orders to new ones. Corporate capital and public finance began to overshadow the merchant traders and missions, forcing the latter into rearguard skirmishes to protect their remaining prerogatives. New consultative structures, such as the triennial Northern Resource Conferences inaugurated by the Department of Northern Affairs in 1957, offered channels for industrial resource firms to advise on policy. Even in the field, the outline of new local authorities could be discerned. By 1959 there were more than 20 Northern Service Officers spread through communities in the Arctic. A sign of the administrative evolution of the field force was the elimination of the NSO position (with its developmental overtones) and the designation of those personnel as “settlement managers.”<sup>57</sup>

With the changing times, the EAC would have to adapt or would fade away. “A full review of the health, wealth, and welfare of the Eskimo was completed yesterday amid indications that that the annual conference of the Eskimo Affairs Committee will have to change with the times,” an article in the *Ottawa Journal* reported in March 1960. “Committee members agreed that their annual meeting, originally a quiet one-day exchange of views among government, church, and business representatives, now has too much to handle as constituted at present, largely because of expanded government reports.” Northern Affairs deputy minister Gordon Robertson observed that, even with the addition of a second day to the meeting that year, “more discussion and fewer reports are needed to cover all aspects.” Accommodating Inuit delegates accentuated this change. “The four delegates, backed by three visitors and a number of Eskimos employed by the Northern Affairs Department, chipped in freely yesterday with suggestions and requests ranging from the need for more northern laundry and bathing facilities to hostels for children whose parents have gone hunting.” The Inuit delegates did not speak with a single voice. “Some plugged for adherence to the old hunting life, others for proposed new

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<sup>56</sup> Cantley to Robertson, 13 January 1955, LAC, RG22, vol. 298, file 40-8-1(5). See also Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 48.

<sup>57</sup> On this process and the broader issue of community leadership, see R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 222-31; and Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 199.

written form Eskimo [Inuktitut] and most opposed the idea of northern apartment-style dwellings to replace tents, igloos or single-dwelling housing.”<sup>58</sup>

### “A Significant and Historic Step”<sup>59</sup>: Inuit Delegates to the Committee

Inuit themselves were conspicuously absent from EAC meetings until 1959. Frank Cunningham, the acting director of the Development Services Branch at DRD, explained in June 1952 why Inuit were not brought to the “informal gathering of those people who ... could contribute something towards the solution of Eskimo problems”:

The only reason why Eskimos were not invited to the meeting was, apart from the difficulties of transportation and language, that it was felt that few, if any, of them have yet reached the stage where they could take a responsible part in the discussions. There is, as you know, no tribal system among the Eskimos and no leaders other than those of small family groups. It would therefore be quite impossible to select any individual – or even a small group – which could speak authoritatively for all the Eskimos. Conditions and customs vary greatly throughout the Arctic. This does not mean that the Eskimo viewpoint was not presented to the meeting. Many of those attending were men who are or have been very closely associated with Eskimos and who have their interests and welfare very much at heart.<sup>60</sup>

While Inuit did have limited access to *qallunaat* education at the time, the statement also reveals prevailing paternalistic attitudes in Ottawa.<sup>61</sup> Seven years later, federal officials conceded that “with changing circumstances in the Arctic it is obviously desirable to begin to get the participation of the Eskimos themselves.”<sup>62</sup>

In the winter of 1958/59, the Department of Northern Affairs decided to invite two Inuit representatives – one from the Eastern Arctic and one from the Western Arctic – to attend the committee’s tenth meeting and called for nominations from Northern Services Officers in communities across the region to represent “a cross-section of the Eskimo people. The representatives would need to speak English and

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<sup>58</sup> Canadian Press, “See Revamp of Eskimo Committee,” [Ottawa] *Journal*, 30 March 1960.

<sup>59</sup> Gordon Robertson, “Report on the Arctic,” 28 March 1960, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(7).

<sup>60</sup> F.J.G. Cunningham to Clyde Kennedy, 15 June 1952, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1513, file 1012-1(1). This echoed the rationale for denying residents of the Eastern Arctic representation on the NWT Council around this time. See Robertson, *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant*, 115.

<sup>61</sup> Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 46.

<sup>62</sup> A. Stevenson to V.F. Valentine, 15 January 1960, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1232, file 1012-9(3).

“be at least sufficiently acquainted with our southern ways so that they will not be completely baffled by parliamentary procedures and adequately self-confident so they would be prepared to contribute their opinions and present the views of the Eskimo population and the various matters affecting Northern development and Eskimo affairs.”<sup>63</sup> Abraham Okpik of Aklavik, John Ayaruark of Rankin Inlet, and George Koneak of Fort Chimo (Kuujuuaq) all held wage-earning jobs in the settlements – with Rankin sending another representative (Shingituk) “on their own initiative and with their own funds.”<sup>64</sup> While the department explained their selection “on the grounds of intelligence, assertiveness, and ability to express themselves clearly,”<sup>65</sup> some committee members lamented the absence of at least one hunter-trapper.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, the secretary to the EAC considered it a “significant step in the development of the Eskimo people,” with Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker and Minister Alvin Hamilton briefly attending the meeting to attest to its importance.<sup>67</sup> The Inuit delegates “are not coming as observers but to take a full part in the Committee’s discussions,” a press announcement explained. “All are men of leadership in their communities, nominated by their own people to speak with the voice of Eskimos living in the Eastern, Western, and Central Arctic.” The department emphasized that “this has not happened in Canada before. It will be the first time that Eskimos, and those who are concerned with the well-being of the Eskimo people, have shared in tackling the problems of the changing life of the Arctic.”<sup>68</sup>

The participation of Inuit at the EAC meeting “went very much better than even the most optimistic of us had been inclined to think possible,” deputy minister Gordon Robertson wrote to Minister Hamilton in May 1959. “None of the Eskimos were at all overwhelmed by the meeting and all of them expressed views freely and forcefully. They showed a complete capacity to express themselves – either in English or in Eskimo [Inuktitut] – and they had obviously thought about the things they wished to say and in many cases discussed them with members of their own communities.” Robertson highlighted the recurrent theme that Inuit life was changing and their participation in “the new way of life” required better education. “The most striking presentation was made in Eskimo by Mr. Ayaruark,” Robertson noted. “He gave the greatest emphasis to the point that the life on the land has

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<sup>63</sup> Administrator of the Arctic, “Eskimos to Attend Committee on Eskimo Affairs,” 24 March 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1).

<sup>64</sup> R.G.R. to Mr. Sivertz, 24 April 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1).

<sup>65</sup> Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources to Treasury Board, 5 February 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1).

<sup>66</sup> Minutes, Eskimo Affairs Committee, 10<sup>th</sup> meeting, 25 May 1959, LAC, RG22, vol. 335, file 40-8-19. Reproduced as document 10.

<sup>67</sup> A. Stevenson to Mr. Rudnicki et al, 15 May 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1).

<sup>68</sup> A. Stevenson to James McCook, 29 May 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1).

become too precarious in the area west of Hudson Bay, that the people could not live 'the Eskimo way of life' any longer, they could not afford to wait for a slow change to a new way of life, they change had to be rapid and it had to be now." John Ayaruark insisted that the key was getting more children into the government-run school in Rankin Inlet. "I do not think that anyone listening could help but be moved by the extent to which the Eskimo representatives understood what was going on among their people," Robertson observed, "and the extent to which they wanted the Eskimos to be equipped by education and training to play an equal part."<sup>69</sup>

Others were similarly enthusiastic about what proved to be a watershed moment in Inuit securing an opportunity to articulate their priorities and needs and to advise the federal government on policy related to their people. Bent Sivertz wrote to Robertson that "the performance of the Eskimos was something that I could not have forecast." He and his staff had "tried not to implant either ideas or words" into the Inuit delegates' minds or mouths during their conversations before the meeting, and Sivertz had simply encouraged them to "think and talk about big things not small things, - where we are heading and principles in connection with goals rather than minor stumbling blocks or holes in the road which we could have mended by proper instruction." While a few of the Inuit interventions dealt with personal matters (such as Okpik's allegations about unanswered letters and Shingituk's desire for higher pay as a ship's pilot), Sivertz "came away with the impression that the Eskimos acquitted themselves well," and everyone with whom he had spoken seemed to share his sentiment.<sup>70</sup> "Practically speaking, each of the Inuit delegates proposed more Inuit control over Inuit affairs in meaningful ways, rather than through the exercise of limited formal responsibilities," scholars Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski explained. "The government, which had solicited Inuit delegates for its showcase meeting, got more than it bargained for. A process had been started that could not easily be stopped."<sup>71</sup>

Inuit representation grew in both numbers and in its active participation in subsequent EAC meetings. The four representatives at the eleventh meeting were elected "by their own people" by secret ballot in the Tuktoyaktuk, Coppermine (Kugluktuk), Baker Lake (Qamani'tuaq), and Great Whale River (Kuujuarapik) areas.<sup>72</sup> Northern Affairs accepted the results, even when they did not produce candidates that its field staff would have identified. "The winner was a surprise to all

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<sup>69</sup> R.G.R. to Minister, 26 May 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1).

<sup>70</sup> B.G. Sivertz to Deputy Minister, 26 May 1959, LAC, RG 85, vol.1065, file 1012-9(1). For Okpik's recollections of the meeting, which focus mainly on the government officials whom he met, see Abraham Okpik, *We Call it Survival*, ed. Louis McComber (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2005), 158-65.

<sup>71</sup> Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 350.

<sup>72</sup> A. Stevenson to Mr. Carter, 15 March 1960, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1232, file 1012-9(3).

the whites in the community, who were certain that they understood the local power structure,” Eugene Rheame wrote from Tuktoyaktuk in early 1960. “Some of the whites vehemently protested that the election resulted in an unsatisfactory choice, and wept that the local Eskimo, in his ignorance, was selling himself down the drain. Most of the officials[,] however, accepted democracy for what it is. The Eskimos seemed delighted.”<sup>73</sup> The EAC chairman indicated that the DNANR would choose different areas each year from which to elicit Inuit representatives, and delegates eventually included hunters and trappers as well as Inuit engaged in wage employment to represent various means of livelihood.<sup>74</sup> While all of the elected representatives were men, Inuit women served as interpreters at various meetings and occasionally used this opportunity to offer their thoughts during the discussions. Over time, Inuit from communities across the Canadian Arctic were invited to submit agenda topics,<sup>75</sup> and interpreters were brought in to the meetings themselves to facilitate dialogue with those who did not speak English in both eastern and western dialects of Inuktitut.<sup>76</sup> During the last three years of its existence, the Committee also distributed a condensed version of the meeting minutes in Inuktitut, including “only items considered of particular interest to the Eskimo people” – as selected by the Welfare Division at DNANR.<sup>77</sup>

By 1962, Inuit representatives had become a major voice, and perhaps the central fixture, of the committee’s deliberations. “Since the Tenth Meeting of the Committee, when Eskimo delegates first appeared at the meetings, I and the other members of the Committee have come to rely upon them more and more for their

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<sup>73</sup> E. Rheame to L.B. Post, 20 January 1960, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1232, file 1012-9(3). Contrast with the assessment of Tester and Kulchyski, who emphasize that “administrators sometimes had a hard time accepting the judgement of local Inuit” in selecting delegates as evidence of “a basic lack of respect for traditional leaders and political values generally.” They also suggest that “in spite of the best efforts of the bureaucrats to prevent it, traditionally minded Inuit leaders did get elected ... as delegates to the southern conferences.” Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes)*, 356. These authors neglect to mention that government officials accepted the results of local elections and did not seek to delegitimize the views of Inuit representatives at the committee meetings, as the minutes in this volume demonstrate.

<sup>74</sup> J.E. Cleland to R.A.J. Phillips, 23 December 1960, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1065, file 1012-9(4).

<sup>75</sup> C.M. Bolger to Regional Administrator, Frobisher Bay, 6 February 1961, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1232, file 1012-9(3).

<sup>76</sup> C.M. Bolger to Mr. Rudnicki, 4 March 1960, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1232, file 1012-9(3).

<sup>77</sup> C.M. Bolger, Memorandum to file: Distribution of Minutes, 23 November 1961, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(5). For more on the condensed version, designed to “be distributed as widely as possible to ensure that all the Eskimo people” in the various regions “have a chance to read it,” see G.F. Parsons to Northern Administrators, 19 December 1961, LAC, RG 85, vol. 653, file 1012-9(2).

**Table: Inuit Delegates to the Eskimo Affairs Committee, 1959-62**

Year	Name	Area
1959	Abraham Okpik	Aklavik
	George Koneak	Fort Chimo
	John Ayaruark	Rankin Inlet
	Shingituk	Rankin Inlet
1960	Jacob Oweetalktuk	Great Whale River
	Amero	Baker Lake
	Jimmy Jacobson	Tuktoyaktuk
	Mike Kilikapioyak	Coppermine
1961	David Panoyakak	King William Island
	David Haniliak	Cambridge Bay
	Osawetok	Cape Dorset
	Anawakalook	Frobisher Bay
1962	Victor Allen (Kisoun)	Inuvik
	Paul Oolateetah	Pond Inlet
	Paniyuk	Coral Harbour
	Johnnie Inukpuk	Port Harrison

intimate knowledge of Eskimo ways and the insight which they can give into the problems peculiar to the Eskimo,” chairman Gordon Robertson extolled. “I do not believe this Committee could effectively function without their advice.”<sup>78</sup> Anthropologist David Damas observed that:

While some of the suggestions and remarks of the Inuit representatives bore a parochial flavour, others were pithy. They expressed their positive impression of the marvels of the outside world and wished that such benefits and comforts could be theirs as well, but they also showed resistance to the notion that they wished to be wards of the state. When H.W. Sutherland of the HBC commented on the movement of people from small settlements to Frobisher Bay without any real prospect of full employment, one Inuit representative replied that the people did not seek handouts and asked whether it was intended to make idlers out of Inuit people or to make them productive citizens.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Draft chairman’s speech, March 1962, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(7).

<sup>79</sup> Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 51.

Of course, Inuit participants did not express monolithic views to the committee. Subjects like the right to consume alcohol, the viability of traditional ways of life, economic opportunities, and education methods elicited divergent opinions. Providing a forum for Inuit to present their views directly, however, represented an important breakthrough. “The real significance of the ... meetings of the committee to which Inuit representatives were invited,” Damas concluded, “was that, after three and a half decades of assuming administrators knew what was best for the Inuit, there was finally response from representatives of the Inuit and a clearer idea of what their needs were.”<sup>80</sup>

### The Committee in Retrospect

The Eskimo Affairs Committee weighed in on significant public policy questions over a pivotal decade in the development of Canada’s Arctic and Inuit policy. Assessing its impact as a decision-making body is more difficult. Strictly speaking, the Minister of Northern Affairs was not bound by committee decisions, nor was he even obliged to take its views into account. Yet clearly there were advantages in according the committee some role as a consultative body. The Department of Northern Affairs assumed the mandate for “Eskimo affairs” at a time of considerable social flux and possessed little administrative or practical experience to guide it. Not only did the committee embrace the widest range of arctic field agencies, it also contributed in a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, manner to remedying the NWT Council’s obvious limitations in handling matters north of the tree line. The committee emerged, at the initiative of the northern administration, in the absence of indigenous representative channels, yet its role was clearly calculated. It was never intended to be broadly representative, but rather to enlist the advice of selected interests that had preceded the northern administration into the field.

The EAC was constituted neither as an external advisory committee nor as an internal administrative working group. Instead, it was cautiously composed of a civil service majority and a non-governmental minority. The committee itself became a site for exchanging, adjusting, and accommodating the concerns of its diverse constituents. The non-governmental organizations represented on the committee sometimes succeeded and sometimes failed in their efforts to shape policy outputs. On some issues the victory was temporary, as in delaying the creation of an arctic field service or the extension of Inuit cooperatives. On other matters the impact was more permanent, such as rejecting the idea of a crown trading company. The negative or blocking character of such efforts is revealing: whether due to its diverse make-up or its essentially reactive posture, the committee was better able to register its opposition to specific initiatives than to formulate and promote positive programs.

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<sup>80</sup> Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, 51.

The broad transition from the “old” agencies to the “new” did not necessarily reflect a zero-sum conflict in which the old triumvirate was implacably opposed to change. In many respects, the resources of the missions, the RCMP, and the HBC were stretched desperately thin in the 1950s, by which time they may have been unable to absorb any new responsibilities unless the expense was underwritten heavily by the state. So long as elements of Ottawa’s development program seemed congruent with past practice, this traditional “trinity” of northern stakeholders welcomed them. For the HBC, the new social transfers dramatically augmented native purchasing power. The only danger lay in the advent of retail cooperative competition, cutting into the flow of commerce. The police were often ambivalent about their general administrative duties and expressed willingness to get back to their classical function.<sup>81</sup> As the 1950s ended, these political struggles intensified but found channels outside the EAC process.

By the early 1960s, some stakeholders worried about policies that increasingly centralized control over Inuit in the DNANR and eschewed longstanding approaches guided by “the pioneers of the north.” The most detailed public critique was penned by Clement Brown, a reporter with *Le Devoir*, and published in April 1961. Bearing the quiet imprint of frustrations expressed by disgruntled Catholic church representatives who believed that the integrity of the EAC was undermined by the “autocratic attitude” of certain Northern Affairs bureaucrats dictating an agenda, his article is worth quoting in full:

It appears in Ottawa that there is question that the Committee on Eskimo Affairs of the Department of Northern Affairs will be dissolved shortly due to a lack of enthusiasm on the part of certain of its members. Apparently, the Committee would not tolerate the attitude of certain members of the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs.

We recall that last year scrapes of a serious nature took place, in the same Committee, on account of the presentation of a report of a Sub-Committee on the outcome of education. Now, we ask if this kind of censure does not come from certain members almighty in their northern kingdom, not wanting to admit the religious outcome of education.

Here, in brief, is the history of the famous Committee formed in 1952. In the month of May of the same year a conference of two days

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<sup>81</sup> Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada*; Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*; Ryan Shackleton, “‘Not Just Givers of Welfare’: The Changing Role of the RCMP in the Baffin Region, 1920–1970,” *Northern Review* 36 (2012): 5-26. On changes to the HBC, including the renaming of the Fur Trade Department as the Northern Stores Department in 1959 in light of operational changes in the North, see Geraldine Harris, “An Archival Administrative History of the Northern Stores Department, Hudson’s Bay Company, 1959-1987” (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1994).

brought together about sixty citizens confronted with problems by the Eskimo population. There were representatives of different departments in the Northwest Territories, of the R.C.M.P., of the Hudson's Bay Company, three Roman Catholic bishops, the Anglican bishop and several missionaries of every faith working in the northern regions. The group took into account that the economy and the Eskimo society were overthrown by a dense infiltration of the western civilization in the Arctic and, also, on the other hand, the Canadian government did not have the appropriate solution to these new problems.

It is following this reunion that the Committee on Eskimo Affairs was founded. The organization was formed of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (Deputy Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs), the Anglican bishop, a representative of the Roman Catholic church, a representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Commissioner of the R.C.M.P., the Director of medical services for Indians, and the Director of Northern Administration, Department of Northern Affairs. The last named was made president of a Sub-Committee in charge exclusively of the problems of Eskimo education. This Sub-Committee was formed of representatives of the Catholic missionaries, the Anglican missionaries, and the Superintendent of Education in Northern Administration.

Its most influential members thought of abandoning the organization and leaving to the members in question the responsibility of a situation which would satisfy less and less the Catholic clergy and Protestants, also the authority of the R.C.M.P.

To mark their disapproval of the policy followed during the year with regard to the consulting committee, the four bishops who form a part, also the Commissioner of the R.C.M.P. decided to boycott the reunion of this week [see document 11]. In fact, these people shone by their absence.

In general, the "independent" members of the Committee upholds [*sic*] that this has become a costly precedent disrupting the autocracy of the actual direction and forming public opinion. They were complaining of the mentality of the members in charge of Eskimo affairs.

The first years were fruitful. In May, 1957, for example, the meetings of the Committee took a new turn. Major changes in administration were practised in the new direction, Northern Administration of Northern Affairs assumed exclusively nearly all the responsibility for the study of social-economic conditions and for the elaboration of the directives and projects.

The consulting committee was, in fact, transformed into a passive organization on which was imposed the "grandiose" plans of the chiefs of

the Department. Also they proposed the entire erection of new towns, villages, assuming an immediate development of the resources of the Great North. It was foreseen also the possibility for all Eskimos, independent of their former culture, to acclimatize without difficulty to the industrial civilization in a period of ten years. It was at this stage that there began in the Department and in the news in general the systematic denouncing of the preceding work accomplished modestly but efficiently by the pioneers of the north, missionaries, traders and police officers. To spread this propaganda the writer Farley Mowat, the new "apostle" of the Eskimo was given access to the archives of the Department of Northern Affairs.

These are at least the grievances of the persons who recently told us of their discontent.

The Department took certain initiatives which displeased members of the Committee. Also two years ago four Eskimos were brought to supposedly represent three regions of the Arctic. The meetings of the Committee were opened to the public and to the press. The Eskimos were invited to form part of the Committee. The Committee did not object to their presence, but to the public exploitation which was made by certain administrators to show their liberalism.

As our informers tell us, we should not forget that the Eskimos were puppets of the administrators, seeking advancement at all cost. In fact, the Eskimo delegates hardly knew any English and were perfectly incapable of giving an idea to the group of the problems which confronted them. These few Eskimos were already in the employ of the Department and had nothing to say to the consulting Committee. They are not then in a position to represent their citizens on the Committee for Eskimo Affairs and the junior posts which they occupy in the Administration prohibit any criticism of their superiors.

Several members - and the most responsible ones - of the consulting Committee have come to doubt the utility of this organization under the present circumstances. For them the Committee has become a useless structure and they talk openly of the supreme uselessness of continuing longer the actual comedy. Here is why apparently the highest representatives of the Church and the R.C.M.P. have decided not to participate this year in the reunion of the Committee. Favourable to an integration policy, ripened and carefully prepared, the members most influential of the Committee are asking, then, if the actual policy of the administrators of Northern Administration will not lead to a sort of

segregation where the Eskimos will become the tools of the bureaucracy.<sup>82</sup>

While some of Brown's critiques were misplaced (such as the accusation that most Inuit who appeared before the committee were federal employees and failed to articulate any substantive ideas),<sup>83</sup> it indicated that some non-governmental stakeholders were obviously disillusioned with the EAC and the broader policy trajectory with respect to Inuit.

The modernization of the arctic administration, alongside the appearance of rival consultative channels and planned political changes to the territories, also left the Eskimo Affairs Committee with an increasingly tenuous (and some officials suggested irrelevant) role. W.R. August, the chief of the Administrative Division at DNANR, wrote to R.A.J. Phillips on 13 February 1963:

As you know, the Deputy Minister has had some misgivings about the usefulness of the Committee for the last two years and I think you will agree the Committee meeting in 1962 was of very limited value. With the new territory of the Mackenzie and a partially representative council for the eastern Arctic planned for 1964 I should expect that the Eskimo Affairs Committee would cease to exist by next year. The question is whether or not it may serve any useful function this year.

In 1962 the Committee became primarily a forum for the Administration's views and even the most vocal of the Eskimo delegates did not have much to contribute. The other agencies participating in the Committee also seemed to be rather uninterested and you may recall that the Roman Catholic Church did not send a delegate who was even familiar with the north. I think however the main consideration is that in going over the Minutes of the meeting nothing of substance was decided

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<sup>82</sup> Clement Brown, "The Autocracy Attitude of Certain Members: The Committee on Eskimo Affairs will be discontinued very shortly," DNANR translation of "Devant l'attitude autocratique de certains fonctionnaires: Le comité des affaires esquimaudes serait démembré tout prochainement," *Le Devoir*, 12 avril 1961, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(5).

<sup>83</sup> R.A.J. Phillips countered Brown's cynicism about Inuit representation, noting to his deputy minister that the minutes disproved the allegation that "the Eskimo delegates had nothing to say." Furthermore, he provided statistics to demonstrate that most of the Inuit participants did not work for the DNANR, and explained that "the Department has considered it wrong to interfere with the electoral process [whereby Inuit selected their representatives] by insisting on a knowledge of English, or by excluding those Eskimos who work for government agencies. In most cases the election is by secret ballot under Eskimo supervision." Phillips to Deputy Minister, 18 April 1961, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(5).

by the Committee and no action of any nature was taken as a result of its deliberations. The only valid reason I can see for continuing the Committee is that it gives the Administration a sounding board for its policies and a defence against the charges that the Eskimos are not being properly represented. The excitement of the Federal election and what I believe to be a general apathy towards the Committee would quite probably result in the meeting of the Committee not being missed.<sup>84</sup>

Bent Sivertz rendered the final verdict in a 26 February memorandum to the administrators of the Mackenzie and of the Arctic, as well as the various division chiefs. "It has been decided that the Eskimo Affairs Committee will not meet this year and will be discontinued in the future," he explained. "With the formation of the new territory of Nunassiq, the Eskimos will have representation on a Territorial Council and the role of the Eskimo Affairs Committee will be redundant." He also cited money shortages, a "heavily over-loaded" staff within the Northern Administration Branch "due to the current economy measures," and unclear progress within the committee itself.<sup>85</sup>

By the early 1960s, the broader Northern political agenda had reached a turning point that affected the fate of the Eskimo Affairs Committee. The NWT Council was initially created in 1921 as an appointed body of senior federal officials to assist the NWT commissioner in "governing" the region. In 1952, Ottawa agreed that non-Indigenous residents of the Mackenzie District (the mainland portion of the NWT lying directly north of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan) could elect representatives to the Council. Other NWT residents (mostly Inuit) living in the central and eastern Arctic (i.e., Keewatin and Franklin Districts) were denied the same privileges,<sup>86</sup> and the challenges of effectively administering the vast NWT from far-away Ottawa remained perplexing. Thus, the government of John Diefenbaker considered a proposal separating the Mackenzie District (western part of the NWT) from the Keewatin and Franklin Districts (central and eastern Arctic). In a July 1961 speech to the NWT Council, the prime minister suggested that Northerners should assume more responsibility, including "self-government," through "a division of this vast northern area into two districts," which he believed would receive "sympathetic

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<sup>84</sup> W.R. August, Chief, Administrative Division, to Phillips, 13 February 1963, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(8).

<sup>85</sup> B.G. Sivertz to C.M. Bolger, Administrator of the Arctic, 26 February 1963, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(8).

<sup>86</sup> Duffy, *Road to Nunavut*, 227. Inuit did not have the right to vote in territorial elections until the federal parliament amended the *Northwest Territories Act* in 1966. Up to that point all four elected seats to the Council came from the western part of the NWT. This amendment also added three seats to the Council from the central and eastern Arctic, so that Inuit voters could elect their representatives to the NWT Council for the first time.

consideration on the part of the federal government.”<sup>87</sup> Although Prime Minister Diefenbaker failed to implement these changes before his government fell, the Pearson Liberal government followed suit and proposed Bills C-83 and C-84 in May 1963 to amend the *Northwest Territories Act* and to create two separate Territories: one to be named Mackenzie, the other Nunassiq (“the beautiful land” in Inuktitut) with its own council and limited Inuit representation.<sup>88</sup>

The Eskimo Affairs Committee was discontinued in 1963. Although the EAC machinery had conferred reciprocal benefits on most participants into the early 1960s, it far from exhausted the political needs of its members. Just as the NWT Council began with a purely institutional membership, and later experimented with public representation by appointing persons with special knowledge of the North, so did the EAC during the 1950s. The Inuit representatives to the meetings from 1959-62 represented an effort to prolong this phase. Nevertheless, the committee’s procedural practices were firmly tilted to the advantage of the northern administration itself. At most the committee offered its members an opportunity to influence policy, and did not represent an effective delegation of power. Nevertheless, the committee helped to ease a major political as well as administrative transition in the Canadian Arctic, reflecting its times in sharp focus. Furthermore, the eventual inclusion of Inuit voices anticipated political changes that would emerge from community committees and local councils, comprehensive land claim and self-government agreements, and the negotiations leading to the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Quoted in R. Quinn Duffy, “Canada’s Newest Territory: The Formation of Nunavut,” on *Canada: Confederation to Present*, ed. Bob Hesketh (CD-ROM, Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001).

<sup>88</sup> During the ensuing debates, Minister Arthur Laing became “satisfied” that the Mackenzie District in the west, which contained most of the main populated centres, “is quickly going to be able to take care of itself.” Nunassiq, encompassing the central and eastern Arctic area above the tree-line, with a smaller population posed a “more difficult” dilemma. Consequently, the government chose not to divide the NWT. Instead, they looked at the possibility of decentralizing the political administration of the NWT from Ottawa to a new hub to be located in the NWT. *History in the Making: Under Northern Skies* (Yellowknife: Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1999), 3; J. Bovey, “The Growth of N.W.T. Government,” *North* (July-August 1966): 40-43; Duffy, “Canada’s Newest Territory”; and Mark O. Dickerson, *Whose North? Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 84-85.

<sup>89</sup> See P. Whitney Lackenbauer and André Légaré, “A More Accurate Face on Canada to the World’: The Creation of Nunavut,” in *Reconsidering Confederation: Canada’s Founding Debates, 1864-1999*, ed. Daniel Heidt (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2018), 263-290.

## About this Volume

This document collection gathers together the minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Committee to facilitate easier access to key documents that provide insight into the issues, problems, and ideas that federal officials, non-governmental organizations, and Inuit discussed and debated as they sought to influence or formulate policies during a formative period in the development of the Canadian Arctic. We hope that scholars will use this material to continue to critically analyze the development of Inuit affairs policy and Arctic policy more broadly since the Second World War.

For the first document (0A), we have reproduced sections from the Cantley report of 1950 which inspired discussions in Ottawa that led to an initial meeting on Eskimo affairs in May 1952 (document 0B). The remainder of the minutes are reproduced in sequential order. We have also included the abridged minutes of the 11th (1960), 12th (1961), and 13th (1962) meetings of the Eskimo Affairs Committee in Inuktitut syllabics, in hopes that these might be useful to Inuit scholars interested in how the committee's proceedings were summarized and disseminated to Inuit themselves.

Please note that we have left the language in the minutes as originally written, apart from silent corrections of obvious typographical errors. Names of many of the communities mentioned in the text have since been replaced by Indigenous names. Readers should note that the term "Eskimo" is no longer considered appropriate (and even derogatory) and has been replaced by "Inuit" ("the people" in Inuktitut).

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## List of Acronyms

ACND	Advisory Committee on Northern Development
BCG	bacille Calmette-Guerin (vaccine)
C.B.C.	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
C.G.S.	Coast Guard Ship
Col.	Colonel
D.D.	doctor of divinity
Dept.	Department
DEW	Distant Early Warning
DNANR	Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources
EAC	Eskimo Affairs Committee
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
I.N.H.S.	Indian and Northern Health Services
IODE	Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
N.A.B.	Northern Administration Branch
NSO	Northern Service Officer
N.W.T.	Northwest Territories
O.M.I.	Order of Mary Immaculate
P.Q.	Province of Quebec
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
R.C.M.	Royal Canadian Mounted (Police)
R.C.M.P.	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Rev.	Reverend
RG	record group
T.B.	tuberculosis

## 0A. Excerpts from “Survey of Economic Conditions among the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic” (Cantley Report)

### SURVEY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AMONG THE ESKIMOS OF THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

...The terms of reference for these investigations, as recorded in the Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Northwest Territories Council dated October 27, 1949, are:

- a) The feasibility of operating government-owned or co-operative stores at points rich in native food supplies which are not at present served by traders, owing to the local scarcity of white fox.
- b) Methods by which the Eskimo economy might be improved such as by the introduction of new industries, handicrafts, etc.,
- c) The feasibility of subsidizing fur prices at a level to permit the Eskimo to earn a decent living without reliance on relief which has a demoralizing effect.
- d) The advisability of the Government taking over all trading in Eskimo territory as in Greenland.
- e) The possibility of some arrangement whereby the Hudson’s Bay Company might continue in the picture with a degree of Government supervision and assistance to accomplish desired results.

#### Scope of Study

The aim of the present survey will be to set forth as concisely as possible the present-day economic position of the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic and to proceed from that to a consideration of means that may be taken to meet not only the current problems, but also the longer range problems that future developments are likely to raise.

...

#### CANADA

Before proceeding to deal with the Canadian Eskimos and conditions in the Canadian Arctic, it might be well to note here that, in comparison with other Arctic territories, developments in Canada came at a much later date and that there has not been nearly so much contact or intermingling with other races.

While many of our Eskimos had been in intermittent contact with whalers for over a hundred years, this association did not materially or permanently affect their primitive ways of life. They remained hunters, as also did the remaining natives who may have had spasmodic dealings with trading posts to the south. It was,

therefore, not until the first decade of the present century, when trading posts were established actually in Eskimo territory, that any marked change began to take place.

... An estimate based on the 1941 census and on records of Vital Statistics maintained since gave the total Canadian Eskimo population as 8,437 at the end of 1949. With the exception of a few hundred "Caribou" Eskimos living in the interior of Keewatin west of Hudson Bay and inland from Coppermine and Bathurst Inlet and the more recent congregation around Aklavik, this population is scattered in small communities along the shores of the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of Canada north of the tree-line and south of a line drawn through McClure Strait, Melville Sound, Barrow Strait, and Lancaster Sound. It is distributed as follows:

EASTERN ARCTIC -

<u>New Quebec</u> , extending from Cape Jones on the east coast of Hudson Bay to Cape Chidley at the northern tip of Labrador and including islands off these shores.	2,465	
<u>Keewatin</u> , extending from Eskimo Point to Repulse Bay and into the hinterland as far west as the Thelon River and including Southampton Island.	1,525	
<u>Baffin Island</u> , Melville Peninsula and adjacent islands.	2,4205	6,395

WESTERN ARCTIC -

<u>Cambridge Bay</u> , extending from Boothia Peninsula to Burnside Harbour and including King William Island and the eastern section of Victoria Island.	433	
<u>Coppermine</u> , extending from Coronation Gulf to Pearce Point and including the remainder of Victoria Island.	602	
<u>Aklavik</u> , extending from Pearce Point to Demarcation Point and including Banks Island (not occupied at present).	1,007	2,042
		<hr/> 8,437

For the purpose of this survey, Arctic will refer to the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions inhabited by Eskimos and the division of the territories into Eastern and Western Arctic will be based on the water transportation routes rather than on any

division made for administrative or other purposes. The Eastern Arctic areas are taken as those serviced through Montreal, Moosonee and Churchill, while the Western Arctic points are those receiving their supplies by the Mackenzie River route.

... The amount of land, the length of coastline, or the density of population can only be used in a very general way in comparing the various regions. So much depends on the nature of the land and the coastline and on the natural resources available that any judgment based on geographic considerations and population records only, could be very misleading. There are large areas where natives could not make a living at all. On the other hand, there are areas of quite limited size where relatively large populations can be maintained without difficulty. It is, therefore, impossible to generalize at this stage: each region must be studied separately, account being taken of all aspects and a regional rather than a general program worked out from that.

...

### REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Consideration of conditions and problems in the Arctic may be divided under three headings:

- a) To determine what the broad general policy of the Administration would be towards these territories and the native inhabitants.
- b) To devise the best means of implementing the policy laid down and to provide for the orderly development of the resources and native people.
- c) To examine what requires to be done to develop the natural resources and to assure the natives a reasonable standard of living.

#### General Policy

The Northwest Territories and the Arctic regions of Quebec comprise some 1,450,000 square miles or about 40 per cent of the total area of Canada, excluding Newfoundland. Of these, about 1,100,000 square miles, equivalent to the combined areas of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, may be regarded as Arctic territory or territory actually occupied by or potentially available to the Eskimo race.

The latest estimate (as at December 31, 1950) of the Eskimo population of this Arctic territory is 8,550 persons, grouped under about 2,100 families. Of this population, 25 per cent is located in the Western Arctic, 27 per cent in Arctic Quebec, and 48 per cent throughout Baffin Island and that part of the Northwest Territories bordering on the northwestern shores of Hudson Bay.

Arctic Quebec is the most densely populated area with one person for every 60 square miles. The remainder of the Eastern Arctic has one person for every 108 square miles, while the Western Arctic is the most sparsely populated with about one person for every 160 square miles. These computations are based on the areas south of Latitude 70°N. They do not include the high Arctic islands which are not presently occupied by Eskimos but which have an additional area of approximately 185,000 square miles. Altogether there are 107 square miles available to each person in the occupied areas or 130 square miles to each person if the Arctic islands north of 70°N are included.

Apart from the muskrats taken in and around the Mackenzie Delta, the white fox is the only nature resource of any considerable economic importance that has been, or is likely to be in the foreseeable future, commercially exploited for the benefit of the Eskimo population. Very little is known yet of the mineral resources of the Arctic but even if minerals that could be economically extracted should be found, it is very doubtful if such operations would affect more than a few local Eskimos. The majority would still have to depend largely on foxes and other wildlife for their livelihood.

The two main questions of policy facing the Administration today are (a) what use is to be made of these 1,100,000 square miles of Arctic territory, and (b) what provision is to be made for the future of the 8,550 Eskimo inhabitants.

It has only been during comparatively recent years that the Canadian Government has taken any real, sustained interest in its Arctic territories and their native populations. Little was done to explore or exploit the natural resources other than furs, and as long as the Eskimos appeared to be reasonably well cared for the Government appeared to be satisfied to leave them to work out their own destiny with the Hudson's Bay Company and such others as entered the country from time to time. What little action was taken was, on the whole, designed to preserve rather than to construct, and was motivated by political and social rather than by economic considerations.

World developments during and since World War II have focussed attention on the strategic importance of Canada's Arctic territories, and the rapid decline in white fox prices which took place immediately after the war and continued until 1950 brought a long-delayed realization of the flimsy structure on which the Eskimo economy has been based.

It would seem that the age is past now when any country can continue to hold such a huge territory without occupying it or attempting to develop its resources, however sparse they may be. A territory that, fifteen or twenty years ago, may have been regarded as useless has now become, if not an asset, at least a liability of another kind. Instead of a hinterland it has become a potential frontier

and as such it quite evidently interests countries other than our own. Whether we want to or not, it [would] appear that we shall have to revise our attitude towards the Arctic and take a much greater interest in its affairs than we have done in the past.

Strategic considerations are beyond the scope of this report except insofar as they may ultimately affect the native populations and the natural resource on which they depend. The future care and development of the Eskimos however, are the direct responsibility of this Administration and the problems they will raise are more likely to increase than decrease as time goes on. Presuming, therefore, that the Administration accepts this responsibility, an endeavor will be made to outline the present position, state the problems that presently exist or are likely to arise, and suggest means by which the difficulties may be overcome and the general economy and well-being of the natives improved.

#### Administration of Eskimo Affairs

The following items of the terms of reference may be considered jointly under this heading:

- (a) The feasibility of opening government-owned or co-operative stores at points rich in native food supplies which are not at present served by traders, owing to the local scarcity of white fox.
- (b) The advisability of the Government taking over all trading in Eskimo territory as in Greenland.
- (c) The possibility of some arrangement whereby the Hudson's Bay Company might continue in the picture with a degree of Government supervision and assistance to accomplish desired results.

Before attempting to suggest solutions to Arctic problems, it seems necessary first to examine what is available in the way of administrative and field organizations to give effect to any plans that may be made.

Under the present arrangement the administration of all Eskimo affairs, excepting the Aklavik area and matters pertaining to education, is the direct responsibility of the Arctic Services section of Northern Administration. The Ottawa staff consists of two Administrative Officers, two clerks and two stenographers. In the field, there are welfare teachers at Fort Chimo, Cape Dorset, Southampton Island, Port Harrison, Tuktoyaktuk and Coppermine. The administration of Eskimo affairs in the Aklavik area is included in the duties of the resident District Administration, and education everywhere in the Territories is directed by the Education and Welfare section of Northern Administration.

Law and order are maintained throughout the Northwest Territories by the R.C.M. Police but in the Arctic where, apart from the District Administrator at

Aklavik and the welfare teachers referred to above, there are no Departmental representatives, they perform most of the administrative duties. These include the control of issues of Family Allowance, relief and Old Age Allowances, the recording of Vital Statistics including taking a decennial census, the enforcement of fur and game regulations, acting as Postmasters for the Post Office Department and the local supervision of all matters affecting the health and general well-being of the Eskimos.

The Department of National Health and Welfare assumes the responsibility for the medical care of the native population throughout the Territories, and in the Arctic has nurses at Fort Chimo, Port Harrison, Cape Dorset, Lake Harbour, Southampton Island and Coppermine, and resident doctors at Pangnirtung, Chesterfield Inlet and Aklavik. The Anglican and Roman Catholic Missions, aided by subsidies from the Department of National Health and Welfare, maintain hospitals at Pangnirtung and Chesterfield Inlet respectively, and each has a hospital at Aklavik. Eskimos from all areas are also brought out to hospitals in civilization for treatment.

Anglican and Roman Catholic Missions operate at a number of places where besides religious instruction a limited amount of elementary schooling is given while the natives are in the settlements.

Radio communications are provided by the Department of Transport except at Aklavik, where a station is maintained by the R.C.C.S. To these main clearing stations are linked the Hudson's Bay Company's chain of private commercial radio stations which provide a complete coverage of all settlements in the Arctic. The Department of Transport also operates meteorological and ionospheric stations and maintains former air bases at a few places. Ocean transportation in the Eastern Arctic is now handled by the Department of Transport vessel "C.D. Howe" and by ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Mission. In the Western Arctic the Hudson's Bay Company now handles practically all freight to coastal points.

Except in the Aklavik area and for one or two small traders in the southern areas of Hudson Bay, the Hudson's Bay Company are the only traders now operating in Eskimo territory.

While all of these agencies are doing something for the Eskimos, directly or indirectly, they all function independently. No means have yet been provided for co-ordinating their activities or for the general over-all direction and control of Eskimo affairs. No matter what policies Arctic Services may recommend and have accepted by this Administration, they cannot do anything to implement them without the concurrence and assistance of one or more of the other interests. In particular, the Hudson's Bay Company is free to follow any policy laid down by its

own management; the R.C.M. Police will only discharge their responsibilities as native welfare supervisors as they see fit and the Department of National Health and Welfare must, of necessity, be left free to make its own decisions regarding medical care.

In an advanced community, organization along functional lines may be warranted. Among small groups of relatively primitive peoples, however, it has decided disadvantages. Unless there is the utmost in co-operation among the various administrations and among the officers in the field, conflicting interpretations of policy and misunderstandings are bound to arise. These, in turn, are communicated to the natives who are either confused or encouraged to use them to their own advantage depending on how far their education in the devious ways of the white men has advanced.

While it is important that the natives should be protected as far as possible against privation and exploitation, it is more important that this protection should not be carried to a point where they will lose all initiative and become completely dependent. Yet this is the trend under our present administrative policy. The actual needs – as opposed to the desires – of the average Eskimo are small; generally, as long as he can obtain a minimum of food, clothing and shelter without exertion on his part he will be satisfied. It is therefore very easy for him to adapt himself to a relief economy and to beg rather than work for a bare subsistence. Unless this trait of the Eskimo character is fully understood by all concerned, grave mistakes can easily be made.

When the responsibility for the issue of relief was taken from the traders and vested in the R.C.M. Police and later, when the administration of family and old age allowances was also added to the Police duties, two distinct sources of supply were opened to the Eskimos. Previously they had had to look to the trader for everything they needed and as the average trader was not prone to giving much for nothing, they had to get out and earn their living either by hunting or trapping.

Now they have found that if they cannot or will not stand on their own feet they can go to the Police and get at least sufficient in relief or family allowances to keep them going without having to work for it or pay it back. The effect over the past few years has been to encourage the natives to look to the Police for free issues of necessities and to the trader for the non-essentials which furs and other produce will buy. From that it is only a step to complete dependence.

It was apparently recognition of this trend that raised the question as to whether the present rather loose administrative arrangements were the most suitable for coping with changing conditions in the north. That the present organization is not entirely satisfactory is now becoming apparent. Consideration may therefore be given to the means that may be taken to improve it.

The suggestion that the Government should take over the trade in the Arctic is of course not new; it has been mooted by various people over many years but has apparently never been very seriously considered. What most people have had in mind in putting forward this suggestion was that the Canadian trade and administration should be patterned on those of Greenland and the Arctic made a closed territory. That the Greenland policy has never been considered entirely satisfactory, either by the Danes or the Greenlanders, is evidenced by the fact that several Royal Commissions have enquired into Greenland affairs at various times and that in recent years restrictions on trade and intercourse between Greenland and other countries have had to be eased. The rapid increase in population and cultural development, particularly in the southwestern areas of Greenland, has forced the Administration to make radical changes in earlier policies and to entertain the idea of opening up the fisheries, at least, to private enterprise.

The principal arguments in favour of a government monopoly are that it would be possible to enforce a more uniform policy for the protection, education and development of the natives and that through the elimination of the profits expected by private enterprise to make available to them greater returns on their furs and other produce. The approach is paternalistic and the Greenland administration is again held up as a pattern to be followed. What is usually overlooked, however, is that the natives and conditions in Canada differ greatly from these in Greenland. The greater part of Greenland's 22,000 population is concentrated along about 1,000 miles of the west coast of the island, whereas the Canadian Eskimo population of less than half this number is scattered all the way from Labrador to the Alaskan boundary. Greenlanders are largely a hybrid race, now more European than Eskimo, with a more or less uniform culture. The Canadian Eskimos, on the other hand, are not yet far removed from the primitive and their stages of advancement vary greatly from one section of the territory to another.

To attempt to close the Canadian Arctic or to create a government monopoly of the trade at this late date would appear to be a retrograde step which would involve a complete reorientation of territorial administration with no guarantee that any economic improvement would result. Trading operations would presumably have to be placed under the direction of a Crown Company or co-operative. In either case it would devolve upon the government to capitalize and operate the venture and to provide the necessary administrative and operating staffs, since the natives themselves have neither the money nor the ability yet to conduct business on their own behalf.

It would be extremely doubtful if any government trading organization could operate as economically as a private company that is, if it is to be expected to pay its way without benefit of subsidy. Such an organization would be open to even

more criticism and pressures, political and private, than any private concern and would be very apt, in time, to degenerate from a commercial enterprise to little more than a welfare agency, dependent largely on public funds for its support.

The same objections can be made to the government entering into trade at selected points not at present covered by the Hudson's Bay Company as to the taking over of the trade as a whole. A separate organization would still be required and the ultimate effect would be to have a government agency competing against private enterprise. Any government trading posts that might be established would, in most cases, be flanked by the present Hudson's Bay Company posts and would immediately come into competition with them, particularly if there were any lack of uniformity in policy or prices.

Of the three options, it would seem that item (c) suggesting closer co-operation with the Hudson's Bay Company is the one that could be most readily adapted and that would offer the greatest promise of success. Full co-operation between the Administration and the Company would give the Administration most of the advantages claimed for a government-controlled company without involving it in the heavy expenditures or the difficulties that would inevitably arise in setting up and operating such an organization.

It should, perhaps, be pointed out here that there has always been a large measure of co-operation between the company and the Administration. During the earlier years of Arctic development, the company voluntarily assumed a large part of the responsibility for Eskimo welfare, particularly in the Eastern Arctic, where they absorbed most of the relief costs and provided medical care for many years. Later, since the Government started to take a greater interest and responsibility, they have still co-operated whenever called upon, but in more recent years, there has been a noticeable tendency for the two organizations to drift apart.

This may have been brought about in part by the discontinuance of the joint Arctic patrols following the loss of the "Nascopie" but more, probably, by the entry of the R.C.M. Police into the economic and welfare picture since family allowances payments started. Up to that time, the company itself had not only assumed a large part of the responsibility for native welfare and relief but had also acted as the principal agent for the government in anything it attempted to do to improve economic conditions. It is perhaps natural, therefore, that there may have been some slight resentment of Police interference in such matters, at both administrative and field levels.

Observations made in the field during the years since the war indicate that the passing over to the R.C.M. Police of the responsibility for the issue of family allowances, relief and for the general welfare, etc. has greatly lessened the former interest of many capable post managers in Eskimo affairs, without having

contributed anything worthwhile towards ensuring that these allowances have been put to the best possible use.

The usefulness of the Police in this type of work is restricted in that the present detachments do not afford a complete coverage of the trading centres. There are 37 trading posts and only 13 Police detachments. The supervision, therefore, that any policeman can give to trading operations, or to the issuing of family allowances, relief, etc., even at the post where he is stationed, must of necessity be very limited. To increase the number of Police Detachments and/or field welfare workers would not make this supervision any more effective since few, if any, of these people are usually qualified by training or experience to deal with native economic matters, nor do they stay long enough in the North to put to use any knowledge and experience they do obtain. We are also handicapped in using the Police by the fact that they are not directly responsible to the Administration but to Police headquarters, where there may or may not be understanding or agreement on the policies of the Administration.

It has always been difficult to include local Police detachments in economic discussions in the field but the difficulties of getting close co-operation of any kind have been further increased in recent years by the fact that it is rarely possible to have the officer in charge of the Arctic detachments accompany any of our officers on field inspections when local problems could most readily be brought up and dealt with on the spot.

It has to be borne in mind in planning anything for the Arctic that whatever strategic importance or romantic interest it may have, it is economically a poor country with a present native population of little more than 8,500 men, women and children. While there can be no question that the government should occupy and develop these areas and the people in them as far as possible, it is necessary to view the problems objectively and to avoid any exaggeration of the potentialities or requirements.

Economically, the present known resources and the sparse population of the Arctic territories do not warrant the setting up of an elaborate organization, nor any large expenditure of public funds for their development. On the contrary, experience has shown that the simpler the organization can be kept, the better the results are likely to be. The fewer white people that enter the country and concern themselves with native affairs, the less the temptation will be for the Eskimos to relinquish their former independent ways and to become little more than wards living on Government charity.

Apart from the actual costs of maintaining Government and other workers in the field, consideration must also be given to the drain the providing of such services may place on the already limited resources of the country. A police

detachment and even welfare workers, teachers and missionaries cannot be confined to the places where they are stationed if they are to do effective work. They should make periodic trips to the native camps throughout their territories. To do this in winter, when the need is greatest, they must maintain dog-teams of their own or hire native teams. Usually the Police and missionaries have their own teams but, in either case, these dogs are usually fed from the resources of the country. An average dog-team requires 200/300 seals a year for food, or what would constitute in most localities the difference between abundance and semi-starvation for the human population. It has to be considered, therefore, whether the services that any of these people render justify what it costs in money and in the use of local resources to keep them in the country.

A much more practical approach to Eskimo problems could be made if the R.C.M. Police were relieved of all responsibility for the supervision of economic and welfare matters and this responsibility resumed entirely by the Administration through Arctic Services. By co-operating closely with the Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters on all matters of general policy, by regular field investigations and by obtaining and compiling all pertinent data, Arctic Services would be supplied with the means, which it does not have at present, of almost immediately implementing any policy laid down and mutually agreed upon by the Company and itself. It would also, through trained, permanent personnel, be able to give a much more comprehensive and informed supervision to the trade and to all matters affecting the Eskimos than could ever be attempted through the R.C.M. Police or any other independent agency.

By taking back the direct responsibility and control of all matters affecting the economic life of the Eskimo, Arctic Services could arrange to have representatives accompany the Hudson's Bay Company's section managers into each field on all inspection trips. In most sections, inspections are made twice a year, although in the more remote areas of the Eastern Arctic they are restricted to one. Even this, however, would be at least as much time as the R.C.M. Police can give to the average post now. General policy would be agreed upon between the headquarters of the Company and the Administration and would be explained and applied locally by the two representatives by direct contact with the post managers and natives at each post. All minor matters of purely local concern could be dealt with on the spot, thus eliminating to a very great extent the present difficulties of trying to deal at long range with the many local problems that are now raised through correspondence with the Police and others in the field.

Putting aside all lesser considerations for the moment, the immediate and most important problem is to find means of ensuring the Eskimos of a reasonable standard of living. This will entail close investigation of all possible sources of supply and income, which will in turn almost certainly lead to positive steps having

to be taken to consolidate and conserve income from all sources so that it may be used to the best possible advantage. This is a subject in itself and it need only be said here that the problems that will be involved in attempting to stabilise and spread Eskimo income so that the “booms and busts” of the present economy may be levelled out as far as possible, can only be tackled with the full co-operation of the trading organization and the minimum of interference from others not directly interested.

Informal discussions with responsible officials of the Hudson’s Bay Company indicate that their thinking on Arctic problems coincides very closely with what has been expressed in the foregoing and that if a suitable plan for direct co-operative action between the Company and one responsible Department were put forward, they would willingly co-operate to the fullest possible extent.

Over and above the current problems of organization is the desirability of preparing for possible future requirements. Although the Hudson’s Bay Company has been trading in Canada for 281 years and in the Arctic for over 40 years, there is no guarantee that they will continue to do so indefinitely. The experience of the past few years has shown that it would not be impossible for the fox market to deteriorate to a stage where no commercial concern could afford to carry on. The Hudson’s Bay Company has already greatly reduced the number of its Quebec trading posts and some years ago closed out entirely in Northern Labrador. While the immediate danger of any further drastic action being taken has passed, since the fox market improved, it is a danger that may return at any time and that should be prepared for by building up the nucleus of a Government organization that would be familiar with trading operations and be capable of taking over if required. It has to be kept in mind too that we may still be required to take direct action in providing trading facilities for the northern Labrador Eskimos if suitable arrangements cannot be made with the Newfoundland Government to carry on.

### Recommendations

1. That the R.C.M. Police should be relieved of all responsibility for the issues of family allowances, relief, old age allowances, etc.
2. That this responsibility should be assumed by the Hudson’s Bay Company, in collaboration with and under the direct supervision of Arctic Services.
3. That provision should be made for the closest co-operation between Arctic Services and the Hudson’s Bay Company, both at administrative level and in the field, on all Arctic and Eskimo affairs.

Attached: List of Northern Establishments; Extracts from recent correspondence

## 0B. Meeting on Eskimo Affairs, 19-20 May 1952

MEETING ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS  
HELD IN THE BOARD ROOM OF THE CONFEDERATION BUILDING  
ON THE 19TH AND 20TH OF MAY, 1952

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Chairman - Major-General H.A. Young,  
Commissioner of the Northwest Territories

PRESENT:

Department of Resources and Development

Mr. C.H. Herbert	- Chief, Economic Division
Mr. A.J. Baxter	- Chief, Editorial and Information Division
Mr. G.E.B. Sinclair	- Director, Northern Administration & Lands Branch
Colonel H.C. Craig	- Financial Adviser, National Parks Branch
Colonel J.P. Richards	- Administration Section, Canadian Wildlife Service
Dr. V.E.F. Solman	- Chief Biologist, Canadian Wildlife Service
Mr. J.S. Tener	- Canadian Wildlife Service
Mr. J.F. Doyle	- Administration - Northern Administration and Lands Branch
Mr. J.G. Wright	- Chief, Northern Administration Division
Mr. J. Cantley	- Arctic Services, Northern Administration Division
Mr. A. Stevenson	- Arctic Services, Northern Administration Division
Mr. R.E.G. Johnston	- Arctic Services, Northern Administration Division
Mr. J.C. Jackson	- Conservation & Management Services, Northern Administration Division

Mr. E.N. Grantham	- Education and Welfare Service, Northern Administration Division
Mr. T. Clifford	- Conservation & Management Services, Northern Administration Division
Mr. J.R.E. Bouchard	- Public Services, Northern Administration Division
Mr. A.E. Porsild	- Botanist, National Museum of Canada
Dr. J.D. Leechman	- Archaeologist, National Museum of Canada
<u>Northwest Territories Council</u>	
Major D.M. MacKay	- Director, Indian Affairs Branch
Commander L.C. Audette	- Canadian Maritime Commission
Air Commodore W.I. Clements	- Chief of Plans & Intelligence, R.C.A.F.
<u>Royal Canadian Mounted Police</u>	
Commissioner L.H. Nicholson	
Inspector H.A. Larsen	- Officer Commanding 'G' Division
Superintendent J.A. Peacock	- Assistant Director, 'C' Directorate
<u>Department of National Health and Welfare</u>	
Dr. G.D.W. Cameron	- Deputy Minister of Health
Mr. J.W. Macfarlane	- Director, Old Age Pensions Division
Miss N. O'Brien	- Regional Director, Family Allowances Division
Mr. R.M. Brousseau	- Registrar of Foreign Births, Family Allowances Division
Mr. L. Pettigrew	- Assistant to Regional Director, Family Allowances Division
Mr. W.F. Hendershot	- Assistant to National Director, Family Allowances Division
<u>Indian Health Services</u>	
Dr. P.E. Moore	- Director
Dr. R.N. Simpson	- Regional Superintendent, Ontario and Eastern Arctic
Dr. H.A. Procter	- Assistant Director

Department of Citizenship and Immigration

Indian Affairs Branch

- Colonel H.M. Jones - Superintendent of Welfare  
Mr. P. Phelan - Superintendent of Education

Defence Research Board

- Mr. G.W. Rowley - Arctic Research

Department of National Defence

- Colonel E.H. Webb - Directorate of Military Operations & Plans  
Flight-Lieutenant S.E. Alexander - Survival and Arctic Problems

Department of Transport

- Mr. R.W. Rae - Telecommunications Division  
Mr. H.C. Risteen - " "  
Mr. G. Wells - " "  
Mr. J. Wyatt - " "

Department of Fisheries

- Dr. W.M. Sprules - Chief, Fish Culture Development Branch, Conservation and Development Service

Hudson's Bay Company

- Mr. R.H. Chesshire - General Manager, Fur Trade Department  
Mr. P.A.C. Nichols - Manager, Western Arctic Section

Roman Catholic Missions

- The Most Reverend J. Trocellier - Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie  
The Most Reverend M. Lacroix - Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay  
The Most Reverend L. Scheffer - Vicar Apostolic of Labrador  
The Reverend G. Laviolette - Assistant Superintendent, Indian Welfare Training Commission

- The Reverend R. Buliard  
The Reverend J.E. Pelletier

The Reverend C. DeHarveng

Anglican Mission

The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh - Bishop of the Arctic  
The Venerable J.H. Webster - Archdeacon of Aklavik  
The Reverend Canon H.G. Cook - Superintendent, Indian Welfare  
Commission

United States Embassy

Colonel J. Bollerud - Air Attaché Office

National Film Board

Mr. D. Wilkinson

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT A MEETING  
ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD MAY 19 AND 20, 1952, IN THE  
BOARD ROOM OF THE CONFEDERATION BUILDING, OTTAWA

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The meeting was opened by the Honourable Robert H. Winters, Minister of the Department of Resources and Development and presided over by Major-General H.A. Young, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

In outlining the purposes of the meeting and the reasons why such a conference was considered more necessary now than at any time in the past, reference was made to the changes that have been taking place in the Arctic, particularly during the past decade and the effects they are having on the Eskimo economy and way of life. The decline in white fox values, increased cost of merchandise and apparent declines in the availability of food resources in some areas have all had their effect on the native population, as have also temporary employment at military bases, a seemingly greater incidence of disease, payments of family and other allowances, and increased relief issues. Greatly improved means of transportation and communication and the rapid opening up of the country by outside interests are constantly presenting new problems and emphasize the necessity for educating and preparing the native population to meet them. In view of the many divergent opinions held on what could or should be done to cope with changing conditions, it was felt that a collective approach by all those interested would be the most practicable one and it was hoped that everyone present would take advantage of the opportunity to express his views frankly. The Minister expressed the appreciation of his department as the one chiefly responsible for the administration of Eskimo affairs for the interest which had brought together so

many experienced people from private organizations and government departments to discuss the problems involved.

The agenda was then taken up and the following summarizes the main points raised and the views expressed.

1. Recent Changes in Eskimo Economy
2. Cumulative Effects of Government Aid

Developments in the Canadian Arctic were reviewed from the entry of the whalers during the latter part of the nineteenth century to the present day, particular reference being made to the changes that have taken place in the Eskimo economy and way of life since the opening up of the fur trade early in the present century.

It was recognized that conditions vary greatly in different parts of the Arctic and can also vary within the same area and from year to year. Canadian Eskimos can, however, for all practical purposes, be divided into five main groups from east to west, viz., Northern Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador; Baffin Island; Central Arctic including Southampton Island; Western Arctic; and the Mackenzie Delta. Of these, the Mackenzie Delta group is considered to be the farthest advanced culturally and the best off economically. Northern Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador are the most densely populated and the poorest economically.

Although there are reported declines in some food resources in certain areas, most Eskimo groups can still obtain a large part of their living within their own country. All, however, have now passed the primitive stage when they were wholly self-sufficient and they could not survive without much of the supplies and equipment they obtain from the trade stores. The drastic decline in white fox prices during recent years, accompanied by greatly increased prices of store goods, has therefore had a very adverse effect on the economy of most groups. The least affected have been the more remote settlements where hunting has remained the principal occupation. While this situation may be temporary and results cannot be gauged on a short-term basis, the fact remains that such occurrences create serious difficulties and make it necessary to consider what remedial action can be taken.

Natives employed at military bases during the war who became accustomed to living in heated accommodation and to receiving regular wages and rations, have also posed a problem during recent years. Families, particularly, which grew up at these bases, have found it very difficult to adjust themselves to the life of the hunter, fisherman and trapper now that employment has ceased. This raises the question as to whether Eskimos should accept such employment if it is to be only temporary or if it does not offer prospects for their families as they grow up.

The decline in fur revenue has been off-set in part since 1945 by issues of family allowances and direct relief, amounting in all to some \$1,687,000. While these issues have done much to assist the Eskimos over this difficult period, the effect on morale has not been all that could be desired. It has now become apparent that in many instances the natives are coming to depend on such issues rather than on their own efforts for a living. There has been a decided tendency, particularly among the poorer groups, to forsake their former hunting way of life and to congregate in larger groups near the settlements where they can obtain this assistance more regularly. This trend raises the question as to whether present policy and arrangements for issuing family allowances and relief should not be carefully revised.

### 3. Functions of the R.C.M. Police in Respect to Eskimos

The enforcement of law and order and the laws of the Northwest Territories are considered to be a minor part of the R.C.M. Police duties in the Arctic. Eskimos as a race are law-abiding and there is little crime. The police are mainly occupied in welfare work among the natives and act as representatives of other departments in the Arctic. They act as registrars of vital statistics, control the issues of family allowances, old age allowances and pensions, pensions for the blind and relief to the destitute. They assist in establishing Eskimos in better hunting grounds and in caring for them during periods of sickness and epidemics. They also issue game and hunting licences, fur export permits, act as post-masters and surveyors of boats, and collect revenues for various departments.

In common with others, the R.C.M. Police have found difficulty in interesting and retaining suitable personnel for Arctic work but steps are now being taken which it is hoped will correct the situation.

### 4. Suggestions Received for Improving the Situation

Consideration was given to various suggestions that have been made for the improvement of the administration of Eskimo affairs.

A recommendation that has been put forward from time to time was brought up again at this meeting, i.e. that Canada should adopt the Greenland policy of closing Eskimo territories and creating a state monopoly of the trade. In this instance, it was proposed that a government organization should take over the administration and trade of all Eskimo territories except those of the Mackenzie Delta and Northern Quebec, and endeavour to educate and bring the natives in those areas to a stage where they could ultimately take over and handle their own affairs, either as individuals or as members of co-operatives. In brief, it was proposed to take the best in both the Greenland and Alaskan systems and endeavour to adapt them to meet Canadian requirements. The advantages claimed

for such an organization were that the administration and trade would be centralized under one authority, both at headquarters and in the field; that it would be staffed by people who know the north; that it would allow assistance to be extended to the Eskimos without giving such assistance the appearance of charity; and that any necessary subsidies and losses could be absorbed more readily by the Government than by private enterprise. Mission activities would not be interfered with and the co-operation and assistance of local committees – white and Eskimo – could be sought where practicable.

The feeling of the meeting was that although the main problems were economic and there was need for close supervision and guidance of all Eskimo affairs, a change from private to public ownership and direction would not in itself provide a solution. It was felt that the Hudson's Bay Company was providing an efficient and satisfactory service at these northern places and that if assistance had to be given to Eskimos, it could be extended through existing agencies by the development of special projects or by means other than creating and subsidizing a government organization. While the Greenland system had apparently worked satisfactorily while primitive conditions prevailed in a closed territory with scant resources, it had proved inadequate under the stress of modern development and was now being discarded as quickly as possible to permit the opening up of the country and to encourage participation in the development of its resources by private enterprise. Keeping in mind that Canadian Eskimos were not legally wards of the government, it was not considered desirable to attempt at this late date to segregate the Eskimos or to retard native progress in any way. Solutions to the problem should be sought rather through co-operative effort on the part of all agencies directly concerned, including the natives themselves. It was agreed, however, that this subject would be further explored at a later date.

A suggestion that special field representatives should be appointed to supervise Eskimo affairs in much the same way as Indian agents act on behalf of Indians was not very favourably regarded. It was pointed out that the R.C.M. Police were already functioning in this capacity and although detachments could not be maintained at all centres, the supervision given was probably as effective as that which could be given under any other arrangement, particularly in view of the distances to be covered and the difficulties of travel. Here again, it was felt that more could be accomplished by closer co-operation among those already in the field than by adding to the existing organizations. It was pointed out too, that with the improved means of transportation now available, most places in the Arctic were as accessible to staff working out of Ottawa or other centres as to agents residing in the country. The possibility of having regional supervisors in some of the more important areas was left for consideration at a later date.

Ways by which the Eskimos could be assisted, not only in meeting the present crisis, but in adapting themselves to the changes that can be anticipated in the Arctic in the future, were discussed. Education along practical lines was regarded as being the prime requirement but it was recognized that until such time as these people can be brought to a stage where they can intelligently handle their own affairs, they will have to be given assistance and above all, some form of leadership and direction. Attention was drawn to the equal dangers of doing too much for them as of doing too little, thus breaking down native incentive and morale. Assistance, where it is to be given, should be extended in a way that would encourage the Eskimos to feel that they were expected to remain self-supporting.

Consideration was given to means that might be taken to widen the Eskimo economy and to guarantee the natives a reasonable standard of living. Among suggestions made were the placing of a floor under fur prices, the subsidization of freight and equalization of rates throughout the Arctic, the consolidation and control of spending native income from all sources so that it may be used to the best advantage, the development of small industries and local projects, and the setting up of trust and revolving funds to encourage thrift and the development of native enterprise.

No definite conclusions were reached on what could be done along these lines but it was arranged that the practicability of these suggestions would be more fully explored and dealt with by a small committee which it was proposed should be set up to make a detailed study of Eskimo affairs.

##### 5. Policy on Employment of Eskimos

Although it was agreed that the bulk of the Eskimo population must and would prefer to continue to live in the Arctic, it was suggested that provision would ultimately have to be made to assist those capable and willing to do so to move outside and find other employment. Hitherto, the growth of the Eskimo population has been limited by the hazards of its environment; disease, starvation and a declining birthrate kept it at a level where it could subsist on the resources available. It was pointed out, however, that with an effective medical and welfare program the population could increase so rapidly that the natural food resources would become quite inadequate to supply its needs. Relief would therefore have to be sought either by enabling the people to earn sufficient in the country to purchase imported foods and other goods or to take up employment in other areas.

At present, there are less than 250 whites employed in various capacities in Eskimo territories, so that unless there are very extensive future developments, the opportunities open to Eskimos in their own country, even when they become capable of taking up such work, are definitely limited.

It was agreed, however, that the educational program should be directed to fitting Eskimos to take over as many of the jobs as possible that may become available in the north country.

It was felt, however, that the immediate need was to assist the natives to continue to follow their traditional way of life as hunters. This assistance could be extended by seeing that they were properly equipped and placed in the most suitable areas for hunting. Movements could be initiated from over-populated or depleted districts to areas not presently occupied or where the natural resources could support a greater number of people. Steps should be taken to assist the Eskimos in improving their hunting techniques and in interesting them in making fuller use of all the resources available.

This did not mean the Eskimos should be discouraged from accepting any suitable employment that may be offered so long as they could be assured that it would be reasonably permanent or that by following it they would not become wholly incapable of returning to their native way of life if it should fail. The present systems of rotating employment at certain establishments and of allowing native employees reasonable time off for hunting were discussed, as were also the desirability of standardizing wages, rations and other [prerequisites] of natives employed by various organizations.

Consideration was also given to the possibility of extending the employment of natives in such organizations as the Canadian Ranger Force and at northern meteorological stations. It was also recommended that the possibility of introducing small local industries whereby the natives could at least supply their own needs should be carefully explored.

## 6. Policy on Eskimo Education

The problems involved and the progress made in bringing education to a widely scattered nomadic race were reviewed.

Federal day schools are now operating at Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Coppermine, Port Harrison, Fort Chimo, Cape Dorset, Chesterfield Inlet and Southampton Island. The Roman Catholic and Anglican missions, assisted by Federal grants, maintain eighteen other day schools and four residential schools at places where missions are established. It is estimated that about 500 children are attending these various schools but it would be impossible to increase this number greatly without disturbing the native mode of life. Residential schools are not favoured because it has been found that children who spend the formative years of their lives there have considerable difficulty in taking up the native life again after they return home. Day schools in most communities can effectively reach only the very small number of children actually resident in the settlements. To overcome these difficulties, it was recommended that summer schools should be opened

where children from outlying districts could be accommodated in hostels and taught during the summer months. It was considered that such an arrangement which would enable children to spend about half their time at school and the other half with their parents in the native camps would be the most satisfactory, provided arrangements could be made to have the children transported to and from the schools at these seasons.

Attention was drawn to the need for a program of adult education at centres where this would be practicable, particularly among patients in outside hospitals. The average tuberculosis patient has to spend about three years in hospital and usually finds it very difficult to return to his normal pursuits after discharge. It was considered, therefore, that any practical training that could be given to him during this period would give him an interest while in hospital and could also probably help towards his rehabilitation after his return home. Technical training in mechanics and radio, which could possibly be put to use in the north, were among the subjects suggested for men, and training as nurses' aids and in midwifery for women.

The curricula at schools vary widely depending on the stage of development reached by the Eskimos in the various areas but include the essentials of reading, writing and arithmetic, together with such other subjects as it is found possible to introduce. It was emphasized that the approach to education should be realistic and practical and, at the outset at least, only those arts in which the Eskimos are interested or of which they can make practical use should be taught.

In view of the difficulty of getting teachers and nurses for work in the north, it was recommended that steps should be taken to select and train promising Eskimos for such duties. A few have already shown interest in and aptitude for work of this kind and if a sufficient number of pupils came forward, the possibility of establishing a normal school or training centre in the north might be considered.

Consideration is also to be given to the types of text books to be used in Eskimo schools. It was apparently thought that some of those in use in the provinces were not entirely suitable for Eskimo children and that there would be advantages in having special text books prepared.

There was some difference of opinion as to whether English or Eskimo should be the language used for instruction in schools. While it was agreed that Eskimos should certainly be encouraged to learn English, it was conceded that Eskimo would have to be used extensively for a number of years yet in dealing with subjects of general interest. To assist in overcoming dialectal differences and formalizing the Eskimo language, it was recommended that Roman script should be substituted for syllabics in writing. Roman script is used in Greenland, Newfoundland-Labrador and the Western Arctic and its use in the Eastern Arctic

would greatly facilitate the preparation of text books and other publications in Eskimo for use throughout the Canadian Arctic. It could also conceivably permit the use of literature published in Greenland and Newfoundland-Labrador.

## 7. Health and Welfare

The Department of National Health and Welfare assumes responsibility for the medical care of Eskimos throughout the Arctic. Full-time doctors are maintained at Aklavik, Chesterfield Inlet and Pangnirtung, where hospitals are operated by the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions under grants from the Federal government. Nursing stations are operated by the Department of National Health and Welfare at Coppermine, Southampton Island, Port Harrison, Fort Chimo, Cape Dorset and Lake Harbour. Tubercular and other patients requiring prolonged treatment are brought out to Charles Camsell Hospital, Edmonton, Parc Savard, Quebec, and the hospital at Moose Factory, Ontario. Medical facilities at Churchill, Frobisher Bay, Goose Bay and other centres are also used from time to time when required. The C.G.S. "C.D. Howe" is fully equipped for medical work during her patrol of the Eastern Arctic and carries a doctor, dentist, X-ray technician and hospital staff. With the co-operation of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, eye specialists and opticians also accompany this patrol every few years. The C.G.S. "N.B. McLean" also carries a doctor who attends to the needs of Eskimos and others encountered during this vessel's summer patrol of Hudson Strait and Bay. Western Arctic requirements are met by medical staff patrolling out of Aklavik and Edmonton by boats or planes. It is estimated that the annual cost of medical services to Eskimos is not less than \$1-million. Appreciation was expressed for the services rendered by the R.C.A.F. in dealing with emergencies and in transporting Eskimos to and from hospitals.

Reference was made by the Department of National Health and Welfare to an apparent deterioration in native health conditions in recent years. Tuberculosis has an incidence now of 7 - 8 percent and runs as high as 12 per cent in Newfoundland-Labrador. There are now some 300 Eskimos under treatment in southern Canada, of whom over 90 per cent are being treated for tuberculosis. A measles epidemic took a toll of 10 per cent of the population of Ungava Bay early this spring. It spread to southern Baffin Island later in the year but the casualties there were comparatively light.

Dealing with suggestions that had been made to have more Eskimos treated at hospitals in the Arctic rather than brought out to hospitals in the cities, it was pointed out that apart from the much heavier costs that would be involved, modern treatment of tuberculosis requires the services of specialists, who are available only in the larger centres in the south. It was realized, however, that it would be preferable to have as many Eskimos as possible grouped together in one

hospital, and enquiries were being made regarding having a 200-bed hospital in Halifax set aside for this purpose.

The problems involved in the after-care of discharged patients were considered. Many of these, after years in hospital, were unable to return immediately to the rigours of native life and there were others partially or totally disabled who could never resume their normal pursuits. Although provision is made for special rations to convalescents and for assistance to the disabled, it was felt that there is need for some intermediate rehabilitation centre in the north where natives could be assisted after their return from hospital and before they resume camp life. A suggestion was made to have an area set aside for Eskimos near Hay River where convalescents or others not capable of supporting themselves in the Arctic could, as a community, take up trapping and commercial fishing on Great Slave Lake. Objections to this proposal were that few Eskimos would wish to reside there, the Indians already there can only make a bare living, and that the experience commercial fishing companies had already had with native fishermen had not been at all favourable.

Although it was admitted that consideration would probably have to be given to finding ways and means of starting Eskimo communities in areas other than the Arctic, where they could be trained to support themselves, it was felt that the immediate need was to provide facilities in the north to take care of the totally disabled and to enable convalescents to accustom themselves gradually to northern conditions again.

In view of the close relationship between health and economic well-being, it was agreed that the whole problem should be more fully explored and dealt with by a committee to be formed on Eskimo affairs.

#### 8. Scientific Study, Conservation and Utilization of Wildlife Resources of Land and Sea.

Studies made indicate that caribou populations have declined in most areas during the past fifty years. Walrus are also reported to be diminishing in numbers or moving away from some of their former haunts in the Eastern Arctic. Opinions [vary] on the relative availability of seals and other food resources but it seemed to be generally felt that scarcities reported were local only and due to causes other than a general decline in numbers. The Canadian Wildlife Service is continuing studies of caribou and muskox populations and is also co-operating with the Department of Fisheries in expanding studies of marine resources.

It was suggested that excessive hunting and the use of high-power rifles were not always, in themselves, the sole causes of depletion. There are definite ceilings to the land and marine populations that any area can support and natural causes over which little or no control can be exercised can affect wildlife population. It was

pointed out that caribou herds vary in size but if a herd in one area is destroyed, it does not necessarily follow that migrations from other areas will fill the gap. Similar observations have been made in respect to walrus and beluga.

Consideration was given to means that might be taken to conserve the resources of the Arctic for the use of the Eskimo population. It was agreed that although Game Regulations were occasionally violated by both Eskimos and whites, little could be accomplished by further restrictive legislation. The solutions would have to lie in educating the Eskimos themselves to realize the necessity and reasons for sound conservation practices and for making greater use of all the resources of the country, rather than concentrating on those most readily available.

Suggestions made for the conservation and better utilization of food resources included -

- a) Restrictions on the numbers of dogs that Eskimos and whites may maintain on the resources of the country.
- b) Greater use of nets for sealing and white whaling, particularly during the summer months, when seals that are shot sink and are very frequently not recovered.
- c) Greater utilization, of the codfish and Arctic char resources in the Eastern Arctic and the training of Eskimos in that area in improved methods of catching and preserving fish.
- d) The possibility of reviving the hunting of large whales which are now becoming more plentiful throughout the Arctic.
- e) Greater use of permafrost cellars for the preservation of meat.
- f) The movement of Eskimos from over-populated areas to places where they can be assured of being able to make a better living.

### Conclusion

It was agreed that a general committee should be formed to review the suggestions that had been put forward at this meeting and to initiate future policy on Eskimo affairs. A sub-committee was also appointed to deal exclusively with the problems involved in Eskimo education. The main committee will be composed of Major-General H.A. Young, chairman; the Right Reverend Donald B. Marsh representing the Anglican Mission; the Most Reverend J.M. Trocellier representing the Roman Catholic Mission; Mr. R.H. Chesshire, General Manager of the Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company; Commissioner L.H. Nicholson of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Dr. P.E. Moore, Director of Indian Health Services, Department of National Health and Welfare, and Mr. J.G. Wight, Chief, Northern Administration Division.

The educational sub-committee will consist of Mr. J.G. Wright, chairman; the Reverend G. Laviolette representing the Roman Catholic Mission; the

Reverend Canon H.G. Cook representing the Anglican Mission; the Superintendent of Education, Northern Administration and Lands Branch and a representative from Indian Affairs Education Services, to be named.

It was proposed that the first meeting of the main committee would be held in Ottawa in October at a time most convenient for the members, and that subsequent meetings would be held as deemed necessary. As all the members of the educational sub-committee are resident in Ottawa, it was suggested that it could meet more frequently.

## 1. Minutes of the First Meeting of Special Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 16 October 1952

Minutes of the First Meeting of Special Committee on Eskimo Affairs held Thursday, October 16, 1952, in Room 304, Langevin Block, Ottawa

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

- Major-General H.A. Young - Chairman  
Deputy Minister, Department of Resources & Development
- Commissioner L.H. Nicholson  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- The Most Reverend J. Trocellier, O.M.I.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie
- The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh  
Bishop of the Arctic
- Mr. R.H. Chesshire  
General Manager, Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company
- Dr. P.E. Moore  
Director, Indian Health Services, Department of National Health and Welfare
- Mr. J.G. Wright  
Chief, Northern Administration Division, Department of Resources and Development

### IN ATTENDANCE:

- Colonel F.J.G. Cunningham  
Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Resources and Development
- Mr. B.G. Sivertz, Administrative Officer, Department of Resources and Development
- The Reverend G. Laviolette, O.M.I., Assistant Superintendent, Indian Welfare Training Commission
- Inspector H.A. Larsen  
Officer Commanding "G" Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Dr. R.N. Simpson

Regional Superintendent, Ontario and Eastern Arctic, Indian Health  
Services, Department of National Health and Welfare

Secretary to the Committee:

Mr. J. Cantley

Arctic Services, Department of Resources and Development

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1. In opening the meeting, the Chairman referred to the Conference on Eskimo Affairs held in Ottawa, May 19 and 20, 1952, at which the present Standing Committee and Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education had been appointed. At the Conference a number of matters had been suggested for further study by these two groups and it was proposed to deal with some of these now with a view to deciding what action could be taken on them.

It was felt that greatly improved educational facilities must be made available to the Eskimos to enable them to meet the changing conditions brought about by the encroachment of white civilization upon their territory. Careful planning must also be undertaken to improve the general level of the Eskimo economy.

## 2. Education

The report of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education was studied and the following items were approved:

- (a) The construction of a new 8-room school at Aklavik to be started in 1953 and completed in 1954. The present two-room day school to be converted to a manual training centre for Eskimos and other children attending the new school. Children from outlying points would be cared for in a hostel to be operated by the Church of England Mission.

It was felt that the new school would provide new opportunities for Eskimo children. Promising pupils could go on to receive special training to fit them as teachers, stenographers, clerks, technicians, etc., for employment in their own country or outside the Arctic. In the manual training centre pupils would learn skills which would be of value to them in the normal native way of life and also as craftsmen for construction or other projects arising from the growth of activity in the north. Special facilities can be provided at a large school such as this which cannot be economically provided in small one-room schools.

- ( b ) A day-school and nursing station to be established at Frobisher Bay where a number of Eskimos are employed at the air-base. As these people are likely to remain in close contact with outsiders and have opportunities to learn skills at the air-base, it is-most important that both child and adult education be provided.

The materials will have to be shipped in 1953 in order for the school to be erected and operated in 1954. Northern Administration and Indian Health Services are to co-operate in planning this project.

- ( c ) Tent-hostels for schools at Chesterfield and Coppermine. These are to enable children of remote families to attend school from Easter to the end of August. Northern Administration will furnish the teachers and camp equipment, and the Missions will operate the hostels on a per diem rate basis and provide catering, laundering and the general supervision of the pupils residing in the hostels. As far as possible, these hostels should be operated along lines comparable to ordinary Eskimo camp life.

All arrangements for these hostels should be worked out by the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education and submitted to Northern Administration and the Missions for ratification.

In order to have these hostels in operation by the spring of 1954, it will be necessary to purchase and ship in the supplies during the 1953 navigation season.

- ( d ) Full-time welfare teachers to be appointed in 1953 to teach Eskimo patients in Parc Savard and Charles Camsell Hospitals. A teacher will have to be provided at Moose Factory Hospital in 1954.
- ( e ) Instruction in Eskimo schools should be in English. The use of Roman characters instead of syllabic script in writing the Eskimo language should be encouraged.
- ( f ) Elementary text books suited to Eskimos should be prepared. They should follow existing readers as a pattern but the text and illustrations should agree with the Eskimo scene. They should be in English with an accompanying version in Eskimo, using Roman script.
- ( g ) Specially prepared film strips and Keroscope film projectors should be supplied for use in camps and schools where there is no electricity.
- ( h ) Special phonograph recordings should be used for instruction in home and school.
- ( i ) The Book of Wisdom should be expanded and used principally for home study.

### 3. Health and Welfare

#### (a) Field Medical Services:

It is not practicable at the present time to establish more hospitals in the Arctic. The great majority of Eskimo patients are T.B. cases, and specialized treatment can only be given in properly equipped sanatoria outside. To overcome the objection of some Eskimos to going outside for treatment, Indian Health Services, in co-operation with Northern Administration, should undertake an educational program on the treatment of T.B. and the necessity for hospitalization. Hospitals should send reports more frequently to the patient's relatives, and both patients and relatives should be encouraged and assisted to correspond more frequently with each other.

Field services could be improved by arranging for advanced first-aid courses to be given to R.C.M. Police and other personnel before taking up duties in the North. The R.C.M.P. and Indian Health Services are to investigate this subject further.

#### (b) After-care and Rehabilitation of patients discharged from Hospitals:

By way of an experiment towards meeting the growing problem of rehabilitating Eskimo patients who, through permanent disability or protracted stays in hospitals, have become totally or partially unfitted to return to the native way of life, it was agreed to establish two centres as follows:

At Driftpile, Alberta, Indian Health Services will make a nursing station and supervisor available. Northern Administration will provide a caretaker and the cost of operating the project. Arrangements should be made to study the possibility of assisting ex-patients unfitted for northern life to engage in gardening or other occupations in southern areas.

At Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, an existing building or tents will be used to house ex-patients under the supervision of the R.C.M.P. They will be assisted in re-adjusting themselves to northern life or in obtaining suitable work at the air base.

### 4. Improvement of Eskimo Economy

#### (a) Loan Fund:

It was agreed that arrangements should be made to set up a fund of \$50,000 from which returnable advances could be made to Eskimo groups or individuals to assist them to purchase necessary supplies and equipment with which to increase their earning power or to embark upon any approved project which local traders or others may not be prepared to finance.

( b ) Handicrafts:

It was agreed that encouraging progress was being made in the development of an Eskimo handicraft industry, that the grant to the Canadian Handicrafts Guild should be continued and the effort extended. An investigation should be made of possible markets for utility articles made by Eskimos which the Guild will not handle.

Approval was given to special projects such as boat building, fishing, eiderdown collecting, etc., designed to widen the native economy.

( c ) Transfer of Eskimos:

[Consideration] was given to the possibility of assisting natives to move from over-populated areas to places where they could more readily obtain a living. It was agreed that Craig Harbour and Cape Sabine on Ellesmere Island should be investigated as possible localities where Eskimos could be placed under the care of the R.C.M. Police detachments and arrangements made to enable them to obtain necessary supplies through the loan fund.

( d ) Employment of Eskimos:

Eskimos should be encouraged to take employment at northern centres provided that they and their families do not lose their ability to return to the native way of life if employment should cease. Rotation of employment and time off for hunting are good precautions.

Eskimos should receive the same wages as white employees for the same class of work. Uniform scales for various classes of labour should be worked out and circulated to employers. All agreements made for the employment of Eskimos should provide for withholding and setting aside a fixed percentage of the monthly income as savings.

Government Departments and contractors who import labour into the north should be asked to use native labour on local projects whenever possible. A register of available Eskimos and their qualifications should be compiled and made available to prospective employers. The co-operation of government departments might be sought through the Committee on Northern Development.

5. Improvement of Administrative Methods

- ( a ) Consideration was given to a suggestion that a Royal Commission should be asked for to inquire into Eskimo Affairs. It was agreed that the present Committee should continue its investigations during the next two or three years and put forward solutions to the problems involved. If, at the end of that time the problems are such that a Royal Commission seems called for, the matter will be considered again then.

( b ) Field Agents:

Consideration was given to a proposal to place qualified men in the field to undertake the development of special projects for the better utilization of resources and the improvement of the Eskimo economy and standard of living. As there was some difference of opinion on the desirability of having agents permanently assigned to certain areas, it was decided to leave the matter for further consideration at the next meeting of the committee. In the meantime, it was suggested that where special surveys were needed, qualified men could be sent out from Ottawa.

( c ) Progress:

Reference was made to the changes that had taken place in the Arctic during the past fifteen years, and the opinion was expressed that although development must necessarily be slow, a great deal of progress had been made by Government during that period in providing for the care and development of the Eskimo population.

Conclusion

The Chairman explained that in view of the importance attached to the development of an overall educational program, this subject had been given priority at this meeting. He suggested that at the next meeting of the committee, which might be held during the first week in May, 1953, first consideration might be given to problems affecting Eskimo administration. He also referred to the great interest now being taken in the Arctic and the Eskimos by both the public and the Government and the importance of the work of this committee in dealing with the difficult problems presented, and thanked the members for the time and thought they had given to the committee's work.

## 2. Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 6 May 1953

MINUTES OF THE SECOND  
MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1953, IN  
ROOM 304, LANGEVIN BLOCK,  
OTTAWA

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT -

Major General H.A. Young, - Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Dept. Resources & Development.

Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police,

Most Rev. J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division,  
Representing Mr. R.H. Chesshire, General Manager, Fur Trade  
Department, Hudson's Bay Company.

Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director, Indian Health Services, Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

Mr. J.G. Wright,  
Northern Administration Division, Department of Resources &  
Development.

### IN ATTENDANCE -

Col. F.J.G. Cunningham,  
Director,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Department of Resources & Development.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Administrative Officer,  
Department of Resources & Development.

Rev. G. Laviolette, O.M.I.,  
Assistant Superintendent,  
Indian Welfare Training Commission.

Dr. H.A. Procter,  
Assistant Director,  
Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

Mr. J. Jacobson,  
Chief, Educational and Welfare Services, Northern Administration &  
Lands Branch, Dept. Resources and Development.

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE -

Mr. J. Cantley,  
Arctic Services,  
Dept. Resources and Development.

The Minutes of the first meeting of the Committee held in Ottawa on October 16, 1952, were approved.

1. HEALTH AND WELFARE

(a) Medical Services

Dr. Moore reported that some 500 Eskimos had been treated in hospitals during the past year. As a result of a recent T.B. survey made in the Western Arctic: some 80 new cases, representing an incidence of about 10 per cent of the people examined, have been brought out to hospitals at Fort Smith and Edmonton for treatment. There were also cases still to be brought out from the Eastern Arctic as a result of last year's survey, and others would undoubtedly be found during a further survey to be made this year. Finding sufficient hospital beds was presenting a difficult problem. It was hoped that arrangements could be made to reopen Rockhead Hospital in Halifax end to concentrate all Eskimo cases from the Eastern Arctic, including some from Newfoundland - Labrador, either there or at Parc Savard in Quebec. Cases from the Western Arctic would continue to be treated at Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton and at the hospitals at Fort Smith and Aklavik. It was felt, however, that as a result of the intensive surveys made during the past few years, the number of new cases requiring treatment should now begin to decrease.

(b) After-care and Rehabilitation of Patients discharged from Hospitals

Referring to the establishment of rehabilitation centres as agreed at the last meeting of the Committee, Dr. Moore emphasized that the Driftpile centre was a temporary expedient until more permanent arrangements could be made. It will be used only for patients from Charles Camsell Hospital. It is not anticipated that more than six male patients will be accommodated there at any one time. Commencing next year, a centre at Frobisher Bay will be used in the same way for Eastern Arctic Eskimos. Indian Health Services are considering transferring their doctor from Pangnirtung to Frobisher Bay and making Frobisher Bay the medical centre for southern Baffin Island.

Dr. Moore said that as an increasing number of Eskimos are being released from hospital, either temporarily or permanently unfitted to return to the Eskimo way of life, consideration should be given to a long-term program for their rehabilitation and integration into the Canadian economy. He said also that there was a possibility of a rapid increase in the Eskimo population in the next 50 years, and we must consider whether the resources of the Arctic would be sufficient to support this enlarged population. He mentioned the possibility of acquiring as a training centre the school and farm presently operated by the United Church near Edmonton which could be used to fit Eskimos for integration into the Canadian economy, either in the Arctic or in the South.

General Young informed the Committee that construction was starting this year on a new school for Aklavik which would be opened in September 1954, and in which emphasis would be placed on vocational training. He suggested that a rehabilitation centre be established at Aklavik. Eskimos might be joined there by their families and could receive training through the facilities afforded by the school. As the capacities of each convalescent were discovered, a decision could be made whether he should return to his old way of life or be taught a trade at which he could work either in the Arctic or in the South. He thought that whenever such an Eskimo became physically fit to return to his old way of life, he should be encouraged to do so. Bishop Marsh agreed that Aklavik was the logical place at which to start such a program. Commissioner Nicholson thought we should consider a similar establishment in the Eastern Arctic and suggested that Frobisher Bay would be the logical place. Dr. Moore concurred.

After discussions the Committee agreed:

- (1) that in 1954, the Department of Resources and Development should establish a rehabilitation centre at Aklavik in conjunction with hospitals and the new school;
- (2) that in 1954, the Department of Resources and Development should establish a similar rehabilitation centre and a new school at Frobisher Bay,

and that the Indian Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare should establish a nursing station at Frobisher Bay;

(3) that at some later time consideration should be given to a similar establishment for the Central Arctic, probably at Coppermine.

(c) The following matters were reported on by Dr. Moore:

- (i) Indian Health Services will give suitable first-aid training course to constables of the R.C.M. Police assigned to northern duty.
- (ii) A public health engineer will make recommendations regarding water supply and sewage and garbage disposal at Coppermine after a survey is made this year.
- (iii) Authority will be sought under a Northwest Territories Ordinance to permit the enforcement of isolation and treatment for infectious diseases, including tuberculosis.
- (iv) Indian Health Services and the R.C.M. Police will endeavour to arrange for a doctor to accompany R.C.M. Police planes on inspection flights.
- (v) Indian Health Services will consult with the Anglican Mission and the Hudson's Bay Company on the possibility of extending dental services in the Mackenzie Delta, and of placing a dentist on the Hudson's Bay Company's supply vessels to attend to the needs of Eskimos and whites at other places in the Western Arctic.

Doctors Moore and Procter had to retire from the meeting at this point.

## 2. APPOINTMENT OF ESKIMO AGENTS

Western Arctic: The Committee considered a suggestion by Northern Administration and Lands Branch that an Eskimo agent should be attached to the Sub-District Administrator's office at Aklavik to deal exclusively with the increasing Eskimo problems in the Mackenzie Delta area. Colonel Cunningham said that the present staff of the Sub-District office could not, in addition to its present duties, give sufficient time to the co-ordination and direction of the contemplated developments in this area. After discussion, it was decided that this should be regarded as an administrative problem.

Eastern Arctic: There was discussion of a proposal by Northern Administration and Lands Branch to appoint a similar officer for service in the Eastern Arctic to develop and co-ordinate small industries such as the manufacture of clothing and sealskin footwear, knitting of sweaters and socks, shell re-loading, etc., to encourage the better utilization of local resources, and instruct Eskimos in the production of art handicrafts. Commissioner Nicholson pointed out that recent reports from Frobisher Bay indicate that there is a heavy demand at the air base for all types of Eskimo products and that it would be desirable to organize and assist

the local Eskimos to take advantage of this market. After discussion, the Committee agreed that an Eskimo agent should be appointed for the Eastern Arctic, with his headquarters at Frobisher Bay, and that a school should be established there to serve the Eskimo community, which now numbers about 300.

### 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL COMMITTEES IN THE ARCTIC

The Committee felt that the time was not yet opportune to set up local committees. However, the need for closer co-operation between all organizations concerned with Eskimo affairs was stressed and it was recommended that, in so far as possible, the R.C.M. Police, Hudson's Bay Company, and Northern Administrations, endeavour to arrange for joint inspections of northern posts. Close co-operation between the R.C.M. Police and the Hudson's Bay Company on all matters affecting the economy and welfare of Eskimos was considered essential and it was agreed that they should get together and work out whatever arrangements are necessary.

### 4. EDUCATION

The Minutes of the second meeting of the Sub-committee on Education, copy attached, were distributed to the members of the main committee. There was general approval of the Minutes, and a vote of thanks was passed to the members of the sub-committee for their work in respect of education. The proposed camp hostel at Coppermine was discussed in detail. It was decided that the school-hostel should operate for approximately nine months and that the attendance for the first year should be restricted to those children who can conveniently be returned to their homes at the end of the term. The matter of opening a summer hostel at Cape Dorset was briefly referred to. The Chairman thought this was a matter for investigation and decision by Northern Administration and Lands Branch.

Reference was made to arrangements being considered for training Eskimos to take up positions in the Arctic as radio operators, mechanics, etc., and members of the committee were asked to submit names of young Eskimos whose standard of education or other qualifications would enable them to be trained for work of this nature.

This ended the proceedings and the Chairman thanked the members of the committee for their attendance and assistance.

### 3. Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 20 October 1953

MINUTES OF THE THIRD MEETING OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1953, IN ROOM 304,  
LANGEVIN BLOCK, OTTAWA

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#### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT -

Major General H.A. Young, - Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Most Rev. J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

The Rev. Canon H.G. Cook, D.D.,  
Representing -  
The Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.

Mr. R.H. Chesshire,  
General Manager, Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director, Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

Col. F.J.G. Cunningham,  
Director,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

#### IN ATTENDANCE -

The Honourable Jean Lesage,  
Minister,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Mr. R.G. Robertson,  
Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet,

Privy Council Office.

The Rev. G. Laviolette, O.M.I.,  
General Secretary,  
Indian Welfare Training Commission,  
University of Ottawa.

Dr. R.N. Simpson,  
Regional Superintendent,  
Ontario and Eastern Arctic,  
Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health & Welfare.

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Administrative Officer,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Mr. Fred Fraser,  
Chief,  
Northern Administration Division,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Mr. J. Jacobson,  
Education & Welfare Services,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Mr. W. Larmour,  
Arctic Services,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Mr. W.W. Mair,  
Chief, Canadian Wildlife Service,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Secretary and Co-ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development, Dept. of Resources &  
Development.

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE –

Mr. J. Cantley,  
Arctic Services,  
Dept. of Resources & Development.

The Honourable Jean Lesage, Minister of the Department of Resources and Development, and Mr. R.G. Robertson, who will succeed General Young as Deputy Minister after November 15, 1953, attended the opening of the meeting and in welcoming the members, expressed their appreciation of the interest which had brought them together.

The meeting was presided over by Major General H.A. Young, Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development.

1. MINUTES OF THE SECOND MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, HELD IN OTTAWA, MAY 8, 1953:

The Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Committee, held in Ottawa, May 8, 1953, were unanimously approved.

No new business arising from the Minutes was introduced.

2. ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEES:

General Young outlined the functions of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development. This Committee was first appointed in January, 1948, to advise the Government on questions of policy relating to civilian and military undertakings in northern Canada and also to provide for the effective co-ordination of all Government activities in that area. This Committee had not been very active during its earlier years, but as a result of steadily increasing interest in the North, it had been recently re-organized and enlarged and now meets regularly once a month to consider Arctic developments and recommend policy to the Cabinet. The Committee itself is composed of Deputy Ministers and others of all departments interested in northern work, and is assisted by the following subcommittees: Administration - Chairman, Commissioner L.H. Nicholson, Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Resources and Development - Chairman, Major General H.A. Young, Deputy Minister of Resources and Development; Transportation - Chairman, Mr. J-C. Lessard, Deputy Minister of Transport; and Construction - Chairman, Mr. R.F. Legget, Director of Building Research, National Research Council.

A Secretariat, headed by Mr. Graham W. Rowley, has been set up to co-ordinate the work of the committee and its subcommittees. It is also intended later to create within the Department of Resources and Development an Arctic Information Centre where information on all northern matters will be collected, collated and disseminated to all departments concerned.

It was emphasized that although the Advisory Committee on Northern Development will be concerned with all problems affecting the Arctic, this did not

lessen the importance of the present Committee on Eskimo Affairs, which is interested primarily in finding solutions to the problems of the Eskimo people.

### 3. EDUCATION

Copies of the Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Subcommittee on Eskimo Education were distributed and considered by the meeting (copy of the Minutes is attached hereto). Referring to the proposed changes in grants to mission day and residential [schools] where Eskimo children are taught; Colonel Cunningham pointed out that although Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration held similar views on the basis on which grants should be made, the amount of the grants had not yet been discussed with them. As all teachers at these schools (under the new arrangement) will be civil servants paid by the Government, the amounts of the grants to cover expenses other than salaries will be relatively small and it was hoped that the Department of Citizenship and Immigration would be prepared to make their rates conform. He recommended also that the Northwest Territories Council should be asked to follow the same policy in respect to territorial schools.

In discussing the proposed expansion of the Federal Day School system in Eskimo territory, it was agreed that all recommendations for new establishments should be referred first to the Advisory Committee on Northern Development so that consideration may be given to the requirements of other departments and organizations in the areas affected. Dr. Moore suggested that if a school were to be opened at Igloodik, Indian Health Services and the R.C.M. Police might also wish to establish there.

Subject to the foregoing, it was agreed that the subcommittee's report should be adopted.

Mr. J.V. Jacobson reported on the Summer School and Convention for Teachers of the Northwest Territories which was held at Yellowknife, August 17 to 29, 1953 (a copy of this report is attached hereto).

The members of the Committee expressed great interest in the work accomplished at the convention, the first of its kind held in the Northwest Territories, and the Chairman suggested that if funds could be made available, similar meetings should be held at least every two years.

Colonel Cunningham reported that the new teacher's residence at Aklavik had been completed and the foundation for the new Federal Day School laid. The materials required to complete the construction program were now stockpiled at Aklavik.

He also reported that the opening of the proposed camp hostel at Coppermine had been postponed until 1955 to permit more careful investigation of the suitability of an alternative site for the hostel and the community.

General Young made confidential reference to the unsuitability of Aklavik as a site for the large community already there and for the expansion that could be expected over the next few years. The whole situation at Aklavik and other places in the North was being carefully considered by the Advisory Committee on Northern Development and decisions would probably be arrived at within the next two or three months. Until that time, however, it was recommended that all expenditures on existing installations should be kept to a minimum.

#### 4. HEALTH AND WELFARE

Dr. Moore reported on health conditions among Eskimos during the past year.

Despite increasing outside contacts there had been no serious epidemics other than occurrences of influenza at Fort Chimo, Frobisher Bay, Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung, all of which had been successfully coped with. Fifteen cases of trichinosis and seven deaths from this disease had been reported.

To assist in the treatment of sickness locally, Indian Health Services have engaged three male nurses, who will be placed at nursing stations in the North. Short pre-medical courses are also being provided for R.C.M. Police before they go North. Twenty men received this training during the past year and the courses will be continued from year to year.

The program undertaken some years ago for the detection and treatment of tuberculosis is being continued and its scope widened. A party from Charles Camsell Hospital conducted a survey at all places in the Western Arctic and found an incidence of 3.9 per cent. Another party from the Winnipeg Regional Office made surveys at Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake and Repulse Bay while travelling on the M.V. "Rupertsland". The incidence in this area was 8 per cent out of 319 plates taken. A further survey will be made of this whole area as far north as Igloodik next spring, when it is thought that more Eskimos will be congregated at the settlements than were there during the summer. Surveys were continued on the Eastern Arctic Patrol and some 600 X-ray plates were taken during the northern half of the trip. In order to take care of the increasing number of patients requiring treatment, an effort was being made to reopen Rockhead Hospital in Halifax this winter. This hospital would take care of about 100 patients. It is considered that the number of cases requiring treatment has now about reached its peak and that the additional accommodation that Rockhead Hospital would provide would make it possible to treat all future cases without entailing further capital expenditures.

Reference was made to the arrangements made with the Newfoundland Government for the care of Eskimos and Indians in Labrador. The Federal Government has assumed responsibility for a campaign to control tuberculosis in that area where there is a present incidence of 10 per cent.

##### 5. CARE OF CONVALESCENTS AND REHABILITATION AFTER HOSPITALIZATION

Reference was made to the need for rehabilitation centres to provide for the increasing number of temporarily or permanently incapacitated patients being discharged from hospitals after treatment for tuberculosis and other causes. As intimated at the last meeting of the Committee, the temporary centre at Driftpile has now been abandoned and the two male patients who were there have recently been moved to the Rideau Health and Occupational Centre of the Department of Veterans Affairs at Ottawa, where it is hoped they can be trained to take up some useful occupation. Other seriously handicapped persons will be transferred there as they are ready for discharge from hospitals.

Colonel Cunningham reported on the steps that are being taken to provide a rehabilitation centre at Frobisher Bay for people from the Eastern Arctic who may require some care after their discharge from hospital before returning to their homes, or who may have to be trained to take up other occupations in the Arctic.

It is hoped that buildings will be made available at the base this year so that the centre may be in operation by the fall of 1954. Besides the centre itself, with accommodation for about 25 people, it is planned to have a two-room day school and a nursing station and the necessary living accommodation for the staffs.

Arrangements are being made to provide vocational training for patients while at the centre and particularly for those who, because of disability, will be unable to take up hunting again. Among projects being considered is the possibility of making concrete blocks. Suitable sand is reported to be available near the base and the manufactured blocks could be utilized for the erection of permanent buildings, including housing for permanently employed Eskimos. Since it is anticipated that Frobisher Bay will continue to be an important permanent base, it was felt that it would be the best place to conduct an experiment of this nature.

Dr. Moore stated that in view of the plans being made to develop Frobisher Bay, consideration was still being given by his Department to the possibility of transferring the doctor and medical centre from Pangnirtung to Frobisher Bay. He agreed on the necessity for having rehabilitation centres to which people could be discharged from hospitals. The number of patients going back now was small compared to what it would be during the next few years when the people now under treatment became ready for discharge.

Mr. Chesshire expressed the view, with which Dr. Moore agreed, that lack of hygiene rather than malnutrition was probably the greatest factor in the spread of disease. It would be necessary, therefore, to properly supervise the sanitary conditions at such centres where permanent housing for Eskimos was provided.

Reference was made to the experiment being conducted at Fort Churchill where two Keewatin and five Fort Chimo Eskimos had been given employment at the base. Reports received to date indicated that all these men were adapting themselves very well to their new environment and were proving capable workmen. One of the Keewatin men was already acting as a foreman at the base.

## 6. ECONOMY AND WELFARE CONDITIONS

Colonel Cunningham reported on various projects which have been undertaken or which are currently under consideration for the betterment of economic conditions. These could be classified as those designed to improve conditions among the more primitive hunting groups, those designed to diversify the economy and increase earnings, and those designed to bring Eskimos to a stage where they may largely abandon their hunting economy and become producers or employees.

Among the first, reference was made to the assistance that had been given the Banks Island Eskimos and this year to natives from Port Harrison to move from unfavourable to more favourable hunting and trapping areas. The Banks Island project had been very successful during the two years of its operation and is being continued. First reports received from Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands indicate that the Eskimos who were transferred there from Port Harrison this year are adapting themselves very well to their new environment and are obtaining all the country food they require. The Banks Island project has been financed largely by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Eastern Arctic one through the Eskimo Loan Fund. The Eskimo Loan Fund has also financed a smaller project at Herschel Island where there are no other trading facilities. Other assistance has been extended to smaller groups at Port Burwell, Ennadai Lake and on the east side of Hudson Bay.

Boat-building projects were undertaken in co-operation with the Hudson's Bay Company at Lake Harbour and in co-operation with the R.C. Mission at Tuktoyaktuk. Both are turning out boats suitable for Eskimo use at a considerable saving in cost.

In view of the inability of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild to finance the steadily increasing volume of handicrafts being produced by Eskimos and the need now for diversifying the products, arrangements are being made to have Mr. and Mrs. Houston employed in Northern Administration and Lands Branch on a full-time basis. Their duties will be to co-operate with the Guild and the Hudson's Bay

Company in promoting the production and sale of handicrafts and in developing any other projects of a similar nature which may be undertaken.

Reference was made to a recent inquiry which had been received from Mr. Michel Utsi regarding the possibility of transferring reindeer owners and their herds from Lapland to places in Canada where there would be suitable grazing and access to markets for meat.

The possibilities of introducing sheep and goats into suitable areas, particularly around Fort Chimo and Great Whale River, are being explored with the Department of Agriculture and others. The information received so far has been encouraging and further investigations of the Fort Chimo area will probably be made next year by Miss Findlay under the auspices of the Arctic Institute. Miss Findlay recently completed a survey of sheep farming in southern Greenland.

The Department of Agriculture has also recommended that consideration might be given to the introduction of yaks which forage for themselves the year round and do not require close herding. Yaks were successfully bred and raised in Western Canada in the 1920's.

Investigations are being made of the possibilities in Northern Canada of eiderduck farming and down collecting as practised in Iceland. Surveys are being made of reportedly suitable areas and of the farming and down collecting techniques used in Iceland.

Bishop Trocellier reported that it was the intention of his mission to discontinue trading at Stanton and Paulatuk in 1954. As this would leave the natives in these areas without any trading facilities or means of obtaining supplies, it was arranged that the Secretary should confer with Bishop Trocellier and Mr. Chesshire as to means that might be taken to meet this situation. At the subsequent meeting of Bishop Trocellier, Mr. Chesshire, Mr. Nichols and Mr. Cantley, it was agreed that the best solution would be to transfer the 80 odd Eskimos presently at Stanton and Paulatuk to Holman Island where there is already an H.B.C. trading post and an R.C. Mission and where there are ample resources of all kinds to support a larger population. Bishop Trocellier was doubtful if these groups would be willing to move from their present habitat but is to inquire into this when he visits Stanton and Paulatuk in March, 1954. Failing this arrangement, Mr. Chesshire said that his Company would be prepared to open one small outpost at a central location which could serve both communities for a year's trial in 1954. Bishop Trocellier suggested the mouth of the Horton River as a possible location for such an outpost, but this was left for consideration later when further investigations have been made.

As a first step towards providing higher education and vocational training for Eskimos it was agreed that a roster should be prepared of all males between the

ages of 10 and 30 who are mentally promising or who have shown special aptitudes along lines that would make them promising material for training, particularly for the steadily increasing number of positions that would become available as a result of development in Arctic areas. It was recognized that it would be a number of years before any large number of Eskimos could be trained to take up highly skilled employment but it was agreed that a start should be made on such a program as soon as possible.

Commissioner Nicholson, Mr. Chesshire and Bishop Trocellier promised the assistance of their field organizations in obtaining the information required. This information will be sent to Administration and Lands Branch where arrangements will be made to collate and take the necessary action on it. It was also suggested that other Departments operating in the North, particularly the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals and the Telecommunications Division of the Department of Transport, might be asked to assist in providing technical training to selected Eskimos around their stations.

#### 7. ADMINISTRATION OF ESKIMO AFFAIRS

In order to reduce expense and to obtain the greatest measure of co-operation among those directly concerned with Eskimo affairs, it was agreed that joint trips should be arranged whenever possible, but that in order to reduce the strain on Northern establishments, parties going into the field should be kept as small as possible. Commissioner Nicholson suggested that in order to make the best use of the usually limited time available at each place and to avoid duplication of effort, each party should be carefully briefed either at Ottawa or failing that, at the point of take-off.

The feeling of the meeting was that subsidization of freight should not be considered at this time. Mr. Chesshire did not favour such a step, but suggested that the practicability of equalizing freight rates on an area basis might be explored at a later date.

There being no further business, the Chairman proposed and it was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee should be held in Ottawa on Monday, May 10, 1954. The meeting then adjourned.

## 4. Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 10 May 1954

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH MEETING  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS  
HELD MONDAY, MAY 10, 1954,  
IN ROOM 304, LANGEVIN BLOCK, OTTAWA

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT –

Mr. R.G. Robertson,  
Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The Rev. G. Laviolette, O.M.I.,  
Representing -  
Most Rev. J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

The Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.

Mr. R.H. Chesshire,  
General Manager, Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Dr. H.A. Procter,  
Representing -  
Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director, Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health & Welfare.

Mr. F.J.G. Cunningham,  
Director,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

### IN ATTENDANCE -

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Chief, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,

Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Dr. R.N. Simpson,  
Regional Superintendent,  
Ontario and Eastern Arctic,  
Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health & Welfare.

Mr. G. W. Rowley,  
Co-ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Executive Officer,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division, Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. J.V. Jacobson,  
Superintendent,  
Education and Vocational Training,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. W.W. Mair,  
Chief, Canadian Wildlife Service,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. J.W. Burton,  
Conservation & Management Services,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. J.A. Houston,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE -

Mr. J. Cantley,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

1. MINUTES OF THE THIRD MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, HELD IN OTTAWA OCTOBER 20, 1953

The Minutes of the third meeting of the Committee, held in Ottawa October 20, 1953 were unanimously approved.

No new business arising from the Minutes was introduced.

2. REVIEW OF CHANGES MADE AND PROPOSED IN ADMINISTRATION

(a) The Chairman reviewed the reasons for setting up the new Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources and briefly explained what its functions were to be.

Quoting from the Prime Minister's speech to Parliament during the second reading of the bill creating the new department, he drew particular attention to the following points:

The functions of the new Department "will be to give a new emphasis and scope to work already being done, and to indicate that the government and parliament wish to see such greater emphasis made a continuing feature of the operation of government. One subject to which such increased emphasis will be given... is the administration and development of our northern territories." Referring to earlier administrations, the Prime Minister stated: "It was obvious that northern affairs could get only a part, and perhaps a rather small part, of the attention of the minister and of the department, and it was also apparent that throughout the whole history of the administration of our territories there had never been a department clearly charged with their administration as its first and primary duty."

"The present bill is designed to give more emphasis to the fact that the people of Canada are greatly interested in this northern territory and regard it as an important part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Canadian nation."

"The functions of the department will remain essentially the same as those of the department of resources, except that hereafter responsibilities in relation to the north will be more fully and clearly spelled out. The minister will have the specific duty to co-ordinate the activities of all government departments in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. It will also be his responsibility to promote measures for further economic and political development in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon and to develop knowledge of the problems in the north and the means of dealing with them through scientific investigations and technological research."

“I think this department will have to give close attention to what can be done to integrate the native Eskimo population into the development, and probably the administration also, of parts of these northern areas.”

(b) Mr. Cunningham outlined the changes made and proposed in the organization of Northern Administration and Lands branch. The former Northern Administration division has been divided into two divisions; a Territorial division under Mr. F. Fraser and an Arctic division under Mr. B.G. Sivertz.

The Arctic division will be responsible for the general administration of the Arctic and of Eskimo affairs, excepting only game conservation and management in the Northwest Territories and Eskimo education which, for the present at least, will continue to be supervised by the appropriate sections of the Territorial division working in co-operation with the Arctic division.

The Arctic division is now being organized along functional lines and will probably include sections for Administration, Special Projects and Eskimo Welfare.

Mr. Cunningham also informed the meeting that in order to cope more effectively with rapidly changing conditions in the Arctic, arrangements were being made by the Branch to place Northern Service Officers at some of the more important centres. It is proposed to make a start with six, if suitable men can be found, and to place them at Aklavik, Coppermine, Chesterfield Inlet, Port Harrison, Fort Chimo and Frobisher Bay. This service could be extended later as the need arises. It is not intended that these men will take over the functions presently being performed by the R.C.M. Police or others in the field, but rather that they will endeavour to co-ordinate the activities of all field organizations with a view to making the greatest possible use of all resources available and to improving economic and living conditions among the Eskimos in the areas to which they are assigned.

During the general discussion that followed the introduction of these matters, it was made clear that the appointment of Northern Service Officers would be proceeded with slowly as men were found who would be qualified to fill these positions. In the early stages, some of them might be employed temporarily on special projects before being assigned to any particular area. Among projects mentioned were the employment of Eskimos at Churchill and Frobisher Bay and at mining and prospecting centres in the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec, where problems of adaptation, housing, education and social services will undoubtedly arise in the near future. While it is not the policy of the Department to move Eskimos out of the Northern territories nor to encourage them to change their way of life too drastically or too suddenly, changing conditions within the territories and deteriorating economic conditions in certain areas are making it necessary to assist certain groups to adapt themselves to new environments.

No obstacles have been placed in the way of Eskimos in accepting temporary employment which still permits them to follow their usual mode of life for a considerable part of their time, but when they take up permanent employment and come to depend more on their earnings than on hunting, fishing and trapping for their livelihood, steps have to be taken to assist them to adapt themselves fully to the change and to ensure that they and their dependants [sic] can continue to develop in the new environments. While it is recognized that progress must necessarily be slow, the ultimate aim is to bring the Eskimos to a stage where they can take full part in the development of the Arctic with all the rights and privileges of other Canadian citizens.

### 3. EDUCATION

The Minutes of the fourth meeting of the sub-committee on education were tabled by Mr. J.V. Jacobson, chairman of the sub-committee, and after discussion were accepted by the committee.

In considering the minutes and recommendations of the subcommittee, the following were the principal points raised.

The immediate developments at Frobisher Bay would depend on how soon buildings at the base could be made available. It is expected, however, that some buildings will be released this autumn and the school and rehabilitation centre will be given first priority in their conversion and utilization. The work in moving and converting the buildings will be done so far as possible by local Eskimos.

Opinion was divided as to the practicability of the proposal to establish a Northern School of the Air. Among the technical difficulties mentioned were those pertaining to the operation and upkeep of receiving sets in Eskimo hands, particularly among the more nomadic groups; selection of a site for a central broadcasting station capable of covering the whole of the Arctic; the possibility of extended "Black-out" periods; and the problems involved in preparing suitable programs for all groups, taking into consideration the differences in dialects and in cultural development. While recognizing the potentialities of radio as an educational medium in the Arctic, the Committee felt that experiments should be made first in one or two areas where broadcasting facilities already exist. The radio school in itself would not be fully effective unless it were supplemented by the services already being supplied by day schools, mission schools and possibly itinerant teachers. It was concluded, therefore, that this proposal should be reviewed in conjunction with other development plans for the Arctic and a limited experiment made in a suitable area to determine to what extent it could be usefully expanded in the future for the education of both children and adults.

In view of the importance attached to education and the difficulties that are being encountered in reaching more than about 20 per cent of the Eskimos by present methods, it was recommended that future meetings of the sub-committee should be held at least a month before the meeting of the main committee so that the minutes and recommendations may be circulated and studied by the members of the main committee before it assembles.

#### 4. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Consideration was given to a summary that had been circulated to members of actions that have already been taken or that are to be undertaken during the current year to improve economic conditions in various areas. It was generally agreed that satisfactory progress was being made in this direction and that the program being followed was meeting the immediate need and could be expanded gradually as needs arise and required information becomes available.

#### 5. HEALTH

(a) In Dr. Moore's absence, Dr. Procter reported on health conditions among Eskimos during the past year.

The control and treatment of tuberculosis continues to be the main concern of his department, but definite progress is being made. X-ray surveys carried out during the past year showed an incidence of 4 per cent among those examined in the Western Arctic, 8 per cent in the Central Arctic, and 10 per cent in the Eastern Arctic. With the prompt removal of all active cases discovered, however, it is expected that these rates will decrease materially when further surveys are carried out this year.

Mention was made of the flu epidemics at Pangnirtung when 500 people were involved and one death resulted, and on the Belcher Islands when 11 deaths occurred. An outbreak of polio occurred at Maguse Lake when 14 people who had recently come from Coral Harbour were affected and three deaths resulted. It was of interest to note that only the newcomers contracted the disease; none of the other inhabitants of this area was affected. Cases of trichinosis had also been reported among Eskimos and studies were being made of the incidence of this disease.

Dr. Procter outlined the proposals that were being considered for providing more effective means of treatment for Eskimos brought out from the Eastern Arctic. Parc Savard Hospital in Quebec and the Moose Factory Hospital are the two main centres at present, but small numbers of patients are also treated in other hospitals when necessary. It was agreed, however, that it would be preferable for all concerned if arrangements could be made to have one hospital where all Eastern Arctic Eskimos could be brought for prolonged treatment.

Consideration had been given to re-activating Rockhead Hospital in Halifax and to taking over a D.V.A. Hospital in St. Hyacinthe, Quebec. It was generally felt, however, that neither of these would be entirely satisfactory. It was therefore recommended that the matter be considered further by Indian Health Services with a view to finding a hospital reasonably accessible to Ottawa and to a medical centre where specialists would be available.

Dr. Procter intimated that the present cost of medical care now being extended to the Eskimo population, including transportation, is probably about one million dollars per annum.

(b) The Chairman referred to a plan now in the formative stage to set up a separate Northern Health Service under the Department of National Health and Welfare, an outline of which had already been circulated to the members of the Committee. It was felt that such an organization would more effectively discharge the obligations of the Federal Government to Eskimos and Indians in our northern territories and would at the same time more effectively meet the needs of the Department of National Defence and other organizations at a considerable saving in cost. It was pointed out that the new service would not interfere with the present hospitals or medical practitioners in the north, but would act in a capacity similar to that of the provincial departments of health and be the agency responsible for the co-ordination of all health and medical facilities in the northern areas, including the Yukon and possibly northern British Columbia and Newfoundland-Labrador. It was also felt that the larger organization would be able to attract the type of staff required in the north and permit a freer exchange of personnel.

(c) Venereal disease had been reported in the Frobisher Bay area but the immediate steps taken to trace and treat all possible contacts had apparently been successful in restricting the spread of this disease.

This occurrence had, however, drawn attention to the danger of this and other diseases being brought in by the increasing number of whites entering the country. It was recommended that Northern Administration and Lands Branch should, therefore, attempt to obtain the co-operation of the Department of National Defence, the United States Armed Services and other organizations sending men into the north to have their employees medically examined before being assigned to northern duty and as may be required afterwards.

## 6. GENERAL

### (a) Aklavik and Coppermine

The Chairman made reference to the investigations that were now being made with a view to finding more suitable sites for Aklavik and Coppermine. The

present site for Aklavik was most unsatisfactory for a settlement of this size, and as it was conceivable that Coppermine could in future develop along similar lines it was felt that both sites should be carefully examined by the survey party now in the field. No decision can be made until the engineers' reports and recommendations have been received and studied. Among the facilities that are considered essential for larger Arctic settlements are a good harbour, a site capable of expansion, suitable terrain for an airstrip, good drainage and an adequate water supply.

(b) Proposed surveys of wild life and marine resources

Mr. W.W. Mair and Mr. J.W. Burton dealt with the arrangements that have been made between the Administration, Canadian Wildlife Service and the Department of Fisheries for surveys of the natural resources of the Arctic regions, an outline of which had already been circulated to the members of the committee. This must necessarily be a long-term program but in planning it immediate priority would be given to those areas where the native economy is at a low ebb. Ultimately it is hoped to make an accurate assessment of the wild life resources of the whole of the Arctic and to make available the information required for the proper conservation and utilization of the resources available. The committee agreed that such a survey was long overdue and should be undertaken as soon as possible.

(c) Wolf bounties as an incentive to predator control in selected areas

The views of the committee were sought on a memorandum which had been sent to the members on the desirability or otherwise of paying bounties on wolves in the Northern Territories as a means of predator control.

While it was conceded that a bounty might encourage native trappers to kill more wolves and thus add something to their income, past experience has shown that the paying of bounties had led to a number of abuses without contributing in any effective way to predator control. Organized programs and the use of poison by experienced men had been found much more effective in bush country. It was considered doubtful, however, if poison could be safely used in tundra country.

The contention of wildlife authorities is that despite the much higher reproduction rates of wolves as compared with caribou, the mortality rate of wolves is so much higher that nature itself maintains the balance between the two populations. Any possible declines that may have occurred in caribou populations cannot therefore be attributed solely to wolves: consideration must also be given to hunting by the human populations, disease among the animals themselves, climatic changes and range deterioration.

No definite recommendations were made at the meeting, but it was suggested that the subject should be further explored by the Administration in conjunction with Canadian Wildlife Service.

This concluded the agenda, but before the meeting adjourned Commissioner Nicholson advised the members that the R.C.M. Police were arranging to base an aircraft at Churchill for administrative purposes on the west side of Hudson Bay and the central Arctic. It was agreed that in view of the administrative difficulties that had arisen in these areas during the past few years, this aircraft would serve a very useful purpose.

It was agreed that the next meeting of the committee should be held at Ottawa on Monday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of November, 1954.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

## 5. Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 29 November 1954

MINUTES OF THE FIFTH MEETING  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS  
HELD ON NOVEMBER 29TH, 1954, IN  
ROOM 304, LANGEVIN BLOCK, OTTAWA

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT –

Mr. R.G. Robertson, - Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources

Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police

The Rev. G. Laviolette, O.M.I.,  
Representing –  
Most Rev. J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

The Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic

Mr. R.H. Chesshire,  
General Manager, Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company

Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director, Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Chief, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

### IN ATTENDANCE -

The Rev. G. Renaud, O.M.I.,  
Superintendent of Indian and  
Eskimo Welfare Commission.

Mr. W.W. Mair,  
Chief, Canadian Wildlife Service,

- Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Dr. J.S. Willis,  
Indian Health Services,  
Department of National Health and Welfare.
- Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Co-ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. S. Trachdenberg,  
Economic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company.
- Mr. J.V. Jacobson,  
Superintendent of Education,  
Education and Vocational Training Services,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. W.G. Devitt,  
Superintendent of Schools,  
Fort Smith, N.W.T.,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. H. Pfeiffer,  
Handicraft Instructor,  
Parc Savard Hospital, Quebec City,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. A. Stevenson,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. M.L. Manning,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. W.T. Larmour,

Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. J.A. Houston,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE -

Mr. J. Cantley,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

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1. MINUTES OF THE FOURTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, HELD IN OTTAWA MAY 10, 1954

(a) The Minutes of the fourth meeting of the Committee, held in Ottawa May 10, 1954, were accepted as read and unanimously approved.

(b) No new business arising from the Minutes was introduced.

2. REPORTS ON ORGANIZATION AND WORK

Mr. B.G. Sivertz outlined the organization of the Arctic Division and dealt with the more recent developments in the Arctic and the steps being taken to meet them. Six Northern Service Officers had been appointed and are to be placed at centres where particular needs have arisen. Those being tentatively considered are Churchill, Fort Chimo, Frobisher Bay and Great Whale River, but consideration is also being given to the requirements that the construction of the DEW line will probably create.

It might be necessary to place an extra man at Churchill temporarily to assist the Eskimos employed there in adapting themselves to their new environment, and also to make an extended survey of conditions among the more isolated groups in the Keewatin District on which rather disturbing reports are received from time to time.

At Fort Chimo, the Division was taking over the buildings formerly occupied by the Department of Transport and intended to use them as the headquarters for a Northern Service Officer, as a temporary rehabilitation centre for Eskimos returning from hospital, and for other related purposes. Two Eskimos were also receiving training in the operation of the power plant there and it was

also proposed, when a suitable technical officer could be appointed, to give training in the operation of other mechanical equipment, so that some of the Eskimos at least could be better fitted to take employment with the mining companies operating in that area. In co-operation with the Department of Agriculture, surveys had been made during the past summer with a view to ascertaining what could be done to introduce the raising of domestic animals and to raise field and garden crops. The preliminary reports on these surveys were not discouraging and it is intended to continue these investigations and to conduct some experiments along these lines next year.

In view of the greatly increased activities at Frobisher Bay, it has been decided to make this a centre for education and vocational training in the Eastern Arctic, where Eskimos could be educated and trained to take up employment more [skillful] in character than they are able to do now. It is expected that a start will be made on the building project next summer, but that the project will have to extend over a few years before all requirements are met.

The construction of the mid-Canada line in northern Quebec and the interest being taken in iron ore deposits on the Belcher Islands would probably create new problems in these areas. It had therefore been decided to have a representative of the Department placed at Great Whale River to supervise the employment of natives and to assist them in adapting themselves to the changes that these developments will bring about.

It was not intended that any of these Northern Service Officers would, for the present at least, take over any of the functions presently being performed for the Department by the R.C.M. Police, but rather that they would assist in co-ordinating all activities in the areas to which they are attached and deal particularly with the new problems arising from changing conditions.

The Chairman intimated that investigations were still being made as to the practicability of using radio in educational work, and that the technical aspects not only of this project but of broadcasting generally throughout the Northwest Territories were being considered with the CBC, but no definite conclusions had been arrived at yet. A pilot project might be tried but before that could be done, the curriculum to be followed would have to be worked out more fully. Mr. Jacobson stated that his Section was continuing to give consideration to such a curriculum.

### 3. EDUCATION

The Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Sub-Committee on Education had been circulated to the members and were approved.

Mr. Jacobson dealt briefly with some of the main aspects of the educational program in the Northwest Territories, and also reported on his observations of the Alaskan school system made during his visit there earlier in the year.

There was some discussion regarding the operation of the school hostels at Coppermine and Chesterfield Inlet and it was decided that no change would be made in the present arrangements with the missions, at least until the experiments had been tried for a year, or until it could be ascertained what effects the DEW line and other developments were to have on the Eskimos.

#### 4. FAMILY ALLOWANCES

Reference was made to the arrangement made last year to pay the Eskimos in the Mackenzie Delta their family allowances in cash instead of in kind, and it was suggested that similar arrangements should be made at least at a few selected places elsewhere.

Although there had been some minor criticisms of the uses to which Eskimos in the Aklavik area had been putting their family allowances, no serious difficulties had arisen. Opinion was about equally divided as to the advisability of extending this arrangement at the present time: those against contending that Eskimos generally had not reached the stage where they could be expected to make intelligent use of the funds allotted to them, and those for, that the Eskimos would never acquire a sense of responsibility unless they were made to do so. Certain technical difficulties in making payments by cheques were also discussed. It was recognized also that with the development of defence projects and other activities in the Arctic, which may result in a considerable number of Eskimos being employed, cash would in all probability be much more extensively used than it has been in the past.

No agreement was reached, but the Chairman suggested that the matter might be looked into further by all those interested and discussed with the Family Allowances Branch of the Department of National Health and Welfare.

#### 5. SALARIES AND WAGES

(a) In the past there has been no uniformity of wages paid to Eskimo employees by the various organizations in northern settlements. The duties performed and the hours of work vary to a considerable extent, so that no rigid scale could be made applicable. It was decided, however, that the various organizations should be asked to inform the Arctic Division of the wages being paid by their various establishments so that this information may be available in considering the various aspects of employment.

In the absence of any labour legislation in the Northwest Territories, the Federal Department of Labour and the appropriate departments in neighbouring

provinces had been consulted regarding the scales that should apply to Eskimos and others employed by contractors on the DEW and mid-Canada lines and by mining and other companies with whom Eskimos would be working on a full-time basis. Generally speaking, it was felt that a minimum wage should be set on each project, and that where Eskimos were doing skilled or semi-skilled work comparable to that done by imported labour, they should be paid at the same rates.

(b) The few Eskimos who are employed outside the Territories are being paid on the same scale as other employees in the areas in which they are working.

## 6. HEALTH

(a) Dr. Moore outlined the history of Indian Health Services since its inception in 1945, and the difficulties that had been experienced in bringing medical facilities to the widespread Indian and Eskimo communities.

Administratively, the present arrangements, so far as Eskimos are concerned, are that the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton serves the Western Arctic, and the Manitoba Office serves the Keewatin and the Central Arctic, utilizing St. Boniface Hospital and three sanatoria in Manitoba, the largest being at Clearwater Lake. The Eastern Arctic is divided into two areas, one including the east coast of Hudson and James Bays, which is served by Moose Factory Indian Hospital, and the other including all the Eskimos in northern Quebec and the Arctic islands north of Hudson Strait, which are served at present by Parc Savard Hospital in Quebec, Sacred Heart Hospital at Caughnawaga, and Mountain Sanitarium in Hamilton. Consideration is now being given to the possibility of concentrating most of the Eastern Arctic Eskimos at Mountain Sanitarium.

In addition to these outside centres, there are mission hospitals at Aklavik, Chesterfield Inlet and Pangnirtung, and nursing stations at various places throughout the Arctic. Members of the R.C.M. Police are also being given training in first-aid and the care of the sick before being passed to northern detachments. Temporary nurses are also flown in to areas when emergencies arise. The detection and treatment of tuberculosis has been the greatest concern of Indian Health Services during the past nine years. At the present time, there are about 450 Eskimos under treatment at southern sanatoria and 150 in mission hospitals in the Northwest Territories. Extensive surveys are still being carried out and will be further intensified next year, but it is felt that the number of cases requiring treatment has now reached its peak and will decline gradually over the next few years. For this reason and because of the difficulties of effectively treating tuberculosis at small centres where specialized services cannot be made available, it was agreed that no change should be made in the present arrangements for utilizing the increasing facilities that are now becoming available in southern sanatoria. Experience has shown that the mortality rate among tubercular patients in

southern sanatoria where specialized treatment can be given is less than half that in the average general hospital. It was agreed, however, that everything possible should be done to improve communications between patients in hospitals and their relatives at home, and to provide means of educating and preparing patients to rehabilitate themselves after their discharge from hospital. Plans are also under way to establish rehabilitation and vocational training centres in the Arctic at Aklavik, Frobisher Bay and Fort Chimo for discharged patients returning to the Arctic.

(b) Dr. Moore reported that progress was being made with the planning of northern health services. Decisions had been reached regarding the establishment of hospitals at Whitehorse, Mayo and Aklavik, but the plans for other places in the Arctic were in the formative stage.

## 7. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(a) Mr. Chesshire reported that although there had been some improvement in white fox prices lately, the fur market generally was not strong. The white fox catch in the Eastern Arctic had passed its peak last year, and in the Western Arctic would probably reach its peak during the coming winter. The prices that would be obtained for the relatively large quantities now on hand were unpredictable, but the quantities that would be taken over the next year or two would undoubtedly decline considerably.

The need for diversifying the Eskimo income either through the introduction of small industries or by assisting the natives to take up employment was recognized and it was agreed that investigations along these lines should be continued.

(b) The Eskimos who had been transferred to Banks, Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands have continued to make a very satisfactory living. They have been able to obtain all the food they need and have also had quite substantial earnings from their trapping activities.

(c) Attention was drawn to the difficulties that have been encountered in dealing with the scattered groups of Caribou Eskimos in the Keewatin District. It is intended to have one or possibly two Northern Service Officers allocated to this area to make detailed surveys of conditions and to recommend what further steps can be taken to more effectively meet the emergencies which seem to arise periodically. It was agreed that the RCM Police "Otter", now based at Churchill, will be most useful for patrolling this area and in assessing the resources available to these people before they run into actual difficulties.

(d) It has been arranged with the RCM Police and the Hudson's Bay Company to make experiments with the "Gibson Girl" Transmitter as a means of

transmitting distress signals from isolated Eskimo groups to the nearest settlement. The transmitter will be tuned to the Hudson's Bay Company frequency.

8. SURNAMES

It was agreed that it would be desirable to encourage the Eskimos to adopt surnames, preferably using names that are Eskimo in origin where that is desirable. It was also recommended that attempts should be made to standardize the orthography of the Eskimo language as quickly as possible.

9. ADOPTION

It was felt that native customs should be followed in this and other personal relationships until such time as the Eskimos could be brought to the stage when they could understand such ordinances and were ready to be governed by them.

10. WELFARE

The suggestion was made that centres should be set up where aged Eskimos and others incapable of providing for themselves could be cared for. Coupled with this, was a proposal that a community centre for Eskimos could be set up at a place near a hospital, such as Hamilton, where Eskimos, because of inability or lack of inclination to return to the native life, could be trained after discharge from hospital to take up other employment either in the Arctic or elsewhere. Fuller consideration of these proposals was deferred to the next meeting of the Committee.

11. GENERAL

(a) The Chairman reported that, after consideration, it had been decided that there would be little or no advantage in moving Coppermine from its present site. A new site had been found for Aklavik and arrangements were being made to proceed with the move. The new site will provide ample space for the settlement and for an airstrip.

(b) Mr. Mair outlined the surveys being undertaken by Canadian Wildlife Services. These include a general survey of the resources of Banks Island, with emphasis on white fox cycles; research into wolf populations and their effect on caribou in the Mackenzie District; a study of muskox and their habitat; research into the effects of disease on caribou populations; explanation of the possibility of transplanting caribou to northern Quebec and Southampton Island, and of the studies to be taken to protect and supervise animals transferred; biological surveys in southwest Baffin Island and Foxe Basin and the Wolstenholme area of northern Quebec, with particular reference to geese, myrs and other migratory birds.

Other studies being undertaken in collaboration with the Department of Fisheries include the movements of walrus and seals in various localities in the Eastern Arctic. The tagging of walrus started last summer and two of the 30 tags placed have since been recovered.

(c) It was decided that the wolf control measures now being undertaken in the Northwest Territories would meet the present need and that the payment of bounties need not be further considered at this time.

This concluded the Agenda, but before the meeting closed it was suggested that meetings of the Committee might now be reduced to one a year instead of two. It was therefore agreed that a May meeting would be the most convenient for all concerned and that the next meeting will be held on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 1955, and yearly thereafter. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Administration to the members for their co-operation and the meeting adjourned.

## 6. Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 30 May 1955

MINUTES OF THE SIXTH MEETING  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS  
HELD ON MAY 30th, 1955, IN  
ROOM 304, LANGEVIN BLOCK, OTTAWA

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

- Mr. R.G. Robertson,  
Deputy Minister  
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources - Chairman
- Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- The Reverend G. Laviolette, O.M.I.,  
Representing –  
Most Reverend J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie
- The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.
- Mr. R.H. Chesshire,  
General Manager,  
Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.
- Mr. F.J.G. Cunningham,  
Director,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources
- Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Chief, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources
- Dr. H.A. Procter,  
Associate Director –  
Representing –  
Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director,

Indian Health Services,  
Department of National Health and Welfare

IN ATTENDANCE –

Mr. W.W. Mair,  
Chief, Canadian Wildlife Service,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Co-ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company

Mr. A. Stevenson,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. L.B. Post,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. J.A. Houston,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. A.C.L. Adams,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. D.E. Wilkinson,  
Northern Service Officer,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Executive Officer,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. C.J. Marshall,  
Secretariat, Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

Mr. E.N. Grantham,  
Education and Vocational Training,  
Territorial Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE -

Mr. J. Cantley,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs and National Resources

1. MINUTES OF THE FIFTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE HELD  
IN OTTAWA, NOVEMBER 29<sup>th</sup>, 1954

(a) The Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Committee, held in Ottawa, November 29, 1954, were accepted as read and unanimously approved.

(b) No new business arising from the Minutes was introduced.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF THE DISTANT EARLY WARNING AND MID-  
CANADA LINES

The Chairman explained that although these operations were still on the classified list, it had been felt that in view of the effects they would have on development of the North generally and particularly on the Eskimo people, the Committee should consider all the implications and what steps should be taken to more effectively cope with rapidly changing conditions.

Mr. Rowley outlined the scope of the two lines, the progress being made in construction, the transportation arrangements and the probable ultimate outcome when the lines go into operation.

Mr. Cunningham proposed that the Committee should be primarily concerned with the effect these lines will have on (a) the Eskimos and (b) the wildlife resources of the territories through which they will pass. He divided the operations into three stages, (a) the selection of sites phase, (b) the construction phase and (c) the continuing phase after the stations go into operation. The requirements of the first two are now in the process of being met, but the advice of the Committee would be valuable in deciding what policy should be followed after construction is completed and the stations come into operation.

Mr. Sivertz agreed that the chief concern now should be to assist Eskimos in preparing themselves to take advantage of the opportunities for permanent employment that the operation of the lines will undoubtedly offer. The survey and construction phases, undertaken at very short notice, had inevitably led to some confusion, particularly so far as the Eskimos are concerned. The problems they are raising, however, are being dealt with as effectively as possible by the Northern Service Officers appointed as field liaison officers with the contractors. They in turn are receiving valuable assistance from the personnel of other organizations in the areas affected. These, however, are regarded as emergency measures and the main consideration now should be of the policy to be followed in assisting the Eskimos to adapt themselves to and to benefit from the changing conditions in the north.

Rather than allow them merely to drift into employment, often of a menial nature, arrangements should be made to provide them with training that will enable them to take over some of the skilled or semi-skilled jobs, particularly of a mechanical nature, that will probably become available. At present about fifty Eskimos are employed on the Western Section of the Distant Early Warning Line and about twenty on the Eastern Section. In addition about twenty Eskimos and Indians are employed at Great Whale River. It is expected, however, that these numbers will be greatly increased when the summer construction program gets under way. The minimum rates established by the Department of Labour for such employment are \$1.55 per hour in the Western Section, \$1.25 per hour in the Eastern Section and \$1.10 per hour at Great Whale River. Skilled and semi-skilled Eskimos are paid higher rates which are comparable to those paid other employees.

In the general discussion that ensued the following aspects were considered and disposed of as follows:

(a) Long-term Eskimo Employment

Assuming that there will be opportunities for continuing employment on the Distant Early Warning and Mid-Canada lines and also with other organizations in the north, arrangements are being made to assess the types of employment that will become available and then to devise means of training Eskimos to fill these jobs. It was recognized that the lack of formal education would handicap many Eskimos at the outset and would be a permanent limitation on mature Eskimos who in any case are established in their present vocations and probably should not be disturbed as a rule. The lack of education would be gradually overcome as the new educational program developed. For the present the main emphasis would be laid on training men in the mechanical trades for which most Eskimos have a decided aptitude and where the lack of education would not necessarily present too great a handicap. Once the operational requirements of the lines are known it may probably be found necessary to inaugurate an intensive

training program for selected young men in order to fit them for the positions available. Rosters are already being prepared of younger Eskimos capable of being trained for such positions. If such training programs are instituted it is desirable to give instruction to the wives and families of the trainees perhaps simultaneously with the other.

(b) Attitude of Contractors to Employing Eskimos

Difficulties had arisen in some areas in Eskimos working full time over extended periods. Because of these initial difficulties the superintendents at some sites were not interested in hiring Eskimos. It appeared, however, that most superintendents took a sympathetic attitude towards the problems of employed Eskimos and it was felt that as both became accustomed to working together the difficulties would gradually disappear. Reference was made to letters written by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to the contractors outlining the conditions under which the Eskimos were to be employed. It was explained, however, that while it can be arranged that the contractors comply with such regulations the Eskimos themselves are free agents and can only be advised as to the course they should follow when employment is available.

(c) Letter to contractors dated March 14, 1955, regarding measures to be taken to protect health and welfare of Eskimos

It was emphasized that any tendency towards racial segregation or discrimination is to be avoided in arranging for the employment of Eskimos. It was, however, agreed that it would be in the Eskimos' interest to limit unnecessary contacts with white men as much as possible, especially contacts with Eskimos who are not employed or otherwise connected with the projects. Perhaps after the construction period is over and when station staffs have been reduced to normal, restrictions of this kind could be eased or lifted altogether.

(d) Eskimo Savings Accounts

Employed Eskimos are being encouraged to put aside part of their earnings each month. The amounts to be put aside for future use are arrived at after discussion with the Eskimos concerned and take into account the current needs of each individual and his family. The R.C.M. Police detachments and Hudson's Bay Company post managers are co-operating with northern service officers and the contractors in advising employed Eskimos on making the best use of their earnings and in making any adjustments that are necessary from time to time in their savings programs. Most employed Eskimos now realize the importance of saving part of their earnings against the time when their employment may cease and the arrangements made to enable them to do this appear to be working reasonably satisfactorily. It is recognized, however, that Eskimos, like other people, need some incentive to work and we should not be surprised if the kind of incentive that

appeals to them, at least at first, is the ability to buy freely things that intrigue their interest but do not have lasting value. Many people in comparatively advanced cultures do in fact spend their money unwisely and as fast as they get it. We can only advise the Eskimos on this subject and we propose to do so.

### 3. MINUTES OF THE SUB COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The Minutes of the sixth meeting of the sub-committee on education which had been circulated to the main committee were discussed and the following amendments were suggested and agreed to:

(a) ... The committee supported the proposal to increase the per capita grants to residential schools but recommended that information should be obtained from the missions on the actual costs of operation and that the new grants should be established on this basis.

(b) ... It was agreed in principle that a school for Protestant children should be established in Keewatin District and while no objection was raised to a suggested site at Baker Lake, it was felt that further study should be given to the matter of location, taking into consideration possible future developments in Keewatin. Baker Lake had not been included in the six year educational program.

(c) ... It was intimated that recent information received from Churchill indicated that no particular difficulty would be experienced in fitting Eskimo children into the regular classes at the Duke of Edinburgh school at Churchill. Mr. Sivertz intended to visit Churchill at an early date and would make further inquiries and report on the arrangements that could be made.

(d) ... The recommendation of the sub-committee regarding the placing of the experimental radio sets was accepted but it was agreed that Pangnirtung should be substituted for Frobisher Bay as the site in Baffin Island.

(e) ... Since northern hospitals do not have facilities for training nurses, training at these places has to be restricted to nurses' aides only. Such training could be given at both Fort Smith and Aklavik.

With these amendments the Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Education were accepted and approved by the Committee.

### 4. WELFARE CENTRES

The need for centres to which Eskimo patients could be discharged after undergoing prolonged treatment in hospitals was generally recognized. Limited facilities are now available at Fort Chimo and centres capable of accommodating 50 people each are planned for Frobisher Bay and Aklavik, the former to be ready in 1956 and the latter in 1958. Dr. Proctor strongly opposed sending back to the north any Eskimos who had undergone major surgery or who had been under

prolonged treatment in an outside hospital. The opinion of the other members of the Committee, however, was that most Eskimos would prefer to return home after discharge and would find it very difficult to adapt themselves to another environment in southern Canada. There have been instances, however, where some of the younger people have expressed a desire to take up outside employment after discharge and to settle in the south if given an opportunity to do so. Consideration is therefore being given to the feasibility of setting up small centres probably in the vicinity of the hospitals at Edmonton and Hamilton to which younger patients could be discharged and given opportunities of completing their education or of learning a trade. Centres such as these, located near the hospitals, would permit some measure of community and family life for the inmates and would overcome the reluctance individual Eskimos naturally feel in severing connections with their own people. Such an establishment is being set up by the Indian Affairs Branch for Indian ex-patients of Charles Camsell hospital in Edmonton.

It was agreed that the Department would go further into the whole subject of rehabilitation and training for ex-patients and submit proposals to the Committee later. If considered necessary a special meeting of the Committee could be called to deal with this subject but failing that it could be discussed at the next annual meeting of the Committee which, it was agreed, would be held in Ottawa on May 28, 1956.

This concluded the business. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the administration to the members of the Committee for their interest and co-operation and the meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

## 7. Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 28 May 1956

MINUTES OF THE SEVENTH MEETING  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS  
HELD ON MAY 28, 1956, IN ROOM 304  
LANGEVIN BLOCK, OTTAWA.

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT -

Mr. R.G. Robertson, - Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources,  
Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The Rev. G. Renaud, O.M.I.,  
Superintendent of Indian and  
Eskimo Welfare Commission,  
representing -  
Most Rev. J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of-Mackenzie.

The Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the ARCTIC.

Mr. R.H. Chesshire,  
General Manager,  
Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. F.J.G. Cunningham,  
Director,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources,

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Chief, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director, Indian Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health & Welfare.

IN ATTENDANCE -

- Mr. Hugh Sutherland,  
Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company,
- Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company.
- Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Co-ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Executive Officer,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Dr. H.A. Proctor,  
Associate Director,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health & Welfare.
- Dr. J.S. Willis,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.
- Mr. J.A. Houston,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. L.B. Post,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. Jameson Bond,  
Northern Service Officer,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- Mr. A. Stevenson,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. J.A. Blais,  
Assistant National Director,  
Family Allowances and Old Age Security Division,  
Dept. National Health and Welfare.

Miss N. O'Brien,  
Regional Director NWT and Yukon,  
Family Allowances and Old Age Security Division,  
Dept. National Health and Welfare.

Mr. J.P. Richards,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. W. Rudnicki,  
Chief, Welfare Section, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. R.D. Van Norman,  
Northern Service Officer,  
Dept. Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. E.N. Grantham,  
Education and Vocational Training Section,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. M.L. Manning,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE -

Mr. J. Cantley,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. Northern Affairs & National Resources.

1. MINUTES OF THE SIXTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE HELD  
IN OTTAWA, MAY 30, 1955.

(a) The Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Committee, held in Ottawa, May 30, 1955, were accepted as read and unanimously approved.

(b) No new business arising from the Minutes was introduced.

2. GENERAL SURVEY OF PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE IMPACT OF STEADILY INCREASING ACTIVITIES IN THE ARCTIC AND OF THE STRESSES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT WHICH THESE DEVELOPMENTS ENTAIL.

3. THE EFFECTS OF CASUAL OR PERMANENT WAGE EMPLOYMENT

The Chairman said that the general construction of the DEW Line has been without serious problems, particularly as to its effect on the Eskimos. In some ways its coming was fortuitous because of the difficulties caused by the decline in the caribou and in the fur market. He asked Mr. Sivertz whether he had any comments under headings 2 and 3 of the Agenda.

Mr. Sivertz agreed that the construction of the DEW Line had gone quite a lot better than anticipated. He had two aspects of the problem which he wished to say a few words about, namely: the effect of contact with the white man on the Eskimo; and the effect of employment for the Eskimo which was not permanent. He thought that in both cases the construction of the DEW Line had added something to the life of the Eskimo and certainly to his economy. He mentioned that the DEW Line offers an alternative means of livelihood for some Eskimos in the face of the decrease in game and the increase in population. Two hundred and forty Eskimos are now employed on the DEW Line, mostly in the west, and their employers have been generally satisfied. A programme of savings for the Eskimos was being carried out. His opinion is that they must learn and that we must try to guide them in worth-while objectives in which to put their savings. Quite a number of the Eskimos have used their savings to acquire capital goods.

Mr. Sivertz went on to say that another factor to be considered was the effect of wage employment on the families who are not employed but live in the region and visit the wage-earners and often become a burden to them. He thought that there were different solutions to this problem at different places but that it would be advisable for us to be quite rigid that only employed Eskimos and their families should be allowed to stay around the military sites.

He mentioned another problem which was not new and that was the matter of Eskimos visiting dumps. This was a special problem, particularly where there was no Northern Service Officer or a member of the RCMP. Mr. Sivertz thought the best way to correct this habit was to develop public objection against it among the Eskimos within the community and not to try to apply pressure from without.

Mr. Sivertz then raised the question of cessation of present employment. He thought we must provide alternatives and Northern Affairs are looking into this at present. For example, the Department of Transport has said they could use 200

Eskimos if they were trained as radio operators, in the next decade. He said that such a plan ought to be encouraged and we intend to follow this up. Other possibilities of jobs mentioned by him were mining and exploration, as well as the desire on the part of some Eskimos to receive further training or go on to higher education. He said that all the Eskimos who have been taken away from their former life can be provided for but it was not the department's intention to apply pressure to have this done.

Mr. Cunningham said that we should emphasize that our policies in the past year have been based upon and guided by the recommendations made as a result of discussions in this Committee. He said if there was any way in which the department had fallen short, then the Committee members should be quite frank in saying so, as their comments would be appreciated.

The Chairman said that the remarks made represented the general picture on the way things have developed and he asked if anyone had any comments to offer.

Bishop Marsh suggested that consideration might be given to the children of parents who have taken wage employment. The children of wage-earners will be a problem. They will not have been taught to hunt and they may not have the skills to get work unless educated or trained.

Bishop Marsh also went on to say that he thought there would be some difficulties encountered with housing supplied to Eskimos, especially at festive seasons. Unless some control is applied by someone, Eskimos will crowd into these houses and the result will be sickness. He pointed out that at Aklavik, the Mission people had such difficulties and now the doctor measures off quarters and says how many people can safely stay in each house. He doubted if the Eskimos themselves would institute the practice of turning away relatives. It is not in their tradition and they would probably lose face. He suggested that we tell them how many people may be accommodated in each dwelling based on requirements for good health.

The Chairman agreed that this was an interesting point and the department would certainly bear it in mind. He mentioned the use of a community centre for temporary accommodation for visitors. Such accommodation had been provided at Frobisher and it worked quite well.

The Chairman then asked each of the Committee members if they shared the department's views that things had really gone better than we had hoped. The Committee agreed they were very pleased with the way things had gone.

#### 4. CONSIDERATION OF SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF ACCULTURATION, SOCIAL WELFARE, EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND HOUSING.

The Chairman emphasized that our planning for the future was of necessity highly tentative at this time, because none of the prospective employers were able to be specific about employment requirements.

Father Renaud said that he believed the children to be an important factor and asked what plans did we have for adults being thrown out of employment, especially in the Eastern Arctic.

Mr. Sivertz replied that he thought they would return to the life of hunters and trappers. In the Eastern Arctic a great many Eskimos have not been attracted by wage employment. He thought we must avoid ex-wage earners becoming hangers-on.

Mr. Cunningham said there are many things the department has in mind for its Eskimo development policy. New schools are being planned wherever there are sufficient children to be taught.

Father Renaud enquired if he understood that as yet not too many Eskimos have been attracted to wage employment.

Mr. Sivertz said this was true and that the vast majority of Eskimos are almost untouched. For example, we are able to reach only 22% of the population with our school facilities. The rest are living primitively and he repeated that we do not propose to move anyone away from this life until we have something to give them.

Bishop Marsh reminded the Committee that the Eskimo has a point of view and we have a point of view, but the Eskimo can adapt. The problem as he saw it is if we employ him, he ought to continue to have a job available. We should encourage employment only on the basis of what we have to offer in employment opportunities. We should not make him think he ought to have a job. If we do, we create a problem. We should not act in advance of employment possibility.

Mr. Chesshire had one question. He wanted to know what the immediate decrease in Eskimo employment would be when the DEW Line went from the construction phase to the operational phase. If 240 Eskimos were now employed on this construction phase, how many would be likely to be employed during the operational phase?

Mr. Cunningham said that perhaps this would be a good time to review the situation with regard to the Federal Electric Corporation. This Company had the operating contract for three years. They had been in touch with government departments, especially with the Department of Labour and Northern Affairs, on the matter of general recruitment. He went on to say that our first discussion with them was at a conference called by the Department of Labour. At this meeting we

made it clear that there would be special recruitment problems in connection with Eskimos. It was agreed, however, by the departments present, that the Department of Northern Affairs should have direct contact with Federal Electric on this subject. Subsequently, there was a general meeting at which representatives were present from Northern Affairs, Federal Electric, the USAF, who have a continuing interest in the Line, the Department of National Defence, who maintain liaison with the contractor and representatives of the New York Projects Office. The operational phase is scheduled to begin around the 1st of July, 1957, and it was agreed that any time after January, 1957, Federal Electric would be willing to take ninety Eskimos into its employ. These positions would be training positions. Ninety is the nucleus and we can move ahead and as fast as we can supply trained Eskimos, there will be jobs up to a maximum number of at least 250.

Mr. Cunningham summarized the type of work which will be available during the operational phase of the Line as follows: (1) highly skilled electronic jobs, (2) skilled technical jobs, (3) the training jobs. The Eskimos who get permanent jobs will probably fit into the second class.

The Chairman pointed out that in talks with the Federal Electric it was obvious the major problem is that no one really knows what the problems are going to be when the Line goes into the operational phase and a more specific schedule can be drawn up. He believes that an operating schedule has been drawn up but Federal Electric think that it is probably too tight. It will take experience before we know what is required. His opinion was that possibilities of employment are a good deal greater than the schedule would suggest.

Mr. Chesshire raised the point that funds should be spent on housing. He thought there was a danger that the people might acquire houses before their permanent employment could be guaranteed.

The Chairman said that in the initial phase we would try to get surplus buildings used in the construction until we see how things are going.

Mr. Cunningham said we would replace this with permanent housing of the Eskimo cabin or 512 type.

A general discussion took place on housing, and Mr. Cunningham explained that no decision had been made as to how the Eskimo housing will be constructed; and furthermore, that any houses should be rented, at least in the early stages.

Mr. Sivertz said that another matter is that of providing food. He explained that already we have had some experience with the stocks of food in settlements being insufficient after employment is taken up; and that the Hudson's Bay Company have been most co-operative about arranging for food supplies.

Mr. Cunningham said that insofar as food is concerned, Federal Electric had been told that food to maintain an adequate diet must be available to Eskimos who work at DEW Line sites. Where there is a trading post food could be available through the trader. Where there is no trader, some other method of providing such supplies would have to be made. He said that selection of foods for an adequate diet should only be made after consultation with government dietetic authorities.

Mr. Chesshire asked what plans the government had for dealing with the hygiene problem which results when primitive, nomadic people move into permanent dwellings.

Mr. Cunningham said the Eskimo houses will be supplied with the same facilities as the houses for non-Eskimos. There will be water supply with a chemical toilet.

Bishop Marsh expressed concern about a deeper problem. He thought that even though the facilities are available, from experience it will be necessary to provide some instruction to Eskimos on how to use them.

Mr. Chesshire said that both are problems but he was more interested in the standard that the government planned to bring these people up to; and if they failed to observe a standard, he thought it would be because they did not understand.

Mr. Cunningham said that he was optimistic about this and thought the welfare teacher and the northern service officer could give a great deal of guidance.

Both the Chairman and Mr. Sivertz made reference to the department's experience in Churchill, where there had been no problems about housekeeping and we have been most successful in this regard.

Bishop Marsh said that the Churchill Eskimos were originally from Fort Chimo and had a background knowledge of such facilities.

The Committee agreed that this would be a matter of instruction and that possibly such instruction could be given by an itinerant nurse who would travel along the Dew Line.

The Chairman asked Dr. Procter if itinerant public health teaching could be arranged.

Dr. Procter said that such teaching is part of his Department's Programme and that he was optimistic about this problem. He thought the real problem is the one of obtaining a supply of safe water and arranging for a sanitary community disposal system. He was of the opinion that this problem was not being faced squarely and that some capable people must attack it. He did mention that an itinerant nurse in the completely male atmosphere might be awkward and the

Committee agreed that only a female would be acceptable as a teacher to the women.

The Chairman noted that insofar as water is concerned, the DEW Line operators will also have to face that problem and the Eskimos will get the same service as non-Eskimos.

Some discussion took place on the matter of water and sewage disposal which Mr. Cunningham summarized by saying that these matters are not new to us and that we are exploring the possibilities of what system is best. Expenditures were a very important factor to be considered in whatever system was adopted.

At this stage of the meeting the Chairman asked Mr. Nicholson if he had any comments.

Mr. Nicholson thought it might be a good idea at this time to review the objectives of this Committee when it was set up. They were: (a) to do nothing to encourage the Eskimos to leave the north; (b) to do everything to encourage the Eskimos to be self-supporting by living off the country; (c) to help those who were unable to support themselves; (d) to encourage practical education. He said that progress was being made and felt that the movement of Eskimos to settlements like Resolute and Craig Harbour had been most successful; and that we should seek means to increase this sort of project.

Some discussion then took place about the question of moving Eskimos to Dundas Harbour, which had been suggested last year and Mr. Sivertz explained that we had not done anything about this because we did not have very encouraging information about Dundas Harbour. The experience of the Hudson's Bay Company there was that it was an unfavourable location for an Eskimo settlement. He went on to say that there is no access to contiguous areas where game is plentiful once the immediate area is hunted out.

The Committee agreed to this and there had been a similar experience on Southampton Island.

Mr. Sivertz mentioned that the department was thinking of moving the Ennadai Lake people. They are congregating around the station and not making use of available resources. He said there are other problems to be investigated in that area, - Garry Lake, for example - where there had been reports of starvation; and that the department hopes to establish a northern service officer in inland Keewatin in the near future. Mention was made that Mr. Richards, of this department, had already made some investigations in that area during a spring patrol.

Mr. Chesshire asked Mr. Richards if he was of the opinion that the resources of Padlei are sufficient to support the Ennadai group.

Mr. Richards said the Eskimos are in extremely poor condition. They have no dogs; and caribou is only available in limited numbers. The Eskimos could be kept under better supervision if they were moved 125 miles to the north-east. Henik Lake is a location the department is thinking about. He believed they needed to be helped cache their meat and taught how to best utilize the fish resources.

Bishop Marsh agreed that this was a problem centre. The decline in caribou is the major cause. When he was there in 1926-27[?], he discovered the same condition. He did not think education on what they should do to look after the meat would help, as the Padlei area might have no resources if the migration paths of the caribou changed.

Mr. Cunningham said we do not know the resources of Henik Lake and all we can do is to provide someone to help these Eskimos.

The Committee then reverted its discussion to terms of employment for Eskimos on the DEW Line during the operating phase and what the scale of wages would be.

Mr. Cunningham said that it has been suggested to the Federal Electric Corporation that wages should be based on enough money to pay income taxes, rent, heat, light, fuel, house, food, savings and incidentals.

Mr. Nicholson asked about the cash bonus that the imported employees were to get.

Mr. Cunningham said this was \$1,500, but that the Eskimos would not get this as it was paid to imported help in lieu of holidays. It was hoped, however, to arrange to see that Eskimos receive holidays such as a month, at the end of their term of service.

The Chairman said, let us examine the figures estimated to meet the Eskimo's requirements: These were read out as follows: - Rent, \$75; Fuel, \$50; Food, \$125; Clothing, \$50; incidentals, \$25; Savings, \$40 - a total of \$365, plus taxes.

Some discussion ensued and several modifications to the above scale were suggested.

Mr. Sivertz suggested that it should be \$300, plus house and fuel.

Mr. Cunningham said he thought that \$500, ought to be a reasonable figure.

The Chairman then asked for comments on an annual figure for Eskimos of \$4,800.

The Committee agreed that such an amount seemed reasonable.

Dr. Proctor brought up the matter of leave for Eskimos being employed. He said in his opinion the plan to keep all men employed on the Line for the length of time stated was too long because it brought up the danger that Eskimos leave when certain hunting is on.

The Chairman asked what about leave after six months.

Dr. Willis said he thought they ought to have holidays at religious festivals, together with periods for hunts.

Commissioner Nicholson said he thought we were expecting too much in thinking Eskimos will work continuously and that he thought they would want to have a break.

The Chairman agreed to this and said we should try to get employment set up on a basis on which we think the Eskimos will be reliable and steady workers.

Mr. Cunningham pointed out that they will be on outside work and that it is not a question of working sixty hours a week but of being available for work sixty hours a week. He went on to say that perhaps we could suggest that the Eskimos get one month off after eight months of work.

The Committee agreed that there should be some further talks with Federal Electric on the matter of leave and a certain flexibility was needed, such as time off around Christmas and Easter.

Mr. Rudnicki outlined some of the Department's plans and programmes relating to field social welfare rehabilitation for Eskimo patients and the medico-social welfare work among Eskimos in hospitals.

The Chairman also made reference to the fact that the Department was just starting the programme at Aklavik and Frobisher Hay.

Bishop Marsh asked what is being considered in the way of rehabilitation for Eskimos who are going back and was it planned to take families from distant parts to rehabilitation centres.

Mr. Rudnicki said that perhaps we could consider them by groups, -(1) Eskimos who will recover to stay in the rehabilitation centre as transients. Their families will not be brought to the rehabilitation centre. (2) Eskimos who are permanently disabled. Their families will be brought to the centre.

The Committee spent time discussing the many problems associated with rehabilitation, the need for educating and giving these Eskimos in question some skills.

Dr. Moore mentioned that forty-five people were going back to the north this summer from Hamilton and that he thought we needed an escape hatch for the Eskimos from the north. He recommended that they be rehabilitated in the south in areas where they can take employment.

Father Renaud agreed with Dr. Moore, pointing out that Eskimos in the south needed the support of their own cultural group and he mentioned the work carried out with the Navajo Indians.

Mr. Chesshire asked what examples are there where such a plan has been proven in Canada.

Dr. Moore replied that the Indians at File Hill, Saskatchewan, was a case in point. Dr. Moore was quite emphatic that in a place where the economic future is good, they would integrate completely. We could overcome the break-up of family ties by bringing out the whole group.

The Chairman asked how we could get over the problem of the current generation. He said it might mean the support of a large group while the children were being educated.

Dr. Moore said they will have to be supported by a straight subsidy; they will need to be sorted out by religion; nursing and school services will have to be provided.

The Chairman [asked], would the group be established from adults incapable of returning?

Dr. Moore replied yes, there are examples already out.

Mr. Cunningham said that it was our understanding from reports from hospitals, none of the Eskimos wanted to stay in the south and asked what Dr. Moore thought of this.

Dr. Moore said that this is a matter of education.

After some further discussion, the Chairman suggested that the Northern Affairs Branch, in conjunction with Dr. Moore, prepare a paper on this rehabilitation question. He said he would like to have a paper sent to the members of the Committee on the need to provide some means of readjustment for the surplus population; and that the RCMP should also be consulted.

Dr. Moore suggested that a small committee comprising Mr. Rudnicki, Inspector Fitzsimmons and Dr. Willis be formed to prepare the paper.

The Committee agreed to this and it was proposed that there would be a meeting of this Sub-Committee on June 4, 1956, to discuss this subject of Eskimo re-settlement in southern Canada.

#### CONSIDERATION OF POLICY WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF AND PROPOSED REVISION OF RELIEF RATIONS.

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Mr. Cunningham introduced this subject, giving some of the background of the problem. He said there were two questions that required answering: (1) What

is the proper relief scale for someone living in the north country; (2) What distinctions should be made between the sick and the well.

The Chairman then said the relief question has been a serious problem for a long time and a study of this subject was being made by a Mr. Duncan, of the University of Western Ontario, as to how the way it is being handled might be improved.

Dr. Willis said that with the relief being paid in kind, there was a great deal of criticism that there was not enough flexibility in the rations.

Bishop Marsh asked if it was not possible that men on relief could be given something to do.

The Chairman said that this whole subject would be reviewed when the Department had had an opportunity to study Mr. Duncan's report and recommendations.

#### CONSIDERATION OF POLICY WITH RESPECT TO FAMILY ALLOWANCES AND PROPOSED REVISION OF ISSUES IN KIND

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Dr. Moore told the Committee that the Family Allowance Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare was making a 10-year review of what had been done in regard to family allowances for Indians and Eskimos.

Mr. Blais reminded the Committee that the main purpose of family allowances was for assistance to the children. It should be used wisely, he said, end not be used as a means for Eskimos to learn to handle their own money. He went on to say that when paying it in kind, we can be sure it is used for milk and baby foods. He preferred that no cheques should be issued for family allowances but credit given at posts, which gave us greater control on the issues.

Mr. Cunningham said we were agreeable to this procedure.

#### 5. EDUCATION

(a) Consideration of the report dated March 15, 1956, of the Sub-Committee on Education:

It was recommended that the Administration give consideration to the possibility of establishing a hostel to accommodate 100 to 150 pupils at Great Whale River and to provide with it the additional federal day school facilities which will be required.

The Chairman said a two-room school would be constructed at Great Whale River. He also said that the matter of hostel would be considered but that not enough was known yet about the future of Great Whale River for a firm decision to be available.

It was recommended that -

- (i) a permanent federal day school be established at Spence Bay next year since there has been a fairly steady school population there in the neighbourhood of 30 pupils.

The Chairman agreed that the school would be established at Spence Bay next year and that money should be placed in the 1957 - 58 Estimates for this purpose.

- (ii) that consideration be given to establishing temporary type schools at four other sites on the basis of greatest need and that this accommodation be similar to that being provided at East 3 and Tuktoyaktuk (where two Eskimo-type houses are being built - one to be utilized as a classroom and the other to be utilized as living quarters for the teacher). If the school population expands at these centres, this temporary accommodation would be replaced by standard federal day school accommodation and the two Eskimo-type houses would be utilized for living quarters for the school janitor and for other school storage.

The Chairman agreed that temporary type schools should be established at four other sites, the sites to be selected by the known school populations.

- (iii) Payne Bay should be explored as a possible centre since there may be mining developments in that area.

The Chairman agreed that a school should be placed at Payne Bay.

Bishop Marsh mentioned that he did not agree that Coppermine could extend the term at the hostel to accommodate any children during the winter months.

After some discussion, the Committee agreed that the tent-type hostel was not satisfactory for a longer term than April to September 15.

Mr. Cunningham said that he thought there was a place for both types of hostel - the tent-type and the permanent type.

Father Renaud explained that the recommendation of the Sub-Committee was made on the reports of the teachers.

Bishop Marsh said that in cold weather, the operation of a tent hostel would not be feasible.

The Committee agreed that the Coppermine tent hostel should be continued for another year on the present basis.

The Chairman and Commissioner Nicholson commended Father Renaud on his article "Integration of Education, Welfare and Other Activities in Meeting the Objectives of Eskimo Education."

Mr. Cunningham gave a review of the vocational training programme in the Arctic and at outside centres. He said it was generally agreed by all concerned that this has been very successful to date.

The Chairman in summing up some of the past year's activities and the discussions of the Committee said that he thought the many problems are yielding to solution. He mentioned Dr. Willis's excellent report on the 1955 Eastern Arctic [Patrol] and hoped this would be made available for distribution.

The Chairman then drew to the attention of the Committee that this could be the last meeting Mr. James Cantley would be attending in his capacity as Secretary, as he was retiring from the Department at the end of this month. He expressed appreciation for the services that Mr. Cantley had given the Committee and the Department. He said that it had been of the greatest value to be able to rely on his advice knowing at all times that it was completely disinterested and based on years of broad experience.

The Committee endorsed the Chairman's remarks.

This concluded the business and the Chairman expressed the thanks of the administration to the members of the Committee for their interest and co-operation. The meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

## 8. Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 13 May 1957

MINUTES OF THE EIGHTH MEETING  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS  
HELD ON MAY 13, 1957, IN ROOM 304,  
LANGEVIN BLOCK, OTTAWA.

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT -

Mr. R.G. Robertson, - Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Dr. H.A. Procter,  
Associate Director,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare,  
representing –  
Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director.

The Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the ARCTIC.

Most Rev. L. Scheffer, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Labrador,  
representing –  
Most. Rev. J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

Dr. H.W. Sutherland,  
General Manager,  
Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Director,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Chief, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

IN ATTENDANCE –

Reverend J. Piche,  
Indian Welfare Training Oblate Commission.

The Rev. Canon H.G. Cook, D.D.,  
Superintendent,  
The Indian School Administration of  
The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
Manager, Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Dr. J.S. Willis,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health & Welfare.

Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Co-Ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. J.E. Cleland,  
Asst. Secretary,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. D.F. Symington,  
Chief, Projects Section, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. W. Rudnicki,  
Chief, Welfare Section, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. D. Snowden,  
Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. E.N. Grantham,  
Education and Vocational Training Section,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Dr. W.G. Devitt,  
Education Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

Mr. G.F. Parsons,  
Information Section,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE -

Mr. A. Stevenson,  
Chief, Administration Section, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration & Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs & National Resources.

I. MINUTES OF THE EIGHTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD IN OTTAWA, May 13, 1957.

- (a) The Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Committee held on May 28, 1956, were taken as read and were approved.
- (b) Business arising from the Minutes  
Commissioner Nicholson suggested that the Minutes be sent to members of the Committee after each meeting, rather than only with the Agenda of the following meeting.

II. DEPARTMENTAL STAFF CHANGES - ARCTIC ADMINISTRATION

The Chairman said that a number of departmental staff changes had taken place on April 11. Mr. F.J.G. Cunningham succeeded Mr. C.W. Jackson as Assistant Deputy Minister. To replace Mr. Cunningham, Mr. B.G. Sivertz took over as Director, Northern Administration and Lands Branch, while Mr. R.A.J. Phillips replaced Mr. Sivertz as Chief of the Arctic Division. At the same time the appointment as Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories was transferred from Mr. Cunningham to Mr. W.G. Brown, Chief of the Territorial Division.

The Chairman said that the Arctic Division field staff had been expanded by the appointment of a Welfare Officer to the Aklavik District and by the establishment of Northern Service Officer posts at Baker Lake, Cambridge Bay and Cape Dorset. The rehabilitation centre soon to be operating at Frobisher Bay was partly staffed.

There were now ten Northern Service Officers, most with Eskimo assistants. Three new Northern Service Officers, and a Social Worker for Aklavik E-3, would be recreated in 1957.

The Committee noted recent appointments to the Arctic Division.

### III. A REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE ESKIMOS

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The Chairman reviewed employment on the DEW Line, which had been one of the most important Arctic developments in the past year. With the completion of the construction phase, great satisfaction could be felt with the success achieved. Now the number of both Eskimo and non-Eskimo construction workers was being reduced, but with the beginning of the operational phase, Eskimos would enter quasi-permanent employment. The benefits of DEW Line employment to the Eskimos had been considerable for it had meant for many, a steady income when returns from fur had been poor.

The Chairman said that there was a quickened interest in the mineral resources of the north among the major mining companies. Three new mineral concessions had been made to companies in the areas of Coppermine and Bathurst Inlet. The nickel mine at Rankin Inlet, which was now going into production, represented the first mine in the Arctic proper. There was increasing attention to mineral deposits in inland Keewatin, with the likelihood of further exploration and mining. He mentioned the increasing interest in the region known as the Nickel Belt lying between Cape Smith and Hudson Bay, and possibly extending from Ungava into the Arctic Islands. He said that two mining interests, Cyrus Eaton and the Rio Tinto, were hoping to develop large Ungava iron ore deposits. The iron ore deposits in south Baffin Island, and especially around the area of Amadjuak Lake, were being vigorously explored. The whole pace of exploration in the Eastern Arctic was rapidly increasing, and the changes would likely bring the Eskimos new opportunities for employment. The earliest developments would be in the Eastern Arctic with similar activity [next word covered up] later in the west, owing to transportation problems there.

The Chairman pointed to the increasing seriousness of the decline in the caribou. The estimates of the caribou population made a year or two ago while alarmingly low, now seemed excessively optimistic. The decrease was now known

to be even more serious than was formerly believed, and there was no expectation of improvement in the near future.

Mr. Sivertz spoke of the problem of acquiring enough staff to handle the rapidly growing responsibilities of the Northern Administration Branch. Recent staff increases, while considerable, were only about 50% of requirements.

Mr. Phillips described the new vocational training programme now under way at Leduc, Alberta. He said that plans were under way to hold courses of this nature continuously until the demand for skilled Eskimo workmen has been met. While the present course would last three months, in future courses would be held for four months because of the need for instruction in basic English. The second vocational training course was scheduled to begin in June, and another simultaneous course for Eskimos from the Eastern Arctic would be held this summer at Devon near Leduc. The present course at Leduc had gone extremely well. The Eskimos had adjusted well to town life and much of the credit for this rapid adjustment was due to churches and other interested agencies in the area.

Mr. Phillips mentioned the favourable outlook for increased employment opportunities for Eskimos with the further development of mining and civil air activities in the Arctic. He said that with civil air lines proposing to expand activities at Churchill and Frobisher Bay, many Eskimos were expected to be directly employed both in the development and the operation of airport facilities. Steps were being taken to create an interest in Eskimos and their problems among mining companies and other prospective employers. There had been talks with prospective employers and printed material will be distributed so that as many people as possible coming in contact with the Eskimos would have reliable information and good suggestions on which it is hoped their attitudes will be based, in part.

Mr. Phillips spoke of progress with more primitive Eskimos. Mr. Douglas Wilkinson, the N.S.O. at Baker Lake, had reported good results from efforts in Eskimo-centred community meetings designed to return to the indigenous people responsibility and authority for decision in local matters.

Mr. Phillips then reviewed major construction plans. The Eskimo rehabilitation centre at Frobisher Bay was scheduled to open this summer. Difficulties had been experienced in siting the proposed town at Great Whale River but now town-planning was well under way and some temporary construction would begin this summer. A community plan for Cambridge Bay was being prepared. Development of Eskimo housing at Churchill was being sharply increased because of new opportunities for wage employment there.

Mr. Phillips said that one of the main problems of the Arctic was the relationship between new installations and Eskimos who were not employed by

them but who might tend to congregate around them. The problem had long been foreseen and now the N.S.O's on the DEW Line had been instructed to deal with this very real danger.

Bishop Marsh pointed to the tendency to forget that Eskimos governed their own lives in the past and felt that if left to their own devices, Eskimos would evolve answers to their own problems if given time and encouragement.

Commissioner Nicholson supported the idea that newcomers to the north must be taught not to regard Eskimos simply as curiosities. Newcomers must be informed on Eskimos and their problems. He said that the most sincere efforts on the part of the government could be upset by thoughtless acts of other people and that when the Eskimo felt inferior he was in danger of becoming a scavenger or a hanger-on.

Bishop Marsh said that the Eskimos should not be encouraged to adopt the white man's ideals but should be encouraged to have faith in his own way of life. The Eskimos should not be caused to think themselves inferior to the white man.

The Chairman agreed that procedures should be adopted that would demonstrate our realization that Eskimos have and can continue to work out their own problems.

Mr. Sivertz said that it was a question of returning to the Eskimos the responsibility for looking after themselves and of encouraging them to believe in themselves. This he said was what was being attempted at Baker Lake. There has been a measure of success but one of the chief problems has been a lack of field experience among N.S.O's before being assigned to their field duties. As the present N.S.O's develop their experience, and as experience accumulates in the department, these problems will yield.

Mr. Sivertz added that the programme must take into account conditions that vary from place to place. At Churchill children who are now being educated will form a part of what is essentially a small Canadian town. These children are growing up in the white tradition, with access to the best facilities the community has to offer, and it is necessary that this be so. Anything less would be unwarranted discrimination and would bring the well-known consequences. On the other hand, in other places, among more primitive groups the accent should be, and is, on teaching the Eskimo children a minimum of formal schooling and giving opportunity and encouragement to learn the techniques and traditions of their own people.

Mr. Devitt said that teachers in the Arctic were doing their utmost to give Eskimos confidence in their own worth. Summer courses had been held which stressed the cultural advantages that Eskimos have over whites.

Bishop Scheffer said that there is an urgent need for welfare workers among adult Eskimos to help them in their problems of transition and to discourage any feelings of inferiority that they may have developed in their encounters with white men. He pointed out the practical need for instruction in the new way of life. He said, for example, that Eskimos could not be expected to live in houses if not first shown how.

Mr. Devitt said that adult education is being encouraged and that specifically at Baker Lake fifteen to twenty-five adult Eskimos had been attending school part time.

Bishop Marsh stressed the need for a broad understanding of Eskimo problems among social workers. He pointed out that the inexperienced social worker could create mental turmoil among Eskimos.

The Chairman said that in the past two or three years the department has had to deal with a virtual industrial revolution in the Arctic. The demand for trained workers had exceeded the supply and while there were very few trained social workers in the Arctic today, teachers, members of the R.C.M.P. and N.S.O's were undertaking welfare work although most of them lacked specialized training for this role.

Mr. Sivertz said that after next month there would be three social workers in the Arctic and three in Ottawa. It is hoped to augment these numbers soon.

Bishop Marsh mentioned the problem of adequate food supplies for families of Eskimos working at DEW Line sites. He said that Eskimo men frequently travel to sites to take employment and their families were left behind with virtually no means of support.

Mr. Sivertz agreed that some families of DEW Line workers had been badly provided for but said that this situation had come to the department's knowledge only recently. The operating contractor on the DEW Line is to supply and issue adequate rations for employed Eskimos and their families.

Bishop Marsh felt that the policy in the future should be that workers' families should go with them when they moved to take up employment at a site.

Mr. Phillips said that this had not been possible during the construction phase but that it was planned that during the permanent operating stage families should normally be accommodated at the sites: where families could not be accommodated an effort would be made to employ single men.

Dr. Procter spoke of medical activities. A nursing station was being built at Hall Lake. It was not possible yet to foresee permanent medical requirements on the DEW Line but health services were now available at Tuktoyaktuk, Cambridge Bay, Hall Lake and Frobisher Bay. It is not yet possible to offer east/west medical

service along the Line. Some nursing stations were being far too heavily taxed: the nursing station at Frobisher Bay had four beds and yet it had handled as many as nineteen patients at a time.

Dr. Procter thought we had barely scratched the surface of the problems involved in rehabilitating victims of tuberculosis.

Dr. Willis noted that tuberculosis was only the most urgent of Eskimo medical problems. During the 1955 Eastern Arctic Patrol, one percent of the Eastern Arctic's population had been evacuated because of diseases other than tuberculosis. Eye diseases were fairly prevalent. Among 1800 people examined in the Eastern Arctic in 1955, nine percent had eye disease. Cancer and heart disease were not common: they usually attack older people and the Eskimo population was young.

Bishop Scheffer wondered if the introduction of southern foods was having any significant effect on Eskimo health.

Dr. Procter replied that the new foods were better than the old. For example, beef was more nutritious than caribou meat.

The Chairman pointed out that a change in the Eskimo diet was inevitable, not because of the encroachments of civilization, but because the population had increased and game resources had diminished.

The Committee noted the reports on developments in the Northwest Territories.

#### IV. PREDATOR CONTROL PROGRAMME

Mr. Sivertz said that three professional wolf-hunters had been hired for the Mackenzie District. A drive against wolves was being organized for the summer of 1957, when dens would be hunted and the animals in them destroyed. A bounty of \$10.00 per wolf would be paid. The department planned to appoint a predator control officer, as well as five hunters to work under him during the coming winter. Organized hunting had diminished the wolf population since last year.

The Chairman said that while the predator control programme had been intensified because of the caribou crisis, predators were not believed to be the main cause of the disappearance of caribou. Probably there were a number of causes. The rate of survival among newborn calves appeared to be low during recent years. Forest fires in the caribou's winter range may have reduced the food supply. Native hunters had taken a heavy toll in the past. Speaking of measures to ease the crisis, the Chairman said that the department was considering creating game preserves on Coats and Southampton Islands. Beginning this spring, an 18-month survey, the most extensive yet made, was being undertaken to discover the causes of the caribou decline. As an example of the problems involved in arresting the decline,

the Chairman said that while conditions in Ungava were perfect for caribou, the animals were very scarce because of wholesale slaughter by local Indian hunters.

Bishop Scheffer said that at George River the Indians were killing hundreds of caribou.

Commissioner Nicholson mentioned the booklets on conservation which had been distributed among the Eskimos, and thought that these should have a valuable influence on native hunters.

Mr. Nichols agreed that the Eskimos read these booklets and were very interested in the caribou problem, but in spite of their understanding, they could not resist taking game when it was available.

Bishop Marsh believed that the people around Baker Lake were most seriously affected by the disappearance of the caribou, since they depended so completely on the herds. He mentioned the severe shortage of skins almost everywhere in the Arctic.

The Chairman said that reindeer skins may be imported from Scandinavia to relieve the situation.

Mr. Rowley said that Scandinavia usually has an annual surplus of 2,000 to 3,000 skins. These might be available for the Eskimos.

Mr. Nichols said that increased use of manufactured Arctic clothing might solve the problem of the shortage of skins. Synthetic materials had been developed which were warm, light, and durable, and which could provide a very good substitute for caribou skins. There were indications that Eskimos were quite willing to adopt the new types of clothing. The Hudson's Bay Company had noticed a sharp increase in the sales of manufactured clothing to Eskimos, many of whom wished to stop wearing skins.

## V. EDUCATION

- (a) Consideration of the report of the Eighth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Education
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The Chairman reported that the Secretary had circulated the Report of the Eighth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Education to members of the Committee on May 3, 1957.

Mr. Sivertz reported on the progress made in establishing federal day schools. Schools would be built this year at Spence Bay and Sugluk. A new one-room day school had commenced operation in temporary quarters at Cambridge Bay in January, and a new two-room school was scheduled to open there in the autumn of 1957. A second room had been added to the school at Tuktoyaktuk, and two class-rooms were operating at Aklavik E-3.

The Chairman said that contracts had been placed for the construction of two hostels and a school at Aklavik E-3. These were to be completed by 1960. Funds were available to buy an existing residential school at Chesterfield Inlet. New hostels were planned for Frobisher Bay and Great Whale River.

Referring to the Sub-Committee's suggestion of teachers' aides, the Chairman stressed that were such a plan implemented, the aides would in no case operate independently, but would remain constantly under the supervision of qualified teachers. There would be no problem of housing if people could be found to act as teachers' aides in their home communities. An experiment in employing teachers' aides was now being conducted at the Indian school in Fort Smith.

The Committee discussed at length several recommendations made by the Sub-Committee on Education. One of the Sub-Committee's recommendations was that a survey by mail of curriculum needs for northern schools be carried out, to be followed by a survey in the field by staff members of the Curriculum Section of the Education Division.

Mr. Grantham explained that it was important to determine the courses most suitable to the needs of Eskimos. For this reason, the ideas of people with long experience in the field would be most helpful in planning courses of study.

The Chairman suggested asking the Eskimos for their opinions of their educational needs.

Bishop Marsh saw a danger of getting a false idea of educational needs if a limited survey were conducted among the Eskimos. The survey should be broad enough to include the opinions both of primitive groups and of groups in various stages of transition, because opinions were bound to vary among settlements with differing needs. Sharply differing viewpoints could also be expected among the white people who might be approached.

Commissioner Nicholson agreed that care should be exercised in selecting both the Eskimo and non-Eskimo people who would give their opinions.

The Chairman suggested that an advisory committee be established to study the planning of curricula.

The Committee discussed the need for seasonal schools in the Arctic, and Mr. Devitt pointed to the success of the seasonal school for Indians at Lac Lamartre.

Mr. Grantham believed that establishing seasonal schools in certain areas would be one way of assessing the future educational needs of those areas, and of determining where future schools would be needed. He mentioned Igloodik, Moffat Island, and Reid Island as places where seasonal schools might be useful. The schools would serve people who camped in these places in certain seasons.

Bishop Marsh feared that schools in these places might lure the local people away from their hunting grounds.

The Chairman expressed some doubt of the usefulness of a school that operated only two or three months of the year. He pointed out that the number of permanent residents in a settlement is the most important consideration in deciding whether or not a school should be built there.

Mr. Devitt believed that seasonal schools performed a worthwhile service by preparing children for the time when they were able to enter permanent schools.

Commissioner Nicholson agreed that part-time schools would be an advantage in some places, but said they should not be situated where their attraction to the Eskimos would upset the local economy. Education was most important in areas where the transition to modern life was most advanced.

The Chairman referred to priorities in determining sites for schools. Seasonal schools in isolated areas were probably low in priority. The pressing need was for educational facilities in permanent Eskimo communities. The Committee was of the opinion that while there might be merit in the proposals for seasonal schools, such schools carried a low priority in comparison with schools that were needed in permanent communities.

The Committee discussed the need for hostel accommodation in Keewatin District and in the Cambridge Bay and Coppermine areas.

Commissioner Nicholson expressed the opinion that Baker Lake was really the most central point for the entire region, and that a hostel there could serve children from Cambridge Bay and Coppermine, as well as from Keewatin.

Mr. Devitt said that 150 school-age children now lived in the Baker Lake area.

Mr. Sutherland said that the operating cost of a hostel at Baker Lake would be about one-third the cost of a similar establishment in Cambridge Bay.

The Committee discussed the establishment of residential schools at Frobisher Bay and Great Whale River.

Mr. Sivertz stated that a hostel for 100 students and a six-room school were planned for Frobisher Bay. It was preferable to delay any decision relating to a residential school at Great Whale River until the spring of 1958. Existing buildings at Great Whale River might become available to house both hostel and school but this could not be known until the Department of National Defence had decided on its own plans for using some or all of the buildings.

The Committee considered the advisability of establishing federal day schools at Povungnetuk, Payne Bay, Lake Harbour, Clyde River and Rankin Inlet.

Mr. Sivertz drew attention to Povungnetuk's inadequate harbour, which could hamper the settlement's industrial development but said that there would continue to be some kind of an Eskimo village there in any event, for many years.

Bishop Marsh was not convinced that Lake Harbour needed a school, for recent developments at Frobisher Bay were beginning to lure the Lake Harbour population away.

Mr. Sivertz said that a mine school will operate from next September at Rankin Inlet. Under this arrangement the company provides the building and the department the teacher.

(b) Vocational Training in and for the North

The Committee discussed in particular the need for instruction in basic English in connection with vocational training programmes.

Mr. Rudnicki said that Eskimos in hospital were being instructed in basic English.

Bishop Marsh suggested that a concerted effort be made to teach basic English to Eskimos both in hospitals and vocational schools. He believed that much could be accomplished by an intensive three-month course.

The Committee endorsed the Chairman's suggestion that an Advisory Committee be established to study the planning of curricula [and] The Subcommittee's suggestion that a representative of the Education Division go to Labrador to examine the Moravian Mission's educational programme:

The Committee agreed that Baker Lake was the most suitable location for a school hostel to serve Keewatin District.

The Committee agreed that a concerted effort be made to teach basic English to Eskimos, both in hospitals and vocational schools.

The Committee agreed that a school at Lake Harbour should be deferred until the community's future was clearer.

The Committee agreed that a school at Clyde River should be deferred for the present, in view of the small population.

The Committee considered a proposal to determine instruction grants to part-time teachers by calculating instruction time in hours rather than in "pupil days". The Committee concurred in a recommendation that an hourly basis for calculations of grants be introduced.

VI. WELFARE SERVICES - PROGRESS REPORT

Mr. Rudnicki reported on the activities of the Welfare Section of the Arctic Division. Many welfare projects were now in the operating or planning stages.

Speaking of hospital services, Mr. Rudnicki said that in co-operation with Indian and Northern Health Services, various projects had been started for Eskimos in hospitals. A system of comforts allowances was going into operation, whereby patients who had no money were being given small sums to buy some necessities and some small comforts. A standard Arctic clothing kit had been developed and would be issued to all Eskimos returning home from hospital. Whenever possible, patients were kept informed of the news of their families and were encouraged in turn to write to their families. Hospital progress reports, tape recorded messages and photographs were sent to relatives in the north and, wherever possible, obtained in the north for relatives in hospitals. This was done at least four times a year. Patients were encouraged to refer to the Welfare Section problems which they were unable to handle. Welfare representatives visited all hospitals in which Eskimo patients were confined, and departmental interpreters assisted doctors and nurses in their understanding and treatment of Eskimo patients.

Mr. Rudnicki stated that in the late summer or early fall of this year, the first patients from southern hospitals were expected to arrive at the Rehabilitation Centre in Frobisher Bay. The Rehabilitation Centre, to which a superintendent and small staff had just been appointed, would prepare former hospital patients who could not return to the former way of life for new occupations. The Frobisher Bay centre was a pilot project and it was expected that the Rehabilitation programme would be expanded at a later date. A Centre was being planned for Aklavik but construction would not begin for two or three years. It was hoped that the rehabilitation programme would reduce the need for relief to former patients.

Mr. Rudnicki said that much study was being given to the needs for welfare field services both in the Arctic and in the Mackenzie District. Plans were being made for integrated social services for all ethnic groups on the Mackenzie Delta. Three new social workers were joining the Welfare staff and three social workers were now in the field.

The Committee noted the progress report on Welfare Services.

## VII. REPORT ON PROPOSED ESKIMO RESETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN CANADA

The Report of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Resettlement in Southern Canada was circulated to members of the Committee on May 3, 1957.

Commissioner Nicholson thought nothing should be done to depopulate the north of the people most fitted to live in it, and said that he would not wish to encourage any plans for a hurried mass movement of Eskimos to the south. It seemed reasonable to move some people who could be productive in the south, but who could only remain on relief if they continued to live in the north. It was also

reasonable that former patients who were not fit for northern life should be settled in southern Canada. Those Eskimos who must be moved should be kept together after their arrival in the south, to help them preserve their identity.

The Chairman explained that the proposals before the Committee were not meant to suggest that Eskimos should be moved south in large numbers. The present proposal called for a small pilot project in which Eskimos already in southern hospitals would take part. If in the future it became necessary to carry out large-scale movements of Eskimos to the south, the experience gained in a pilot project should be very valuable.

Dr. Procter said that any resettlement should be carried out on a strictly voluntary basis.

Mr. Rudnicki said that the Sub-Committee felt that only volunteers should be resettled and that it should be up to the Eskimos concerned to decide whether or not they wished to remain in their own communities after they had become integrated in city life.

Bishop Marsh said that many Eskimos had distorted ideas about the south, gained either from hearsay or from limited and inadequate personal experience, and that such ideas might lead some of them to make unwise decisions regarding resettlement. Bishop Marsh thought that the Eskimo should be advised as to what he should do, and should not be left to decide as fancy dictated.

Mr. Phillips said that department officials were unaware of the problems involved through limited contact with southern life. Some of the Eskimo trainees now at Leduc thought they would like to stay, but they were being discouraged from doing so.

The Chairman thought that no more than a modest experiment should be attempted until all the problems that might be involved had been brought to light. Eskimos who would take part in any resettlement program would have to be carefully selected.

Father Piche said that he was expressing the missionary's point of view when he expressed opposition to a policy of Eskimo resettlement. He said that of the Eskimos who had come out of the Arctic in the past, ninety-eight percent had decided in the long run that they wanted to return. He thought that the same situation would arise if organized resettlement were begun.

The Chairman said that something had to be done for people who were no longer fit to stand the Arctic environment. It was better for Eskimos to be supporting themselves in the south than dependent on relief in the north.

The Committee after further discussion, recommended institution of a limited experimental resettlement project along the lines of the Sub-Committee's method.

#### VIII. OTHER BUSINESS

Dr. Willis considered inadequate housing to be one of the principal causes of ill health among the Eskimo population. He said that the number of deaths among newborn Eskimo infants was six or seven times larger than the number of deaths among newborn white children, and largely attributed this high death rate to bad housing. He suggested that a documented study be made of Eskimo housing and its role in the creation of health problems. This study, he said, should include a consideration of the igloo and its fitness to house former tuberculosis patients, expectant mothers, and others whose physical condition demanded a safe environment.

Bishop Marsh stressed the need for teaching Eskimos elementary rules of sanitation. He said that an Eskimo could not be expected to develop sanitary habits simply because he was moved from an igloo to a house. If the Eskimo were taught to practice sanitation in his present housing, he would continue to be clean in new housing, Bishop Marsh said.

Dr. Procter expressed the view that a proper environment such as new houses would provide could stimulate an interest in cleanliness.

The Chairman suggested that Northern Administration and Indian Health Services could co-operate in studying environmental health problems.

The Committee requested Dr. Procter and Mr. Sivertz to study Eskimo housing problems and to prepare a report for the future consideration of the Committee.

At the conclusion of business the Chairman expressed the thanks of the Administration to the members of the Committee for their interest and help. The meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

A. Stevenson,  
Secretary.

Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources,  
May 27, 1957.

REFERENCE MATERIAL FOR AGENDA -  
EIGHTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS, MAY 13, 1957.

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Item 2 – Departmental Staff Changes – Arctic Administration

On the 10th of April, 1957, a number of departmental staff changes, about which advance notice had been broadcast on the 7th February, became effective. Mr. F.J.G. Cunningham succeeded Mr. C.W. Jackson as Assistant Deputy Minister. To replace Mr. Cunningham, Mr. B.G. Sivertz took over as Director, Northern Administration Branch, while Mr. R.A.J. Phillips replaced Mr. Sivertz as Chief of the Arctic Division. At the same time, the appointment as Deputy Commissioner for the Council of the Northwest Territories was transferred from Mr. Cunningham to Mr. W.G. Brown, Chief of the Territorial Division.

During 1956 the Arctic Division field organization was expanded by the appointment of a Welfare Officer to the Aklavik District and the opening of new Northern Service Officer posts at Baker Lake, Cambridge Bay and Cape Dorset. The strength of the Head Office staff establishment was also increased by the addition of two Northern Service Officers making their headquarters in Ottawa and available for special field assignments as required. The beginning was made on the staffing of the Rehabilitation Centre soon to be operating at Frobisher Bay, by the transfer from Edmonton to Frobisher Bay of a Technical Officer, whose specialty is handicraft instruction. Another Technical Officer in the Keewatin District is supervising the special arrangements being made to move Eskimos to better hunting areas.

Our present field staff comprises a total of ten Northern Service Officers, most of whom have Eskimo assistants; a Social Worker; two Technical Officers; and the Superintendent and other staff at the Reindeer Station. During 1957 it is expected that this staff will be increased by a number of new employees including three new Northern Service Officers and two new Technical Officers, one each at Frobisher Bay and at Tuktoyaktuk. In addition a Social Worker to undertake welfare work at East 3 will be assigned shortly and a Social Worker with Ottawa headquarters will be employed to move throughout the Eastern Arctic to deal with outstanding welfare problems in this area.

Item 3 – Review of developments in the Northwest Territories and their effect on the Eskimos.

Growth of wage employment was probably the single major factor affecting changes in the lives of the Eskimo people in 1956. It has been estimated that last year 500 Eskimos were employed full-time and 325 part-time in the Arctic. (For a breakdown on Eskimo employment see below).

### Government as Employer

For some years now Government has been the main source of employment for both full-time and part-time employment in the Northwest Territories. Eskimos have been employed by the Government in communications and transportation, as assistants to field staff and, more recently, on the DEW and Mid-Canada Lines. In addition, of course, traders and missionaries have continued to employ a relatively small, static number of Eskimos.

### Growth of Mining Activity

A significant and welcome change in the Arctic employment pattern developed during 1956. This was the growth of mining activity in the areas inhabited by Eskimos. Such a continuing expansion will undoubtedly have a significant, long-term effect on their lives. Growth of this industry in the north is looked upon with considerable satisfaction by the Government, for a number of reasons. One of these is that mining activity offers what could be another major source of continuing employment for a relatively large number of Eskimos - both part-time and full-time.

### Rankin Inlet

Already Rankin Inlet gives evidence of the effect of mining on a northern area. At Rankin Inlet about 25 Eskimos are more or less permanently employed. Contrary to public reports in the press, they enjoy a higher standard of living than ever before. They and their families would not voluntarily return to their old way of life. It is a relatively safe assumption that mining activity in other areas, particularly in Northern Quebec and perhaps in southern Baffin Island, in the Coppermine area and in other regions of the north will continue to offer opportunities for Eskimo employment.

### Construction Projects

Many Eskimos are employed on various construction projects in the Arctic. Of these the DEW Line and Mid-Canada Line and re-location of Aklavik continue to provide some of the major sources of employment. DEW Line employment has now passed its peak and has reached a levelling out stage. It is expected that 90 or more Eskimos will work permanently on the Line.

Employment opportunities and opportunities for advancement in employment will be limited only by the amount of education and vocational training acquired by Eskimo employees. Within the next ten years, well over 100 Eskimo radio operators, thoroughly trained, could be used by the Department of Transport on stations in the north. The Department of National Health and Welfare foresees a need for many trained Eskimos in hospitals and nursing stations in the Arctic and there will be numerous other opportunities for educated and trained Eskimos to work in the country if they so desire.

Changing Arctic Life

An expanding wage economy, will, of course, result in many changes in Arctic life, aside from providing a more certain livelihood for the Eskimo people. There will be a growing tendency to congregate in communities. Because of economic pressures it is possible that already established communities will cease to exist in their present locations. Traditional means of livelihood will be forsaken by some of the Eskimos who voluntarily accept permanent wage employment. Part-time employees will undoubtedly continue to live at least partially by hunting and trapping. In any event, it became increasingly evident in 1954 that the hunting - trapping economy of the Arctic was losing ground to wage economy and will probably continue to do so.

Eskimo Employment - 1956 Approximate Figures

	<u>Full Time</u>	<u>Part Time</u>
Government Departments	55	25
R.C.M. Police	25	10
Trading	40	10
Missions	10	5
Surveys		10
Construction and Mining	60	150
Communications and Transportation	35	50
U.S.A.F.	25	15
DEW Line	200	50
Mid-Canada	50	
Total	<hr/> 500	<hr/> 325

Item 4 - Predator Control Programme

During the past winter predator control operations were again expanded in the Northwest Territories because of the reported continued decline in the caribou population. Poisoning operations were conducted in the Mackenzie District and in the Eskimo Point area of the District of Keewatin. Three professional wolf hunters were employed in the Mackenzie District. The past winter's program is expected to produce fewer wolves than our 1955-56 operation, chiefly because the caribou (and, therefore, wolves) were scarce on their normal winter ranges north and south of Great Slave Lake.

Funds have been provided for organized wolf den hunting operations during May, June and July, 1957. Credits of \$10.00 per animal will be paid for the pelts of pups and adults taken on these hunts.

A Predator Control Officer position has been added to Departmental staff and the appointee to this position will be in charge of organizing and directing predator control operations throughout the Northwest Territories. In addition, the Federal Government plans to hire five professional wolf hunters to poison wolves in trouble areas during the coming winter.

Item 6 - Welfare Services - Progress Report

1. Work of the Welfare Section:

(a) Rehabilitation Services -

(i) Frobisher Day Rehabilitation Centre

A community type centre was built at Frobisher Bay last summer. It consists of thirteen 512 houses, two of which have been modified to serve as a kitchen-dining-room, one as a bath-house-laundry, two as workshops, and the remainder as residences for former Eskimo patients.

A Superintendent and a small staff have just been appointed to run this Centre and we expect the first Eskimo residents to go there late this summer or early fall.

The Rehabilitation Centre at Frobisher will prepare former hospital patients who cannot return to their former way of life to find new occupations as wage earners or in small Eskimo enterprises.

(ii) Aklavik Rehabilitation Centre

A Centre is being planned in the Western Arctic but will not be built for another two or three years. The reason for this is that we want an opportunity to evaluate our pilot project at Frobisher Bay before expanding our rehabilitation program.

As an interim measure, an Eskimo shelter maybe set up at Aklavik to care for some Eskimos whose disabilities are so severe that they cannot be discharged to their homes. We are also investigating the possibility of starting a boarding-home program for persons who need some care and supervision but who no longer require hospital care.

(iii) Transit Centres

These are being set up now at Cambridge Bay, Churchill, Moose Factory and Fort Chimo. Their function will be to enable Eskimos who are ready for discharge to go to intermediate points in the north until further transportation arrangements are possible to outlying Arctic settlements. These Centres will be converted from existing buildings at the places mentioned.

The use of transit centres will make it unnecessary to keep Eskimo patients in hospital after they recover. This has been necessary in the past because of the difficulty in arranging transportation to some of the northern settlements.

(b) Hospital Services -

In co-operation with Indian and Northern Health Services, various projects have been started for Eskimos in hospitals which have both treatment and preventative value.

(i) Clothing Issues:

Every Eskimo returning north from hospital will be issued a clothing kit which includes proper Arctic clothing and a sleeping bag. The kit is made up of the Eskimo's own clothing if it is still usable at the time of discharge and additional items supplied by this department.

(ii) Communications:

Hospital progress reports, tape recorded messages and photographs are sent to relatives in the north, and whenever possible, obtained in the north for relatives in hospitals. This is done at least four times a year.

(iii) Hospital Visits:

All hospitals in which we have Eskimo patients are visited by representatives of this department. Our Eskimo interpreters are able to assist the doctors and nurses in their understanding and treatment of Eskimo patients, many of whom do not speak English.

(c) Field Services – Welfare –

A great deal of study is being given to the needs for welfare services, not only in the Arctic, but also in the Mackenzie District. We are thinking in terms of integrated social services in the Territories for all ethnic groups.

First steps have already been taken in the Aklavik area with the appointment last year of a welfare officer to handle relief. In addition to relief, he is now dealing with rehabilitation and child welfare problems and employment.

Another welfare officer has been posted to East 3 in June of this year. He will be concerned with community development and establishing needed social services in the new townsite.

## 9. Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 26 May 1958

MINUTES OF THE NINTH MEETING OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD ON MAY  
26, 1958, IN THE LARGE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST  
BLOCK, PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Mr. R.G. Robertson, - Chairman  
Deputy Minister,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources

Commissioner L.H. Nicholson,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Dr. H.A. Procter,  
representing –  
Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.

Reverend J. Piche,  
Indian Welfare Training, Oblate Commission,  
representing –  
Most Reverend J. Trocellier, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

Reverend L. Ducharme,  
Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay.

Reverend H. Mascaret,  
Reverend M. Mongeau,  
representing –  
Most Reverend L. Scheffer, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Labrador.

Dr. J.S. Willis,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,  
representing –  
Mr. H.W. Sutherland,  
General Manager,  
Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz,  
Director,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Chief, Arctic Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. J.V. Jacobson,  
Chief, Education Division,  
Northern Administration and Lands Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

IN ATTENDANCE:

The Reverend Canon H.G. Cook, D.D.,  
Superintendent,  
The Indian School Administration of  
The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.

Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Co-Ordinator,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Dr. N. Gillison,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
Dept. of National Health and Welfare.

Mr. D.F. Symington,  
Chief, Projects Section, Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. C.M. Bolger,  
Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources,

Mr. D. Grant,  
Arctic Division,

Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources,  
Mr. F.W. Thompson,  
Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. F.J. Neville,  
Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. W. Rudnicki,  
Chief, Welfare Section, Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. D. Snowden,  
Chief, Development Section, Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. R. Williamson,  
Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. E. Rheaume,  
Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. D. Dickson,  
Education Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. J.W. Evans,  
Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. E. Grantham  
Education Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Miss M.F. Gaynor,  
Education Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. V. Valentine  
Northern Research Co-Ordination Centre,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. A. Stevenson,  
Chief, Administration Section, Arctic Division,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

- Secretary

Mr. G.F. Parsons,  
Arctic Division,

Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

- Assistant Secretary

I. MINUTES OF THE NINTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD IN OTTAWA, MAY 26, 1958.

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- (a) Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Committee held on May 13, 1957, were approved.
- (b) Business arising from the Minutes

At the eighth meeting of the Advisory Committee on Eskimo Affairs, Indian and Northern Health Services and the Northern Administration and Lands Branch were requested to undertake a joint study on Eskimo housing problems. The housing report was duly presented and discussed in Section III of the Minutes of the Ninth Meeting.

II. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTH AND THEIR  
EFFECTS ON THE ESKIMOS

The Chairman said that in the entire field of Eskimo Affairs, the past twelve months had seen greater changes take place than in any single previous year in the history of the Arctic. Wage employment had continued to be the major factor affecting changes in the lives of the Eskimo people. An expanding wage economy would, of course, result in many changes aside from providing more certain means of livelihood. While the completion of the construction phase of the DEW Line had caused a reduction in Eskimo employment in 1957, nevertheless savings had remained at a fairly high level. A factor offsetting the effects on employment of the DEW Line's completion had been the establishment at Rankin Inlet in 1957 of the first mine in the true Arctic. Almost without exception, employers were satisfied with the work of the Eskimos, and were anxious to obtain the services of as many trainees as could be supplied. Mining exploration had continued at a high rate in the Mackenzie and Keewatin Districts, in the Ungava region, on the Belcher Islands, and on Baffin Island. The Chairman referred to the serious blow which the Department had sustained in the death of Mr. Leo Manning, and members of the Committee associated themselves in a tribute to Mr. Manning.

Mr. Phillips reviewed the activities of the Arctic Division. He pointed to the development of the field staff, both in numbers and the training programme to equip field officers for their special tasks. For the first time the Arctic Division was providing training in basic Eskimo for its new officers. There had been re-organization in the Division's home office. Mr. Phillips mentioned the extended activities of the Projects Section, especially in the use of renewable resources and in

development of experimental housing for Eskimos on the land. In particular, research was being conducted with a view to large-scale organized harvesting of animal resources in certain areas.

Mr. Phillips said that 1957 saw the creation of the Development Section, which has been in operation for little more than six months. The functions of this Section included: liaison with private commercial companies interested in northern development operations, study of conditions of Eskimo employment, establishment of mutually satisfactory relationships between companies operating in the north and the Eskimo people, tourism, support of technology contributing to economic development, and the establishment of Eskimo co-operatives. Mr. Phillips said the Development Section was working to introduce this year the first Eskimo co-operative in northern Quebec, and was also investigating the possibilities of future co-operative development in the Northwest Territories. On the subject of tourism, he said the last two years had seen greatly increased interest, not only on the part of persons who wished to travel in the north, but also by private agencies having in mind the establishment of tourist facilities. He said that prospects appeared so promising that in a few years' time, tourism might well become an important Arctic industry. Also experiencing expansion in the Arctic Division were the Administration and Welfare Sections, this expansion designed to cope with the Division's broadened responsibilities and increased variety of activities.

The Chairman invited members of the Committee to comment on activities in the Arctic during the past year.

Father Ducharme asked about the Department's role in the Rankin Inlet development, and further wanted to know what the Government was doing to supervise employment conditions generally.

The Chairman replied that the Department was actively interested in all aspects of Eskimo employment and pointed out that while the Government had no power to compel private companies to hire Eskimos and was not always able to supervise employment conditions, nevertheless close liaison was maintained with the companies concerned.

Mr. Phillips said that Rankin Inlet presented one of the happiest employment situations in the Arctic. On its own initiative, the management of North Rankin Nickel Mines Limited had taken an active interest in the Eskimo people and was doing a great deal to assist them in their transition to wage employment. It was at the request of the Mine management that a Northern Service Officer was posted to Rankin Inlet last year. Mr. Phillips hoped that the pattern of employment conditions set by the North Rankin Mining Company would be an example for companies entering the north in future.

The Chairman mentioned the long negotiations which had been held with the Federal Electric Corporation in order to work out a satisfactory basis for the employment of Eskimos on the DEW Line. Eskimo working conditions at the sites had generally proven quite satisfactory. The success of this operation was the result of close co-operation between Government and the Company. Today three Northern Service Officers covered the DEW Line to assist the Eskimos and the Company in working out employment problems and to help the Eskimos generally in their transition to a wage economy.

Father Ducharme wanted to know what the Government was doing to prevent foolish spending by wage earners not accustomed to handling money.

Mr. Sivertz replied that this question was one which greatly concerned the Administration and said the Department had worked out, in co-operation with FEC and the Eskimos concerned, a plan for saving and for consultation before the withdrawal of savings. Mr. Sivertz emphasized the need to proceed with caution in operating such a plan for it was dangerous to dictate to Eskimos how they should spend their money. It was true that some Eskimos had, in the past, indulged in foolish spending, but only by making mistakes could they be expected to learn how to handle money.

Father Ducharme did not agree and felt that some sort of compulsory savings scheme should be introduced. He said where the ways of the white man were concerned, the Eskimos were like children and should be treated as children. Uncontrolled, they would spend their money on receiving it, and expect relief to be given to them.

The Chairman referred to the sharp differences in groups of Eskimos and expressed doubt that the Eskimos at Aklavik, who had long been accustomed to southern ways, would take kindly to being treated as children. He said it would be better if the Eskimos controlled spending on their own initiative, adding that while a few had wasted their money in the past, a great many had handled their wages wisely.

Bishop Marsh agreed with Mr. Sivertz that the Eskimos must learn by experience how to handle money.

Father Piche held the same opinion.

Mr. Sivertz also disagreed that Eskimos should be treated as children. He said that the Eskimo's fellow workers, more experienced than he, would soon educate him in the value of money. Furthermore, it was quite likely the Labour Unions would soon be organizing locals in places like Rankin Inlet, and with the introduction of Unions, the Eskimo would gain an increased awareness of southern ways. Mr. Sivertz added that it was most important to avoid making Eskimo workmen feel they were in any way inferior to their non-Eskimo fellow workers,

and this might be precisely the result if a program of compulsory savings was initiated.

The Chairman pointed out that foolish spending was not a problem confined to the Eskimos.

Mr. Phillips said that more important than prohibition of wasteful spending was changed attitudes to relief and handouts. There had been progress in instilling the idea of the value of money, and with this object in mind, the Administration was already changing its policy regarding relief issues. Instead of being given straight handouts, able-bodied Eskimos were now being required, whenever possible, to earn food and clothing. Mr. Phillips said that it was, in fact, the white man who was largely responsible for the Eskimos' attitude toward handouts. This attitude was instilled almost from the time the first white man entered the Arctic.

The Chairman said that, as a device to teach Eskimos to appreciate money and property, the Administration had considered the possibility of treating relief issues as debts to be recovered, but such a course might damage incentives to take jobs.

Commissioner Nicholson believed that people in positions of authority in the Arctic could, if they had the respect of the Eskimos, influence them to save without resorting to outright commands.

Dr. Willis suggested that printed material might be distributed to encourage saving. He said, also, that voice recordings might be useful educational instruments.

The Chairman agreed these were excellent ideas and suggested that an issue of the "Eskimo Bulletin" might be released, containing material on the wisdom of saving.

Bishop Marsh thought recordings would be preferable to printed matter.

Mr. Phillips pointed out that in a few years short wave radio facilities would probably be available to support this type of education.

On the general subject of employment, Bishop Marsh recommended that a paper be prepared, preferably by Dr. W.W. Weber of North Rankin Nickel Mines Limited, which would serve as a guide for future employers in the general handling of Eskimo workmen and their peculiar problems.

Mr. Phillips agreed with Bishop Marsh's idea. He pointed out that a bulletin was now being prepared in the Arctic Division, which was designed to serve as a guide to potential employers of Eskimos, and such an article might be included in it.

Dr. Procter suggested that some useful reference material might be found in the records of Indian employment and said that the Indian Affairs Branch might be able to help in the matter.

The Chairman said that while the change to wage employment had not been without difficulties and problems, the transition had been generally more successful than anticipated.

The Committee agreed that the introduction of Eskimos to wage employment had been generally successful.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should look further into the question of finding means to educate Eskimos in wise spending, and agreed that the suggestions to use printed material and recordings should be given further consideration.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should follow up Bishop Marsh's suggestion that Dr. Weber be approached to assist in the preparation of an article designed to serve as a guide for future employers of Eskimos.

### III. ESKIMO HOUSING

The Chairman reminded the Committee that at the Eighth Meeting, Indian and Northern Health Services had been requested to prepare a report on northern housing, in co-operation with the Northern Administration and Lands Branch.

The report was divided into three main parts, entitled "A Study of Eskimo Deaths", "The Eskimos' Struggle for Better Housing", and "Development of Housing for Eskimos". The first part consisted of text and graphs, showing the death rate of Eskimo infants compared to the total Eskimo death rate, a comparison of neonatal and infant mortality in the Eskimo and non-Eskimo populations of Canada, and the causes of deaths among Eskimo infants during the period 1953 to 1957. The second section of the report consisted of about 100 photographs forming a picture story on the present state of Eskimo housing, the Eskimos' attempt to build more substantial dwellings when they could find the lumber, and finally, the types of housing provided by the Hudson's Bay Company and the RCMP at certain locations for Eskimo employees. The final main section comprised fourteen paragraphs of text commenting on present housing conditions and covering briefly plans for developing better types of houses at a price which Eskimos are likely to be able to afford, and of a size they should be able to heat with their fuel resources.

Dr. Willis said the report showed that since 1953 there has been a steady rise in infant mortality. He said that, if anything, the figures tabled were low. These figures presented a shocking picture. In 1954 there were 155 infant deaths per 1,000 live births among the Eskimo population, and in 1956 there were 250;

in 1957 infant deaths were 228 per 1,000 live births. Dr. Willis said that twenty-three per cent of all Eskimos born died within one year; fifty-four per cent of all infant deaths were of unknown causes. Respiratory ailments caused thirty-nine per cent of the deaths, according to present figures. However, the percentage of deaths due to respiratory causes is probably much higher and may be the reason for as many as half of all infant deaths.

Dr. Willis explained that many causes of infant mortality known to be common in the south are scarcely mentioned in the records of Eskimo infant mortality. In the graphs shown in the report, such causes could only be listed in the "Unknown" category. Dr. Willis went on to say that the figures for infant mortality among the Indian population are only about half as high as those for Eskimos. In some areas in the Arctic, infant mortality was probably even higher than the report indicated.

The Chairman asked why the Eskimo death rate was so much higher than the Indian.

Dr. Willis replied that available figures on Indian deaths take into account deaths among people who live in the same manner as whites, as well as those who live in primitive surroundings. In order to obtain a really comparable figure, it would be necessary to isolate the death rate for Indian groups in the Mackenzie District and in other northern areas, a project he had underway.

Dr. Willis went on to say that to a very great extent the high rate of Eskimo infant mortality could be contributed to bad housing. He said that in the present circumstances the Department of National Health and Welfare could go on spending money indefinitely in a vain attempt to reduce the death rate. New-born infants were too susceptible to the hazards of bad housing and, consequently, succumbed too quickly to allow health officials to find, remove, and treat them in time to save their lives.

Dr. Willis said that the Arctic Division's experiments to develop better housing for land-based Eskimos should be a top priority project, for better housing, coupled with better health education, was the only means to reduce the rate of infant mortality. He said that Indian and Northern Health Services would do everything to co-operate with the Department of Northern Affairs in bringing health education to the Eskimo people, for he felt that to provide adequate coverage of the population, a joint educational program by the two Departments was necessary.

Bishop Marsh thought that inadequate clothing might be as important a health hazard as inadequate housing. He said that during this year's Central Arctic Patrol, improper clothing had been the most obvious lack he had observed among the people.

Commissioner Nicholson felt that the combination of old-style housing and new-style clothing, the latter being inadequate for life on the land, had probably aggravated health problems.

The Chairman called on Mr. Symington to report on the Arctic Division's proposals to provide better low-cost housing.

Mr. Symington said that the possibility of using several different types of housing was being investigated. He mentioned an experimental styrofoam hut built at Frobisher Bay, which had been heated quite economically during the past winter with original fuel oil. Plans called for the construction this summer of eleven small houses at Povungnituk. Some of these would be built of stone and insulated with caribou moss; others would be built of plywood or aluminum sheeting, again with caribou moss insulation. He believed that some of these houses could be heated in winter for \$10 or \$15 per month. It was also the Arctic Division's intention to experiment with sod as a housing material. Mr. Symington pointed out that the aim was to take advantage, where possible, of local materials, both for building and for heating. In some places, peat might be used for fuel and in others, marine mammals might supply a fuel source. While housing was not the sole answer to problems in the north, coupled with the efficient large-scale harvesting of renewable resources, it might go a long way to bettering the lot of the people.

Bishop Marsh believed that if nomadic hunters were placed in houses, they might refuse, or at least would be unable, to hunt. He said that permanent dwellings would mean that hunting parties would have to range so far afield for game that they might well use up all the food they caught to feed their dogs while travelling.

Mr. Sivertz did not agree, and said that in certain areas properly organized hunting parties would be able to provide enough food for permanent settlements.

Dr. Willis reiterated that it was most important for the families of Eskimo hunters to live in proper houses. He had no objections to healthy adults living in igloos while on the trail. It was the children, in particular, who required warm, permanent dwellings.

Commissioner Nicholson recommended a cautious approach to the solution of the housing problem. He thought it would be preferable to set up a small number of housing units at certain key points as an experimental measure, rather than make a wholesale attempt to solve the problem throughout the north. To attempt a large-scale solution to housing without preliminary experiments might create more problems, such as the difficulty of finding enough fuel to heat houses.

Bishop Marsh said that if Eskimos were to live in houses, it would be important to teach them to keep their dwellings clean.

Dr. Willis said it should be the role of the Committee to conduct a serious examination of basic housing requirements in the north. A number of questions needed to be examined. For example: How small can a house be and still be healthy? What are the best kinds of building materials? How can Eskimo housing be subsidized? Dr. Willis wondered if arrangements could be made for Eskimos to buy housing materials at southern prices, after which they could do their own building.

Mr. Sivertz drew the Committee's attention to Greenland's program for subsidizing housing and said that financially it was almost a self-liquidating program. In Greenland, the people could buy Government-built houses with no down payment and could pay for them over about thirty-six years. Payments took the form of rent, the Government paying half the rent for about the first year. This was the only way in which subsidization enters into the Greenland housing program. Mr. Sivertz went on to say that one way to avoid over-subsidization of an Eskimo housing program in Canada might be to employ the Eskimo Loan Fund.

Dr. Willis asked Mr. Nichols if it was possible for Eskimos to buy building materials through the Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. Nichols replied that while building materials were not carried in stock at northern posts, the Eskimos could order such materials through the Company.

Dr. Willis asked if in some circumstances Eskimos might be provided with building materials as relief in the same way as deerskin or canvas had been offered.

Mr. Sivertz said that it might possibly be arranged in cases of acute need.

Dr. Procter pointed out that the Indian Affairs Branch in some cases gave housing to Indians without charge.

The Committee warmly commended Dr. Willis and his associates for the report on housing.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should investigate the practices of Indian Affairs in providing subsidized housing.

The Committee agreed that the Northern Administration and Lands Branch should continue its work in the experimentation and provision of Eskimo housing, and that it should table a progress report at the next meeting.

The Committee noted the report submitted jointly by Indian and Northern Health Services and Northern Administration and Lands Branch and commended its authors on an excellent piece of work.

#### IV. KEEWATIN OR CARIBOU ESKIMOS

The Chairman called upon Mr. Phillips to outline to the Committee the Administration's proposals to alleviate the highly undesirable conditions under which a portion of the Keewatin or Caribou Eskimos had been living in past years.

Mr. Phillips referred to the recent tragedies at Henik and Garry Lakes and said these were only manifestations of a more deep-seated and lasting problem, for which a long-term solution was required. He said the Administration was considering proposals to establish a community on the west coast of Hudson Bay designed to meet the needs of the Henik Lake people and of a number of coast Eskimos in the area. According to this plan, inland Eskimos, assisted by people adapted to the sea culture, would live in a permanently situated community and gain their livelihood primarily from the produce of the sea. In its initial stage, the community would have a population of about 100. Present plans called for its establishment later this year. With the help of Government officers who were specialists in their field, these people would be encouraged to take part in the large-scale harvesting of sea mammals, using modern, large-scale hunting techniques.

Mr. Phillips said the Administration foresaw problems and had some misgivings in undertaking so radical an experiment, but there seemed to be no reasonable alternative if the problems of these people were to have any solution. He added that the plan still awaited Government consideration and the Administration would particularly welcome comments on it.

Father Ducharme did not think that the Henik Lake Eskimos, being an inland people, would adapt themselves satisfactorily to taking their living from the sea. He felt they should remain inland, where they could be encouraged to hunt caribou by better methods and to harvest more efficiently the fish resources of the inland lakes. He said that if the Eskimos were supplied with proper fish nets, and taught how to use them, their situation should improve. He added that while there were reports the caribou were disappearing, he had himself seen large herds from the air a short time ago.

Mr. Sivertz said that while there may still be some fairly large caribou herds, the fact remained the caribou population was sharply declining.

Mr. Nichols said that the Padlei trading post had received no caribou skins this year, and the Post Manager had reported there were fewer caribou in the region than ever before in his memory. The same situation applied at Baker Lake, and Mr. Nichols said the caribou had apparently changed their migration routes.

The Chairman said it was a serious mistake to be optimistic about the caribou population.

Bishop Marsh said the Keewatin people had never been fish eaters and probably would not be easily encouraged to harvest fish properly. At the same time,

Bishop Marsh pointed to the difficulties that might be involved in trying to bring these people into a sea culture. He said, also, that it would be difficult to find any place on the west coast of Hudson Bay where the sea resources were adequate to support 100 people, and suggested that it might be wiser first to attempt a small pilot project before launching a settlement on a large scale.

Mr. Sivertz stressed the importance of bringing these people together in communities sufficiently large to permit the Administration to supervise and help them. He said that a small group would make adequate supervision difficult.

Mr. Nichol thought the project might well be started at or near an established settlement and cited Rankin Inlet as a place with many advantages, including cheap available fuel and prospects for temporary employment in poor hunting seasons.

Mr. Sivertz said the Administration had in mind a community capable of taking advantage of all available resources for human livelihood, including part-time employment. He added that the Administration would be delinquent in its duty if it did not immediately try to take effective measures toward a long-term solution to the problems of the [Keewatin] Eskimos, and the organization of a community of the type described would be an excellent start. This policy should be designed to move the people into communities where educational, health and other facilities could be properly provided.

The Chairman said the situation in Keewatin was so precarious that the Administration was justified in taking a chance and going ahead to initiate the proposal for a new community. There would be risks no matter what was done, and it was certain that some action would have to be taken immediately. He added, however, that the plan could be undertaken only with adequate resources to operate it. To attempt the project without adequate financial backing would probably result only in failure.

The Committee noted the plans to establish a community for inland Eskimos on the west coast of Hudson Bay.

## V. EDUCATION

### CONSIDERATION OF THE REPORT OF THE NINTH MEETING OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

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The Chairman called on the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Education, Mr. J.V. Jacobson, to elaborate on the Sub-Committee's proposal, tabled in the report of its ninth meeting, to establish a hostel for Keewatin school children at Churchill.

Mr. Jacobson said that the Sub-Committee had favoured Churchill on several counts. A hostel at Churchill, instead of at Baker Lake, as proposed earlier,

would be more economical because of Churchill's superior transportation facilities. Furthermore, a hostel at Churchill would give Eskimo children the advantage of attending school with non-Eskimo children.

Bishop Marsh pointed out that if the hostel for Keewatin Eskimos were centred at Churchill, the school would come under Manitoba jurisdiction and would be obliged to follow the Manitoba school curriculum.

Mr. Jacobson thought agreement could be reached with the Manitoba Department of Education, whereby certain items on the Manitoba curriculum could be replaced by studies more suitable to the aims of northern education. These could include portions of the curriculum now being developed for use in schools in the Northwest Territories.

Mr. Sivertz said that in deciding where to site a hostel, the question arose, "What are our aims in educating Eskimo children?" He said it was important for them to attend school along with non-Eskimos; so important, in fact, that this consideration should override any problems about specialized curricula.

Miss Gaynor said she thought the Manitoba educational authorities might be interested in adopting certain aspects of the proposed Northwest Territories curriculum. Non-Eskimo children in all parts of the Province would surely benefit by a chance to learn more about the Territories, the northern part of their own Province, and the people who live there.

The Committee agreed that Eskimo and non-Eskimo children should be educated together when the opportunity presented itself.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should approach the Manitoba Department of Education with a view to working out modifications in the Provincial curriculum that would be beneficial to Eskimo children who might be attending school in Churchill.

The Committee agreed that the entire question of establishing a hostel at Churchill be further explored with a view to implementing the proposal of the Sub-Committee on Education.

The Committee adopted the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee that an Advisory Committee be set up to study curriculum.

In its report, the Sub-Committee on Education recommended that the Administration give some consideration to the use of seasonal schools in the Arctic.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Jacobson to outline the organization and aims of seasonal schools.

Mr. Jacobson explained that seasonal schools were set up in the more remote settlements, to which Eskimo hunting groups migrated during certain seasons of each year. The schools normally operated for four to five months yearly.

Canon Cook agreed with the idea of seasonal schools and said they paved the way for full-time Federal Day Schools.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should further consider the matter of establishing seasonal schools in the Arctic Education District.

The Chairman invited comments on the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Education regarding the continued operation of the Coppermine Tent Hostel and the operation of other tent hostels.

Bishop Marsh said he thought the idea of tent hostels was inconsistent with the proposal to establish a permanent hostel at Churchill. The one proposal was designed to keep the children close to their parents and the other would take them away from their homes.

Canon Cook pointed out that tent hostels and small informal local hostels would be appropriate for children who would be following the hunting life when they had reached maturity. He added that these small seasonal schools could also serve to prepare students to attend larger permanent hostels away from home during the latter years of their education.

Mr. Sivertz agreed that small seasonal hostels were a more favourable environment for small children.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should further consider the Sub-Committee's recommendations regarding the tent hostels at Coppermine and elsewhere, namely:

- a) That the Coppermine tent hostel operate for another season;
- b) That the possibility of establishing tent hostels elsewhere be further studied;
- c) That consideration be given to having the tent hostel replaced by small permanent cabins for operation over at least eight months of the year.

The Sub-Committee had recommended the establishment on an experimental basis of small schools where normally day schools would not be justified. These would be bases of operation for carrying out itinerant teaching in outlying camps.

The Chairman said he was not certain what was being accomplished in the field of itinerant teaching.

Mr. Jacobson agreed that the results of itinerant teaching were difficult to assess.

Mr. Grantham said teachers had been unable to reach a great many children in more remote areas, and said he had long advocated the establishment of schools at trading centres in the north.

Mr. Phillips said in some areas camp teaching might be preferable to schools if the latter had the effect of encouraging families to loiter at the settlements when they should be out hunting.

Dr. Willis suggested that an arrangement might be worked out whereby itinerant nurses could accompany itinerant teachers.

The Committee agreed that the Sub-Committee's proposal for the expansion of a program of itinerant teaching be given further study.

## VI. WELFARE AND SOCIAL SERVICES - WELFARE REPORT

Mr. Rudnicki told of the development of the Division's Welfare Section since the Section's formation three years ago. Originally the Welfare Section had a staff of three. Today there were seven members on the staff in Ottawa, including three Social Workers. Also, two Social Workers were posted to Aklavik and Frobisher Bay, respectively, and a third Social Worker was doing the work of Community Development Officer at Aklavik E-3. In addition, the staff of the Rehabilitation Centre at Frobisher Bay now numbered three and two more persons were soon to be appointed.

Mr. Rudnicki said that welfare services fell into four broad categories:

- 1) Rehabilitation Services
- 2) Hospital Services
- 3) Child Welfare and Public Assistance
- 4) Eskimo Correspondence and Translation

The Rehabilitation Centre at Frobisher Bay was opened in September, 1957. It catered to the needs of ex-hospital patients unable to return to life on the land. It had also accommodated Eskimo transients en route to or returning from hospitals in the south. The Rehabilitation Centre was fulfilling a number of objectives, its main function being to evaluate the potential of handicapped Eskimos and to prepare them to become self-supporting. Since the Centre opened, twelve former patients had been placed in wage employment and several more were receiving training of one kind or another. Another function of the Centre was the testing and launching of business enterprises in Frobisher Bay. Thorough grounding in the management of small enterprises was being given to selected Eskimos in the hope that they would be able to participate in the future business life of the community. The Centre was now operating a large laundry, a cinema, and a bakery. Plans called for the establishment of such services as a butcher shop and barber shop. Also planned were a sewing industry, a tourist guiding project, and furniture manufacturing.

Turning to hospital services, Mr. Rudnicki said that from 800 to 1,000

Eskimo patients were admitted yearly to southern hospitals mostly in Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta. One Social Worker was responsible for visiting patients in the hospitals to assist them with their personal problems.

Public assistance was a wide field which involved the management of relief issues, T.B. rations, work relief projects, Old Age Security, Old Age Assistance, Blind and Disability Pensions and Family Allowances.

Mr. Rudnicki said that where possible Family Allowances were now being paid by cheque rather than issuing payment in kind. This was being done at Aklavik, Churchill, Rankin Inlet, and Frobisher Bay. Eventually, it was hoped to introduce payment by cheque to all Eskimos eligible for Family Allowances.

In the field of child welfare, Mr. Rudnicki said that the practice of adoption by native custom was receiving close scrutiny with a view to discouraging it in favour of legal adoption. A pilot project started in connection with the Child Welfare program had been a children's receiving home now operating at Churchill.

Another welfare service involved correspondence with Eskimos in hospitals and the maintenance of channels of communication between peoples in hospital and their relatives in the Arctic. This involved the services of two interpreters in Ottawa, one of them an Eskimo girl. Mr. Rudnicki said that the Administration was particularly interested in introducing more Eskimos to this work. He mentioned that this year had seen the introduction of the first Eskimo language lessons to be held in Ottawa for the benefit of Arctic Division staff members. Other translation services handled by the Welfare Section included periodic publication of the "Eskimo Bulletin". This pamphlet had a great potential as a means of interpreting to the Eskimos various aspects of the Department's program.

Dr. Procter expressed the appreciation of the Department of National Health and Welfare for the work and co-operation of welfare officers of the Department of Northern Affairs.

The Chairman raised the question of what should be done to prevent Eskimos at DEW Line sites and elsewhere from picking garbage dumps. He said that he thought the solution was to burn the garbage or cover it with bulldozers.

Bishop Marsh observed that the Eskimos could not be blamed for "scrounging" when they needed food and when they saw apparently good food being thrown away at the sites.

The Chairman asked if it might be advisable to approach the FEC with a view to having good food that could not be used put aside and saved for Eskimo use.

Mr. Phillips said he did not see how the issuing of discarded food could be properly supervised. He pointed out the social problems inherent in a situation

permitting Eskimos to use discarded food. While the use of discarded building materials could be justified, there was an element of social degradation involved in scrounging food, however good, from garbage dumps or for that matter from the kitchens before it was discarded. If Eskimos were in want, they should be given relief issues, rather than be made dependent on garbage.

Mr. Sivertz agreed and Dr. Willis added that the only answer was to burn all garbage at the sites.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should promote proper garbage disposal to discourage Eskimo use of such food.

#### VII. (a) PROPOSAL FOR STANDARD ORTHOGRAPHY FOR THE CANADIAN ESKIMO LANGUAGE

Mr. Rowley tabled a report proposing that a standard orthography be developed for the use by Eskimos throughout the Arctic. Mr. Rowley pointed out the advantages of a common way of writing Eskimo. It would permit Eskimos throughout the Arctic to communicate with one another readily. It would be a step toward the preservation of the Eskimo language, the existence of which was now threatened and it would permit the development of an Eskimo literature.

The Chairman pointed out that the development of a uniform orthography might be more than a national program, for it might be worked out in co-operation with Greenland and Alaska in order that Eskimo groups in all Arctic countries might benefit. He added that if no steps were taken to develop a common method of writing the language, the Administration would be perpetuating an undesirable situation in which Eskimos from one area were unable to understand or communicate with those from another.

Bishop Marsh observed that this would involve discarding the syllabic system of writing used in the eastern Arctic and would mean that thousands of Eskimos who were now familiar only with syllabics would have to learn to write all over again.

Father Ducharme was in favour of scrapping the syllabic system, being of the opinion that syllabics offered no possibility for the further development of the written language.

Mr. Sivertz favoured a standard orthography as an instrument to promote a sense of identity and solidarity among the Eskimo people.

Mr. Rowley said he could foresee the death of the Eskimo language without standardization in writing. He cautioned, however, that it would be necessary for the Administration to develop further its own thinking on the matter before approaching the Danish Government with any proposals for standardization. He added that the Greenlandic system of writing was by no means ideal.

Mr. Williamson pointed to the dangers which might arise from any attempt to over-simplify the method of writing Eskimo. He said that Eskimo is a difficult language and would be correspondingly difficult to make simpler without sacrificing some of its present flexibility. He added that changing the orthography would be taking away from the Eskimo people a system of writing which they consider to be their own vehicle for their own language and that this might have a demoralizing effect.

The Committee recommended that the Administration prepare a paper which would constitute a full investigation into the desirability of all the factors involved in the proposal to establish a new orthography, the paper to include an assessment of the syllabic system, its advantages and its limitations.

#### VII. (b) NORTHERN RESEARCH PROGRAM AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Mr. Valentine said that during the past year the Centre had a variety of research projects underway in the fields of linguistics, anthropology and reindeer management. Three anthropologists had worked at the Eskimo settlements of Tuktoyaktuk, Coral Harbour and Pelly Bay. Studies carried out by these people included an assessment of the effects of cultural contacts between Eskimo and non-Eskimo. In the field of reindeer management, two United Kingdom authorities had studied the conditions and techniques of reindeer husbandry on the Mackenzie Delta. No final report had yet been received from these authorities.

Mr. Valentine pointed out that the Centre was planning research projects on a regional basis. To this end, the north had been divided into sections based on the following factors: population concentration, economics, lines of communication, type of available natural resources, and opportunities for wage employment. He said this approach should allow research workers to cover a vast area in a systematic fashion. A regional breakdown was necessary because there was usually one settlement within a region which directly or indirectly influenced the Eskimos in the surrounding area, forcing them to make adjustments to their social and economic life. Examples of such centres were Frobisher Bay, Fort Chimo, Rankin Inlet, Aklavik and Great Whale River. The objectives of such research were to compile an inventory of facts about each region, including information on population, economics, social organization, and problems of adjustment. In addition to adding to our knowledge of present conditions among the Eskimos, this research would provide a record of some aspects of Eskimo culture before the culture, as it now existed, passed away. The immediate benefits of research would be, in particular, to provide the Government and other interested agencies with information which would serve as a basis for sound planning. This year research of the kind described would be carried out at Coppermine, Frobisher Bay, Port Harrison and Rankin Inlet. In addition to these anthropological studies, a fifth

research project would be carried out for the benefit of Eskimo health. This would be carried out jointly by the Department of Northern Affairs and the Department of Health, and would constitute a study of diet and nutritional conditions in communities of different types. From these studies it was hoped that a program of health education could be evolved, aimed at encouraging the Eskimo to improve his diet, and at recommending to Government and non-Government agencies certain kinds of food which should be included in ration lists or made available in stores.

The Committee noted Mr. Valentine's report on the research program of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

At the conclusion of business, the Chairman expressed the thanks of the Administration to the members of the Committee for their interest and help. The meeting adjourned at 6:30 p.m.

A. Stevenson,  
Secretary.

Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources,  
May 28, 1958.

## 10. Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 25 May 1959

MINUTES OF THE TENTH MEETING OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD ON MAY 25,  
1959, IN THE LARGE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST BLOCK,  
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

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Special guests at the opening:      The Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker,  
Prime Minister of Canada,  
and  
The Honourable Alvin Hamilton,  
Minister of Northern Affairs and  
National Resources.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

ADVISERS

Mr. R. G. Robertson,      - Chairman -  
Deputy Minister,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National  
Resources.

Commissioner C. E. Rivett-Carnac,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Dr. H. A. Procter, representing  
Dr. P. E. Moore,  
Director,  
Indian and Northern Health  
Services,  
Dept. of National Health  
and Welfare,

Mr. H. W. Sutherland,  
General Manager,  
Northern Stores Department, Hudson's  
Bay Company

Rev. P.A. Renaud, O.M.I., representing  
Most Rev. Paul Piché, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

Supt. W. A. Larsen,  
O/C "G" Division,  
Royal Canadian Mounted  
Police.

Dr. J. S. Willis,  
General Superintendent,  
Dept. of National Health and  
Welfare.

Mr. P. A. C. Nichols,  
Manager,  
Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Rev. Marcel Rio, O.M.I., representing  
Most Rev. M. Lacroix,  
Vicar Apostolic of Hudson's Bay  
and  
Most Rev. L. Scheffer, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Labrador.

The Right Rev. D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.

Mr. B. G. Sivertz,  
Director,  
Northern Administration Branch, Dept.  
of Northern Affairs and National  
Resources.

Mr. C.M. Bolger,  
Administrator of the Arctic, Dept. of  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. A. Stevenson, - Secretary -  
Assistant Administrator of the  
Arctic,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and  
National Resources.

Mr. G. F. Parsons, - Assistant -  
Office of the Secretary  
Administrator of the Arctic,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and  
National Resources.

Special Delegates:

Mr. Abraham Okpik, from Aklavik, N.W.T.  
Mr. George Koneak, from Fort Chimo, P.Q.  
Mr. John Ayeruark, from Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.  
Mr. Shingituk, from Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.

ADVISERS

The Rev. Canon H.G. Cook,  
D.D., Superintendent, The  
Indian School Administration of  
the Missionary Society of the  
Church of England in Canada.

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Assistant Director,  
Plans and Policy,  
Northern Admin. Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs  
and National Resources.

This year the meeting was open to the general public and the press and was well attended. Among those present were –

Mrs. W.H. Clark, Chairman, )  
Mr. John Melling, Executive Director, )  
Dr. Gilbert Monture, ) National Commission on the Indian  
Miss Phyllis Burns, ) Canadian  
Mr. Walter Herbert and )  
Mrs. Dorothy Macpherson )

Mr. A. Easton of North Rankin Nickel Mines Limited.

Mr. Farley Mowat.

Dr. J.H. Wiebe of the Department of National Health and Welfare.

From the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources:

Mr. J. V. Jacobson )  
Mr. D. Dickson ) Education Division  
Mr. E. Grantham )  
Miss M.F. Gaynor )  
  
Mr. W. Rudnicki )  
Mr. F. Thompson )  
Mr. R. Williamson ) Welfare Division  
Mr. A. Spalding )  
Miss Mary Panegoosho )  
Mr. Elijah Menarik )  
  
Mr. A.B. Connelly ) Engineering Division  
  
Mr. D. Snowden ) Industrial Division  
Mr. F. Symington )

Mr. G. W. Rowley, Advisory Committee on Northern Development

Mr. W.W. Mair, Canadian Wildlife Service.

Mr. V. Valentine, Northern Research Co-ordination Centre.

Mrs. I. Baird - Editorial and Information Division.

Miss H. MacNeil - Office of the Administrator of the Arctic.

### Opening Remarks

The meeting was officially opened by the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada. He was introduced by the Honourable

Alvin Hamilton, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Mr. Hamilton began his introductory remarks with a greeting in the Eskimo language. Mr. Hamilton said that more and more southern Canadians were coming to realize the full significance and importance of the human resources of the far north and that this meeting was a milestone in the common effort of both northern and southern Canadians in the development of Canada.

Mr. Diefenbaker called the Tenth Meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee an historic occasion for the Eskimos and for all of Canada. In welcoming the Eskimo representatives, Mr. Diefenbaker said it was his firm hope that this would be only the beginning of developments that would see the Eskimo people participating more and more in everything connected with their affairs.

## I. MINUTES OF LAST MEETING

The minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs held in the Large Conference Room, East Block, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, on May 26, 1958, were tabled and adopted.

The Chairman pointed out that two items arising at the last meeting required further reports, namely Eskimo housing and the proposal for a new Eskimo Orthography. These items would be covered under subsequent subject headings of the Agenda, specifically "The Changing Economy" and "The Culture of the Eskimos."

## II. THE VOICE OF THE ESKIMO

The Chairman commented on the potential usefulness of the continuing attendance of Eskimo representatives at Eskimo Affairs Committee meetings in the years ahead. But just as important as their participation in this meeting was the participation by Eskimos in many Arctic settlements in the affairs of their own communities. In this connection, he called on Mr. Bolger to report on Eskimo Community Councils which had been functioning in several settlements in the north.

Mr. Bolger described some aims of the Department of Northern Affairs in giving opportunities for the Eskimo voice at the local level. He described efforts to realize them through the formation of Eskimo councils. Two of these objectives were to stimulate among the Eskimos an awareness of their Canadian citizenship and to help a sense of initiative among the people. With the encouragement of the Northern Service Officers, effective Eskimo councils had been set up in several Arctic communities, including Baker Lake, Cape Dorset, Sugluk, and Cambridge Bay. In several other communities such as Great Whale River, Eskimo councils were being either established or reorganized. The organization of the councils had varied to meet local conditions, but everywhere the aim had been to bring together

the people of the community to discuss mutual problems. In areas relatively unaffected by civilization, the councillors, with the aid of local Northern Service Officers, had discussed such matters as game conservation and techniques for the better harvesting of country resources. Where the effects of southern civilization were more evident, matters pertaining to employment and to adjustment to a new way of life were more likely to be discussed.

Mr. Bolger called special attention to the work of Northern Service Officers at Sugluk and Baker Lake. In the past year at Sugluk meetings had been held at least once a month and subjects discussed included proposals for a fishing project, medical treatment for Eskimos, game conservation and the development of handicrafts. The Eskimo Council at Baker Lake, which had functioned during 1957-1958 before the last Northern Service Officer's departure, had been revived with the arrival of the new Northern Service Officer in 1959 and appeared to be making good progress. The response from Eskimos to the idea of councils had been encouraging and in general the experiment had been a success. Mr. Bolger stressed that Northern Service Officers were encouraged to withdraw as soon as possible from a leading part in Eskimo councils; where possible, the members were encouraged to conduct their own meetings.

Mr. Phillips said that in Greenland there was well-developed local government as well as a Greenlandic Council whose membership was elected and Eskimos also sat in the Parliament in Copenhagen.

Mr. Koneak who had participated in the official visit of Canadian Eskimos to Greenland in 1958, agreed that council meetings were worthwhile to Canadian Eskimos in this and other respects; he considered Greenland was far in advance of the Canadian Arctic.

Mr. Okpik said he was familiar with the work of the Eskimo council at Aklavik, but he felt that it was not accomplishing much. He pointed out that from time to time council members had written letters to the Department outlining problems faced by the council, but without results.

Mr. Sivertz said that the Department would look into the matter of whether or not it had failed to assist the Aklavik Council with its requests. He wondered if there were not problems in Aklavik which the local council might solve locally.

Bishop Marsh asked whether the purpose of councils was to ask the government to take action on specific problems, or whether the councils themselves were expected to act on local matters where possible. He observed that Eskimo Councils should be designed to permit Eskimos to think out their own problems on their own time. It was important that the Administration should avoid rushing council members to decisions.

The Chairman said it was hoped that councils would act on local problems, but they were also free to refer matters to Ottawa.

Father Renaud thought that if Eskimo councillors were to learn to manage their own affairs, then this learning process would be largely the responsibility of Northern Service Officers and other non-Eskimos in Arctic communities. Father Renaud added that instead of purely Eskimo councils, it might be advisable to have Eskimos and non-Eskimos serving together on community councils.

The Chairman pointed out that the problems faced by Eskimo councils are often complex and therefore, the councillors needed some guidance. At the same time, he agreed care must be taken not to push councillors to decisions.

Mr. Okpik said that, for the most part, Eskimos had no knowledge of the ways of politics or parliamentary procedures and that if Eskimos were to conduct their council meetings in accordance with the accepted ways of the white man, then they must first be educated to understand and use them. Mr. Okpik wanted to know how Eskimos could be expected to express themselves and their problems without having adequate educational background. He went on to say one of the reasons for the relative failure of the Aklavik Council was the fact that its members lacked sufficient education.

Mr. Sivertz said the Department was aware of the difficulties and shortcomings, but there had been some notable success with councils. He agreed with Mr. Okpik that education was of prime importance, but did not think it was necessary to wait until the Eskimos were educated before going ahead with the formation of councils. Some gains were possible even now, and it seemed best to give the Eskimo councils a chance to learn from their frustrations and difficulties in the initial stages. Mr. Sivertz agreed with Father Renaud that mixed community councils composed of Eskimo and non-Eskimo members were desirable.

Mr. Okpik agreed that progress in council work could be made at the present educational level. He went on to say that at joint meetings of Eskimos and non-Eskimos at Aklavik, Eskimo representatives were often obliged to sit back and listen to others.

The Committee agreed that while Eskimo councils should be encouraged to refer problems to Ottawa when necessary, the main object of councils should be the encouragement of local initiative and local action.

The Committee agreed that the continuation of Eskimo councils should be encouraged.

### III. THE CHANGING ECONOMY

The Chairman called attention to problems stemming from the decrease in game resources, notably the caribou, and from the fluctuations of the fur market.

Mr. Snowden said the most significant factor in the changing economy of the Arctic was the desire of the people themselves for a change. More and more, those people who had chosen to continue living on the land would need help, and steps were now being taken to assist them. Notable among these steps was the recent formation of two Eskimo-owned co-operative enterprises in the Ungava region. These businesses were designed for fuller use of country resources, including timber, fish, seals, and other game. These enterprises were set up following an economic survey of the Ungava region by the Department of Northern Affairs. Among other resources, this survey disclosed a considerable stand of useful timber in the George River area which was now being cut to construct a community hall and facilities for handicrafts production. Mr. Snowden said there were other ways to earn a living from the land besides, those which had become to be recognized as traditional, but they required the introduction of new techniques in harvesting country resources and the development of markets, the Department was now working on both aspects of the problem. The aims of the projects in the Ungava region was to bring cash into a hitherto depressed area and to provide fuller distribution of resources, and for the economic exchange of resources through trade, to the mutual benefit of the people of the area.

Mr. Koneak said that the people of the George River area, whom he knew, had welcomed the news of the Department's plans for developing their region. He said that the people believed they could improve their lot considerably with the type of government assistance now being offered. Without this help, they could not have remained much longer at George River. Not long ago, these people wanted to move to Frobisher Bay to better themselves, but now they were sufficiently confident in the future of their region that they wished to remain. Mr. Koneak went on to say that before the new projects had begun, family allowances had often provided the only means of cash income. Foxes had all but disappeared, and the man who trapped five foxes in a year had been considered lucky.

Mr. Sutherland said that the price for white fox had increased during the past year owing to a better market.

Mr. Bolger said that the largest employers of Eskimo labour at the present time were the North Rankin Nickel Mine and the DEW Line with 100 or more Eskimos being employed by each agency. The Department was engaged in discussions with the operating contractors of the DEW Line to see if more employment opportunities could soon be made available. Other agencies providing employment to Eskimos included the Hudson's Bay Company, the Missions, and the various government agencies and institutions, including weather stations, schools, hospitals, and police posts. There were some new prospects of employment with private companies, but employment was not developing at the rate to meet the Eskimo demand. However, progress was being made. Vocational training was

an aspect which was closely associated with Eskimo employment, and everything possible would be done to provide whatever vocational training might be required.

The Chairman congratulated the management of the North Rankin Nickel Mine for what it had done to provide Eskimo employment, and for its enlightened, sympathetic and patient management of people newly exposed to the demands of wage employment.

Mr. Ayaruark and Mr. Shingituk commented that the Eskimo workmen were pleased with conditions at the mine.

Mr. Jacobson said that last year over 300 Eskimos received vocational training of some kind or another and that in general, efforts to place these people in jobs had been successful. The Department was at present conducting a follow-up to learn what proportion of ex-trainees had been employed.

Mr. Okpik felt that, given proper training, more Eskimos could find employment on the DEW Line and elsewhere. He wanted to know why, if the government wished to give Eskimos vocational training, it did not train people thoroughly in extended and comprehensive courses instead of in short courses of about three months as was the case at the Leduc Training School. Mr. Okpik said that Eskimos who had been given such brief training could not be expected to compete for the better jobs with more thoroughly trained tradesmen.

Father Renaud reported on the organization and function of the Povungnituk Sculptors' Society. This was a group of Eskimo sculptors who gathered regularly to evaluate their own work, both aesthetically and from the standpoint of its market value. One of their chief aims was to maintain at a high standard the work they produced. Since its inception, the Society had extended its aims to the point where it was becoming a production co-operative, seeking diversification of function in the economic pursuits of the men at Povungnituk. The idea they entertained was that the best hunters in the community would concentrate on hunting and the best carvers on carving, with a view to promoting the common economic benefit of all. The women's sewing group was being organized along the same lines.

Referring to agricultural experiments conducted in the Fort Chimo region by the government, Mr. Koneak pointed out that the local people needed more training to exploit fully the agricultural possibilities which the government experiments had shown to exist.

Mr. Sutherland called for attention to the tendency for Eskimos from smaller settlements to migrate to such centres as Frobisher Bay without any real prospects of full employment when they got there. He felt the Administration should discourage this tendency. He cited the case of depopulation of Lake Harbour, where resources are fairly plentiful, because people had been attracted to

the comparatively bright lights of Frobisher Bay. They found themselves without work, and perhaps on relief at Frobisher Bay while the area they had left still offered opportunities for an adequate independent subsistence.

Mr. Okpik said the last thing the Eskimo people wanted was relief. They wanted work and not handouts. Eskimos were willing to try their hand at projects if the government would help them get started. In the Aklavik area, there was room for projects in such fields as handicrafts, mink farming, lumber, and fishing. Too often in the past Eskimos who wanted to work had been obliged to go on relief. If relief became necessary, then work relief projects should be initiated. As the Eskimo population increased, the incidents of relief seemed likewise to increase, and Mr. Okpik asked whether it was intended to make idlers out of the Eskimo people or to make them productive citizens.

Mr. Snowden said that plans were already underway to begin projects in the Mackenzie Delta area of the type Mr. Okpik had mentioned, and similar to some of the projects being conducted in the Ungava region. The Mackenzie Delta region would have an economic survey this year to determine what fish, lumber, and other resources were available, and to set possible markets for these resources. He hoped within a year or more some of these untapped resources could be exploited. If this could be done, it might go a long way toward alleviating the conditions which Mr. Okpik had described.

Mr. Symington referred to "a desperate need" for improved housing, particularly in the larger settlements. However, he said, in planning new types of low-cost housing, care must be taken not to exceed the ability of Eskimos to pay for and maintain their dwellings. The Department had evolved a design which he described as "Transitional", or one step away from the tent and the igloo. It was a small house of rigid frame plywood construction with a floor space of 256 sq. feet. While small, it was within the means of the average Eskimo living on the land, costing in the vicinity of \$650 plus transportation. About 135 housing units of this type would be placed in northern settlements in 1959. The Department would ship the materials to the settlements and the Eskimos would build their own house with assistance from departmental experts or local Northern Service Officers if required. For this house the average monthly payments would amount to about \$8 for a period of 80 months. They would be provided to Eskimos in stable communities but living on the land. At present many Eskimos were living in disgraceful shacks and some spent 50 to 60% of their incomes heating them. The new houses would be well insulated. Mr. Symington went on to say that the Department had further plans for a still better type of house, to be erected in more stable communities such as Rankin Inlet to accommodate Eskimos in the more or less intermediate stage of transition to a wage economy. He said the North Rankin Nickel Mines Limited had developed a design in which the Department was

interested. The total cost would be about \$2,500, and plans called for amortization over a 3 to 5 year period, depending on ability to pay. Still other designs would be needed in future to accommodate Eskimos living under varying circumstances and in varying stages of transition. However, Mr. Symington was of the opinion that the Department should not run the risk of interfering with the economy of Eskimos in the more primitive areas by introducing permanent housing.

Dr. Proctor called attention to the relationship of bad housing to the high infant mortality rate and announced that he was pleased at the prospects for new housing as described by Mr. Symington.

Bishop Marsh asked how the Eskimo living a marginal existence could be expected to obtain sufficient fuel to heat the new low-cost houses.

The Chairman agreed this was a problem. Firewood was available in only a few areas. This type of low-cost housing would not be desirable everywhere in the north, but should be a distinct improvement where there was some stability to the life of the community and where there was some cash income.

Father Renaud was of the opinion that most Eskimos could not afford to heat the new houses. Since apparently the trading post had no choice but to charge high prices for fuel, he wondered if it should not be the responsibility of the government to subsidize heating in some way.

Mr. Symington said experiments were now being conducted to develop a low-cost all purpose stove capable of burning oil, peat and other local materials. Peat was plentiful in some areas, for example Coral Harbour, but it was not yet [known] if it could be used for fuel.

Dr. Willis said that, in 1957, 51% of all Eskimo deaths occurred among infants under one year. He said it was imperative that women and children be placed in proper permanent shelters. Igloos were all right for hunters on the trail but not as family dwellings. He asked Mr. Symington if the new houses could be heated with seal oil. He added that the proposal to introduce peat as a fuel should be vigorously pursued.

Mr. Symington doubted that seal oil was sufficiently plentiful in enough areas to make it a significant factor in solving the fuel problem.

Mr. Okpik said better housing was urgently needed to prevent illness and agreed that hunters would still be capable of covering wide areas in search of game while they and their families lived in permanent homes. Commenting on the qualities of the 512-type house, Mr. Okpik said it was adequate for families of up to 4 or 5 children but not for larger families. On the subject of heating, Mr. Okpik called attention to the plight of some families at Inuvik who were living in tents. These people had been directed by the Administration not to put wood roofs on their tents for the winter and consequently so much fuel was required that, the

occupants were forced to gather wood almost constantly during times when they were not working.

The Chairman explained that wooden tent roofs had been ruled out to avoid the beginning of a new shack town at Inuvik.

Bishop Marsh was of the opinion that the new housing would tend to collect Eskimos around trading posts when they should be out hunting and trapping. He pointed out that people living on the land did not normally live in settlements.

The Chairman explained that a new concept was involved in the proposal for low-cost housing. It was hoped that the people could live from the land while their families resided at the posts if new techniques were developed for harvesting the country resources and new sources of revenue were found. There were good prospects for developing an economy based on combined revenue from the land and from wage employment.

Mr. Symington pointed out to Bishop Marsh that the areas chosen by the Administration to receive low-cost housing were areas where more or less permanent consolidation of the population in the trading posts had already taken place.

Mr. Rowley agreed there were dangers in concentrating hunters at trading posts but thought that permanent housing and hunting could be combined. He thought that with adequate means of transportation hunters would find that they could extend their hunting areas and gain an adequate living. Mr. Rowley called for government subsidization of housing in settlements other than the larger centres such as Frobisher Bay where subsidization was now an established fact.

Superintendent Larsen was of the opinion that low-cost housing could be provided in even the smallest settlements without any real danger of upsetting the traditional hunting life. He felt that until Eskimos were moved into houses and settlements the government's efforts to help the people were largely wasted. He said it would be an advantage to hunters to be able to leave their families behind in permanent homes, while they were on the trail. Unhindered by the women and children, the men could travel farther and faster in search of game. There was no reason why hunters could not cover areas surrounding their homes up to a radius of 100 miles. Furthermore, Eskimos were not accustomed to travelling such vast distances as some members of the Committee seemed to believe. Superintendent Larsen believed that the average hunter could [afford] a low-cost house. He said that it would be practical to provide houses to hunters in such places as Spence Bay, Coppermine, Gjoa Haven, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. In these places seal oil was available and the houses could be heated economically. Furthermore there were

coal deposits around Aklavik and Pond Inlet and he wondered if the coal could not be mined and shipped to areas lacking fuel.

Mr. Okpik mentioned that there was an area about 100 miles from Tuktoyaktuk which provided good hunting but the people of Tuktoyaktuk found it difficult to hunt there regularly because of the distance and because their children were attending school in the settlement. He suggested that an outpost community might be built in the hunting area, using low-cost houses, and that a small school might be established at this outpost.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should investigate Mr. Okpik's proposal to establish an outpost community in Tuktoyaktuk area.

The Committee agreed that provision of low-cost housing to Eskimos was desirable and should be pursued.

The Committee supported the Administration's plans to conduct economic surveys with a view to the further development of country resources in the North.

#### IV. THE CHANGING SOCIETY

Mr. Rudnicki referred to the [preceding] discussion on housing and called this one of the fundamental social problems. Other fundamental problems were the need for a more diversified economy and a better education. He referred to education in the broadest sense and drew attention to the need for developing what he called an "employable personality" in prospective wage earners. The people needed help in adjusting to new conditions. The Rehabilitation Centre at Frobisher Bay had helped in the adjustment of ex-patients and was making many of them productive members of society once more. Individual counselling was a technique used with persons who were socially maladjusted. There had been some cases of prostitution, drunkenness and delinquency at a few centres and these were dealt with through personal counselling. However Mr. Rudnicki said that reports of such behaviour among Eskimos were frequently exaggerated. Mr. Rudnicki called attention to the excellent work of the Eskimo members of the Administrative staff both in Ottawa and in the field, particularly in the area of Welfare. He said it was the intention to increase the Eskimo staff and to increase their responsibilities.

The Chairman called on Mr. Ayaruark to comment on social problems.

Mr. Ayaruark opened his remarks by thanking the Government for the help it had given his people. He paid particular attention to the assistance given to the sick but pointed to one aspect of hospitalization which frequently disturbed both the patients and their relatives at home. This was the fact that families had not always been informed about the progress of their relatives in hospital. Frequently families were worried because they received no news of their loved ones for long

periods of time. He added that it was unfortunate that sick persons were obliged to travel so far for treatment.

Mr. Ayaruark called attention to the need to permit Eskimos to make their own decisions in matters directly affecting them. He said that sometimes Eskimos were over-shadowed by those in authority and this had been evident in cases where they had been moved from one area to another when they did not want to go. They had agreed to move only because they were "over-awed". Referring specifically to Rankin Inlet, Mr. Ayaruark described it as a settlement populated by people from many scattered places, speaking different dialects, some of whom, particularly from inland Keewatin, were confused and unsettled by their new environment. He pointed out that, like the white man, the Eskimo had his own ideas about what he wanted to do with his life and his homeland, and the wishes of the Eskimo people should be respected. Many people, like himself, had come to Rankin Inlet of their own accord and had come to feel at home there.

Mr. Ayaruark referred to the fact that many of the Eskimos at Rankin Inlet now were obliged to eat strange foods from southern Canada. They wanted to be allowed to eat their own kind of food even though many of them were employed full time and had little chance to hunt. While some of the available food was good, other food had no strength in it, and the mine employees and their families wanted to be able to buy the "strong food of the land". He called for an organization to be set up along co-operative lines whereby people of the community who were free to hunt would be able to provide food for the wage-employed. At the same time, the skills of the employed could in turn produce goods for the benefit of the hunters. This would call for some form of two-way marketing arrangement. At the present time, wage-employed Eskimos were sometimes absent from their jobs while hunting for country food. This disturbed their employers. The people wanted to know how to organize their lives in order both to hunt and to work. Now some of the people were confused and despondent simply because they did not know what was expected of them. This despondency was sometimes mistaken for laziness but it could be removed by a practical arrangement whereby men of the community could live together and decide who should play what part in providing "those things considered good."

Mr. Ayaruark spoke of the need for educating Eskimo school children, but said that teachers should exercise patience and understanding in dealing with the children, for they could not learn if they lived in fear of the teacher's anger. He said that it was good for the children to be disciplined and sometimes it was necessary for the teacher to scold, but the teachers must use caution if they were to accomplish the aims of education.

Mr. Ayaruark referred to excessive drinking as being a social problem in Churchill. He believed that the problem would be lessened if outlets at Churchill

observed more closely the closing hours and if Eskimos were not able to take alcohol beverages home to Camp 20 after outlets had been closed. He suggested the problem might also be modified and less trouble might result if facilities were established for Eskimos to drink in Camp 20 itself.

The desirability of reuniting families that had been separated for one reason or another was mentioned by Mr. Ayaruark. He referred especially to the families of men who had left their home settlements to find work in other communities. If some way could be found to bring such families together the men would do better work because their minds would be free from worry about their families.

Mr. Ayaruark spoke of the vanishing caribou and told how eight or ten years ago in the region around Baker Lake and Yathkyed Lake a great many caribou had died apparently of some unknown disease. Before the caribou died it was possible to live like a true Eskimo, but now it was becoming increasingly hard to do this. Eskimos who still followed the old ways believed that they could not do so much longer. They believed that the old ways must go and a new kind of life must be found. He was glad there was a place like Rankin Inlet to help the people, but more must be done.

Mr. Ayaruark said that since he had come to Ottawa he had seen how people lived in the south and believed the Eskimo people were capable of living in this same way, for it was not a way of life reserved exclusively for the white man. He said the time had come for a change, and it could not be a slow change because there was nothing to support the people while the change took place. The change must be made now.

Mr. Ayaruark's final remarks were concerned with the need for better facilities for hunting in the Rankin Inlet area. He said the hunters needed a larger boat because while there was game, the distances to be travelled to find it were very great. He said that with the help of the Administration the hunters at Rankin Inlet could work out a successful way of life.

The Chairman agreed with Mr. Ayaruark that the change to new ways must be rapid. He said the government would do what could be done regarding the question of education, and other matters raised by Mr. Ayaruark. Referring to liquor in Churchill, the Chairman pointed out that this was a matter coming under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government of Manitoba. He did not think that liquor had created serious problems in Churchill. On the matter of hospitalization raised by Mr. Ayaruark, the Chairman said that the Administration had tried to keep families up to date on the progress of their relatives and that new and improved procedures were constantly being sought to improve the situation.

Dr. Proctor said he was sympathetic with Mr. Ayaruark's views on hospitalization. It was true that patients were obliged to travel very far to receive

treatment, but it was not feasible either economically or medically to provide full hospital facilities in many scattered locations throughout the north.

Mr. Rudnicki said the Administration was trying to facilitate the return of patients to their homes by setting up transit centres at various strategic locations in the north.

The Committee next considered a number of topics raised by the Eskimo delegates.

Mr. Shingituk wanted to know what would happen to the people of Rankin Inlet if the mine closed down.

Mr. Easton pointed out that any mine could run out of ore, but that the people who had received training in the mine at Rankin Inlet would probably be able to use their skills in work elsewhere if the day should come when the mine closed.

The Chairman said there were prospects of more mines opening elsewhere in the Arctic and he did not think the Eskimos at Rankin Inlet needed to worry.

Mr. Shingituk stressed the need at Rankin Inlet for a freezer to store country meat and dog feed.

Mr. Snowden said a freezer had been ordered and should be installed at Rankin Inlet in the summer of 1959.

Mr. Shingituk wanted to know why some ex-patriates working in Rankin Inlet were allowed to return to their home settlements for a number of visits with their relatives when permission to do so was refused to others by the Department.

Mr. Sivertz said the explanation was probably that those who had been granted permission were people with money to pay their own way or were fortunate enough to ask permission at a time when transportation to their homes was available. It was not possible to spend government funds for the purpose of transporting Eskimos on visits to their homes. If a man had enough money the Northern Service Officer might help him to find transportation, but, of course, transportation was not always possible to arrange.

Mr. Okpik said that while Eskimos were called full Canadian citizens they did not always enjoy the same rights as non-Eskimos, particularly in the matter of liquor. He said the prohibition against Eskimos drinking was resented at Aklavik. Eskimos had votes, they had the same obligations as other Canadians, including payment of income tax, and in view of this, Eskimos believed there should be no discrimination in the matter of liquor or in other matters.

The Chairman said that the liquor problem had often been discussed at meetings of the Council of the Northwest Territories. The Council had considered that if Eskimos were given liquor privileges, then the same privileges should be

extended to the Indians of the Northwest Territories. However, he explained that according to the law Indians could have liquor only if the Federal Government so permitted under the provisions of the Indian Act. The Council had deferred action until such time as the Indians could be given the same rights. The problem had recently been complicated further by a ruling of the Judge of the Northwest Territories who found *ultra vires* the sections of the Liquor Ordinance that mentioned Eskimos. The Chairman also pointed out to Mr. Okpik that the question of providing liquor to Eskimos was one on which there were many differing opinions. For example, some people, including some Eskimos, were of the opinion that the sale and use of liquor should be restricted.

Mr. Okpik said that while Eskimos were forbidden to drink there was discrimination against his people. He urged the members of the Committee to express their views.

The Committee agreed that the matter of liquor should be deferred to the next meeting, at which time the legal situation would probably be clarified.

The Committee noted Mr. Okpik's remarks on the question of liquor for Eskimos.

The Committee noted the remarks and suggestions made by Mr. Ayaruark and Mr. Shingituk.

## V. EDUCATION IN THE ARCTIC

Mr. Jacobson reported on the Tenth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education, held in Ottawa on May 8, 1959. He said that five new schools had been opened in Eskimo territory in 1958 and that four more schools were planned for 1959. He said that at present there were ten times as many Eskimo children in schools than was the case ten years ago. Thirty-six per cent of all children of school age were now receiving some schooling and only twenty per cent of those entering school for the first time were without any knowledge of English. Advances had also been made in the field of adult education. The Sub-Committee favoured an accelerated adult education program not only because of the demands placed upon adult Eskimos in a changing economy, but because it had been found that children of school age advanced more quickly when their parents were also receiving formal education.

Mr. Jacobson referred to various vocational training projects in progress. Among courses for women were included instruction in garment manufacturing and waitress training. A variety of training opportunities were offered to men, notably at the Yellowknife Vocational Training and High School, opened in September, 1958. To date, Eskimos attending this school had been trained in carpentry, building maintenance and mechanics.

Mr. Jacobson spoke of encouraging signs in the field of teacher recruitment. In recent competitions there were 512 applicants for 95 positions, and the prospects of filling these positions with first-rate teachers were excellent.

Reporting on visits to other countries to study educational methods, Mr. Jacobson told of a recent visit paid by Mr. Grantham to Indian schools in the south-west United States and referred particularly to studies of a special five-year program for the instruction of the Navajo Indian. The Sub-Committee had recommended a further study be made of this program in order to ascertain what elements might be used to advantage in northern education for Eskimos. The Sub-committee had also recommended that the possibility be explored of having four or five Eskimo children attend a U.S. Indian Boarding School in order to obtain first-hand experience with Canadian Eskimos taking the type of educational training program offered.

The Committee turned to general problems on the education of Eskimos.

Bishop Marsh did not agree with taking school children away from their own environment and placing them in boarding schools when this might mean they would lose their knowledge of the traditional way of life, unless they received adequate preparation to meet the new ways. Bishop Marsh said that education was not just a matter of learning to read and to write; that some provision was needed in the school curriculum to provide an adequate background which would equip children for a future in a wage economy.

Miss Gaynor pointed out that a Social Studies course had been drawn up and was scheduled to begin in the autumn of 1959 in northern schools. This would be one step in providing the background Bishop Marsh mentioned.

Mr. Menarik said that if it was the purpose of the Administration to educate Eskimo children, then plans should be made for their full education and not merely for training as far as the Grade 6 or 7 level.

The Chairman said that the teaching of Eskimos in secondary school was now being done in Aklavik and Yellowknife and would be done in the next few years at Inuvik, Churchill and Frobisher Bay.

Bishop Marsh was doubtful of the advisability of teaching Eskimo children exclusively in the English language.

The Chairman said that while some instructions in Eskimo would be useful, teachers who could speak Eskimo simply were not available. Furthermore, since English would be the language most needed for taking full advantage of new economic opportunities, it was the logical language of instruction.

Mr. Sivertz said there was an impressive body of argument in favour of teaching exclusively in English. He said teachers were in a better position to enable

children to master their subject matter if English were the language of instruction in the schools. The Eskimo language might be taught as a subject. There was considerable opinion in Greenland that it had been a mistake to conduct schools beyond the primary grade in the Greenlandic language rather than Danish, the language of higher schooling academic, business and professional work. Many Greenlanders thought that the old school system using Greenlandic as the language of instruction had placed severe limitations on their future because young people educated in this way found their mastery of Danish not sufficient to carry them into secondary schooling let alone technical or university work. The preservation of the Eskimo language and other cultural values is recognized as of great value, indeed essential, but this can be done even more effectively if the language is not forced to accept the burden of modification such as it must undergo if used in the schools for instruction in a technological age, and largely by white teachers with an imperfect knowledge of and feeling for the primitive language.

The Committee noted the minutes and recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Education.

The Committee noted the general observations of those in attendance on the subject of education.

## VI. THE CULTURE OF THE ESKIMOS

Mr. Sivertz distributed to Committee members copies of the first issue of the new publication "Inuktituk". He said that this publication was designed to serve as a vehicle of expression for Canadian Eskimos. It was written and edited by Eskimos and the first issue contained a number of articles contributed by Eskimos from across the country as well as by Eskimos on the staff of the Department. Miss Mary Panegoosho was editor of the magazine and also had done the art work in the first issue. Mr. Sivertz said the magazine would give special attention to Eskimo cultural values. Besides publishing material on art and literature, it can be a forum of opinion for the Canadian Eskimo people, conducted on as high an intellectual level as possible. The publication was soon to be distributed throughout the north including the western Arctic for which a separate edition is being prepared in Roman script and in the dialect of the western arctic. The experience gained in the first few issues and the opinion of Eskimos in the matter of introducing a new orthography would be most useful in the consideration of the new orthography.

The Committee then turned to consideration of the proposal to introduce a new Orthography for the Eskimo language.

Mr. Rowley was of the opinion that without the introduction of a standard orthography, the Eskimo language had little or no chance of survival.

Mr. Williamson said that most Eskimos were now literate, if by literacy one meant the ability to read and write in some medium. Nevertheless there was little hope they could broaden their intellectual horizons without a standardized orthography. How to introduce a new system of writing was a question requiring careful thought for it would not do to impose the new system on the Eskimo people, particularly when their present method of writing was one of the few things left in their culture which they regarded as their own.

Mr. Spalding said the proposed new orthography should be regarded simply as an improvement in the means of representing the Eskimo language on paper, and should not be thought of as a change in the language itself. There was no attempt to change the language, but only to give the people a better tool with which to represent their thoughts. The present syllabic system was by its very nature inaccurate in expressing thought.

Mr. Menarik thought that a new and standardized way of writing was definitely needed and that it should take the form of Roman characters. At the present time, with the wide variety of dialects, it was extremely difficult to express oneself in writing. Spelling should be standardized and this could be done through a new orthography.

Mr. Koneak agreed that Roman script was a preferable medium.

Father Rio, while agreeing that the use of the Roman alphabet was desirable, said that a new orthography could not do away with dialect, which was an inherent part of any language. He thought that a new orthography would have to be taught in the schools.

Bishop Marsh doubted that a new orthography would help to preserve the Eskimo language, and said its effect might be the opposite if it were imposed on the Eskimos from without.

Mr. Sivertz said that the final decision to introduce a new system of writing should be left to the Eskimo people. He thought it would soon be possible to do this through the medium of the new magazine which was to be published and circulated periodically among the Eskimos.

The Chairman felt that most English-speaking Canadians would be hard-pressed to decide what was the best orthography for the English language and for this reason wondered if it would not be rather difficult for Eskimos to make a similar decision with regard to their language.

Mr. Phillips said a decision to maintain the unsatisfactory orthography the Eskimo had been given fifty years ago, and to deny the use of the Roman orthography could be considered a conscious decision to cut off the Eskimo people from the great cultural avenues the world had to offer. He said that since the Roman alphabet was an accepted system of orthography for many of the world's

peoples, there was little justification for the opinion that its use was tantamount to the substitution of English for Eskimo. No one had suggested changing the language: only giving as a current method of expression a form which would permit a greater exchange amongst all Eskimos and a new literature, not now existing, by Eskimos in Eskimo.

Mr. Phillips referred to the considerable Greenlandic literature in the Roman orthography which it was hoped could be made available to the Eskimos of Canada.

Bishop Marsh asked if it would be possible to introduce Greenlandic literature to northern schools at the present time.

The Chairman said that the introduction of Greenlandic literature might help Eskimos to decide what they wanted in an orthography, particularly since the Greenlandic orthography was quite similar to that proposed for Canadian Eskimos.

Mr. Spalding suggested that steps might be taken to encourage Canadian Eskimos to write down some of their own legends for circulation in publications in Greenland.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should investigate the feasibility of introducing Greenlandic literature to Canadian Eskimo schools.

The Committee agreed that the Administration should investigate the possibility of publishing in Greenland writings produced by Canadian Eskimos.

The Committee further agreed that the proposal to introduce a standard orthography should be given continued consideration.

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#### REMARKS OF ESKIMO DELEGATES AT THE TENTH MEETING ESKIMO AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, OTTAWA, MAY 25, 1959

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The following are some of the remarks made by the four Eskimo representatives attending the Eskimo Affairs Committee, taken down at such times as it was possible to make notes. Very few of Mr. Shingituk's remarks were sufficiently audible to permit of accurate note-taking. Mr. Koneak's remarks on the exploitation of agricultural possibilities, and Mr. Okpik's remarks on the desire of the Eskimos for work, not relief, (on the item "The Changing Economy") do not appear. Also missing are Mr. Okpik's comments on permanent housing and tent housing at Inuvik, Mr. Shingituk's queries regarding Eskimos working at the mine at Rankin Inlet, and Mr. Okpik's remarks on the prohibitions contained in the Liquor Ordinance against drinking by Eskimos.

II. THE VOICE OF THE ESKIMO

Mr. Koneak - "Last year we made a trip to Greenland, and we saw over Greenland very interesting things never happening over in Chimo or near Chimo at the coast. Our people are away behind, and we found the Greenland people are treated very well, and it is a longer time we have ahead of us. We saw Eskimo Greenlanders who have a lot of boats, a lot of houses, and that also most of the people are working and making money - fishermen, farmers, working in different factories - and I think these things could be done near Chimo."

(In reply to Mr. Robertson's query on whether community meetings as held in Greenland are a good idea)

"Yes, this is a good idea. I think the Eskimos don't want to go back to the old days any more, they couldn't stand it any longer. We know some of the Eskimo people living in other countries are doing fine. We people are still down in the ground, hardly have come up from the ground. We want help in any way to see if we can make grown-up."

Mr. Okpik - (on the subject of Eskimo Council meetings)

"We are familiar with these Council meetings around Aklavik, and I do know that we have an Eskimo Committee, and we have, in fact, accomplished a few things through the Administration Office. They have written letters out and I do know that they have not accomplished anything yet."

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"Yes that is the way I would put it. (Mr. Robertson's remark that nothing has been gained by the meetings at Aklavik yet.) People have got together and written letters out, want this want that, but so far as I can see, they have not accomplished anything with the Council membership for themselves."

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"When we first started the organization, we went strongly, but we have written letters out and never had anything accomplished. There is no use having an organization if you can't get anything through it."

III. THE CHANGING ECONOMY

Mr. Shingituk - "I came down to Ottawa; I like to see what the Committee is doing. I paid my own way. I would like to see Eskimos have houses like the white men live in, larger houses. More children should be brought into the schools. There should be more schools for the children, need more room in the schools."

"If you like to hunt a little, then hunt, summertime, fish - can fish only two months - we need more places to store the fish to last the winter."

Mr. Okpik - (after a discussion on the difference in the pace of thinking between Eskimos and whites at community meetings)

"I would like to make it clear to you. All the Eskimos, as you know, have no knowledge of political ways. They have never started voting until ten years ago and that means, if they want to enter into the white man's way to learn their problems and have discussion like here, they have to have the education. Otherwise, I contradict Father Renaud's opinion, because they want the Eskimos to have their own problems and bring them to the government officials, but how are they going to do this when they do not know how to get up and speak unless they are taught and have the equal status with the white people? Until then, it is very hard to accomplish anything."

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"We only know how to hunt and trap. They want us to enter into these local Council meetings. We tried to have them at Aklavik. It has been a failure, sometimes because of the people not attending. We need some advance in education in order to have a chance to say something at a meeting like this."

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"Councils will go on and learn as they go, but we need the education to be on the same standards. We cannot go out and live in this world down here because we have no education."

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(on the subject of meetings with white people being geared more to the pace of Eskimo thinking)

"There are a lot of ways of organizing an organization that will get the people on their feet and get them to speak up. When we have a meeting there are white people, Indians, and Eskimos. Trappers get up and start talking and up poor natives wait and listen and are

disappointed because we never had a chance to say anything. We could get things done; I agree with Mr. Sivertz when he says we have to get things done.

We are in need of it now. In Aklavik there are three different peoples. We have the meetings and we do not express ourselves right away. We have to think things over and come up with an answer for the next meeting. Therefore, an Eskimo Council, or a town Council, or an Indian Council, they are of different people. We are here to try and help the Eskimo.”

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(on training courses such as at Leduc)

“Our boys came back, went to work on the job and were being paid the lowest because they cannot compete with the white people. This is where education comes in. They were willing to work, but they should have three or four more years training. They put us in a course for three months and expect us to compete with the garageman who has been several years in high school. It is a hard thing to do.”

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“The Tuktoyaktuk area is a place where people are depressed every year. They are living there because they want their children to go to school. There are large families and they have to travel far to trap. Several People I was talking to said, if they could build a school at Harrowby Bay, about 100 miles from Tuktoyaktuk, where there are fish, seal, and polar bear, they could start a community there; while the children go to school the older people could live off the land.”

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“If they could move there, it is a lot better hunting ground. They could stay there instead of living at Tuktoyaktuk just because there is a school there.”

#### IV. THE CHANGING SOCIETY

Mr. Ayaruark - (Mr. Ayaruark opened his speech by thanking the Government for the assistance it had given the Eskimo people, particularly when they are ill) - (as translated by Mr. Williamson:)

“Sometimes, however, the Eskimos don’t know about their relatives while they are in hospital. In one case a man was in hospital and his daughter also went in hospital and he did not know about this for

some time. It would be better if the Eskimos did not have to go so far to hospital and they should be informed about their families who are in hospital. Their minds would be more happy and they could get better more quickly. When men and women are brought together and then separated this is also a source of distress. This, too, happens when people are sick. People have been brought together in marriage -- not always by their own choice. Sometimes they have developed normal feelings in marriage after having been brought together. On one occasion a man of authority said that this sort of thing is necessary; there are times when a man and wife should be separated, and I do not agree with this. The man of authority should not have spoken on the subject of marriage and who should be brought together and who should be put asunder."

"In moving from one place to another the Eskimos can feel confident if they can make the decisions without fear, if they can have confidence in those in authority, but in the past many times Eskimos have been moved from their own places and sent to other places because they were over-awed by those in authority and were afraid of those who told them they should go. They spoke nothing against it because those in authority ordered it.

"At Rankin Inlet things have changed. The Eskimos were given occupancy of houses, first of all by the people who started the mine, and after that the government built houses for the Eskimos. There are people from the land and from the sea who came together, speaking many dialects, living in the same place, and living a new way of life there. You people here know what you want to do with your lives, you people here know how you want to arrange your country, where you want to live. We also have our ideas of where we want to live and what we want to live in. There are other people who have come from inland and from the sea for the first time. For them living this very different way of life is a source of some fear and anxiety. These migrations have taken place from inland and from the sea last year and this year. Now we partake of the white people's food. Some of it is good and gives people strength and some has no strength in it, but we eat this food because it is given to us. We have a different way of living, but we are still men and as men we work. Some of us who are strong can do more work than those who are not so strong, and are paid accordingly. It is better for those who have money to get what they want. They should have freedom to purchase what they wish. White people can eat and do their jobs because they

have other people to look after their food needs. Eskimos cannot do this; they must supply their own food. Eskimos need strong meat. They should have some people still hunting, bringing the food for the others who are working in the mine. At the moment we have some people there who are their own bosses. They, for themselves, can go out and hunt, but those who also work for the white people do not have a share in the food. What we need is a proper organization for the people working in a place like the mine so that people can share in this good food which the Eskimos feel the need of. Sometimes food is sent in for the white people from the south. Working party people go away to hunt and their bosses wonder what happened to them. They do not know what is the proper arrangement for going about hunting and taking part in the working party. This confusion about what is right, how to organize this type of life, is what makes them despondent and appear to be lazy, simply because they are confused about how to arrange their lives. But it is not through laziness that people behave in this way; it is because they do not know what to do and this despondency is sometimes mistaken for laziness. But if we have a proper arrangement to organize this kind of thing it will remove this difficulty and misunderstanding. Therefore, it would be better if the men could get together and were properly organized to know who should take what part in the community for those things considered good, both from the land and from the work. Moreover, the arrangement should extend to the allocating of those things which are produced. There should be a proper market for those things produced from the land and from skills so we can share in the profits.”

“I want to say just a little more about education. It is good that our children should go to school, but we need understanding of our children. It is good to have discipline but the teacher should not be angry. It is not good for children to learn because of their fear of the anger of the people who teach them. It is a good thing for them to be disciplined and to learn and only by being disciplined is it possible for them to learn. In order that they can learn sometimes the teachers must scold. But I know of two children who for some reason were asked not to go to school. While I am here I would like to ask why they were not allowed to go to school. I know of no reason. But discipline is a good thing for the teachers in order to educate these children and education is what they need most, and if they must scold then they must scold.”

“I know how much your thought have been pre-occupied, as ours too have been pre-occupied, on the subject of strong drink. You know about what goes on in Churchill, and I have seen it for myself. I know there are places where people can drink. There is a time when these places close. I think it would be better if there were a firmer closing time and a time when drinking can be stopped. I have heard this is not as easy as that because liquor can be purchased and carried to wherever people want to drink it by night in Churchill by taxi. It would be a lot better for people of Camp 20 at Churchill if, once the time for closing of places of strong drink has come, all access to them be put to an end. In the first place this problem would not occur if there were a place where people can come together and drink and if the Eskimos could drink right in Camp 20.”

“Separation is one thing which we are concerned about. Sometimes we men go away to work. Sometimes children and mothers are separated and when they are separated people do not know what and how to think. Thus men who are away from their families may forget about them. There should be some way for people to be brought together. Sometimes they have not enough money and there is no transportation for them to get back to the place they came from. They get mixed up with people where they work and forget about the people at home. When they are separated from their families their families ask them to come back and sometimes they want their families to come to where they are working. Sometimes they do not work well because they don't know what decision to make and are worried about their families. Some arrangements should be made to get families back together.”

“I wish to speak about caribou. About 8 or 10 years ago I knew and heard about the large amount of caribou. In Baker Lake I heard a lot were killed and a lot died and there has been an accounting of caribou in the area between Baker Lake and Yathkyed Lake. A number of people went out to see how many there were. We know that a large number of caribou died of some illness, for some unaccountable reason, near Baker Lake and at Yathkyed Lake, but there were no Eskimos in the area between. I suspect a large number of caribou died in this area where there were no Eskimos of this unaccountable illness. Now these people who have come to Rankin Inlet have seen these dead caribou on the lake at Yathkyed. These people found, when they went to fish in the lake, a large number of dead caribou. They were hungry but because they had died of some

illness they did not eat the caribou themselves. They tried giving the meat to the dogs but the dogs did not get fat, the food passed through them without giving them any benefit. It is no wonder this meat gave no benefit to the dogs as it was an illness which killed the caribou. There is no way of knowing how many caribou inland died of this illness but there must be a very large number. We lived like Eskimos when there was lots of caribou. Some are still trying to live in this way but with great difficulty in this area where the game is getting less and less. With the decrease in the game those who are still living the Eskimo way of life fear they cannot be living in this way any longer and will have to find a new way of life because the old way is almost done. And so we are very happy there is a place like Rankin Inlet where people are still alive, whereas if they were trying to hunt they would be dead. It is a source of joy that there is a place where they can live instead of dying of starvation as those have died trying to live by hunting.”

“Now in Ottawa I see how people live and I see that the Eskimos are waiting to live in the way in which they think they can and should live. And they can live in the same way the white people are living; it is not a white man’s way of life, it is a way any people can live. The time has come now when we can change and it cannot be a slow change, it must be rapid. The white way of life is the way the Eskimos can live. They cannot afford to wait while this transition takes place and they must have the change now. Now at Rankin Inlet we have a man in authority who wishes to help the Eskimos very much. He is the boss of the mine. We can’t afford to wait; the opportunity is there now; now, now is the time. Whether you live in Rankin Inlet or Chesterfield Inlet or anywhere in the area, it is possible by boat or other form of travel to go to and from this place, and people can come here and participate in a way of life that will help them to live happily. From these people they can draw people who can still hunt and bring in the food they need. If these people had a good boat, a big boat, and plenty of fuel, they would hunt a good distance away and bring back enough food for the people who are working. We know very well where there is game although it is a great distance away. In order to reach it we need some means. All of us know that not very long ago there were a great number of seals and a great amount of food in this area but now unless we can get to it we are helpless. Hunters working together with people in authority at Rankin Inlet and the other people there can work out a successful

way of life for everybody, but there are people from other places who don't know the area and don't know where to go for the game. They will need leaders from the Eskimos who know the area and where to go. Thus, while we are still alive things can get better and better. When we are gone, if these things are put into practice now, things should continue to get better."

#### V. EDUCATION IN THE ARCTIC

Mr. Menarik - "I think, if the children have to be educated they should be educated all the way instead of just to Grade 6 or 7, which is no good at all. They cannot even speak good enough English. I was taught in the Mission School. When I came out of school I couldn't speak English and yet I wasn't used to hunting. If education is going to take place, I think they should educate them all the way, not only as far as Grade 7, but beyond that and give them training after schooling."

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(about separating children from families in order to educate them)

"I think it is worthwhile to separate the families if the children are going to be educated through high school and get a chance to train some place."

#### VI. THE CULTURE OF THE ESKIMOS - Eskimo Orthography

Mr. Menarik - "It is a good idea to preserve the Eskimo language, but it should be written in the Roman Alphabet and standardized. There are now so many different dialects, you cannot express yourself in writing. You cannot write to some of the Western Eskimos. If the spelling were standardized, we could communicate and even write books."

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"They speak different dialects in Greenland. If they can standardize their spelling there, why can't we do it here?"

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(on whether syllabics or Roman Alphabet should be used by the Eskimos)

"I think we should leave it to the Eskimos what they would like."

Mr. Koneak - "Some of our people, know this kind of writing and would prefer to have Roman script instead of syllabics so we can write to the Western Eskimo. We prefer to start with Roman script. If the children learn

this kind of letters, they could then learn to write in English too. They should have the same kind of script for both languages.”

Mr. Shingituk - (on the use of English as the language of business)

“Four Eskimos come together here, can’t talk to each other in Eskimo. I speak many words, this man doesn’t understand, that man understands something different. Here, when everybody talks English, everyone understands. Everybody reads, and can understand.”

Mr. Okpik - “When new things like television and radios come out, what names are we going to use for them in Eskimo?”

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“English will have to be the language for business.”

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“The plain Eskimo language that we have is a good language for us, and if they can write it down, so that we can all learn it and write it in the Roman Alphabet this is a good thing. Everyone will know how to write English by that time and when they come to their own language they will have to learn to write it in the same alphabet.”

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“Eskimos must be taught in English. Then, they will have to learn to read and write their language with the same script.”

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(on the subject of the changing of syllabics to the Roman Alphabet in Eskimo publications and its effect on older people)

“Mr. Chairman, an old guy of 60 or 70 - how much longer has he got to read syllabics?”

Department of Northern Affairs  
and National Resources

Ottawa, June 1959.

## 11. Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 28-29 March 1960

MINUTES OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS HELD ON MARCH 28 AND  
29, 1960, IN THE LARGE CONFERENCE ROOM, EAST BLOCK,  
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

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### COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT

Mr. R. G. Robertson, - Chairman -  
Deputy Minister, Dept. of Northern Affairs  
and National Resources,

Supt. W. G. Fraser,  
O/C "G" Division,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police,  
representing  
Commissioner C. E. Rivett-Carnac,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director,  
Indian and Northern Health  
Services,  
Dept. of National Health  
and Welfare,

Mr. H. W. Sutherland,  
General Manager,  
Northern Stores Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company

Rev. P. A. Renaud, O.M.I., representing  
Most Rev. Paul Piché, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.

The Right Rev. D. B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic.

### ADVISERS

Dr. J. S. Willis,  
General Superintendent,  
Dept. of National Health  
and Welfare.

The Right Rev. E.S. Reed,  
Bishop of Ottawa.

The Rev. Canon H.G. Cook, D.D.  
Superintendent,  
The Indian School

Administration of the Missionary  
Society of the Church of  
England in Canada.

Mr. B. G. Sivertz,  
Director,  
Northern Administration Branch, Dept. of  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,  
Assistant Director,  
Plans and Policy,  
Northern Administration  
Branch,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs  
and National Resources.

Mr. C. M. Bolger,  
Administrator of the Arctic,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National  
Resources.

Mr. A. Stevenson, - Secretary -  
Assistant Administrator of the  
Arctic,  
Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. G. F. Parsons ) - Assistant Secretaries -  
Miss H.E. MacNeil )

#### Official Eskimo Delegates

Mr. Jimmy Jacobson from Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T.  
Mr. Dick Kilikavioyak from Coppermine, N.W.T.  
Mr. Jacob Oweetalutuk from Great Whale River, P.Q.  
Mr. Amero from Baker Lake, N.W.T.

The meeting was open to the general public and the press and was well  
attended. Among those present were –

Mrs. W. H. Clark )  
Mr. John Melling ) - Indian - Eskimo Association of Canada.  
Dr. H. A. Proctor of the Department of National Health and Welfare  
Mr. J. B. Mawdsley of the University of Saskatchewan  
Mr. Kupigualuk from Povungnituk, P.Q.  
Mr. David Kuliktana from Coppermine, N.W.T.  
Prof. T. F. McIlwraith - University of Toronto.

From the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

Ottawa Officers

Mr. W. G. Booth	)	
Mr. D. Dickson	)	Education Division
Miss M.F. Gaynor	)	
Mr. W. Rudnicki	)	
Mr. P. Thompson	)	
Mr. R. Williamson	)	
Miss Mary Panegoosho	)	Welfare Division
Mr. Elijah Menarik	)	
Mr. A. Okpik	)	
Mr. P. Murdock	)	
Mr. A. B. Connelly	)	Engineering Division
Mr. D. Snowden	)	
Mr. M. McConnell	)	Industrial Division
Mr. P. Godt	)	
Mr. R. A. Jenness	)	
Mr. A.T. Davidson	)	Resources Division
Mr. W. G. Brown	)	
Mr. H. Mitchell	)	Territorial Division

Mr. V. Valentine, Northern Research Co-ordination Centre.

Mrs. I. Baird - Editorial and Information Division.

Field Officers

Mr. C. L. Merrill	Mr. A. F. Flucke
Mr. L. B. Post	Mr. S.A.H. Dodds
Mr. E. Rheaume	Mr. D. W. Grant
Mr. P. Gorlick	Mr. J. Newcomb
Mr. E. J. Saunders	
Mr. J. J. Bond	
Mr. F. R. Langin	
Mr. J. F. Delaute	
Mr. J. A. Houston	
Mr. R. J. Green	
Mr. R. L. Graves	
Mr. R. L. Kennedy	
Mr. R. A. Hodgkinson	

### 1. Report on the Arctic

The Chairman reported on developments in Arctic Canada in 1959. His report is attached as "Appendix A".

### 2. Minutes of the Last Meeting

The Committee adopted the Minutes of the Tenth Meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee held on May 25, 1959. The Committee agreed to hold over discussion of certain outstanding matters in the Minutes of the Tenth Meeting for consideration later in the Agenda of the Eleventh Meeting.

### 3. Elections to the Committee

The Chairman told how the four Eskimo delegates present at the meeting had been chosen to represent their people. In order to ensure that all areas in the Arctic would eventually receive representation, the Department had decided to choose different areas each year in which it would be practicable for the people themselves to choose their representatives for the Eleventh Meeting. Great Whale River, Baker Lake, Tuktoyaktuk, and Coppermine were selected for 1960. The field staff were requested to explain to the Eskimos the meaning of representation and the various methods by which candidates could be "elected". The field staff were asked not to impose any rules or to influence the choice of candidates except to point out in the two areas chosen to represent wage employment, the desirability of having wage-employed representatives. The suggestion that a hunter or trapper would be desirable was also made in the two areas chosen to represent this means of livelihood. At Great Whale River notices had been posted informing the local Eskimos that a representative was needed and Jacob Oweetalutuk was the only name entered. This matter had been discussed with a number of Eskimos who said they thought that he was the logical candidate and as there was no objection and no other choices offered, Mr. Oweetalutuk became the representative. In Baker Lake the Eskimos had held a nomination and election, and had delegated Amero, E2-374, a hunter and trapper to represent them. At Tuktoyaktuk a secret ballot had been taken after a meeting of all the men in the village, and all persons over sixteen years of age had been eligible to vote. Mr. Jimmy Jacobson had received more than twice as many votes as his nearest competitor. Similarly at Coppermine Mr. Mike Kilikapioyak was elected by secret ballot, with men and women 18 years of age and over having a franchise. Mr. Kilikapioyak was winner by a narrow margin.

The Chairman commented briefly on the proposal to change the name of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs to "Eskimo Advisory Board". The purpose of "Advisory" was to make clear the function of the group. "Board" had been suggested as an alternative to "Committee", largely to simplify the distinction

between the main body and committees and sub-committees of it. It had also been thought that the name would indicate a more important status.

Father Renaud expressed doubts about the change of name and wondered if it was intended to accompany a change in function. The original idea in forming the Committee had been to create a clearing-house for the exchange of ideas. Now without any preliminary discussion by the Committee it was proposed to change to "Eskimo Advisory Board", and this carried the suggestion that the Committee was to act in an advisory capacity to the Minister of Northern Affairs.

The Chairman said it had not been the intention to change the Committee's function in changing its name. He agreed the Committee had been and still was a clearing house for ideas. While the views of the Committee had always been brought to the Minister's attention in the past it had never been intended that the Committee should be considered in any formal sense as an advisory body to the Minister. However, the chairman agreed with Father Renaud that the name "Eskimo Advisory Board" could be misunderstood and in view of this, he was quite sure the Minister would be very glad to agree if other members wished to revert to the old name.

The Committee agreed to continue under the old name of "Committee on Eskimo Affairs".

#### 4. Resources and Economy

##### (a) Major Resources Development

Mr. Davidson reviewed some of the main facts known about the basic geology of Northern Canada and the country's accompanying mineral potential. He said that permits had been issued for the exploration of about 100 million acres on the mainland of Northern Canada and about 150 million acres in the Arctic Islands. The Precambrian Shield offered the greatest potential of hard-rock minerals and that part of the Shield lying in the Arctic was estimated to have three times the mineral-producing potential of Ontario's portion of the Shield. Sedimentary deposits in the northwestern part of the country and in the Arctic Islands had great gas and oil potential, the greatest being in the Islands, which probably had one of the largest reserves of oil in the world, estimated at 25 to 50 billion barrels. There was good possibility of large oil and gas developments in the Arctic within the next 15 years. It was even possible, with modern methods, that oil could be produced in the Arctic more cheaply than in latitudes farther south. This did not apply, however, to hard-rock mining wherein there were not the same methods of reducing costs. Good prospects for hard-rock mining development existed in Keewatin and in parts of Baffin Island, because deposits there were just as accessible to world markets as many deposits farther south. It was possible that

the potential of the minerals in the Canadian Shield would be even greater than that in the oil-bearing regions in terms of dollar value. Both types of mining likely would be exploited with a minimum of manpower and a good deal of automation. Even so, it was possible that 3,000 or 4,000 people, eventually, could be employed in mineral exploitation. At its height, the exploration phase of northern mining operations would employ more men than the exploitation, or actual mining phase.

Father Renaud asked if this meant that Eskimos should start staking claims now in order to take advantage of forthcoming mineral developments.

Mr. Davidson replied that this might be advisable for Eskimos in areas of good potential, provided they had the [wherewithal] to explore. However, exploration was a highly costly and technical business.

#### (b) Renewable Resources

Mr. Snowden said that our knowledge of the North's renewable resources and their potentiality for development was still quite limited. However, studies to date had established a good working basis and three major objectives were being sought. These were provision of an adequate food supply for Eskimo people, living on the land, the development of a commerce based on the exchange or sale of renewable resources, and the development of southern markets for surplus resources. With these objectives in mind, the Department had launched or was planning a series of economic studies of specific northern areas. The first of these was undertaken at George River in Ungava with the participation of the local people. George River had been a depressed area wherein trapping was poor and jobs scarce, and a program of resources development seemed to be the only hope, short of the people moving away from the area entirely.

Mr. Hodgkinson elaborated on Mr. Snowden's remarks and explained that the George River resources program, although it started late in the season of 1959 had nevertheless enjoyed considerable success. The fishing project had produced 20,000 lbs. of fish at a substantial monetary profit to the local people. Normally, the George River Eskimos would have spent the winter living on relief issues, but in the past winter relief had been virtually unnecessary. There would be better prospects for the coming year both at George River and at Port Burwell, and it was estimated that fisheries in each place would yield 40,000 lbs. of char worth in the neighbourhood of \$1.00 per pound. The lumbering project began at George River in 1959 and was also to continue in 1960. These projects had been and should continue to be of considerable economic benefit to the Ungava Region. A year ago the George River people had despaired of any future in their home area and had wanted to move to Frobisher Bay. With the introduction of new economic projects the people now wish to remain at George River.

(c) Tourism

Mr. Snowden called upon Mr. Houston to review the results of a tourist project at Cape Dorset in the summer of 1959.

Mr. Houston said that while the operation at Cape Dorset had been of a low-cost limited nature so far, he was enthusiastic about future possibilities. In 1959, a party of eight tourists shot only five seals and gave all the meat to the Eskimos as well as paying them for tanning the skins. Hence there had been no appreciable depletion of game resources as a result of the tourist project. Furthermore, the tourists had left behind in Dorset several thousand dollars through purchasing good quantities of carvings and handicrafts, and in other ways.

Mr. McConnell described some of the possibilities of tourism in the north. Travel was becoming one of the major industries in North America and it was significant that more than half of the population of the continent was within a few hours' air travel from the Eastern Arctic. Tourists were attracted to the Arctic because it was different, with different scenery and different kinds of hunting and fishing available. Nevertheless there were limitations to tourist development through the cost of transportation and the shortness of the season. A selling job was necessary to convince people who could afford it of the desirability of a really different Arctic holiday. Tourism in the Arctic needed to be promoted on a limited scale initially. For one thing, hunting by tourists must be maintained within the limits of the game animals' ability to reproduce, and for this and other reasons care had to be exercised. If properly handled, hunting by tourists could increase greatly the income derived by Eskimos from sea mammals, without increasing the harvest of these mammals to any dangerous degree.

The Chairman pointed out that in encouraging tourism, the Department was interested primarily, not in tourism's benefits to the tourists, but in its possible benefits to the Eskimos.

(d) Wage Employment

Mr. Jenness reported that from 300 to 400 Eskimos were now in permanent jobs, about 100 of these being employed on the DEW Line, and approximately 65 being permanently employed at Frobisher Bay. Great Whale River, Inuvik and other settlements also accounted for considerable numbers of wage employees. The Department was continuing its liaison with mining companies and other private agencies with a view to encouraging Eskimo employment, and a good deal of success was evident. These efforts were complementary to the resources development program and in no way conflicted with efforts in certain areas to assist Eskimos in gaining adequate income from country resources.

Mr. Sivertz said there had been fear that the impact of DEW Line employment might be damaging to Eskimos experiencing it, but this was much less than had been expected. The DEW Line authorities had shown every readiness to co-operate in the maintenance of good employment conditions, and a point had been reached now where there were few resignations among the full-time Eskimo staff on the DEW Line, and the Eskimos regarded themselves more and more as permanent employees.

(e) Co-operatives

Mr. Godt described the establishment of Eskimo co-operatives, at Cape Dorset, to operate a tourist camp and to produce Eskimo graphic art; at the George River to operate a commercial fishery; and at Port Burwell to operate a fishery and produce handicrafts. The fishery at George River had produced approximately 18,000 lbs. of Arctic char and the fish had been shipped to Montreal and were being sold at \$1.00 per pound. It was planned that eventually there would be a new community at George River. Fishing at Port Burwell had been restricted in 1959 because of difficulties of freezer facilities. Nevertheless, between three and four tons of cod had been salted and it was estimated production would reach ten tons in 1960. The sale of Eskimo graphic art from Cape Dorset had produced a net return of nearly \$20,000 to the co-operative there. Plans for 1960 called for extending co-operatives to other areas, building up of staff for the administration of co-operatives, and giving more technical assistance to Departmental field officers stationed in areas of co-operative development.

Mr. Snowden reported that Eskimos at Coppermine had requested establishment of a co-operative project.

The Chairman called for comments on the reports tabled under Item 4 in the Agenda.

Mr. Kupigualuk said that the Carving Society at Povungnituk had grown stronger during the past five years. The Eskimos belonging to the Society wanted to continue to develop the project on their own as much as possible and they anticipated its further growth. Help had been received from the local Mission, the local teacher, and from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. Jacobson said there were many fish in the Tuktoyaktuk area, but local people lacked the proper equipment and the markets to take advantage of this resource.

Mr. Sivertz said the Department was planning a resources survey on the Lower Mackenzie with a view to taking greater advantage of local resources, including fish.

Mr. Snowden pointed out that what Mr. Jacobson had said described the general situation throughout most parts of the North. For example, thousands of dollars were spent annually importing dog food to the Lower Mackenzie when at the same time it was believed the area could support a fishery amounting to six million pounds annually. Plans for 1960 called for the expansion of domestic and commercial fisheries at the mouth of the Mackenzie, and the establishment of a fish reduction plant in the Delta area to provide a local source of dog food.

Mr. Nicholl described further the type of operation anticipated in the Mackenzie Delta. Total netting would be increased to produce more fish and a freezer mounted on a barge would provide greater mobility and increase efficiency. Plans called for 100% utilization of the fish. Entrails and other materials that would normally be wasted would undergo reduction by cooking to reduce moisture content, and be made into pressed cakes for dog food.

Mr. Snowden in further answer to Mr. Jacobson's question about the marketing of fish, said the Department hoped to arrange sale to the Inuvik Hospital and to other local institutions of fresh frozen fish taken in the Delta. Mr. Snowden pointed out that the Department was new to the field of resources marketing and was obliged to progress slowly. Marketing efforts for the next few years would necessarily be experimental, and he did not want to see the Eskimo people encouraged to be overly hopeful of the results.

Inspector Fitzsimmons said the R.C.M. Police in the Delta area would be prepared to use fish in relatively large quantities for dog food if it were available.

Mr. Sivertz reiterated the point made by Mr. Snowden and said that bringing together and co-ordinating assured production with assured markets was a problem full of complications.

Mr. Oweetalutuk expressed concern about the availability of proper food for school-age children in northern areas. Children were now receiving lunches at school, but there was an unfortunate contrast in the quality of the food served in school and that served in the children's homes. He had heard that in Great Whale River the Eskimos might be allowed to use food left behind in the settlement by a catering company to feed the children. However, nothing had come of this so far and Mr. Oweetalutuk wondered if in the meantime the food was spoiling. He wondered if distribution of this food could be made possible through the Great Whale River school.

Mr. Sivertz said the Department could provide food without regard to using any surplus stocks that might be left over by a catering company, and that the question of the children's diet at Great Whale River would be investigated.

Father Renaud wanted to know if existing Eskimo co-operatives were incorporated bodies and who was responsible for actually directing co-operative programs.

Mr. Snowden said that two co-operatives in the Eastern Arctic were both incorporated under appropriate legislation and those planned for the west would also be incorporated. It was planned that co-operative development officers would be posted to the field and at the same time regular field staff such as Northern Service Officers would assist the co-operative development people. Basically, the pattern had been and would be that specialists set up the programs, but Northern Service Officers were deeply involved and responsible for carrying out much of the local operation once programs were established.

Mr. Amero said that at Baker Lake fish was about the only resource. The Eskimos there had been asked to use fish as dog food, but there were not enough fish to supply the dogs adequately. For one thing there were not enough canoes in the area to take full advantage of the fishing. The Eskimos had been asked not to feed caribou meat to the dogs, but because there were not enough other kinds of dog food, this made it difficult to go out trapping. If fish could be supplemented with caribou meat for the dogs, more trapping could be done. The difficulty was increased at Baker Lake because seal, walrus and whale were absent from the area. In the days when the Eskimos could use caribou meat to feed their dogs the people did not have so much trouble going out on the land to trap.

Mr. Dodds said that the R.C.M. Police and the Northern Service Officer had issued nets so that fish could be made available for dog food. There had been a limited fishing project in the summer of 1959 at Baker Lake for this purpose and it was hoped that future summer projects would make it possible to catch enough fish to provide dog food for the entire winter following.

The Chairman pointed out that it was against the law for anyone to feed caribou meat to dogs. In passing legislation to this effect the Northwest Territories Council had been aware that feeding caribou to dogs was sometimes inevitable. Nevertheless, the caribou decline was so desperate that passage of the law was unavoidable.

Bishop Marsh wondered if it was possible to make Eskimos living on the land subject to the same game laws as people in wage employment.

Mr. Laughrey said that the caribou situation had been relatively good in 1959. The number of caribou taken, especially around Baker Lake, had been reduced and he expressed thanks to the Eskimos in that area for reducing the kill.

Mr. Sutherland said that the Central and Western Arctic appeared to be experiencing the worst year for white fox ever, and the number of pelts taken so far this year was down 17% from the number at this time last year. However, at the

same time there had been some local improvement in certain Eastern Arctic regions.

Father Renaud said he did not think the Eskimo people had been made to fully understand what was the role of government officials in the North. He asked if other Eskimos present at the meeting besides Mr. Amero would comment on the subject of the advice received from Departmental officers in the field.

Mr. Kilikavioyak said he had been asked by the people in Coppermine to say that many Eskimos there, particularly the older people, regarded the old way of life as still best for them. Only a minority of the people in Coppermine wanted to change their old way of life and the rest wanted to be left alone to make a living. Many people thought that if they were to take part in large scale organized hunting they would eventually kill off all the game resources in the area and no game would be left for the future. He said the Coppermine Eskimos had difficulty trying to live off the land because of the regulations prohibiting them from feeding caribou meat to their dogs.

Bishop Marsh asked if the co-operatives planned or in operation were to be run by the Eskimos themselves.

The Chairman said that this was the plan.

Father Renaud asked to what extent the co-operatives were self-supporting, and to what extent operating expenses were covered by invisible subsidies.

Mr. Snowden said there had been hidden costs met by the Department. For example, it was difficult to assess the value of technical assistance provided to the Eskimos. Furthermore, marketing and marketing research was also handled by the Department. However, it was believed possible to make the co-operatives completely self-sustaining financially, and it was hoped this could come about even before the day when Eskimos in the co-operatives were able to manage completely their own business affairs.

Father Renaud asked the income of the George River co-operative in 1959.

Mr. Godt said that the 18,600 lbs. of char caught at the George River produced a net return of \$16,000. At the same time, operating expenses amounted to \$10,000. The surplus was to be allocated to the participating members of the co-operative and used to help retire a loan from the Eskimo Loan Fund, which had made possible establishment of the project. It was hoped that this year half the \$12,000 loan could be paid. The amount of \$12,000 was operating capital and the equipment used at the George River was now owned by the government. However, when the loan of the working capital had been retired, the co-operative would be in a position to buy the equipment from the Department.

Mr. Snowden said that the Cape Dorset co-operative had been established without the help of the Eskimo Loan Fund. The Cape Dorset co-operative had shown a profit of \$15,000 in its first year of operation.

Mr. Houston said that quite apart from profit, the project at Cape Dorset had had an excellent psychological effect on the local people.

Father Renaud returned to his question of how Eskimos were advised by government officers in the field. He wondered if confusion might not be developing among the Eskimos as to who gave the last word of advice -- the Northern Service Officer, the Police Officer, or who?

The Chairman said this would depend on the nature of the advice and on the nature of the problem. He said it was not always easy to make the people understand what government officers were trying to do, because of the basic problem of communication.

Mr. Kupigualuk said he had had considerable experience with the white man, but was still doubtful that he understood how the white man thinks. He thought that people from the south had begun to understand more about the Eskimo but the Eskimo still had much to learn about the ways and thoughts of southern Canadians. It was important for Eskimos and non-Eskimos to know more about each other for only when they worked together could progress go well for both. But for this co-operation to be effective, Eskimos needed more education and more chance to learn the white man's ways. Mr. Kupigualuk also wanted to know from whom he was expected to get direction among the non-Eskimos in Povungnituk.

Mr. Bolger said the Department did not want anyone in Povungnituk or anywhere else to tell the Eskimo people what they could or could not do. The Administrator wanted the non-Eskimos in Povungnituk to help the Eskimos achieve more education as Mr. Kupigualuk had suggested. There was now a school at Povungnituk, but the Administrator was anxious to do more not only in education, but in other fields. Mr. Bolger said it was hoped a Northern Service Officer could be stationed at Povungnituk before the end of 1960, and asked for any suggestions for extending further assistance to the local people.

Dr. Moore said he wanted to see the establishment of advisory committees on health in every northern community in which the Eskimos would participate. This would provide a further area for co-operation between Eskimos and non-Eskimos and would further assist in teaching the people new ways to help themselves.

Father Renaud asked the function of a Northern Service Officer in Povungnituk.

Mr. Bolger said a Northern Service Officer at Povungnituk would carry out functions similar to his counterparts in other northern communities. He would be the senior Departmental representative in the settlement and his major responsibility would be to help the local people in every way possible. For example, he would look after administration of low cost housing and see to the erection of houses by community effort to cut down costs. He would take measures to generally improve the local economy. In this connection, a resources survey of the area was planned to take place within the next year or two to determine what small industries might be started. Mr. Bolger asked Mr. Flucke, Northern Service Officer at Sugluk, to explain his activities in a small community.

Mr. Flucke said that in Sugluk, efforts to improve the economy at the present time relied considerably on production of handicrafts. At the same time, attempts were being made to improve employment relationships with mining companies and other commercial interests. He acted as an advisor to the Eskimos in various ways, attempting to help them psychologically with problems of wage employment, encouraging them to save and to spend wisely, and to become more conscious of proper health practices. He was also concerned with the administration of low-cost housing, including the collection of payments on houses and provision of housing for those without means to pay for it. Furthermore, a good deal of a Northern Service Officer's time, at Sugluk, was spent in the administration of family allowances, relief issues and other matters, generally of a welfare nature. He also assisted in holding night classes for purposes of adult education.

Dr. Moore said that Indian and Northern Health Services hoped to be able to rely on Northern Service Officers to assist them in planning their future operations.

The Chairman said that the main purpose of the Northern Service Officer in any community was to help the Eskimo people in precisely the matters Mr. Kupigualuk had referred to; namely in their attempts to adjust to new and changing conditions.

Mr. Kupigualuk said that while in the old days the trader had purchased carvings produced by the Eskimos, today a better way would be for the Eskimos to sell their own carvings.

The Chairman said that when the Northern Service Officer was posted to Povungnituk he would give all possible assistance to the people in marketing their own carvings.

Mr. Sivertz observed that the Department had offered a loan to the Povungnituk Carvers Society and the Society had turned it down because they wanted to handle their business without financial assistance.

Mr. Bolger said one of the ways now being tried to improve communication was the encouragement of Eskimo Councils. In Councils, the role of the field officer could be made clear to the people and through this medium the people could learn to understand better why the Department sought to advise them the way it did.

The Committee adopted the several reports tabled under Item 4 of the Agenda on the subject of Resources and Economy.

The Committee agreed that various items of business brought forth by the Eskimo delegates should receive the attention of the administration, and that action should be taken upon the problems raised by the Eskimo delegates where possible.

#### 5. Education in the Arctic

Mr. Sivertz opened the discussion on education by tabling the report of the Eleventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education held on March 3, together with amendments made at a subsequent meeting held on March 18, 1960.

Mr. Sivertz reviewed the recommendations on Page 9 of the Sub-Committee's report. Referring to the first recommendation, which suggested a complete study at an early date of native educational programs in the United States and Labrador, Mr. Sivertz pointed out that such a study had already been undertaken. However, he said it was possible the Sub-Committee intended that such a study be made more exhaustive. Mr. Sivertz said he agreed with the second recommendation, that a new survey be made of jobs available in the North in order to discover employment opportunities and arrive at the type of training to prepare Eskimos for such employment. He pointed out, however, that this was now a feature of the regular work of the vocational training section. The third recommendation called for a survey of facilities such as closed army camps that might be used for educational programs arising out of the recommended surveys. Mr. Sivertz said this suggestion had been made in the Branch last year and all such establishments had been considered. It was found that abandoned military camps were invariably pretty costly to set into operation again, especially for limited use. In any case he did not accept the presumption that placing Eskimo trainees in such surroundings was necessarily the best course. Mr. Sivertz said the fourth recommendation of the Sub-Committee which laid down a proposed set of aims of education and training programs, should have been stated more precisely. The recommended aims might have reference to a philosophy of education as a general development of the complete personality, a process shared by the home, the church and the school. It was difficult to see how these recommended aims could be given by the administration to teachers as instructions for the conduct of the classroom. He said the aims of education should stress educational fundamentals. The first

aim of the classroom he said should be to teach thoroughly the “tool subjects”. The aims as expressed in the Sub-Committee’s report should have stressed mastery of the basic skills of learning, and could have done so in more definite language. He said that one absolutely essential aim should be “to teach ethical and moral principles”, and that it would be well to add also “to encourage an appreciation of spiritual values”.

Father Renaud said that he had understood the administration did not have sufficient staff to complete a survey of the type proposed in the Sub-Committee’s first recommendation. In view of this, the Sub-Committee thought the study was not completed and hence wished to table a firm recommendation for completion, having in mind that the present educational program does not benefit the majority of the Eskimo people and steps were necessary to initiate expansion of the program.

The Chairman said he agreed in principle with the recommendation, but said it might not be possible to have available the necessary staff to undertake so comprehensive a survey next year. However, he said he thought the Committee should express recognition of the desirability of a survey of the type described.

Father Renaud said that if it was a matter of staff shortage, perhaps a team including specialists from the universities might be formed to conduct the survey. He said the Department should be seeking “short-cuts” of the type employed in the United States in an educational program for Navajo Indians.

Mr. Sivertz observed that the administration was already employing “short-cuts” in bringing vocational training to the Eskimo people. For example, the administration had been obliged to accept for training Eskimos not at all in possession of normal prerequisites for the courses they were to undertake. In order to remedy such deficiencies they had often been given a number of intensified courses in basic English, science, arithmetic, and other fields, in order to equip them with at least part of what they needed. Such “short-cuts” to the educational process had been really remarkably successful.

The Chairman agreed with Father Renaud that at the present time the administration’s resources for the advancement of vocational training were not yet adequate to meet the situation, but progress was being made.

Father Renaud said the administration should give serious consideration to using certain outside facilities available in southern Canada for educational training purposes. He said the Sub-Committee on Education would be disappointed if the Committee simply agreed in principle to its recommendations.

The Chairman said that the Department could give no commitment at this time that it would adopt the Sub-Committee’s recommendation for a survey during the coming year. Staff limitations would have to be adjusted to over-all requirements and priorities.

Mr. Sivertz said it was not always possible to take advantage of existing facilities in the South for training and cited the Leduc course in heavy equipment operation as being a case in which new facilities had to be set up because it was the best way at the time to train Eskimos for the purpose intended. On the other hand, the administration had taken advantage of already-established vocational training centres when it was possible to do so. As for arranging to take over abandoned army or air force camps to set up vocational training schools for Eskimos, Mr. Sivertz did not think this was as desirable as placing Eskimos in schools already established. Placing them in separate camps did not give them the opportunity of mingling with Southern Canadians and learning more about southern ways. It was not desirable to isolate Eskimos from such contacts, but rather it was better to take full advantage of their stay in the South by allowing them to see as much southern life as possible.

The Chairman agreed with Mr. Sivertz and said he questioned the advisability of the third recommendation in the Sub-Committee's report. He cited the recent course for diesel operators at Barriefield as an example of the success of courses held in established institutions. He said that more important than the need for opening camps for training was the need for more specialist staff to handle vocational training. It was not desirable to confine efforts to opening new schools in abandoned facilities.

Canon Cook said that qualifications for admission to existing training centres were too high for Eskimos to meet.

The Chairman replied that the administration's experience with existing schools had shown that the schools were realizing the problem of qualifications and that many were willing to make special arrangements to admit Eskimos.

Canon Cook said that by giving vocational trainees "concentrated integration" in large centres the administration was running the risk of hindering the Eskimos in their adjustment back to life in the North. He said it was possible the administration was moving too quickly in trying to bring Eskimos suddenly to accept southern ways, and perhaps this danger would be lessened if training were done in abandoned army camps. Canon Cook wanted to know if the recommendation to employ abandoned camps would be explored.

The Chairman replied this would be done, that the administration would look into the problem of training facilities generally, and what the best facilities might be.

Dr. Moore said that as the health of Eskimos increased, their population might double in the next 30 years. The natural resources of the land would not support more than 1/3 of this population in a hunting economy and that at the present time there appeared to be employment prospects for no more than another

third of this increased population. This would leave the final third with no means of livelihood, and these might have to be fitted for life in southern Canada. Indian and Northern Health Services was making a contribution to vocational training among patients in southern hospitals. Dr. Moore said he would like to see the Eskimos trained to take hospital posts in the North as nurses, ward aids, clerks, and so on. Dr. Moore added that he would like to see Eskimos playing an important part as staff members of a medical team participating in the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol.

The Committee passed to consideration of the Sub-Committee's fourth recommendation, a statement of proposed aims and objectives of Eskimo education.

Father Renaud said he wished to protest the abridgment and the aims as originally contained in the Sub-Committee's report. He pointed out that while Mr. Sivertz had previously brought attention to the fact that there was no mention of spiritual aims, these had in fact been included in the original paper as drafted by the Advisory Committee on Curriculum set up by the Sub-Committee on Education. Father Renaud drew attention to a statement pertaining to the Sub-Committee's fourth recommendation, explaining why the changes had been made. This statement said that when the Sub-Committee first met on March 14 to consider the report of the Advisory Committee on Curriculum, time did not permit adequate discussion of the aims as drafted by the Advisory Committee. Father Renaud said that there had been no question of not having the time to adequately consider the aims at this meeting. Father Renaud went on to say that since the statement of aims as tabled omitted reference to the spiritual aims outlined in the original document, the administration was put in a bad light because there seemed to be a suggestion that the administration did not favour belief in God.

The Chairman replied that neither the original statement nor the statement as tabled could be taken as an official expression of the aims of the administration, since the Department's educational aims could only be settled by the Minister. No such statement by the Sub-Committee or by its Advisory Committee had any official status in relation to the department. The Chairman said that the aims as originally adopted by the Sub-Committee were made to read as if they were the aims of the Department in that a covering memorandum tabled with the aims had stated they were those of the administration. The Chairman said the aims should have been discussed by the departmental representatives on the Curriculum Committee with senior officers of the administration at the time they were under consideration, since a statement of "aims" involved important aspects of policy. When senior officers saw the statement and recognized the policy implications, it had been considered that a further meeting of the Sub-Committee should be called

to study the implications which had not been fully considered initially. It had been unfortunate that the representatives of the Churches who normally took part in the Sub-Committee's proceedings were not present at the time of reconsideration. Because of this, the Chairman said the statement as tabled before the Committee could not be considered to carry the views of the Churches. The Chairman said the original document drafted by the Advisory Committee on Curriculum could now be circulated to the members of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, if Committee members so desired.

The Chairman went on to say that the purpose of the original document was not clear and the administration was uncertain precisely what that document intended to convey. Were the aims, as first drafted, intended to apply to education in the broadest sense, including those aspects of education normally left to the home, to the church, and to the community at large? Or were the aims outlined intended to be restricted to aims in the schoolroom? If education in the broadest sense had been intended, then what was now needed was a statement of classroom aims, since it was education in the classroom which was the responsibility of the administration. Furthermore, the Chairman pointed out that, whether the aims as drafted were recommended aims or present aims, northern schools were intended for the education of all, regardless of race or creed. The School Ordinance of the Northwest Territories contained provision for separate schools, for the appropriate division of taxes of individuals and corporations, and for religious education in the last half hour of each day to be given by clergymen to children of their faith. Certain schools in the North had been constructed with separate wings to accommodate Protestant and Catholic children, but beyond these special provisions, the school system as set up was a general system intended to meet educational needs regardless of creed. Any proposed educational aims which would alter or clash with this existing policy needed to be reconsidered. The Chairman repeated that he would be happy to have the original statement of aims tabled. The new statement, as already tabled, included all the aims originally set forth with the exception of spiritual aims. The Chairman agreed there should be reference to spiritual values but the reference should conform to the policy that had been so laboriously and meticulously worked out in collaboration with the two churches that had to do with school work in the N.W.T. At no time had there been any attempt by the administration to suppress any document. Departmental officers simply had wanted to discuss again factors which had been inadequately considered in drafting the original aims.

Father Renaud said he regarded the Sub-Committee on Education as an advisory body to the Committee on Eskimo Affairs. Accordingly there had been no intention that the statement of aims, as originally written, should read as though

they were the aims of the administration. The aims, as first stated, had simply been intended as a recommendation.

Canon Cook said that the title given to the statement in the first instance had described the aims and objectives as those which should belong to an educational program in an abstract sense.

The Chairman said there had been ambiguity, particularly because a memorandum covering the original statement of aims had stated that the aims were those of the Department of Northern Affairs.

Father Renaud wanted to know why the original document could not have been discussed in the main Committee anyway.

The Chairman said the administration thought it had adopted a course which would clarify the situation when the matter came before the Committee. It would have been misleading if recommendations had come forward that appeared to carry the views of the department in relation to departmental policy when in fact they did not.

Father Renaud said the administration's course had served to confuse the situation more than ever.

The Chairman replied that the confusion was not a fault of the administration and said that he deplored the publicity which had accompanied this matter.

Father Renaud said that he had not been notified of the meeting of the Sub-Committee which had been called to reconsider the original aims.

The Chairman said that a telephone message had been left with Father Renaud's office.

Father Renaud said he had been out of town and that when he returned there had been no 'phone message for him.

Mr. Booth said that a notice of the meeting had been telephoned to Father Renaud's office.

The Chairman said there had never been any intention of holding a meeting without Father Renaud being present. He went on to say that had any other agency represented on the Sub-Committee asked for another meeting to be called, the administration would have agreed, and this should be a reciprocal arrangement. The original statement of aims had been reviewed first in the Department and possible amendments were prepared in order to expedite discussion; then the statement had gone before the Sub-Committee for its further consideration, at a meeting which had been properly called.

Father Renaud pointed out that the second draft of the statement of aims, ratified at the last meeting of the Sub-Committee, contained a sentence stating that

the meeting accepted “a revised statement of the educational aims of the Department”.

The Chairman replied that inclusion of such a sentence had been a mistake because these aims could not be said to be the Department’s. They had no official status for the department without the Minister’s approval.

Father Renaud suggested that the Sub-Committee be reconvened to see how the original statement could be reconciled with the present statement.

The Chairman said he would be glad to see this done.

Canon Cook said he was disturbed at the publicity in the newspapers in connection with this matter and asked if the Department was accustomed to giving out such material to the press.

The Chairman replied that the material most emphatically was not given to the press by the Department.

Father Renaud said he had given the story to the press. He said he had done so because he was opposed to the action taken by the administration. He said he had been told on the telephone that the original document did not coincide with the aims of the Department and in order to overcome the difficulties involved a new draft had been made. Father Renaud had been asked if he wanted to see the new draft and said he had declined on the grounds that the aims stated were those of the Sub-Committee and the Sub-Committee had already discussed and settled its aims.

The Chairman said he could not agree with the action taken in going to the press with a matter on which informal discussions were being held as had been done over the years. Civil Servants had been named in relation to matters of policy they could [not] control and this was an impossible situation for Civil Servants to be placed in. He said that the Committee and Sub-Committee could not possibly operate if at any moment some point in the discussion aired was to be flung into the newspapers as a matter of public controversy.

Mr. Sivertz said that Father Renaud had been asked by telephone to discuss the matter with Departmental officers, but this Father Renaud had not seen fit to do. Mr. Sivertz said he would not have wanted to see the disputed meeting of the Sub-Committee, or any other of its meetings, called if doing so was contrary to the wishes of any member.

The Committee agreed to Father Renaud’s suggestion that the Sub-Committee on Education should meet at 9 o’clock the next day, March 29, to consider an appropriate revision to the statement of educational aims, in order that the statement would be one that seemed acceptable to all for classrooms in the north.

After the Sub-Committee had met, Mr. Sivertz, as Chairman, tabled a memorandum to which was attached a statement of aims unanimously recommended by himself and all members of the Sub-Committee on Education. This memorandum and the attached statement appear as Appendix "B" to these minutes. Mr. Sivertz said he trusted that the Eskimo Affairs Committee would permit its Sub-Committee on Education to reopen this subject at any future date.

The Chairman said that he would be glad to accept at any time further suggestions on this or on any other subjects raised at any Committee meeting.

The Committee agreed after discussion to recommend to the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources the proposed aims as outlined by the Sub-Committee at its meeting of March 29.

The Committee departed temporarily from the Agenda in order that the Eskimo representatives present could bring before the Committee matters of concern to them.

Mr. Kupigualuk spoke about Eskimo education and vocational training. He said that he was in favour of vocational training in mechanics and added he thought it would be preferable if Eskimos were given a chance to take vocational courses separately from non-Eskimos. He said this could be done even in Southern Canada. Many Eskimos wanted to further their education but did not have the money to do so. For himself, he wanted to learn about the ways of Eskimos living outside his own area by visiting other Eskimo groups. He said he expected in the near future to be elected community leader at Povungnituk. Speaking of housing at Povungnituk, Mr. Kupigualuk said there had been delay in making arrangements for Eskimos to make payments on houses they wanted to buy. Some Eskimos had made initial payments, but they did not know whether the trader or the local government representative was supposed to collect the money owing. He said that although the houses now supplied to some Eskimos at Povungnituk were small, nevertheless they were all the Eskimos could afford at the present time, but he thought later it would be possible to obtain larger houses.

Mr. Bolger said arrangements had been made for the Community Teacher at Povungnituk to collect payments for houses and to remit payments through the Hudson's Bay Company store to the Receiver General of Canada.

Mr. Jacobson said the people at Tuktoyaktuk, whom he represented, had asked him to bring several matters to the attention of the Committee, among them the need for a bathhouse at Tuktoyaktuk. In particular the children of the settlement needed bathing facilities in order to offset skin ailments. He said also that while the waters around Tuktoyaktuk had many fish, there was no way to get to the fishing grounds and a road and a truck were needed to harvest the fish and help to bring them to market before being spoiled. A road to the Eskimo Lakes was

badly needed, particularly since the people did not have enough dogs to travel there. Trapping was poor in the Tuktoyaktuk area and furthermore the younger people did not want to trap; hence fishing seemed the best alternative means of livelihood. Another facility the Tuktoyaktuk people needed was a place to leave their children under proper care when they left the settlement to go hunting or trapping.

The Chairman said it was difficult to build, operate and maintain a hostel of the type Mr. Jacobson described if it were to be used only occasionally. However, he said that the administration would investigate this proposal.

Speaking of Mr. Jacobson's proposal for a road, Mr. Merrill said a road to the Eskimo Lakes would have to be 30 miles long and that such a project was possible. He did not know what it might cost.

The Chairman said the possibilities of building a road would be investigated as would the possibilities of building a bathhouse. Regarding the latter point the Chairman said water was a problem at Tuktoyaktuk as it had to be hauled five miles by boat to the settlement.

Mr. Kilikavioyak thanked the people who had made his trip to Ottawa possible, observing that it had allowed him many new experiences. Referring to his earlier statement that most of the Coppermine people wished to follow the old Eskimo way, he added further that the older people of his settlement were not interested in learning English. He said they knew that if they tried to change their way of life they would have trouble because they could not speak the English language. While trapping and hunting was all the older people know, it was right that the children should learn the new ways when the old people were gone.

The Chairman said no one wanted to force the Eskimos to change, and the administration understood the reluctance of the older ones to do so. As for the children, he said the administration must think of what the North would be like when they were grown in 15 or 20 years.

Mr. Oweetalutuk said before the white man came to Great Whale River the Eskimos were in difficult circumstances, but now they had more clothes and food. When defence installations were first established there were plenty of work for the people, but now fewer Eskimos were able to find jobs. At the time when foxes were scarce, employment was better in the summer, but summer jobs were of short duration. In the past winter there was less work than before and some of the younger men wanted to leave Great Whale River for jobs elsewhere. However, these young men did not know where to go. It was difficult now to obtain country food because there were not enough boats at Great Whale River. One man had spoken to Mr. Oweetalutuk before he left Great Whale and asked if the administration could provide a boat for the local people. The boat would be used

both for hunting and for hiring out to non-Eskimos, and the latter would enable the people to pay back the cost of the boat. Sometimes game was available but not constantly, and what was taken did not last long. Eskimos in wage employment wanted to obtain country food and they wondered if fish could be sold through the local store. Mr. Oweetalutuk stressed that the things he had said were the thoughts of the Great Whale River people and not just his own.

The Chairman said the Department would investigate to see if a boat could be purchased through the Eskimo Loan Fund.

Mr. Bolger said a community-owned boat could present problems. Sometimes it was difficult to decide who should be responsible for looking after it and perhaps a better course would be for one man or possibly five or six men to apply for a loan. On employment, Mr. Bolger said there were 12 or 14 Eskimos employed at the defence establishment while an additional 50 or 60 men were without jobs. An economic survey was planned for the Great Whale River region for 1960 to see what could be done to develop local resources. For example, the Richmond Gulf area was known to have considerable sea resources. It was hoped an attempt could be made to establish some type of industry at Great Whale River in 1961, after completion of the survey. As for the men who wanted to go elsewhere for jobs, Mr. Bolger said the administration would try to help them and it might be possible to arrange work for them on the DEW Line if they wished to go there. He added that some Great Whale men had already been selected for vocational training and others probably would be given similar opportunities in the future.

Mr. Amero said the people of Baker Lake wanted to see their children taught Eskimo ways in addition to seeing them learn English and something of the white man's way of life. He said the Baker Lake people were not happy just sitting around, but their travelling and hunting were restricted because of the shortages of dog food, and fish would not keep for winter use. He said also it was not good that children had to stay behind in the settlement in the care of families not their own when their own parents had to go out on the land. Also it was not good that people newly returning from hospital should be obliged to go immediately into snow houses. The Baker Lake people needed a bathhouse, they needed more boats, and they wished to see an interpreter working at the local Nursing Station in order that they could explain their illnesses when they visited there for treatment.

The Chairman said a hostel was going to be built at Baker Lake which could accommodate 12 or 15 children when their parents were out hunting. The local Administrator had reported the need for a bathhouse and the Department would try to build one during 1960.

Dr. Moore said he strongly recommended more rehabilitation centres to provide ex-patients with an opportunity to return gradually and by degrees to their old way of life on the land. He added that the health authorities tried to arrange the return of patients to the north in the spring time, when the change to primitive conditions was not so strenuous.

The Chairman pointed out that rehabilitation centres at Frobisher Bay and Inuvik were helping to relieve this problem as was the transient centre at Churchill. The Keewatin Re-Establishment Project would also be largely converted to a rehabilitation centre in the near future if present plans developed.

The Committee agreed on the desirability of extending rehabilitation and transient centre facilities in the North.

The Committee agreed that the administration should take action where possible on the problems raised by the Eskimo representatives at the meeting.

## 6. Language and Culture

### (a) Orthography

Mr. Williamson opened the discussion of the proposed new orthography by paying tribute to the Churches for their role in providing the Eskimo people with a written language. The missionaries had been in the vanguard of language teaching, but now the time had come for at least experimentation in a standard Roman orthography. For this purpose the administration had taken steps to engage the services of expert linguists. The Department felt that on the development of a standard orthography might depend the survival of many of the most worthwhile elements of Eskimo culture and furthermore would tend to encourage Eskimo literary endeavours. The Eskimo magazine "Inuktitut" was able to contribute to the development and acceptance of a new orthography and in accompanying literary developments. The Eskimo speaking staff of the Northern Administration Branch were convinced of the importance of implementing as soon as possible a standard Roman orthography.

The Chairman said that while some people believe a new orthography would constitute yet another unsettling force among the Eskimos, on the other hand there were those who believe that a standard way of writing would help the Eskimos toward cultural identity.

Bishop Marsh pointed out that Eskimos present at the meeting had reiterated that they did not want Eskimo ways disturbed and presumably this applied to their language. He wanted to know how the new orthography would be taught and by whom.

Mr. Williamson said that the specialists he had mentioned should be able to determine the best way of teaching the new means of writing. The syllabic system

of writing now tended to be a unifying force among the Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic but syllabics did not accurately represent the Eskimo language. On the contrary, the present system was leading to slow erosion of the finer points of the language, and furthermore it encapsulated the people within their own culture, restricting their chances of absorbing material from other cultures.

Bishop Marsh wondered if linguistic experts would do the actual teaching. He also asked if it was not possible to teach material from southern culture through the medium of syllabics.

Mr. Williamson said this was a matter which was still under study.

The Chairman asked if the new orthography might first be introduced into the Western Arctic, possibly through the medium of “Inuktitut”, and wondered whether it would be comprehensible to people in that part of the country.

Mr. Williamson said that it would be.

Mr. Sivertz added that any Eskimo who could read English could understand the new orthography.

Prof. McIlraith agreed with Mr. Williamson in questioning that syllabics could really serve the future needs of the Eskimo people and whether the present system was capable of recording the full complexity of the language. He said the international phonetic script was the only possible way to really preserve the sounds in any language, but that its introduction was very complicated. Hence, a compromised solution was needed. [It?] appeared to lie in the use of the proposed new orthography. The Eskimo language was not simply a means of expression in day to day life, but harboured a rich historical and philosophical tradition, now largely oral, which needed to be properly recorded. In its recording, a standard and accurate orthography would serve to permit a continuing pride among Eskimos of their own culture.

The Chairman suggested that for a start it might be possible to publish “Inuktitut” both in syllabics and in the new orthographic system. This approach would help to bridge the gap while the new system was being learned and would also help to avoid confusing or dismaying the older people who could continue reading the syllabic version.

Bishop Marsh pointed out that the present trend of education was such that Eskimo children would eventually learn to use English only. In view of this he wondered what purpose a new orthography would serve to preserve Eskimo culture. He said he thought the Eskimo language would, in these circumstances, automatically die out as education in English progressed. Bishop Marsh asked again how the new orthography was to be taught.

The Chairman observed that teaching the language in the schools, had not been considered in detail.

Mr. Sivertz pointed out that members of the administration's Eskimo staff had learned to read Greenlandic by their own efforts and that the new orthography was not a great deal different from Greenlandic.

Mr. Menarik said most Eskimos already recognized the sounds in the Roman Alphabet. Hence, it should be no problem for Eskimos to learn the new system.

Miss Panegoosho thought that the Eskimo language should be systematically taught in the schools.

Father Renaud expressed the same view. He suggested that the teaching of the language was important if it was to be preserved and was to have a genuine literary and cultural value.

Canon Cook pointed out that the problem was not one of teaching Eskimos the language, but of teaching them a new way of writing their existing language and he did not think this should pose too large a problem.

The Chairman agreed the teaching problem did not seem insurmountable. He thought the Sub-Committee on Education might be asked to study ways of handling the teaching of the Eskimo language as a course in the schools with a view to its effective preservation.

Mr. Dickson mentioned that some teaching in Eskimo was already being done on a limited scale, for example at Chesterfield Inlet.

The Committee agreed that before its next meeting the administration should study how a new orthography could best be introduced with the minimum of disturbance to the people, and that special attention should be given to ways of teaching the Eskimo language possibly by employing special teachers on a part-time basis in various settlements.

#### (b) Arts, Handicrafts, and Preservation of Culture

Mr. Gould reported on activities in the past year in the field of arts and crafts. He referred to the large display at Stratford in 1959 which had been seen by an estimated 30,000 people. Advantage had been taken of this event to assess which forms of art were most attractive to potential southern buyers. Investigation had also been made of outlets to see Eskimo handicrafts.

Mr. Gould described the success of the Eskimo stone prints produced at Cape Dorset. In introducing these prints, the administration had concerned itself not only with marketing considerations, but with maintaining Eskimo cultural values. Art galleries in Canada and the United States had bought prints for their collections. Print sales this season would give a financial return to the Eskimos at

Cape Dorset of \$20,000. Future plans included the promotion of greeting cards made by Eskimos for which a good market was expected, the cutting by Eskimos of some precious stones, and the preparation of art books depicting Eskimo culture. It was hoped these projects would make a contribution to the preservation of Eskimo culture.

Mr. Williamson mentioned it was hoped the magazine "Inuktitut" would prove to be another vehicle for preservation of the culture.

The Committee noted the report on arts and crafts submitted by Mr. Gould.

## 7. Housing in the Arctic

Mr. Connelly opened the discussion by reviewing the types of Eskimo housing being used in the north. These could roughly be divided with those being constructed for rental to Eskimos, those for purchase by Eskimos, and those to be used for welfare housing. The principal types of houses in use were the Plan 512 with a floor area of 512 sq. ft., the Plan 130 employed on the DEW Line and having a floor area of 480 sq. ft., another type with an area of 448 sq. ft., various types of hostels for Eskimo school children, and finally the rigid frame type of low-cost housing. The latter was small (256 sq. ft.), hard to keep clean and no sanitary facilities. It was possible to build a better type of "low-cost" house, but the price would have to be higher to make this possible. He said the Administration's Engineering staff was prepared to build to any price specifications that the low-cost housing market would bear.

Dr. Moore, referring to the rigid frame housing, said he preferred to see the housing program go more slowly if this would enable the administration to provide larger and better types of houses with bathroom facilities, in the interests of health. The objective of better housing would be defeated if lack of adequate sanitation simply substituted new diseases for the ones that would be tackled by the housing program itself.

The Chairman said that an important factor restricting the size of low-cost housing was heating costs. Eskimos able to buy and heat the present rigid frame houses might find it very difficult financially to heat larger dwellings.

Mr. Connelly said he would like to see the development of row housing to cut down heating costs, but provision of row housing seemed to conflict with the idea that Eskimos should be enabled to buy their own houses.

Dr. Willis did not think it was necessary to adhere to the idea so prevalent in North America that it was preferable for a person to own his own home separate and detached from other homes. He thought that for Eskimos with limited money for heating it would be preferable to have a modified type of apartment block. For

example, an eight-room row might be designed, perhaps to be occupied initially by as many as eight families, but eventually, as more of these rows were available and as individual families expanded and increased their incomes, they could occupy increasing amounts of space within the row. In this way an eight-room row dwelling initially occupied by eight families might eventually be occupied by two families with four rooms each. Dr. Willis thought this system would provide good flexibility to meet the needs of expanding families as circumstances warranted. Dr. Willis urged the introduction of proper sanitary facilities into all Eskimo housing and said provision of such facilities should not be based on racial grounds in a manner that permitted toiletless shacks on the edges of settlements. There should be no distinction between houses of Eskimos and non-Eskimos where sanitation was concerned.

Mr. Bolger asked to hear the views of Eskimo delegates on the idea of living in row houses. He also asked for their opinion on the rigid frame houses and what they thought about the problems of heating larger houses.

Mr. Amero said he thought the number of families living separately but under one roof should be limited to two. Otherwise difficulties might arise over sewage and use of hunting equipment belonging to the various families.

Mr. Grant agreed that the disposition of personal hunting equipment might present a problem in row housing. He also pointed to the potential fire hazard and to the possibility of social problems that might result from the introduction of row housing. Many settlements contained Eskimos from more than one district and the different groups did not always get along particularly well. This problem might be compounded if row houses were introduced. Describing the basic forms of housing now at Rankin Inlet, Mr. Grant said that while these were without sanitary facilities, nevertheless they did provide warm accommodation. There were sanitation problems through lack of facilities but these probably could be largely overcome. The separated houses at Rankin Inlet did have some worthwhile advantages. For instance, there was pride of ownership which had prompted many of the people to make additions and improvements to their homes. Similarly at Whale Cove the present forms of housing were working out reasonably well, and the people there were taking pride in their houses and kept them clean. Mr. Grant thought it better to give the Eskimos a chance to help themselves improve their own housing, rather than to become involved in expensive projects.

Mr. Kupigualuk said he did not think Eskimos liked to live in apartments unless they knew each other very well.

Mr. Flucke said that not only did he think the Eskimos at Sugluk would not care to live in blocks of flats, but he did not think most Eskimos living on the land could be expected to pay rent regularly for such flats.

Dr. Willis pointed out that while Eskimos might wish to live in separate houses, it might not be possible for them to have separate houses large enough to suit them, at a cost within their means.

Mr. Houston said some people at Cape Dorset wanted houses smaller than rigid frame dwellings because of the heating problems.

Mr. Amero thought the size of the rigid frame house was fairly adequate, and that if they were larger the result would simply be that more people would be living in them. He suggested that rigid frame designs would be more satisfactory if the walls were made perpendicular to provide more space.

Mr. Connelly explained the design called for sloping walls to give added strength with less material.

Mr. Williamson said one Eskimo had criticized the rigid frame house because the design reduced interior air circulation.

The Chairman said he hoped the administration's Engineering staff would be able to reassess the design of the rigid frame house in consultation with the Division of Building Research of the National Research Council, with a view to instituting improvements.

Mr. Flucke said that if the costs of the rigid frame or a smaller design were to rise much above \$500 or \$600 very few Eskimos living on the land would be able to buy it. Many of the Eskimos at Sugluk were anxious even now to buy not rigid frame houses, but materials to build their own shacks.

Mr. Oweetalutuk said Eskimos at Great Whale River were buying rigid frame houses because they were better than tents even though they did not like the sloping walls. However, the people at Great Whale also preferred to buy lumber and build their own houses if possible. He added that they would also prefer separate houses to the idea of row houses.

Dr. Willis observed that although the administration had said the use of stone in houses was out of the question, nevertheless the missions had been using stone for years.

The Chairman said that building in stone required special skills and a great deal of time. Last year 135 rigid frame houses had gone to northern settlements and most had now been erected. That many stone houses could never have been built in a year. Furthermore, the difficulties in insulating stone buildings were a major drawback.

Mr. Sivertz observed that stone transmitted heat too readily and hence drew heat out of the house at a rapid rate. In Greenland stone houses had been found to be unsatisfactory from a health standpoint and the Greenland administration had tried to do away with them. Not even aerated or expanded concrete had as

satisfactory insulating qualities as wood. Furthermore, the process of expanding concrete to improve its insulating qualities was complicated and could not be undertaken on a small scale in the North with satisfactory results. The process had been tried in Greenland and abandoned after 5 years of disappointment and cost. The administration had already considered the possibilities of aerated concrete in the light of Greenland's experience. However, they might consider reinvestigating the possibilities because technology is moving constantly in this field.

Referring to the importance of sanitary facilities in low-cost houses, Dr. Willis said it was important to avoid exchanging pulmonary diseases such as those caused by living in igloos, for bowel diseases that might be caused by living in houses with no toilets. It would not make sense to simply make a shift in the cause of mortality related to improper housing.

Mr. Sutherland and Bishop Marsh agreed with Dr. Willis regarding the need for sanitary facilities in low-cost houses.

The Committee agreed that the Engineering staff of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources should, in consultation with Indian and Northern Health Services, give further study to the problem of low-cost housing with a view to incorporating adequate facilities to safeguard health.

The Committee agreed that the comments received from those present and particularly from the Eskimo delegates, were most useful for possible future planning.

## 8. Health

Dr. Moore opened the discussion on health by referring back to what had been said earlier on the health aspects of the housing problem. He said that if adequate sanitary facilities were not supplied, the government would probably pay more in the long run to cover costs of illness, than might otherwise be paid for houses with proper facilities. Not just dollars, but human lives were at stake, he said, adding that the most important single problem was the disposal of excreta. Health education among certain Indian groups had been furthered by a number of "workshops" to train Indians to act as sanitary officers in their communities. Similarly, measures could be taken to improve health education among Eskimos.

Dr. Moore said his Department planned to erect cabins in certain small settlements where the population would not warrant the establishment of Nursing Stations. These cabins would serve as places of emergency treatment in cases of illness. The cabins would contain beds, and a supply of certain basic drugs and other medication, and would be looked after by Eskimo caretakers. Although there would be no resident nurse, a sick person could at least be kept warm, well-fed and in bed until he could be evacuated, or otherwise treated. Nurses from nearby

nursing stations could make periodic trips to the cabins. The plan would be experimental in its initial stages. More nursing stations were to be established in the near future, including one which was planned for the Boothia Peninsula. The Nursing Station at Cambridge Bay could be enlarged and converted into a full-scale hospital with a resident doctor, but this would only be feasible if there were better transportation facilities to reach the sick in the surrounding area. Dr. Moore suggested that Indian and Northern Health Services, the R.C.M. Police, and the Department of Northern Affairs should co-operate to have an aircraft based at Cambridge Bay.

Two medical surveys were planned for the immediate futures one to be launched from Coppermine to cover the area along the Central Arctic coast, and one out of Churchill to cover a large portion of the Keewatin Region. A third medical survey would cover the Foxe Basin area. Dr. Moore added that the annual medical survey carried by the "C.D. HOWE" was now able to give more thorough coverage because better shipping facilities had reduced the commitments of the "HOWE" so that more settlements could be visited. Indian and Northern Health Services was in the process of compiling health records of virtually every Eskimo family and it was hoped that eventually these records would provide 100% coverage of the health histories of the Canadian Eskimo people.

Dr. Moore said that in 1957, 6,459 X-Rays had been taken of Eskimos and that in 1959 this number had been increased to 6,700. In 1957 X-Rays had revealed 197 cases of tuberculosis and an additional 80 cases had been discovered by other means. In 1959, 100 cases of tuberculosis had been discovered with X-Ray equipment, while 25 cases were found by other means. In 1957 there had been 17 deaths from tuberculosis, whereas the number had been reduced to three in 1959. In 1957 there were 523 TB patients under treatment. The figure was down to 437 in 1958 and to 332 in 1959. BCG vaccinations totalled 211 in 1957, 409 in 1958 and 195 in 1959. Eskimo hospital cases of all kinds treated at all points in Canada totalled 1,819 in 1957, 1,807 in 1958, and 1,778 in 1959.

Dr. Moore said that of 569 Eskimo births in 1959, 27% occurred in hospitals. Speaking of the infant mortality rate, Dr. Moore said that of the total of 421 Eskimo children born in 1953, 105 had died before or during 1958. Eighty-six of these deaths occurred within one year of birth. The main cause of these infant deaths was respiratory infection which Dr. Moore attributed almost entirely to poor housing.

Dr. Moore described a new step his department was taking to further health education among the Eskimos, explaining that a pamphlet was being prepared in syllabics which was designed to be a buyer's guide to proper and nutritious food. The pamphlet would include "Canada's Food Rules", showing the types of foods required daily for proper health. Educational steps of this type had become

particularly important for Eskimos who were departing from a hunting economy and who were beginning to purchase from stores foods with which they were not familiar. Another need in the field of health education was discouraging Eskimos from the practice of eating raw fish, because of the danger of fish tape-worm. Raw fish sometimes had been given to Eskimo children in hospitals as a "treat", but this was a practice which had to stop. Dr. Moore went on to say his department was interested in providing Eskimos with elementary medical training if possible, similar to the type now being offered to the members of the R.C.M. Police before posting to the North.

Dr. Moore said the new hospital at Inuvik was to be finished in 1960. Plans called for rebuilding the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton at a cost of about eight and one half million dollars. Cape Dorset was scheduled to have a new nursing station in 1960 and nursing stations for Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay also were proposed. Dr. Moore was in favour of rehabilitation centres being established in key northern areas and said that certain rehabilitation activities were also being undertaken at Brandon Sanatorium and Charles Camsell Hospital. Indian and Northern Health Services had proposed to establish an isolation hospital in the North where returning ex-patients could stay for an interim period before going back to their families. This measure would be designed to cut down transmitting of diseases from southern hospitals to Eskimo families, as often home-bound patients were carriers of various types of diseases.

Dr. Willis said that two of the most important aspects of health education were instruction in hygiene and in proper use of money spent on food. Efforts should be made immediately in this respect if future trouble was to be avoided. Indian and Northern Health Services could not do the difficult job of teaching alone, he said, and representatives of various government agencies in the north could help. Dr. Willis called for the formation of health committees in northern settlements which would consist not only of government people, but of private agencies and the Eskimos themselves.

Dr. Moore observed that payment of family allowance by cheque tended to frustrate attempts to provide the right kind of food to Eskimo children. Previously, a scale of family allowance food issues could be adhered to, with the assurance that the children would receive pabulum and milk, but there was no such assurance when Eskimo families were able to spend their family allowance payments as they saw fit.

Mr. Bolger said that Northern Affairs' field officers were prepared to do what they could to assist in health education.

Father Renaud asked what measures were being taken to preserve country food from spoiling.

The Chairman said the administration recognized the importance of country food in regions where there was a mixed economy, in order that the wage-employed people might be enabled to buy such food from hunters, and partly for this reason freezers were being installed at Tuktoyaktuk, Rankin Inlet, Whale Cove, and certain other settlements.

Dr. Moore agreed with the importance of these measures, pointing out that at times in the past, entire groups of Eskimos had died as a result of bad meat.

Referring to health needs at Baker Lake, Mr. Amero said the Nursing Station there was in need of an Eskimo interpreter in order that the local people could make their needs understood.

Dr. Moore said that this would be looked into.

Mr. Jacobson said that garbage disposal was a problem at Tuktoyaktuk because there was no vehicle available to remove garbage and waste from around Eskimo homes. The vehicle was needed for this purpose and at the same time could be used to carry school children and to haul wood. Mr. Jacobson said some people at Tuktoyaktuk wanted to obtain a loan to purchase a tractor for these purposes. Mr. Jacobson also said that a community hall was needed at Tuktoyaktuk. The people of the community were using gas lamps in their homes and because this was dangerous they wondered if they could be provided with electric power.

The Chairman said that the administration was sending a vehicle to Tuktoyaktuk in 1960, of a type which could be used for garbage removal. Referring to the need for a community hall, he said the local field officer would be instructed to investigate how a hall might be built by local community effort. The question of providing community halls was something which called for the co-operation of the local people in the settlements because the administration was unable to obtain money for this purpose. Speaking of the request for electricity, the Chairman said compliance might be difficult particularly because of the cost involved.

Mr. Connelly said a new power plant was slated for Tuktoyaktuk in 1960 which would be capable of supplying sufficient power to serve local Eskimos. The question of costs and prices would, of course, arise.

Mr. Stairs said the administration was seeking permission to sell power in northern settlements at the rate of ten cents per kilowatt hour.

Mr. Jacobson said the administration already had a vehicle at Tuktoyaktuk but it had not been available for any but Departmental purposes. If the local people could buy a tractor under the loan fund, it would provide not only community service but would also give employment opportunities. He went on to say that if Departmental officers could see the unsightly conditions at Tuktoyaktuk, they

would realize it was not the fault of the Eskimos and they would wonder why the settlement had not been cleared up sooner.

Mr. Saunders said, when he had been posted to Tuktoyaktuk a dog team and sled had been used from time to time for removing garbage and litter.

The Chairman said the new Northern Service Officer slated for Tuktoyaktuk would take measures to improve the situation. However, he doubted if it would be wise for the local people to obtain a loan for a tractor. Such a loan would have to be repaid and this would be difficult as there seemed little or no opportunity for any monetary return from use of a tractor. He suggested that the local people should reconsider very carefully their idea for applying for such a loan.

Dr. Willis repeated the need to begin the formation of local health committees which should be instituted as far as possible by lay people and not by the medical authorities.

Mr. Neville was of the opinion it would take a long time for Eskimos to learn to understand the importance of sanitation and diet. Eskimos did not have the history of social conditioning which made people in southern Canada appreciate these needs, and there was a certain natural [resistance] to change because for many Eskimos, ideas of health and sanitation were totally new.

Mr. Jacobson said that the people of Tuktoyaktuk were badly in need of dental treatment.

Dr. Moore said a dentist was being posted to Inuvik and from there would be able to serve the people of Tuktoyaktuk.

The Committee noted the report of Dr. Moore and the comments of the Eskimo delegates on health conditions in their settlements.

The Committee agreed that the agencies of the administration concerned should take whatever steps possible to improve the general health standards of the Eskimo people.

## 9. Welfare

Mr. Rudnicki and members of his Welfare staff reported on various aspects of welfare activities. Mr. Rudnicki said there were now five Welfare Officers in the North, three of whom were in the Mackenzie District. Additional welfare staff would be posted to Frobisher Bay and Rankin Inlet in the near future.

Mr. Hefler reported on child welfare activities, including the children's foster home program and the attendant operation of children's receiving homes. One such home was now in operation in Churchill and similar establishments were planned for Fort Smith and Inuvik. Child welfare service also included placement in proper schools for blind and deaf children. Expansion was planned of a program for the assistance of mentally retarded children.

Mr. Williamson reported on the establishment of emergency camp units in the Baker Lake and Cape Dorset areas. Although these units had not yet become operational owing to certain technical difficulties, the necessary supplies were on the ground and both would probably be in operation for the winter of 1960. Each unit consisted of an emergency shelter, food and medical supplies, and a radio for communication with nearby settlements. These pilot projects, designed to cope with emergencies in isolated areas, were being undertaken with the aid of Indian and Northern Health Services, and the administrative work required to put them into effect was being coordinated by the Administrator of the Arctic.

Mr. Newcomb reported on a logging operation which was currently being undertaken in the Aklavik area as a relief project. Mr. Newcomb had been conducting this operation prior to his recent departure from Aklavik on a short visit to Ottawa, and said that up until the time he left Aklavik, local people had cut approximately 41,000 ft. of logs and 150 cords of firewood. Sixty-one persons had been employed by the project which had cost \$7,000 to date. The final objectives were 50,000 ft. of logs and 200 cords of firewood. So far the project had lasted for two months and in addition to the relief assistance provided, the project had served to stimulate the self-esteem of those participating, as otherwise they would have been forced to rely on relief issues.

Mr. Green reported on the operation of the Eskimo Rehabilitation Centre at Frobisher Bay. He said the rehabilitation program there had four main objectives. These were:

- Provision of a certain amount of formal education such as basic English and arithmetic;
- provision of "pre-vocational" training as appropriate;
- the operation of such projects as a bakery, barber shop, laundry, and the production of clothing, arts and crafts;
- and the provision of certain basic instruction in health and hygiene designed to orient the rehabilitants to a new way of life.

Mr. Green said the program of sheltered work shops had originally been conceived as leading to the establishment of private businesses, owned and operated by Eskimos. While it was hoped this could still be done in certain cases, it was becoming evident that in others, particularly where specialized knowledge of business techniques was required, supervision by the Administration would be needed for a long time to come. Mr. Green said that the entire rehabilitation program was aimed at the gradual progress of the people concerned to the point where they could, wherever possible, enter full competitive employment.

The Committee noted the various reports pertaining to the administration's activities in the field of welfare.

## 10. The Arctic and the Public

The Chairman mentioned the recent formation of the Indian-Eskimo Association, an outgrowth of the National Commission on the Indian Canadian; the creation of such a group was an indication of the public's interest in northern problems. He introduced Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Melling, representatives of the organization, who were in attendance at the meeting. The Chairman also mentioned the very active interest of the IODE and the fact that the IODE made possible the establishment of a community centre at Frobisher Bay through a nationwide fund-raising campaign.

The Committee agreed that the active interest of groups of private citizens in Arctic problems was particularly encouraging at this time.

## 11. Other Business

(a) Mr. Amero said he was concerned at the prospect that liquor might become available to the Eskimos of Baker Lake and said he wanted to see liquor kept out of the settlement.

The Chairman replied that the Committee and the administration shared Mr. Amero's concern, but at the present time there was no way of ensuring that liquor would not become available in settlements.

(b) Father Renaud commented that much of the 1960 Meeting of the Committee had been occupied with reports presented by various members of the administration. He asked if future reporting might be confined to written or to oral reports given at meetings held prior to the main Committee Meeting. He said that such procedures would provide the Committee with more time to perform as a committee should.

The Committee agreed that changes in the format of future meetings should be considered with a view to providing more time for discussion. These would be considered in advance of the next meeting.

(c) Mr. Sivertz said Bishop Lacroix, who had hoped to be present at the 1960 Meeting, had asked that the entire matter of Frobisher Bay's development be reviewed. Mr. Sivertz suggested that the administration might send to Father Renaud a report on Frobisher Bay, and he could in turn forward this report to Bishop Lacroix.

The Committee agreed that Bishop Lacroix should be furnished with a report on Frobisher Bay through Father Renaud.

(d) Mr. Menarik suggested that the Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs be translated into Eskimo for the benefit of the Eskimo delegates and any other Eskimo people who might have occasion to read them.

The Committee agreed that if translating facilities permitted, the Minutes or at least certain selected portions of the Minutes should be translated into the Eskimo language.

APPENDIX "A": Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources Editorial and Information Division, Monday, March 28, 1960.

REPORT ON THE ARCTIC

by

GORDON ROBERTSON

Chairman, Eskimo Advisory Board,  
Commissioner of the Northwest Territories

at the

ESKIMO ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Ottawa, Ontario

9:30 A.M., E.S.T., Monday, March 28, 1960

Members of the Eskimo Advisory Board

Last year at the tenth meeting of the Eskimo Advisory Board, then known as the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, a significant and historic step was made when we were privileged to have a number of Eskimos join us in the deliberations. Many of you will recall the measured words of the representatives of our northern citizens. The theme that recurred constantly was that the Eskimo life was changing, and the Eskimo wanted to be able to participate in the new way of life, which was not a way of life just for the white people but for all people, that to be able to do so, they had to have better education. Each of the representatives dealt with this theme in one way or another. It was emphasized that life on the land had become too precarious in the area west of Hudson Bay, that the people could not live the old Eskimo way of life any longer, they could not afford to wait for a slow change to a new way of life, the change had to be rapid and it had to be now.

Many more matters were raised and I do not think that anyone listening could help but be moved and impressed by the extent to which the Eskimo representatives are concerned with what was going on among their people, and the extent to which they want the Eskimos to be equipped by education and training to play an equal part.

Before we get to the business at hand and introduce the members of the Board, I thought I might briefly review some of the northern activity that has taken place since we last met, with particular reference to what this could mean to the Eskimos.

During 1959 the most important development affecting the Territories was clearly the northward expansion and increasing pace of the search for oil and gas. Last summer activities involved over 50 crews, including more than 400 men and 60 aircraft. Although the search is still in its early stages, it has already spread over a larger area than oil exploration in all the western provinces of Canada. True, some of this expansion is in areas not occupied by Eskimos, but strangely enough, some parts of the region had Eskimo habitation many centuries ago. Some of it may be occupied again by Eskimos now following very different pursuits.

In the Arctic, sea transportation is particularly important, and the launching late last year of the new 15,000 h. p. icebreaker C.G.S. John A. MacDonald, therefore, has special significance. This vessel will, I understand, go into service this year for the Eastern Arctic. Another new icebreaker, the C.G.S. Camsell, based on the west coast will be sent this summer to the Western Arctic - the first Canadian icebreaker to operate regularly in these waters. The name of the vessel is a fitting tribute to a distinguished son of the Northwest Territories and a former Commissioner.

A recent event has demonstrated the improvement in communications between the Territories and southern Canada. A short while ago commercial telephone communication from the eastern side of the Territories was officially inaugurated by the Ministers of Transport and Northern Affairs, with the beginning of service to Frobisher Bay. There is no need to comment on the importance to business and industry, government, and the residents of the north, of these new links between north and south. These communications, together with improved transportation and the growing northern service of the C.B.C., are making the north steadily more a part of our Canadian community.

Another of the areas where significant progress was made in 1959 was in the development of local industries. Because they provide alternative employment and sources of income such undertakings have very considerable importance for the people of the north.

As you know, just a year ago the Co-operatives Ordinance was passed by the Council of the Northwest Territories. Following this, an Eskimo co-operative was established at Cape Dorset to operate a tourist camp for sport fishing. I am pleased to report that this new undertaking had a very successful season and the outlook for the coming summer is equally good. Another fishing and handicraft co-operative was started at Port Burwell. Co-operatives at Frobisher Bay and in

Ungava had established that there is a good market for Arctic Char in southern Canada at high prices, and that there is reason to expect that these co-operatives will prosper. Then there was the logging project started at George River, which resulted in the construction of a community hall and the building of a boat for local use.

Another development of unusual interest was the Eskimo graphic art produced at Cape Dorset, which has not only resulted in a substantial monetary return to the Eskimos, but has been given great acclaim by the art connoisseurs and is receiving wide recognition in that field.

Apart from these specific developments, the general picture of progress in the Arctic gives many grounds for encouragement within the past year. There have been set-backs, as, for example, the outbreaks of measles and influenza in the Spence Bay - Pelly Bay areas, as well as in other parts of the Arctic. We have been deeply sorry to learn of the 11 deaths as a consequence of these illnesses. I am sure that the people of the areas affected would wish me to associate them in an expression of gratitude towards the medical staff and to all others who worked so tirelessly to meet the crisis.

Elsewhere the health picture has given cause for satisfaction. The campaign against tuberculosis has continued to make satisfactory progress. Although three to four per cent of Eastern Arctic Eskimos still show evidence of tuberculosis, about 100 per cent X-ray coverage is now being obtained; with all cases of the disease now being treated it is expected that the percentage will decrease. This year is considered to be the turning point in the Eastern Arctic. The incidence in the Western Arctic is now one per cent, due mostly to the fact that the surveys have been carried out over a longer period of time and complete coverage was obtained earlier than in the Eastern Arctic.

Infant mortality has increased. Infants under one year account for fifty-six per cent of all Eskimo deaths as compared to twenty-five per cent in the case of non-Eskimos in Canada. Adequate housing is considered as one of the important factors if any decrease in infant mortality is to be achieved.

Inroads have been made on the problem of adequate Eskimo housing. Last year, 135 housing units were erected at some 16 settlements and 9 DEW Line sites. Apart from those occupied on a welfare basis, all of these are being rented by Eskimos at economic rents or are being bought by them. This program is continuing at about the same level.

The economic life of the Arctic during the past year has also been encouraging. The price of white fox has remained at a relatively high level, and the harvest has been at or near its peak in many critical areas. Although the short - and long-term outlook on caribou continues to give serious cause for worry, the

reappearance of caribou in certain communities has been of immense local assistance to the Eskimos concerned. There is, of course, no assurance that this good luck will be repeated.

The demand for wage employment continues to be strong on the part of both government and of private employers. The possibilities of new mineral and oil production gives cause for continued optimism on this score. There have been active vocational training programs during the past year, as a consequence of which about 75 Eskimos have taken courses to give them higher qualifications. One reflection of the continuing improvement in economic conditions is the state of Eskimo savings. Some Eskimos have savings exceeding \$2,000 each. In Great Whale River, for example, savings reached an all-time high of \$13,650 for 50 accounts last September. Average savings on the DEW Line are reported even higher. Credits held at Frobisher Bay for some 40 Eskimos amounted to some \$40,000. These figures, of course, affect only a small proportion of the whole Arctic population, but they give a [gratifying] indication of the ability of our Arctic citizens to take advantage of the employment opportunities which have been given them.

The enrolment in the schools continues to grow rapidly. Although only 40 per cent of Eskimo children yet have an opportunity to go into school, this in itself reflects a tremendous improvement in recent years. 871 Eskimos are now enrolled in federal schools and some are receiving part-time instruction in mission schools. There are now 25 federal schools operating full-time, attended by Eskimo students. There are also 17 part-time mission schools. Twelve new schools were erected in the Arctic last year.

At the January 1960 Session of the Northwest Territories Council an amendment was made to the Liquor Ordinance to remove all special provisions for Indians and Eskimos. This will bring our legislation into accord with recent judicial decisions on the constitutional question involved.

This review of some of the activities of the past year has necessarily been incomplete. You have received a copy of the agenda and from it you will note that many other projects, plans and proposals relating to the north and the Eskimos will be reviewed. You will then have an opportunity to discuss these at length. We will deal with the health, welfare and rehabilitation of Eskimos disabled by tuberculosis or by other diseases or by accidents, with the education and vocational training of Eskimos, with the taking of measures to preserve Eskimo culture, with the development of low-cost housing for these people, and with the resources and economy.

Finally, turning to my own Department - Northern Affairs - I think you know that in 1959 we streamlined our Northern Administration Branch and field

services to take advantage of the experience we have gained of administration in the new north. We are planning over the next year or two a further decentralization of authority to the staff who will be stationed in the Territories. The object is to deal with territorial needs on the spot and with the fullest possible knowledge of the factors involved. It is our earnest hope that more Eskimos will join the services of this Department and play an active role in the administration of the north country and share equally the benefits and responsibilities of northern citizenship.

On behalf of the Minister and of the Department of Northern Affairs I want to say how glad we are to have again the opportunity of discussing with the Advisory Board the many things that are of interest and concern to the Eskimos of Canada. We are particularly glad to welcome our Eskimo associates whose views in relation to the welfare of their own people will be heard with special interest.

**APPENDIX "B": Sub-Committee on Education to the Chairman, Eskimo Affairs Committee, 29 March 1960.**

AIMS IN EDUCATION

The sub-committee on Education had a report from its Curriculum Committee, giving a proposed statement of aims of education. This was laid before the Eskimo Affairs Committee during the discussion of the agenda paper that contained a revision of this proposed statement of aims at your meeting of March 28th. You instructed me to ask the sub-committee to meet again to consider comments on the proposed statements.

The sub-committee met on March 29<sup>th</sup> and agreed it is desirable that the statement should be an outline of aims for classroom teaching rather than a general philosophical statement of objectives in education as was outlined in the report of the Curriculum Committee. On reviewing the various papers and bearing in mind the discussion in your meeting, the sub-committee reached the conclusion that the following statement of aims in education for the classrooms under Northern Affairs should be recommended for the consideration of the Eskimo Affairs Committee.

(Sgd.) B.G. Sivertz,  
Chairman,  
Sub-Committee on Education.  
(Sgd.) Andre Renaud, O.M.I.  
(Sgd.) W.G. Booth  
(Sgd.) E.N. Grantham  
(Sgd.) Henry G. Cook.

Proposed Aims of the Classroom

1. Teach thoroughly the tool subjects; such as language, reading, writing and number work.
2. To help the student understand the world about him.
3. To ensure that student masters the skills of learning to the limit of his ability.
4. To help the student become familiar with history, the sciences, and the arts.
5. To develop the ability to think clearly, independently, critically, constructively, and to reason and to communicate effectively, particularly in English.
6. To promote an understanding and appreciation of the student's cultural heritage.
7. To develop the student's capacity to appreciate music, art, and literature of the past and present, and to encourage cultural expression.
8. To develop the individual's ability to secure from his leisure time recreation of mind and body.
9. To teach the importance of good health, sanitation, adequate housing, and proper diet.
10. To develop the occupation capacity of each student so that he may earn a living and be a contributing member of the Canadian economy.
11. To inculcate an appreciation of the dignity and worth of human labour and the satisfactions to be derived from good workmanship.
12. To help the student understand and value Canadian citizenship.
13. To help the student understand the problems and rights of others as individuals and as groups.
14. To develop in the student self-discipline, initiative, and resourcefulness necessary to participate actively in the improvement of his social world.
15. To foster an understanding of modern industry and technology as it affects the student's own community and the Canadian economy.
16. To teach the use and conservation of natural resources.
17. To teach the proper use of his possessions.
18. To [instill] in the student respect for high standards of intellectual work and an appreciation for the efforts of others.
19. To help the student understand the place of his family in relation to the individual and society.
20. To teach ethical and moral principles.
21. To encourage an appreciation of spiritual values.

## 12. Minutes of the Twelfth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 10-11 April 1961

### COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS

The twelfth meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs was held in the large conference room of the East Block of the Parliament Buildings on April 10 and 11, 1961, beginning at 9:30 a.m. each day.

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#### Present:

#### Members

Mr. R.G. Robertson, Chairman,  
Deputy Minister,  
Northern Affairs & National Resources,  
Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz, Alternate Chairman,  
Director,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Dr. P.E. Moore,  
Director,  
Indian and Northern Health Services,  
National Health and Welfare.

Mr. H.W. Sutherland,  
General Manager,  
Northern Stores Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. C.M. Bolger,  
Administrator of the Arctic,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. J.E. Cleland, Secretary,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

#### Eskimo Delegates

David Panioyakak, King William Island, N.W.T.  
David Haniliak, Cambridge Bay, N.W.T.  
Osawetok, Cape Dorset, N.W.T.

Anawakalook, Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.

Representatives of Members unable to attend

Inspector J.T. Parsons,

representing Commissioner C.W. Harvison,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The Right Reverend E.S. Reed,

Bishop of Ottawa  
representing The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh, D.D., Bishop of the Arctic.

Canon H.A. Davis,

General Secretary,  
Anglican Missionary Society of Canada,  
representing The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh, D.D.

Reverend Father A. Renaud,

Acting Director – General,  
Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission,  
representing The Most Reverend Paul Piché, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie,  
The Most Reverend M. Lacroix, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay,  
The Most Reverend L. Scheffer, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Labrador.

Mr. R.A. Bishop,

representing Mr. B. Thorsteinsson,  
Chief, Education Division,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Advisers

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,

Assistant Director,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Staff Sergeant I.H. Thue,

Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Dr. H.A. Procter,

Associate Director,  
Indian and Northern Services,  
National Health and Welfare.

Dr. J.S. Willis,  
General Superintendent,  
Northern Health Services,  
National Health and Welfare.

Interpreters

Mr. A. Spalding,  
Mr. Elijah Erkloo,  
Welfare Division,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Assistant Secretaries

Mr. T.L. Clairmont,  
Mr. D.W. Wood,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Also Present

Honourable Walter Dinsdale,  
Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Miss Alice M.S. Lighthall,  
Chairman,  
Indian and Eskimo Committee,  
The Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

Mr. John Melling,  
Executive Director,  
Indian Eskimo Association of Canada.

Professor T.F. McIlwraith,  
Chairman,  
Department of Anthropology,  
University of Toronto.

Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Secretary,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development.

Mrs. G.W. Rowley,  
Editor, "Arctic Circular".

Mr. W.G. Brown,  
Chief, Territorial Division.

- Mr. A.B. Connelly,  
Chief, Engineering Division.
- Mr. A.T. Davidson,  
Chief, Resources Division.
- Mr. W. Rudnicki,  
Chief, Welfare Division.
- Mr. H.J. Mitchell,  
representing Mr. D. Snowden,  
Chief, Industrial Division.
- Mr. A. Loughery,  
Head, Forest and Game Section,  
Territorial Division.
- Mr. F.J. Neville,  
Superintendent of Welfare Services,  
Arctic District Office.
- Mr. R.A. Jenness,  
Head, Area and Community Planning Section,  
Industrial Division.
- Mr. K.W. Stairs,  
Head, Planning Section,  
Engineering Division.
- Mr. J.W. Evans,  
Head, Projects Section,  
Industrial Division,  
Northern Administration Branch  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.
- Mr. Keith Lawrence,  
Programme Director,  
Northern Service,  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

## I. CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

1. The Chairman welcomed the Eskimo delegates and the other members. Since interpreters were present, it was unnecessary for the Eskimo delegates to speak in English. He strongly encouraged them to express their views.

He regretted that some members of the Committee were unable to attend the meeting. In the absence of Bishop Marsh, who was attending the first synod of the Diocese of the Arctic, he welcomed Bishop Reed. Bishop Scheffer was prevented by ill health from attending and Bishop Lacroix was travelling in the north.

2. He noted that papers on many aspects of Arctic affairs had been prepared and distributed to the Committee to avoid the need for lengthy oral reports, thus freeing more time for discussion. He expressed appreciation for the report by the Oblate Fathers which had also been tabled.
3. The past year had been a time of substantial progress in Eskimo Affairs. More schools had been opened, and more Eskimo children were in school. The welfare program had been hampered by a lack of Welfare Officers owing to recruitment problems but the program had been pushed forward. In Eskimo projects, based upon improved use of resources, substantial results had been achieved.
4. High mortality and disease rates could be attributed to the inadequate housing in which Eskimos were living. Indigent families required about five hundred houses and prospective buyers required about one thousand more. In 1960, 138 low-cost buildings were sent to twenty-seven settlements throughout the Arctic. Twenty-five of those were for indigents.
5. Under the 1961 program, ninety houses for indigents and eighty houses for sale, at \$1,500 each would be constructed. The Government would pay a grant of \$1,000 per house. Labour contributed by the tenant would count up to the value of \$250, and the balance of \$250 might be paid in cash, or through a loan from the Government, repayable in ten years. Under these provisions, [an] Eskimo who wished to have housing of that standard would have the opportunity to attain it.
6. However, adequate housing also required economical heating, an objective that was being met in part by bulk storage facilities which substantially lower oil costs.
7. Consumer co-operatives were started at Resolute and Grise Fiord, and product co-operatives began at Coppermine and Fort Chimo. These co-operatives and others such as the West Baffin Island Co-operatives at Cape Dorset were improving the living standards of the people. Eskimo graphic art, produced by the Cape Dorset co-operative, had attracted great attention. The display of stone cut and sealskin stencil prints in the Parliament Buildings had been enthusiastically acclaimed, but perhaps the best indication of the popularity of the prints was the rapidity with which this year's prints had been sold out.

8. A significant step forward was the change in the administration of family allowances from the credit voucher system to the cheque system giving Eskimos the same responsibility as other Canadians for handling this portion of their income.
9. The new Rehabilitation Centre at Inuvik would be opened during the summer of 1961 when the renovating of the buildings would be complete. Under supervision of its staff, logging, food, garment and furniture projects were already under way, illustrating increasing emphasis on preventative measures in welfare.
10. The expansion of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's northern services had provided a new outlet for the Eskimo voice. The serial play written and produced by the Rehabilitation Centre in Frobisher Bay and broadcast over the new C.B.C. station had been accorded an excellent reception. The Eastern Arctic Eskimos received and understood broadcasts in Greenlandic.
11. The scarcity of caribou continued to cause grave concern. Although the decline had been checked, there was no room for confidence yet. Fortunately, since marine mammals had not been depleted to the same extent, Eskimos could still obtain a living along the coasts.
12. Fur prices had taken an unfortunate downward turn. White fox, the main fur animal trapped by the Eskimos, had steadily dropped in price from approximately \$25.00 per pelt last year to a present value of \$9.75. This drop of 60% had been faced by no other producer in Canada. The problems facing the old way of life on the land were probably worse than at the time of the committee's last meeting. It was, therefore, now even more important that the Eskimos be educated towards the new way of life in alternative employment away from the land. The steadily increasing Eskimo population required more educational facilities.
13. Father Renaud requested that the Eskimo delegates present their problems early in the Committee's meeting, since he felt that their problems would form a basis for the Committee's discussions.
14. Mr. Sutherland stated that the fur situation was not quite as bleak as the Chairman had indicated in his preliminary remarks. He had dealt only with price and not with the volume of production. Although the price had fallen, the Eskimo hunters and trappers had produced a large quantity of white fox. In fact, many Eskimo producers were probably better off this year than they had been for several years.
15. The Committee noted the Chairman's remarks, Father Renaud's suggestion and Mr. Sutherland's comments.

II. INTRODUCTION OF ESKIMO DELEGATES

(see paragraph 1 above)

III. ITEMS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES OF THE LAST MEETING

16. Since no items arising out of the Minutes of the last meeting were raised, the Committee agreed to proceed to Item IV.

IV. WELFARE

17. Mr. Rudnicki pointed out that approximately one-half of the Welfare Officer positions in his division were vacant. The Civil Service Commission was working on the problem of social worker classes. The Welfare Division also hoped to interest one or two universities in training Eskimos and Indians for welfare positions.
18. The integrated welfare service that was being planned would help all ethnic groups in the north. A corrections program for criminals and juvenile delinquents was being established.
19. Mr. Rudnicki referred to the payment of family allowance cheques by cheque rather than by the credit voucher. As a safety factor in the system, families which could not properly handle the cheques, were being paid by the credit voucher system as in the past.
20. Father Renaud asked to what extent the Department of Northern Affairs followed procedures of outside agencies, such as the Unemployment Insurance Commission, where the jobless would receive no payments unless they were registered in the employment exchange. If we expected the Eskimos to adopt to our civilization, we would have to assure that all were within reach of relief payments when jobs were not available but that relief would not be given to able-bodied people with the local opportunity to work.
21. Mr. Phillips agreed that Father Renaud's statement represented departmental policy. The Department was attempting to make work available to the Eskimos, and relief was accepted only as a last expedient. In one area where projects were stimulated by the Department, all relief payments had stopped.
22. Professor McIlwraith commended the proposal to train Eskimos and Indians in welfare work and suggested that the training would have to be very thorough and should include linguistics.
23. Mr. Phillips pointed out that for quite some time differentiation would be required between fully-trained and partly-trained welfare staff. Welfare Officers had given informal training to their interpreters. It would be a long time before Eskimos would have the full academic training of a professional social worker.

24. Dr. Moore pointed out that under the former system of family allowances, that he had helped to design, the credit vouchers were for items that could be used for children, such as children's food and clothing. He hoped that the credit voucher system had educated the Eskimos to use the family allowance for their children. It might still be important to stress to the Eskimos the proper use of the family allowance cheque.
25. Mr. Panioyakak stated that in his opinion the Eskimo people used the family allowance cheques to purchase items required by their children.
26. The Committee noted the comments relating to welfare.

V. HEALTH

27. Dr. Moore said that in areas where Eskimos were able to obtain large quantities of refined sugar, dental decay was 60% greater than in areas where refined sugar and foods containing it were not available.
28. Dr. Willis added that dental decay was not restricted to Northern Canada. The evidence linking the consumption of refined sugar to dental decay was considered adequate by every dental authority. Eskimos particularly tended to substitute sugar for other foods. With a limited food budget, the housewife unaccustomed to shopping for prepared foods would tend to buy items that could be stretched furthest, and that would best overcome the feeling of hunger. On one of the Eastern Arctic Patrols in the "C.D. Howe", the steward in charge of the canteen mentioned that he had sold \$75.00 worth of chocolate bars in one small settlement. Whole grains and wheat products were a more nutritious source of carbohydrates than sugars.
29. Mr. Sutherland commented that there appeared to be little demand for wheat products such as breakfast cereals in the north.
30. Mr. Anawakalook and Mr. Panioyakak noted that Eskimos in their home communities bought a great deal of sugar and candy.
31. Mr. Rudnicki suggested that voluntary restrictions by the Eskimos on their purchases of refined sugars might result from an educational campaign.
32. Mr. Robertson said that the educational campaign would have an even broader application in educating the Eskimos in the selection of store-bought foods.
33. Dr. Willis noted with satisfaction that Hay River had asked for fluoridation of its water supply and that the water was fluoridated at Fort Smith.
34. Professor McIlwraith suggested that the Eskimos could be supplied with tooth powder or paste and brushes and could be taught to brush their teeth at school.

35. Mr. Bishop pointed out that in the hospitals and in the school hostels all the children brushed their teeth. Like all children, however, they would not do it constantly without supervision.
36. Bishop Reed compared the traditional paternalistic attitude towards the Eskimos with the objective of giving them freedom of choice. He hoped that during their transition an in-between way could be followed. Perhaps manufacturers could be interested in producing a type of candy bar that would produce less tooth decay than candy bars now sold. While no one could prevent Eskimos from having goods available in Southern Canada, any detrimental effect should be avoided if possible.
37. Dr. Moore said that his Department had gained experience from teaching Indians, to make wise purchases of store foods. He suggested that items such as chocolate-covered raisins and nuts could be sold to the Eskimos in Northern Canada, in place of chocolate bars and other forms of pure sugar.
38. Dr. Willis mentioned the booklet entitled "Good Food, Good Health", based on Canada's food rules, prepared by the Department of National Health and Welfare that had been distributed to the Indians. All possible help including local Eskimo leaders, the Hudson's Bay Company and teachers should be recruited to extend the educational program. He requested the Hudson's Bay Company to co-operate by placing the booklet on its counters and was assured by Mr. Sutherland that the Company would be very glad to do so.
39. Mr. Osawetok said that if a booklet such as "Good Food, Good Health" were available the Eskimos would probably start thinking about the advice it contained.
40. Mr. Robertson pointed out that the Company obviously could not refuse to stock products such as jams and sugars. The assistance of the Company in spreading information regarding balanced nutrition would be appreciated.
41. Mr. Bishop pointed out that home economics instruction was given to girls in the schools, and that women attended home making classes.
42. Father Renaud suggested that classes for children might be suspended for a week or so each year while adults were instructed on nutrition. A concentrated effort could produce better results than a more loosely-knit program conducted through the year.
43. Mr. Phillips sympathized with Father Renaud's suggestion, but suggested that one should keep in mind the amount that the Eskimos would be able to absorb from one session and how long it took to practice it at home. The program depended on the voluntary participation of the Eskimo women.

44. Mr. Robertson remarked that Miss McKinnon, the home economics instructor in Frobisher Bay, had stressed the time required for the mind of the pupil to absorb instruction and the further lapse of time before the instruction would be put into practice.
45. Dr. Moore stated that many Eskimos died from trichinosis caused by eating the meat of an infected animal such as a walrus or polar bear. Tapeworm was commonly contracted from eating raw frozen fish.
46. Dr. Willis deplored the practice of giving raw frozen fish to hospital patients as a treat.
47. Referring to the agenda paper containing a report on the Department of National Health and Welfare, Dr. Moore said that the "Sir John A. Macdonald" would not be visiting Foxe Basin as stated. His statistics relating to health did not include the Labrador Eskimos, for whom a special arrangement was made with Newfoundland. At the time of confederation, 12% of the Labrador Eskimos were found to have active tuberculosis, but only 1% were known to have it now. For every one thousand live Eskimo births in 1956, there were 250 deaths. In 1957 there were 228 deaths, in 1958 there were 240 deaths, and in 1959 there were 196 deaths. In 1956 twenty Eskimos died from tuberculosis, in 1957 fourteen died, in 1958 six died and in 1959 five died. The Department of National Health and Welfare intended to train twenty-six Eskimos as health workers out of a total of thirty-six health workers to be trained.
48. Leaders of Eskimo Councils could inform their members regarding health hazards. Venereal diseases had greatly increased. People would have to help by reporting the sources of these diseases to the medical staff.
49. Once the tuberculosis problem had been brought under control, there would be an excess of hospital beds in the north. His Department had plans for these surplus beds for chronic care of the aged, or for people prevented by disease from resuming their old way of life. Some types of mentally ill could be treated in northern hospitals.
50. The Department of National Health and Welfare would probably continue to operate its nursing station in Aklavik because of the number of people who had chosen not to move to Inuvik.
51. Dr. Butler, a medical officer recently posted to Churchill, was responsible for the surrounding area as well. His primary job would be to assist the nursing station in the area, particularly in preventative medicine. He had formerly done medical work among primitive people in Africa.
52. Through an agreement with the Administration of the Northwest Territories, the Department of National Health and Welfare would provide an integrated

- service for everyone in the Northwest Territories, in the same way as a provincial department of health provided integrated service for everyone within a province.
53. Dr. Willis referred to the booklet “Eskimo Mortality and Housing” which was distributed to the Committee. He explained the respiratory diseases were responsible for the majority of deaths among the Eskimo people. The ratio of infant mortality in the north to infant mortality in the south was seven to one. The mortality rate from tuberculosis was less than the infant mortality rate. As tuberculosis decreased the cost of detecting each case became greater. When the tuberculosis and infant mortality problems had been reduced the crude death rate of the Eskimo from all other causes might be reduced to 11%, compared with the southern Canadian death rate of 8%. The Eskimo population was younger than the population of southern Canada. Many Eskimo children died of pneumonia. To reduce the number of deaths more adequate housing was needed.
  54. Bishop Reed noted that the accident rate was greater in southern Canada than in the north.
  55. Dr. Moore said a doctor in the north had recommended that minimum housing for the north include a combined living room and kitchen, two bedrooms, and a small room for toilet and tub. The house should also include an economical stove, properly guarded to prevent children from being burned, a covered 40-gallon drum with tap, raised on a stand 18” high for melting ice, a two-gallon container with tap for drinking water mounted on a fixed wall shelf and a small sink with a drain.
  56. Because of the high cost of heating a subsidy on heating oil for Eskimos was required.
  57. It would be helpful if arrangements could be made for doctors to accompany the R.C.M. Police planes on regular tours of remote settlements. Although the R.C.M. Police planes could not be used to the complete exclusion of charter companies, the price of a single aircraft charter would sometimes supply enough fuel to heat an Eskimo settlement for a year.
  58. The Chairman assured Dr. Moore that the problem of housing was of constant concern to the Department of Northern Affairs and was being pushed ahead. When more adequate housing was provided, he understood that intestinal diseases would replace the problem of respiratory diseases as the Department of National Health and Welfare had found when the Indian population acquired adequate housing.
  59. The Department of Northern Affairs was installing bulk storage facilities for oil in several Arctic communities. Although bulk storage of oil tended to

reduce the price by as much as 50%, the cost of heating continued to limit the type of housing that could be supplied.

60. Dr. Willis said that the size of the housing was less important than sanitary facilities. In the south, sanitary facilities cost about 10% of the price of the house. For a house costing \$1,500, the cost of adequate sanitary facilities would be higher than 10% perhaps as much as one-third of the value of the house.
61. Mr. Anawakalook stated that some Eskimo housing in Frobisher Bay was poor and consequently difficult to keep clean.
62. Mr. Osawetok referred to the same problem in the Cape Dorset area and to dampness in some houses. Wood was difficult to obtain, even for sled runners. Twelve families had built wooden houses. They liked the houses although they found them small. They burned seal oil for heating. Fuel oil would have been better because it kept the houses cleaner, but they could not afford it. Some of the other Eskimos would like to build houses.
63. Mr. Bolger added that approximately 1,500 houses were needed throughout the north. Since the Department was providing materials for about 100 houses each year, the quota for the Cape Dorset area during the current year was five.
64. Mr. Haniliak said Eskimos at Cambridge Bay built houses from scrap lumber.
65. Mr. Sutherland said that Eskimos could order lumber for delivery through the Company's stores.
66. Mr. Osawetok said that it has been found that doctors did not wish to make visits to Eskimo homes.
67. Dr. Moore replied that while nurses went to visit patients' homes, the trend today was not for doctors to visit homes excepting, of course, in emergencies. Eskimos should take advantage of the outpatient departments and, where possible, go to the hospital themselves.
68. Mr. Anawakalook said that nurses visited Eskimo homes at Apex Hill but not those on the airbase side. He enquired about the care of children whose mothers were in hospital.
69. Mr. Neville stated that the duties of the two social workers at Frobisher Bay were, in part, to help children whose mothers were confined to hospital. The Eastern Arctic Patrol included social workers who arranged for foster home care. Children's receiving homes accommodated children for a short time when they could not live at home. However, the Department preferred that children be placed in foster homes where there was a more personal contact than in the more institutional life of the receiving home. Good foster homes

- were as scarce in the north as they were in the south. Eskimos could assist the social workers in indicating to the social worker where they would like their children placed, when it was necessary to take them out of their own homes.
70. Mr. Osawweetok cited a case of a child who was not apparently properly cared for. The Welfare Division undertook to look into the case.
  71. Dr. Moore emphasized that a child must be separated from a diseased mother to prevent the child getting the disease. The Eskimos should more often present their problems to the social workers who were there to assist them.
  72. Canon Davis enquired about the amount of allowances for foster parents.
  73. Mr. Neville replied that cash payments to foster parents fluctuated depending on the circumstances and on the needs of the child. The allowances were in line with those paid in the south.
  74. Dr. Willis suggested that the "Book of Wisdom" be reprinted, with hints on health included in it. This book, dealing with such subjects as the care of a rifle, nutrition and sanitation, had been printed in 1949 for the use of Eskimos. The "Village Guide" printed by the Alaskan health service would also be useful in revising the book.
  75. Mr. Phillips said that "Inuktitut" had been intended in part to replace the "Book of Wisdom". Since it had developed into an Eskimo magazine, the need for something like the "Book of Wisdom" therefore continued. Unfortunately shortage of staff in the Eskimo translation section of the Department of Northern Affairs might mean considerable delay in revising the book.
  76. The Chairman said that members of the Department of Northern Affairs would discuss with Dr. Willis the possibility of reprinting the "Book of Wisdom".
  77. Mr. Bishop said that primary readers containing hints on health were being used in some schools on a trial basis.
  78. Dr. Moore considered that health education would be more effective if given as a daily lesson in the school by the teacher rather than attempted through a yearly visit to the school by a doctor or nurse. Adequate transportation was needed. The work of the doctor at Cambridge Bay, for example, would be 400% more effective if he had adequate transportation.
  79. The Chairman said that the Department of Northern Affairs was trying to get a charter airline to base an aircraft in Cambridge Bay.
  80. Mr. Panioyakak enquired about better means of waste disposal. He had seen people eating waste. Dead dogs were often left in the settlement where they died.

81. Dr. Willis suggested that a place be set aside for disposal of waste, according to the custom of southern Canada, and that arrangements be made for regular garbage removal. In this matter an Eskimo Committee could take the lead. The Department of Northern Affairs would co-operate.
82. Professor McIlwraith enquired regarding treatment of mental disease in the north.
83. Dr. Moore stated that his Department had arranged with the Alberta Government for the training of mentally-defective children. As he had mentioned before, spare beds in hospitals could be used for certain types of mentally ill. As stresses found in southern civilization moved north mental disorders would increase.
84. Bishop Reed said that he had heard of a woman for whom a move to southern Canada to undergo treatment for tuberculosis had resulted in a nervous breakdown. He asked if this sort of case was common.
85. Dr. Moore stated that this type of [occurrence] was uncommon in the north. Fewer nervous disorders among patients brought into the south for treatment had occurred since Eskimo patients were concentrated in specific areas, and tape recordings and photographs from their homes in the north sent to them helped to overcome some of their loneliness. Although it could be contended that all these people should be hospitalized in the north, in view of the cost this was not practical.
86. The Chairman expressed his admiration and appreciation of the services rendered by the Department of National Health and Welfare in the north, particularly in achieving such a great reduction in the incidence of tuberculosis.
87. The Committee noted the progress in northern health services, concurred in the need for improvement in Eskimo housing, and agreed that Eskimos should be taught to achieve a balanced diet and instructed to cook food to eliminate parasites.

## VI. EDUCATION

88. Mr. Bishop reported that in 1951, 245 Eskimo children were enrolled in schools, and in 1960, 1,783 Eskimo children were enrolled. In 1961 the enrollment was expected to reach 2,600. In 1951, 10% of the Eskimo children of school age were in school; in 1960, 55% were in school; in 1961 it was expected that 63% would be in school; and by 1968 it was expected that all children of school age will be in school. Because education was a slow process, there were as yet few Eskimo graduates from high school. 86% of all

- the children in the school at present were in grades 1 to 3; 13% were in grades 4 to 6; and about 1 to 1.5% were in high school.
89. All the senior staff positions in vocational training were vacant this year, but it was hoped they would be filled before the end of the year. Nevertheless, the vocational training program had continued. Thirty to thirty-five Eskimos were taking some type of vocational training, ranging from courses of a few weeks' duration up to two years. The figure 1,212 in the section of the agenda paper relating to education was a typographic error and should read 121.
  90. The fur garment project, started two years ago to train Eskimos in modern techniques, seemed likely to go beyond a training scheme. The demand for fur garments increased. For example, one manufacturer wished to place an order for 600 pairs of shoes per month. Of twenty-one youths trained in the operation of diesel power plants, eight had been employed.
  91. A new curriculum had been planned. A new reader had been published, based entirely on life in the Arctic. A chief for the curriculum section and other specialists were to be recruited. Greater emphasis was being placed on in-service training of teachers, and on workshop training. Much of the past year had been devoted to reassessment of past experience in education and to planning for the future. In previous years a great deal of attention was necessarily given to the building of the facilities for education.
  92. It was difficult to obtain qualified personnel to select trainees and to locate jobs for them on completion of the courses. Nevertheless, three selection and placement officers had been appointed and would take up their duties in the Mackenzie District in a few months. They would also follow up on the progress of the trainees in their job.
  93. A thorough testing program had been undertaken for use in all northern schools.
  94. Mr. Osaweetok said that the parents of Cape Dorset were happy that their children could now attend school.
  95. Mr. Haniliak said that the Eskimos of Cambridge Bay would like to have a hostel for their children closer than Inuvik, preferably located at Cambridge Bay.
  96. Mr. Robertson said that the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources would try to provide two or three new school rooms in Cape Dorset during the next year and also planned to build a hostel at Cambridge Bay to house approximately 8 pupils.
  97. Mr. Haniliak suggested that the hostel should be built to accommodate 25 to 30 pupils.

98. Mr. Anawakalook said that the people of Frobisher Bay were pleased that the children were going to school. He also encouraged his children to attend school.
99. Mr. Robertson pointed out that during his recent visit to the Eastern Arctic, many teachers had told him that since many parents did not encourage their children to go to bed at night, pupils were sometimes very sleepy in school.
100. Mr. Anawakalook agreed that this was often true, but he felt that the situation was now improving.
101. Dr. Willis said that to permit children to go to sleep before their parents, more than one room would be required in the house.
102. Bishop Reed enquired about the extent of teaching in the Eskimo language and in English.
103. Mr. Bishop stated that at present all teaching was done in English as there were no qualified teachers who could teach in Eskimo.
104. Bishop Reed asked Mr. Panioyakak if he felt that there was danger of the Eskimos losing their language.
105. Mr. Panioyakak in turn asked Mr. Bishop if the Eskimo was to lose his language and if it was intended that the Eskimo should talk as the white man does.
106. Mr. Bishop assured him that it was not intended that the Eskimo should lose his language, and as Eskimos were educated and became teachers, the Eskimo language would be taught in the schools.
107. The Chairman assured the Eskimo delegates that it was not intended that they should lose their language. That was why the Department of Northern Affairs published the magazine Inuktitut and took other steps to preserve their language. English, however, was necessary too.
108. Dr. Moore pointed out that the Indians in southern Canada had not lost their language, although they had been in contact with the white men for two hundred years or more.
109. Mr. Robertson mentioned that a school complex, including one-room school, teachers' and janitor's accommodation and power unit cost on the average \$120,000.
110. Mr. Bishop said that the Department of Northern Affairs up to the present had spent approximately \$17,000,000 on construction.
111. Professor McIlwraith asked whether orientation courses were being conducted for teachers going into the Arctic and, if so, what these courses included. Such courses were particularly necessary for teachers from the city. In-service meetings by teachers would also be useful.

112. Mr. Bishop stated that orientation courses were conducted containing a broad general outline of the program of the Department and specific attention to the curriculum. In the Mackenzie District all teachers attended a conference every second year. Regional teacher's meetings were to be held each year. During the recent Easter vacation, the Northwest Territories Association met in Yellowknife.
113. Dr. Moore congratulated the Department on the strides which it had made in educational facilities. Health rooms were constructed for some schools, but as an afterthought. They were sometimes inadequate. If the Department of National Health and Welfare were advised of plans for future school construction, he would endeavour to have money provided in the estimates for health rooms.
114. Dr. Willis urged that plans for health facilities be included in school plans from the beginning.
115. The Committee noted the progress in education both in physical facilities and in programs.

## VII. RESOURCES AND ECONOMY

### (a) Minerals, Oil and Gas

116. Mr. Davidson gave a brief report on mineral potential and development. Not much work had been done in hard rock mining exploration during the past three or four years either in northern Canada or elsewhere. Increased exploration was anticipated. Exploration was planned for next summer in Keewatin District, Little Cornwallis Island, Boothia Peninsula and Arctic Bay. The mine at Rankin reportedly had at least three or four more years to run. However, the problem of what to do when the mine closed was already being studied.
117. Dr. Moore wondered if there were sufficient resources in the Rankin Inlet area for the people to live off the land.
118. Mr. Bolger stated that a third prospecting course was being conducted at Rankin Inlet. A course in underground mining, including drilling and blasting was being given. This experience could be useful to the men in finding employment in other mines.
119. Mr. Sutherland reported that he understood the Rankin Inlet mine had prospects for two more years of operation. He referred also to exploration by the Murray Mining Company of asbestos deposits in the northern part of Quebec in the vicinity of Deception Bay.

120. Mr. Robertson said there was uncertainty about the development of iron ore in the Ungava Bay area.

(b) Renewable Resources

(i) Area Surveys

121. Mr. Mitchell reported difficulty in recruiting properly qualified persons to carry out area surveys. Arrangements had been made with McGill University to provide some specialized training in this field. It was expected that suitable staff would be available soon. There were now nine Eskimo co-operatives.

122. Mr. Phillips said that top priority would be given this summer to the area survey in west Hudson Bay area to determine alternative resources for the time when the Rankin mine would close.

123. Mr. Robertson said that the intent of the program of the Industrial Division was to obtain the greatest income for the greatest number-of people based on available resources.

124. Mr. Phillips said that every Northern Service Officer acted in the capacity of Community Planning Officer for his area. He could draw upon the advice of the Community Planning Group and of the technical experts reporting to the Group.

125. Mr. Osawetok said the people of Cape Dorset did not have sufficient boats for hunting but were acquiring more. Even though there were no wolves in the area during the year, there were not as many caribou as in the past. He said that one hunter was told not to take more than five caribou.

126. Mr. Robertson explained that to enable the caribou to recover from the depletion of the herds, people were encouraged not to take more than they needed for their requirements.

(ii) Eskimo Employment

127. Mr. Mitchell said that the Industrial Division had sent questionnaires to 200 prospective employers of Eskimos enquiring about their plans for this year. From their answers it would be possible to move people to where jobs were available.

VIII. HOUSING

128. Mr. Jenness said that this year the Department had revised its total approach to the housing problem, to bring it into line with the desires of the people. He stated that heretofore the Department had tried to meet requests of the

people for small rigid-frame houses. However, at the last meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, the Eskimo delegates indicated that the rigid-frame dwellings were not suitable to their needs because of their sloping walls and because there were no adequate bathroom facilities. This year therefore, the Department was providing prefabricated houses of the same size as the former rigid-frame houses and complete with a small bathroom and a stove heating unit. They would not be costly to heat. These houses would cost between \$1,500 and \$1,800 depending on the location. \$1,000 of this cost would be contributed by the Federal Government as a grant; such a contribution would be in line with the slum clearance grants which the Government has given in the south. In some localities the Department anticipated a building bee when these houses were available and ready to be assembled. The Eskimo tenant's contribution of labour would count for up to \$250 and if necessary the Eskimo could borrow the amount remaining from the Eskimo Loan Fund, to be paid back over a period of up to ten years. This would be in payments of \$10 to \$15 per month, an amount it is felt most Eskimo families could bear. For families dependent on fur trapping, in a season when trapping was not good, arrangements could be made so that payments would not become a burden on them. When Eskimos moved from one settlement to another, arrangements could be made for the Government to buy back the house, and if possible supply the Eskimo with a house in the settlement to which he moved. The Department would supply houses for indigents who could not bear even a limited cost. These houses would continue to be owned by the Crown.

129. The Chairman stated that the most important aspect of this policy was that the Government had taken a constructive step not merely to loan funds for housing, but to make an outright grant for housing. Housing would be provided for those who could not pay and those who could pay would be given help to build their own houses.
130. Mr. Panioyakak of King William Island asked if hunters and trappers living eighty or more miles out of settlements could qualify for the purchase of a house.
131. Mr. Jenness said that houses did not have to be built within settlements but could be erected wherever the buyers wished.
132. Mr. Stairs said that the prefabricated houses were moveable but to be moved on a dogsled all the plywood panels would have to be two feet wide excepting the panels containing the door and the windows. The houses weighed two or three tons.

133. The Chairman commented that this surely was not an easy item to remove to a remote point.
134. Mr. Bolger stated that at Port Harrison some houses had been moved to camps outside the settlements by water and by dog team.
135. The Chairman said an attempt would be made to meet the problem of moving houses to remote points as far as the weight factor would allow.
136. Dr. Willis hoped that it would be possible to partition the houses to provide bedrooms so that the children could get to bed on time and so that teen-agers could have some privacy, which they would probably require as the society became more sophisticated.
137. The Chairman said that since the houses were 16' x 16', or 16' x 20', they did not lend themselves to partitioning. This problem might be solved through additions to the houses.
138. Referring again to Dr. Moore's suggestion that 40-gallon drums be used for water storage, Dr. Willis asked whether the Hudson's Bay Company could stock spigots for the water drums.
139. Mr. Sutherland assured him that the Hudson's Bay Company would be happy to do so.
140. Mr. Melling asked how many houses would be shipped into the Northwest Territories this summer.
141. Mr. Jenness stated that \$90,000 was set aside in the 1961-62 Estimates. Officers in the field had provided a list of houses required in each settlement. From this list the amount in the Estimates was decided.
142. Mr. Phillips said that since the houses were built at the Eskimos' request he hoped that the demand would increase.
143. Mr. Sivertz said the subsidizing of houses was important. Widows and others of inadequate means had no means of obtaining housing. In the Mackenzie Delta area, where timber was cut by Eskimos last winter under the direction of the Northern Administration Branch, houses built from the resulting lumber would provide houses for indigents and for persons wishing to apply for the \$1,000 government grant.
144. Mr. Melling enquired about other uses for the lumber cut in the Delta area.
145. Mr. Rudnicki replied that the Department of Public Works required some logs for pilings. Some of the lumber would also be used for boats and furniture. Even the sawdust was used. The project had been so successful that the possibility of a full-time lumber industry was being considered.
146. Professor McIlwraith enquired whether houses in isolated camps were being erected according to the specifications.

147. The Chairman said that sometimes the Eskimos altered the design of the house. However, it was not certain that the modified versions would withstand the elements as well as the original design.
148. Mr. Stairs agreed that once the design of the houses was changed it was difficult to say if they would withstand climatic conditions. The Eskimos tended to make as much room as possible from available material. A problem might arise with the insulation and vapor barriers, since only enough was provided for the house as designed.
149. The Chairman said that many Eskimos felt that the roof should be slightly pitched and had no desire to buy houses with almost flat roofs.
150. Mr. Osawetok agreed that in the Cape Dorset area the Eskimos did not like flat-roofed houses.
151. Mr. Anawakalook stated that the chief carpenter in Frobisher Bay felt that all the houses should not be the same. People who did not have much money would want the rigid-frame type of house.
152. The Chairman agreed with Mr. Anawakalook that people who could not afford the other type of house would prefer the rigid-frame type.
153. Mr. Stairs showed the Committee a drawing of the house to be shipped into the Northwest Territories this year. The pitch of the roof would be small. To introduce a greater roof pitch would cost about \$200 more since the standard 8' length of the plywood panels would be exceeded. Within a year and a half the Department expected to have available 12 types of houses.
154. Mr. Jenness said that the type of house shown was minimal. Eskimos having larger incomes could eventually choose from a range of houses.
155. The Chairman said that some people might gladly pay \$200 more just because they preferred a higher-pitched roof.
156. Mr. Panioyakak asked if the houses were provided with stoves.
157. Mr. Stairs replied that the houses were supplied with wood stoves or oil stoves, depending on the fuel available. Oil stoves would require approximately 35 gallons per month if used constantly. The Engineering Division was working with oil companies to develop a stove consuming less oil.
158. The Chairman said that one type of stove used in the north required only 25 gallons per month. He suggested that enquiries should not be made with oil companies only, since they were in business to sell oil.
159. It was of utmost importance that the Department supply the most economically operating stove obtainable. A difference of \$10 to \$15 per month in heating costs could be of great importance to an Eskimo family.

IX. ESKIMO COUNCILS

160. Mr. Bolger stated that Northern Service Officers encouraged the establishment of Councils wherever possible. The Council at Baker Lake had now developed into a resident's association having both Eskimos and other members of the community as members.
161. Mr. Sivertz said that the establishment of councils would have progressed at a more rapid rate except for the difficulty of introducing into the Eskimo way of life the new idea of sitting together and discussing problems of the community.
162. The Committee indicated interest in hearing more of Eskimo Councils at future meetings.

X. ADMINISTRATION

(a) Eskimo Identification Discs

163. Mr. Phillips said that the system of Eskimo identification discs had been established as an emergency measure when family allowances were being introduced. Because of the repetition and similarity of many Eskimo names it had been necessary to devise some system to reduce confusion. Each person was assigned a number then and each child since had been given a number when its birth was registered. The system was administratively cumbersome in part because it was based on the premise that the Eskimo population was relatively static. This was now less true. Since the Eskimos are the only Canadians bearing this identification, there were some criticisms that it had connotations of apartheid. The Department did not plan to continue the disc system indefinitely but neither did it propose to abandon it while it served a useful purpose. In the western Arctic the practice of having two names was almost universal, while in the eastern Arctic most Eskimos had only one given name. When the eastern Arctic Eskimos had all adopted two names it would become more feasible to discontinue the disc numbers.
164. Mr. Sivertz made it very clear that the Department wished to refrain completely from thrusting anything on the Eskimo. The matter of assigning a second name to a child rested completely with the parents.
165. Mr. Panioyakak was in favour of his children using his surname.
166. Mr. Bishop suggested that the new orthography would clear up the present confusion resulting when the R.C.M.P. constable spelled a man's name one way, while the missionary spelled it another way and the nurse a third way.

## XI. ESKIMO CULTURE

### (a) Inuktitut and Inuktitun

167. Mr. Rudnicki reported on Inuktitut and Inuktitun, magazines for the Eskimo in the Eskimo language, now in their second year of publication, and edited by an Eskimo working in Ottawa with the Northern Administration Branch. Five issues of Inuktitut had been published in Eskimo syllabics, and two issues of Inuktitun in the Roman alphabet. The reason for the disparity in the number of issues was that to date no western Arctic linguist had been available continuously. The magazines were intended as a means of expression for Eskimo culture in the form of stories, articles, poetry and art. No departmental or administrative material was permitted. The circulation of the magazine was: Inuktitut 2,200 and Inuktitun 800 to 900.
168. Mr. Panioyakak said that he had seen only one issue of Inuktitun. He had no opportunity to read it because the one copy in the community was in constant circulation.
169. Mr. Osaweetok and Mr. Anawakalook had read Inuktitut and were enthusiastic about it.

### (b) Eskimo Orthography

170. Mr. Rudnicki stated that the syllabic method of Eskimo writing had long been considered inadequate, and the Roman alphabet had been found more feasible. The trial orthography that had been prepared and tested seemed to fit, with minor modifications, the needs of the Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic. This summer a seminar on the orthography would be held in Churchill. From this seminar, attended by eight or ten teachers and seventeen Eskimos, it was hoped that the Eskimos would return to their homes to introduce the new orthography. He hoped that the new orthography could replace syllabics within two years.
171. Eskimos accustomed to Roman alphabet would have little difficulty in learning and using the new orthography.
172. Mr. Spalding said trials with five Eskimos had shown that the new orthography could be learned quickly. In the Western Arctic each Eskimo spelled words as he thought best. The new orthography would standardize spelling facilitating expression in the Eskimo language.
173. Eskimos would be able to read Greenlandic, despite minor differences in the two systems. Greenlandic was invented over 100 years ago, before many of

- the scientific principles applied in composing the new orthography were invented.
174. Mr. Phillips stated the changes in certain parts of Russia from Roman to Cyrillic characters had been accomplished with little apparent difficulty. The change from syllabics to the Roman alphabet might be even easier.
  175. Professor McIlwraith cited his experience in teaching the international phonetic script to university students. With a scientifically prepared script it was possible to record sounds as pronounced. A person [familiar] with those sounds could learn the script very quickly. A person knowing the new orthography could make the adjustments needed to read Greenlandic.
  176. Because there was merit in having a scientific medium for recording a wide range of material, he was very much in favour of the method proposed.
  177. Canon Davis asked if the orthography would be taught in all federal day schools.
  178. Mr. Phillips pointed out that the new orthography was not being taught in the schools but was part of an adult education program for the Eskimos. The syllabic system was not taught in school either as there were no qualified teachers available to teach in Eskimo.
  179. Nevertheless it was intended that the lower grades will eventually be taught in the Eskimo tongue.
  180. The Chairman stated that the Department felt that not to teach English in schools would be a grave injustice to the Eskimos, since English is a language of business.
  181. Mr. Sivertz added that English was an absolute necessity if Eskimos were to achieve higher education, and to appreciate the world's literature.
  182. Canon Davis summed up the feelings of the Committee by stating that it was necessary for the Eskimos to learn English but it was also necessary that they be taught their language so that it would be preserved. Their language would give them cultural security.

(c) Art and Handicrafts

183. Mr. Phillips mentioned various sources of assistance available to the Eskimo. Financial assistance could be provided through the Eskimo Loan Fund to both co-operatives and individuals. In addition, the Indian-Eskimo Association would assist in financing short-term projects. Market research was available through the Industrial Division. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Handicraft Guild had played an important role in marketing.

184. Mr. Phillips tabled two Eskimo carvings, describing them as examples of poor art forms. They were lamps fashioned to resemble animals. He hastened to add that the two examples before the Committee represented only a very small percentage of Eskimo carving and should not be taken as representing Eskimo handicrafts in general. He stressed that the success of the handicraft program depended upon quality. The trademark "Canadian Eskimo Art" could apply only to Arctic work of stone, ivory, wood, bone, and antlers. It would not be granted to articles of utility such as lamps and cribbage boards. The trademark, which was attached to authentic Eskimo carvings, was registered in the name of Her Majesty in the right of Canada.
185. Miss Lighthall stated that the Canadian Handicrafts Guild had always supported authentic art and was certainly not in favour of carvings being mass-produced. The poorer the quality of the carvings, the less the demand would be.
186. Mr. Sutherland also stated that the Hudson's Bay Company would co-operate in eliminating poor pieces of art. The Company was most careful to weed out poor examples of art work when they were discovered.
187. Professor McIlwraith suggested that although Eskimos now made some seal-skin boots and clothing an effort should be made to intensify these crafts, thus providing an outlet for the efforts of the women. Such clothing would have to be of high quality. Traditionally sinew was used for sewing to ensure waterproofing.
188. Mr. Sivertz commented that, with the widespread use of sewing machines, thread was now used in place of sinew for inner garments. Sinew continued to be used on all outer garments. Seal-skin clothing of good quality was being produced, including mitts, parkas and mukluks. The poor quality articles made in imitation of Eskimo goods should not cause any great concern. The genuine article made by an Eskimo would continue to exert a great attraction.
189. Mr. Evans said that a successful start in the making of seal-skin clothing, particularly wedge caps, had been made in the East Ungava region. Seal-skin mats were also made.
190. Professor McIlwraith expressed concern that factory-made imitations had almost killed the parka industry and suggested affixing to all clothing a label identifying the genuine Eskimo-made garment.
191. Mr. Osaweetok said that Eskimos at Cape Dorset frequently exhausted their supplies of sandpaper, hacksaw blades, files and other tools and materials required for handicrafts.

192. Mr. Sutherland said that when the co-operative at Cape Dorset began it purchased its supplies from the Hudson's Bay Company, but it no longer did so.
193. Mr. Phillips suggested to Mr. Osawweetok that the co-operative manager could send orders direct to the supplier.
194. Mr. Osawweetok said that he had been asked to say how much the people of the Cape Dorset area appreciated the help that had been given to his people in marketing the prints and carvings. They were glad that other people wanted their prints and carvings. The people were much better off now than they had ever been before.
195. The Chairman replied that he was most gratified to learn of this and pointed out that it was the people of the Cape Dorset area themselves who had brought this about with their prints, carvings and handicrafts.
196. Mr. Osawweetok added, however, that a problem has arisen in the shortage of suitable rock for carving.
197. Mr. Sutherland confirmed this statement and added that next summer the Hudson's Bay Company would employ one of their boats in an expedition to find a suitable rock.
198. Mr. Haniliak asked for assistance for the people of the Cambridge Bay area who wished to carve, but had difficulty in obtaining suitable rock.
199. Mr. Sivertz stated that he would convey Mr. Haniliak's request to the Administrator of the Mackenzie.
200. Eskimo arts and handicrafts, which might be called a folk activity had two advantages. The first of these was providing a steady income for the people. The second, just as important as the first, was that the Eskimo had a folk art recognized by other people. Self-confidence was built on the fact that other Canadians and people in many different countries found these to be crafts as good and interesting as the Eskimos did.

## XII. OTHER BUSINESS

### (a) Seasons on White Fox

201. The Chairman referred to a suggestion by Mr. Anawakalook that the white fox trapping season be extended from April 15<sup>th</sup> to April 30<sup>th</sup>. In a telegram Mr. Lang of Aklavik, a member of the northwest Territories Council, had requested a similar extension in the Delta Area. As Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Mr. Robertson said, he could extend the season, but at present the date applied for the entire Northwest Territories.

202. Mr. Sutherland pointed out that the quality of white fox in the spring was not very high. During the past year a post manager who had bought 1,500 white fox pelts at \$16.50, which sold for only \$1.50 each. During the spring mating season hair was shed and the pelts became shaggy.
203. Mr. Loughrey said that in the wire Mr. Lang had mentioned that the foxes were still prime. The quality of the white fox varied each year. This year the foxes would probably remain prime until the end of April in areas above the tree line, although they were not prime now in areas below the tree line. A study of the white fox was being completed. Although at present the season for white fox was fixed for the entire territories, it might be possible to set the open season on a zone basis as was done for muskrats and beavers. However, it would be to the Eskimos' benefit to stop trapping when the foxes were past their prime, regardless of the duration of the trapping season. Foxes were reported to be plentiful this year in the eastern Arctic, but he was not aware of the conditions in the western Arctic. Since it seemed impossible to conserve the white fox, because the population was cyclical and difficult to predict, it might be advisable for the Eskimos to take advantage of the present situation. Any date set for the closing of the trapping season would have to be arbitrary since some foxes would be in prime condition while others were not.
204. Mr. Anawakalook reported that in the Frobisher Bay area there were a considerable number of white foxes but that he thought that they were past prime.
205. Mr. Osawweetok stated that there were many foxes in the Frobisher Bay area but that few people trapped them, as most of the men were working for wages.
206. Mr. Sutherland said his technical advisers in Winnipeg had advised him that white fox taken after April 15<sup>th</sup> would not be considered prime. Many of the foxes taken at that time would be bred females and the value of these pelts to the Eskimos would be approximately \$5.00 each. In the eastern and central Arctic the white fox population was on the down-swing of the population cycle. This meant that if the trapping season was extended this year many foxes would be taken. It did not necessarily follow that if the season were not extended those foxes would be available for trapping next winter. However, he did not wish to make a recommendation to the Committee since the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company might be opposed to the interests of the Eskimos in this case.
207. Mr. Sivertz doubted that the Company's view would be detrimental to the Eskimo interests, since he felt that the Eskimo interests and the interests of the fur business were in this respect closely related.

208. The Committee made no recommendation regarding the white fox season, looking instead to the Commissioner and his advisers for a decision.

(b) Royal Canadian Mounted Police

209. Mr. Phillips regretted that although a wide range of subjects had been covered by the Committee at the meeting the contribution of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the North had not been mentioned. That this contribution had not been discussed was a tribute, in a sense, to the quiet and efficient way in which the Royal Canadian Mounted Police traditionally operated. Nevertheless, the role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the North was not diminished. The Northern Administration Branch was in constant contact with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and constantly sought advice from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police whose co-operation it highly valued.

210. Inspector Parsons thanked Mr. Phillips for his kind remarks. He suggested that if the Eskimo "Book of Wisdom" were reprinted, there might be some reference to the evils of overindulgence in liquor, which was becoming a problem among the Eskimo people.

211. Jail facilities in the Northwest Territories were inadequate. However, from a recent meeting with Treasury officials it was expected that new jails would be provided in the Yukon and Northwest Territories within a couple of years.

212. Mr. Sivertz said that the Northern Administration Branch and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were studying the problem of jails at the present time. At next year's meeting of the Committee he expected to have something concrete to report regarding jails.

213. Progress was being made in the study of rehabilitation for people who had served jail sentences.

(c) Voluntary Organizations

214. Mr. Phillips reported on the interest taken in northern activities by voluntary organizations. The Canadian Handicrafts Guild had contributed funds to the art gallery to be constructed in Cape Dorset. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had supplied community halls in Frobisher Bay and Tuktoyaktuk. St. James' Church of New York had given a grant of \$2,000 as a fund to encourage handicrafts.

215. The Hudson's Bay Company had established a scholarship of \$2,500 per annum for Eskimo higher education. This generous step would be most

valuable also in encouraging children who were now in the middle grades in school.

(d) Northern Radio Service

216. Mr. Lawrence referred to the Northern Service of the C.B.C. and to the new permanent radio stations in Inuvik and Frobisher Bay, devoting part of their time to broadcasting in the Eskimo languages.
217. A thrice weekly short wave program, in Eskimo fifteen minutes in length was broadcast over the Northern Service. This had developed from a type of disc jockey show into an interesting and informative program.
218. Mr. Bolger said that the Northern Administration Branch and the Arctic District Office would continue to help the C.B.C. in every possible way.
219. Mr. Sivertz suggested that an outline of the type of information required by the C.B.C. could be sent to departmental staff in the field.
220. Mr. Lawrence said that he would prepare this outline and would soon be able to give clear directions.

(e) Chairman of Committee

221. Mr. Robertson had proposed on finding he would be unable to attend the afternoon session on April 11<sup>th</sup>, that Mr. Sivertz might be named as alternate chairman, to act at any time the regular chairman could not be present.
222. The Committee agreed that Mr. Sivertz should be its alternate chairman.
  
223. Since the Committee had no further points to discuss the Chairman adjourned the meeting at 4:45 p.m., April 11, 1961.

J.E. Cleland,  
Secretary.

## 13. Minutes of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs, 2-3 April 1962

### COMMITTEE ON ESKIMO AFFAIRS

The thirteenth meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs was held in the large Conference Room of the East Block of the Parliament Buildings on April 2 and 3, 1962 beginning at 9:30 a.m. each day.

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#### Present:

#### Members

Mr. R.G. Robertson, Chairman,

Deputy Minister,

Northern Affairs and National Resources,

Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

Mr. B.G. Sivertz, Alternate Chairman,

Director,

Northern Administration Branch,

Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. H.W. Sutherland,

General Manager,

Northern Stores Department, Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. B. Thorsteinsson,

Chief, Education Division,

Northern Administration Branch,

Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. P.F. Girard, Secretary,

Northern Administration Branch,

Northern Affairs and National Resources.

#### Eskimo Delegates

Mr. Paul Oolateetah, Resolute, N.W.T.

Mr. Victor Allen, Inuvik, N.W.T.

Mr. Johnnie Inukpuk, Port Harrison, P.Q.

Mr. Paniyuk, Coral Harbour, N.W.T.

Representatives of Members unable to attend

Superintendent W.G. Fraser,

representing Commissioner C.W. Harvison,  
Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Canon H.G. Cook, D.D.,

representing The Right Reverend D.B. Marsh, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Arctic and Canon A.H. Davis,  
General Secretary, Missionary Society of the Anglican Church of Canada.

Reverend Father James Mulvihill, O.M.I.,

representing The Most Reverend Paul Piché, O.M.I. D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie.  
The Most Reverend M. Lacroix, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Hudson Bay.  
The Most Reverend L. Scheffer, O.M.I., D.D.,  
Vicar Apostolic of Labrador.

Dr. J.S. Willis,

representing Dr. P.E. Moore, Director,  
Indian and Northern Health Services, National Health and Welfare.

Mr. A. Stevenson,

representing Mr. C.M. Bolger,  
Administrator of the Arctic,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Advisers

Mr. P.A.C. Nichols,

Manager,  
Arctic Division,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. R.A.J. Phillips,

Assistant Director,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. W.G. Brown,

Chief, Territorial Division,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. K.J. Christie,

Acting Chief, Resources Division,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. A.B. Connelly,  
Chief, Engineering Division,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. W. Rudnicki,  
Chief, Welfare Division,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Mr. D. Snowden,  
Chief, Industrial Division,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Interpreters

Mr. A. Spalding  
Mr. Elijah Erkloo,  
Miss Mary Panegoosho,  
Welfare Division,  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Assistant Secretaries

Mr. J.K.R. Keirsteid  
Mr. W. Kozar  
Northern Administration Branch,  
Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Also Present

Mrs. H. Clark,  
President,  
Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.

Miss Alice M. Lighthall,  
Chairman,  
Indian and Eskimo Committee,  
Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

Professor T.F. McIlwraith,  
Chairman,  
Department of Anthropology,  
University of Toronto.

Mr. Keith Lawrence,  
Programme Director,  
Northern Service,  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

- Miss Ann Padlo,  
Broadcaster,  
Northern Service,  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
- Mr. G.W. Rowley,  
Secretary,  
Advisory Committee on Northern Development.
- Mr. H.J. Mitchell,  
Assistant Chief,  
Industrial Division.
- Mr. A.B. Yates,  
Executive Assistant,  
Engineering Division.
- Mr. R.A. Jenness,  
Head, Community Planning Section,  
Industrial Division.
- Mr. B. Larmour,  
Projects Section,  
Industrial Division.
- Mr. M. Saulnier,  
Head, Rehabilitation Services,  
Welfare Division.
- Mr. R. Gagne,  
Linguistic Services,  
Welfare Division.
- Mr. M. Budgell,  
Projects Section,  
Industrial Division.
- Mr. Grant Wagner,  
Assistant Administrator of the Mackenzie,  
Fort Smith, N.W.T.
- Mr. J.A. Houston,  
Area Administrator,  
Cape Dorset, N.W.T.
- Mr. R.G.H. Williamson,  
Social Worker,  
Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.

Mr. B. Gunn,  
Area Administrator,  
Coral Harbour, N.W.T.

Mr. R.O. Evans,  
Area Administrator,  
Port Harrison, P.Q.

Mr. H. Zukerman,  
Social Worker,  
Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.

Mr. R.G. Helbecque,  
Area Administrator,  
Baker Lake, N.W.T.

Mr. J.D. Furneaux,  
Area Administrator,  
Povungnetuk, P.Q.

Mr. J.J. Bond,  
Area Administrator,  
Cambridge Bay, N.W.T.

Mr. D. O'Brien,  
Area Administrator,  
Coppermine, N.W.T.

#### CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

1. The Chairman welcomed the Eskimo delegates and the members to the 13<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs. He expressed an interest in hearing from the Eskimo delegates about the problems of their people and he hoped the deliberations of the Committee would result in a greater understanding of these problems.
2. He reviewed many of the significant developments which had occurred in the past year. He mentioned specifically the proposed creation of a new territory in the Mackenzie and the extension of the franchise to vote in Federal elections to the residents of Keewatin and Franklin. He pointed out that these two developments would have long term effects on the Eskimo's role in the political life of Canada.
3. The formation of a council to look after the residual part of the Northwest Territories once the Mackenzie Territory was formed would probably result in the death of the present Committee.

4. If the Eskimo was to play a greater and greater role in Canadian affairs, he must be educated and while Eskimo enrolment in schools over the year increased from 1780 to more than 2000, much remained to be done. Work was also progressing in developing a curriculum to meet the needs of the Eskimo people.
5. The T.B. rate among Eskimos through intensive X-ray surveys and hospitalization had been drastically reduced and as a result by December 31, 1960, there were only 282 hospitalized cases of T.B. as compared to 698 cases in 1957. Infant mortality however, still remained as the biggest health problem in the Northwest Territories. It accounted for about 50% of deaths from all causes at all ages among the Eskimo in 1960.
6. One of the reasons for the high infant mortality was poor housing. Under a program begun by the Government three years ago, some three hundred houses had been erected of minimum standard. Under a new program to begin in 1962-63, it was planned to provide a minimum house of somewhat higher standard costing in most cases \$2,000.00. It was expected that about 200 of these houses would be built by the end of 1963. The program would provide subsidization by the Federal Government at a standard \$1,000.00. It was also planned to provide houses for about 500 families who could not afford to pay for any housing at all.
7. A new ordinance passed by the Northwest Territories Council in July 1961, made possible a first rate child welfare program. Family Allowances were now all paid by the cheque system with favourable results reported from all points.
8. Many social problems had not yet been solved, one of the major ones resulting from the increased alcohol consumption among Eskimos. An Interdepartmental Committee on Social Adjustment had been studying this problem along with others including the need for youth and adult recreation in the northern settlements.
9. Employment or lack of it could become a major problem if the people were not educated and the resources were not taken advantage of. Co-operatives, the building of a new townsite at Frobisher Bay and a railway to Pine Point plus the opening of mines at various points in the territories would provide employment on an ever increasing scale over the next few years.
10. The most immediate problems confronting the Department today affected the people of Keewatin. In the absence of game, most of the Eskimos around Baker Lake and Eskimo Point had moved into the settlements. The anticipated closing of the North Rankin Nickel Mine would result in large scale unemployment in that community. Most Keewatin Eskimos therefore

faced bleak prospects and all avenues were being explored at present to meet this situation.

## II. INTRODUCTION OF ESKIMO DELEGATES AND THEIR PRELIMINARY VIEWS

11. Upon completing his report the Chairman introduced the Eskimo delegates and invited them to comment.
12. Mr. Paul Oolateetah, the delegate from Resolute, expressed his gratitude at being able to attend the meeting. He mentioned a few problems which he would like discussed including hospitalization, the employment situation at Resolute, and the possibilities of an Administrative Officer being sent to Resolute to organize activities the Eskimos would be interested in.
13. Mr. Paniyuk of Coral Harbour, Southampton Island, also expressed his gratitude at being able to attend the meeting on behalf of the Eskimo people in his settlement. He mentioned concern about the unemployment situation in Coral Harbour and about the lack of oil for heating houses. He stated that the houses can be heated only at night because of this deficiency.
14. Johnny Inukpuk of Port Harrison wished to discuss schooling, health, hunting, boat unloading at Port Harrison and the migration of Eskimos from his area.
15. Mr. Victor Allen of Inuvik, speaking in English, stated he was happy to be present to discuss the problems of the Eskimos at Inuvik and Aklavik. The items he wished to raise were covered under other headings in the agenda.

## III. ITEMS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES OF THE LAST MEETING

16. Since no items arising out of the last meeting were raised, the Committee agreed to proceed to item IV.

## IV. WELFARE

17. Mr. Saulnier reported on the progress that had been made by the Committee on the Eskimo Book of Wisdom (which is to be rechristened The Book of Knowledge). The Committee on Eskimo Affairs had asked the administration at its last meeting to look into the possibility of having the Book of Wisdom reprinted. He stated that an Eskimo name, Inukshuk (Landmark), might be used for the work which would perhaps comprise two volumes, the first volume of 63 articles covering health, housing, sanitation, and other similar subjects; the second volume of 25 articles covering taxes, the Civil Service, the Government structure, and other articles of an intangible nature. Mr. Saulnier added that the Committee had decided to produce the Book of Knowledge in

- two bound volumes rather than a loose leaf form, and that the first volume would be published by this summer. The book is to be published in English and Eskimo, in both the new Roman orthography and syllabics. He reported that Miss Phylis Harrison, a journalist and former welfare worker with the Department of Northern Affairs in Frobisher Bay had been appointed Editor-in-Chief, but that the present Committee would continue to function as an editorial advisory committee.
18. Dr. Willis emphasized that a sturdy bound volume would be preferable to a loose leaf volume since the book will come in for hard use by Eskimos travelling about the country. Eskimos who still live the nomadic life and have not the opportunity to learn the things contained in the book first hand would find the book very useful. He felt that the books would be read by the Eskimos, to many of whom books are a rare thing to own and to read.
  19. The Chairman pointed out that if the articles were of a nature that they would get out of date or if there were any gaps left to fill, the loose leaf format would be preferable. He felt that the Book of Knowledge was a very important project - a useful and organized attempt at advice.
  20. Superintendent Fraser mentioned that the junior members of the R.C.M. Police had all been issued with a loose leaf text which had been found to be very durable.
  21. Dr. Willis replied that loose leaf chapters were often lost and damaged and were not customarily kept up to date - even among the professional field staff of the Indian and Northern Health Services (I.N.H.S.). He stated that he would prefer to see five year revisions of the book instead.
  22. The Chairman suggested that as a compromise supplementary volumes could be issued to the sturdier bound volumes.
  23. Professor McIlwraith recommended that the book be published on a sufficiently large scale so that extra copies (about 200) would be available.
  24. Mr. Paniyuk felt that a book of this nature would be helpful to the Eskimos and would be widely read.
  25. Mr. Oolateetah stated that in the beginning the Eskimos would not be familiar with the book or its purposes but that after a while they would learn from the book. He felt that if it were well-written the Eskimos would understand. As they begin to grasp some of the concepts they would like the books better.
  26. Canon Cook asked how many copies of the previous volumes had been issued since he had never seen one in any Eskimo camp.

27. Mr. Stevenson explained that the 1947 Edition of the Book of Wisdom was published in sufficient copies so that every family in the eastern Arctic could have at least one copy, and he felt that the same scale had been followed for the western Arctic. He added that the 1947 Edition had been given a mixed reception - in some cases it was believed too simple, in others it was considered a good start.
28. Mr. Spalding mentioned that in his experience the book had been received well by the Eskimo people in some parts but that others had felt that they were being talked to as children and found the pages of the book most useful for patching leaks in the roof.
29. Miss Padlo felt that if the book recommended a way of life, that recommendations of this kind must be made keeping in mind the Eskimos' limited resources.
30. The Chairman agreed that the book must be prepared so that it could be useful to a wide range of people and capable of straddling a wide range of differences.
31. Dr. Willis stated that much procedural advice on health and sanitation did not place any increased cost burden on the Eskimo family. He felt that every piece of advice should be scrutinized in the light of the resources of the people.
32. Mr. Williamson said that the Eskimos were quite sensitive to any form of patronizing and felt that this attitude must be avoided in the book.
33. The Committee concluded that the book was a worthwhile project which should be handled with extreme care in order to avoid problems raised during the discussion. (See further report on Welfare, General April 3, page 13).

## V. HEALTH

### Health Services Plan-Effect on the Eskimo

34. Dr. Willis reviewed the current Eskimo health picture and concluded that recent improvements in Eskimo health were due to better housing and diet coupled with improved medical coverage. He told the Committee that the medical officer to be stationed at Cambridge Bay, and to cover points on the Dew Line, would be primarily responsible for non-Federal Electric Corporation people, but he would, nevertheless, like to see a co-operative effort between I.N.H.S. and the Dew Line authorities in providing medical services. He reported that I.N.H.S. had approached the Federal Electric Corporation advocating some financial agreement whereby the two

organizations would form a medical pool. He added that the new Health Services Plan 1962-67, would bring most benefit immediately to the Great Slave Lake area but that stations were planned for Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Padloping Island within the next few years. In his review of the health situation of the Eskimos, Dr. Willis emphasized that immediate treatment was of the utmost necessity.

35. Mr. Oolateetah reported that the Eskimo people of Resolute had asked him to tell the Committee that the lack of proper water supply and sanitation, coupled with the fact that the men of the community were nearly all employed by the Air Force, made it difficult for women who had been in southern hospitals to convalesce properly at their northern homes due to the heavy workload placed on them. He felt that some form of water supply to replace the present system of melting ice from glaciers and icebergs would be better for the health of these women.
36. Mr. Connelly replied that the expense of providing running water would be very high but that a truck delivery would be operated soon and that a pressure system within the houses could be used eventually in those houses where the occupants could afford to defray some of the cost.
37. The Chairman suggested that since the main problem was that the women must haul blocks of ice to their homes that someone at Resolute should set himself up in business to deliver ice.
38. Mr. Oolateetah said that this had been discussed but that the Eskimos did not know how to organize this business.
39. Mr. Stevenson promised that the administration would look into the problem with a view to rendering advice on how it could best be handled.
40. Mr. Paniyuk stated that the same problem existed at Coral Harbour.
41. Superintendent Fraser said that he would write to Constable Gordon of the R.C.M. Police at Resolute and ask him to be of what assistance he could.
42. Dr. Willis asked the Hudson Bay Company representatives if there was any demand in the northern stores for linoleum, oilcloth or latex base paints which with their impervious surfaces would make housework easier for the Eskimo women, as well as removing possible sources of infection.
43. Mr. Nichols said that there was a large demand for oilcloth in the larger communities.
44. Dr. Willis felt the use of such materials should be recommended in the Book of Knowledge.

45. Professor McIlwraith suggested that a study of water problems of other groups such as the Canadian Indians would be valuable in determining solutions to the northern problems.
46. Mr. Williamson added that the problem [of] water supply was closely related to the problem of heating and heating costs since much time and heat were required to melt ice and that the problem was increased through poor housing. He felt that the Committee should consider the problem in this broader context.
47. The Chairman asked the Committee for its views on the time of meeting in the afternoon. He mentioned that the members of the Committee and the Eskimo delegates had been invited to a dinner to be given by the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources and that the Eskimo delegates had been invited to sit in the Speaker's Gallery to witness the opening of the afternoon sitting of Parliament. The Committee agreed to reconvene at 3:00 p.m.
48. The Committee adjourned at 12:15 p.m.
49. The meeting reconvened at 3:00 p.m., Mr. Sivertz in the Chair. The Committee continued its discussion of health.
50. Mr. Inukpuk told of how about four years ago one of his children became sick in the camp and that he tried to take the child to the nearest settlement. The child died on the way because the settlement was so far.
51. As a partial safeguard against such emergencies, Dr. Willis showed the Committee a simple medicine bag containing drugs and supplies which might have been of some use in an emergency such as the one Mr. Inukpuk described. He pointed out that this medicine bag was stocked with antibiotics sufficient for one family. Each medicine bag contains tablets for fevers in babies, in children and adults; ointments for skin diseases and for eye trouble; pills for pain; and dressings for bleeding, as well as instructions on use and caution notices. The object was to find medicines which were not dangerous so that if a child by accident got hold of this chest, eating any of the contents would only make him very sick and could not be the cause of death. The medicinal contents of the bag could be replenished at any supply station when the Eskimo was coming to a post to sell his products. Dr. Willis asked the Eskimo delegates whether the introduction of such a medicine bag was a good idea.
52. The Chairman pointed out that the labels on the contents were in syllabics and that syllabics were not understood by the Western Eskimo.
53. Mr. Oolateetah liked the idea of having the contents placed in a bag. He pointed out that to use a box would be too cumbersome for the dog sled.

54. Mr. Inukpuk liked the idea also. Because of the distances between settlements and camp, he felt such a bag was a necessity for each Eskimo.
55. Professor T.F. McIlwraith asked whether this medicine bag would be for sale or whether it would be given away.
56. Dr. Willis suggested that he would prefer to see such a bag on sale. He realized, however, that there were cases in which it would be necessary to give the bag to the Eskimo.
57. Dr. Willis mentioned a new Health Worker Program to be started among the Indians where they would be trained in basic medical treatment and public health techniques. They would be helpers to the regular doctor and public health nurse and would work among their own people. The plan will also be instituted among the Eskimos. These Eskimos would be trained to handle the medicine chest and dispense simple remedies.
58. He also told the Committee of a simple pedal generator which could be used to operate a radio to get medical advice in emergencies. The generator had been developed by the Royal Australian Flying Doctor Service and was the type of thing needed in remote communities in the north.
59. The Chairman asked for comments from the Eskimo delegates.
60. Mr. Oolateetah told the Committee that the doctor stationed at the Resolute air base had given the Eskimo instructions in first aid, and urged that other Eskimos take such courses. He expressed his pleasure at being able to receive such a course, and for the interest of the doctor at the air base in giving it.
61. Dr. Willis pointed out that as transportation improved into Resolute there would be more professional people going there more often to help the Eskimo with his health problems. He pointed out that Resolute itself was too small for a permanent nursing station.
62. The Committee noted with gratification the progress made in bringing better health services to the Eskimos and the resultant decrease in deaths among Eskimos from T.B.
63. Infant mortality was a major problem yet and every effort must be made to improve housing and the health education of the Eskimo.
64. The problem of supplying water to homes at Resolute and Coral Harbour would be looked into by the Administration.
65. The Committee felt that the widespread distribution of family medical packs, once perfected, would be a forward step.
66. The Chairman suggested postponing discussions on the Education item until officers of the Education Division were available. The Committee agreed to

discuss Item VII, Resources and Economy leaving Item VI, Education, to be discussed later.

## VII. RESOURCES AND ECONOMY

### (a) Renewable Resources

67. Mr. Snowden presented a report on renewable resources. Speaking about projects, he stated the role of the government in resource—based projects was to experiment; most of the work done in resource-based projects was new. It was a type of work associated with a high failure rate. To date, projects have been fairly successful. This was due perhaps to the fact that most projects had taken place in areas where the greatest amount of success could be expected.
68. The Projects Section of the Industrial Division had three objectives in mind at all times: to make food available for local use; to ensure that certain items were available in areas where there is a deficiency of such items; to ship surplus items to the luxury markets in the south. He pointed out that the role of the government was merely to begin a project. Most projects were too expensive for the Eskimos to begin by themselves. When a project had proved successful it was then suggested to the Eskimos that they form a co-operative to buy equipment for the continuation of the project.
69. Port Burwell had had remarkable success with its arctic char co-operative. In the coming year it was hoped to embark upon a project of mass harvesting of seal for human consumption, and for dog food. It was expected that the sealskins would be sent to other co-operatives to be tanned and then returned to Port Burwell for working. Any surplus meat was expected to be sold in Ungava. Another project at Port Burwell was the cod fishing co-operative. The cod was sold solely in the north.
70. In Fort Chimo there were two co-operatives run and owned by the people themselves. The first was a commercial fishery co-operative handling salmon and char which was flown to the south. The second was a logging co-operative for which a sawmill had recently been purchased. The lumber produced was for the most part put on sale. However, the shortage of homes in Fort Chimo was now forcing the Eskimos to use a great deal of this lumber to build their own homes.
71. The Co-operative at Cape Dorset dealt chiefly with Eskimo graphic art. It was expected that sales from this art would be up from last year by about 40 to 60%.
72. For the coming year various projects were planned. Because of the migration of people into the Baker Lake area it had been decided to harvest in greater

amounts the sea resources in the western Hudson Bay area. It had also been decided to put seal meat in tins and to smoke it as well. There would be no extra supplies for sale in the south. All such supplies would be available only to the people in the Keewatin area. In the Mackenzie Delta a fish reduction plant was being planned for the ensuing year. It was hoped that this plant would be able to supply all the dog food necessary food which was now being imported from the south. A fourth project planned was the opening of more tourist co-operatives in the north. It was hoped to open two tourist camps on the west coast of Hudson's Bay which eventually would be turned over to the Eskimos.

73. Mr. Snowden concluded his remarks with the statement that new techniques of harvesting with sounder boats would enable the Eskimo to go farther afield and to get their food needs from the north, rather than having to import them from the south.
74. Canon Cook asked Mr. Snowden how many people belonged to the co-operatives.
75. Mr. Houston pointed out that at Cape Dorset there were 200 members; not all of these, however, were Eskimos. At present there were 152 paid Eskimo members in the co-operative. Membership fee was \$5.00.
76. Mr. Snowden roughly estimated that there were 1,500 Eskimos belonging to co-operatives. He pointed out that there were now two types of co-operatives in existence. First, a multi-co-operative involving all the people in the community on an all year basis. Second, the single cooperative involving only certain people for a certain period of time, such as the newly formed housing co-operative at Frobisher Bay.
77. Mr. Allen stated that the Eskimos in the Aklavik area were interested in forming a co-operative to hunt seals on Herschel Island.
78. Mr. Snowden pointed out that in a recent Projects Officers' meeting in Ottawa, it was decided to make available to the people in Aklavik a boat, on rental basis, which would run to Herschel Island. The harvesting of seals on Herschel Island would permit the Eskimo in Aklavik and Inuvik to have meat for human consumption and also for his dog. As well, there would be a greater supply of furs for the fur garment industry at Aklavik. He stated that for the Eskimo, the sea was the farm of the north.
79. Superintendent Fraser noted that the R.C.M. Police were interested in establishing a dog compound at Herschel Island. The establishment of such a compound would require a great deal of food. Such food could be bought from the Eskimo if they decided upon harvesting the seal.

80. Mr. Inukpuk then raised the problem of dog chains. He stated that the existing dog chains were not strong enough to hold the dogs. He asked if it would be possible to have a fence erected within which the dogs could be kept. He thought that if an outer wall of snow was built around the fence this would eliminate the problem of drifts which could conceivably allow the dogs to climb over the fence.
81. Superintendent Fraser mentioned that penning dogs resulted in greater quantities of food being consumed and this was an expensive way of keeping dogs.
82. Mr. Snowden discussed co-operatives in more detail. He pointed out that the first co-operatives were begun in Port Burwell and George River in 1959. Now there are fourteen, all of which were owned by the Eskimos. Not only had these co-operatives developed the economy in a particular area but they had also assisted in giving the Eskimo a sense of responsibility. Most co-operatives were started by a loan from the Eskimo Loan Fund. Co-operatives were formed for many purposes including fishing, logging, housing, arts and crafts, and tourism. Mr. Snowden reported that the Eskimos at Cape Dorset had decided to set aside the tourist co-operative for the coming year.
83. Mrs. Clarke asked Mr. Snowden to expand upon this latter statement. She was sorry to hear about this development. The Indian-Eskimo Association had made arrangements some time ago to go to Cape Dorset for a seminar group.
84. The Chairman pointed out that the idea of co-operatives was to let the Eskimos eventually make their own decisions. When this decision was made it must be respected.
85. Mr. Houston elaborated on Mr. Snowden's statement, stating that the reason for the decision to no longer have a tourist co-operative in Cape Dorset was not based on economics but on time since the Eskimo found that there was just not enough time to carry out the work required by such a co-operative.
86. Mr. Phillips said that if the co-operative was unable to meet its accommodation commitment to the Indian-Eskimo Association, the Administration would ensure that facilities were made available so that the seminar could take place on schedule.

(b) Non-Renewable Resources

87. The Committee then heard a report by Mr. Christie on the mineral potential and development in the north.
88. Mr. Christie said that last year on Cornwallis Island three companies were working; it was expected that in the coming summer there would be three

companies working there again. In the Contwoyto Lake area, gold was discovered last fall. However, there was insufficient time to analyse properly this discovery. To date, three prospecting permit areas had been granted and over 1000 claims had been staked in the area. A fair amount of exploration is expected in the next year in the Canada Tungsten area.

89. Mr. Christie also pointed out that under the prospector's assistance program, one person from Aklavik had applied for such aid and will be going into the Yukon – N.W.T. boundary area this coming summer.
90. In the field of oil and gas, a great deal of work has been done in the north in the past year, the most important being perhaps the explorations at Melville Island. The explorations there had not turned up any gas or oil to date, but they had given important stratification data which would be helpful in the future.
91. The Chairman supplemented Mr. Christie's remarks by reporting that a group of Eskimos had arrived in Yellowknife from the Bathurst area to get staking tags for the Contwoyto Lake District. These Eskimos had not yet staked any claims but there was a strong possibility that they would soon. This was the first venture by any Eskimos to stake claims of this scope.
92. NOTE: Since the Committee meeting, it has been learned that the Eskimos have had seventy-two claims recorded.
93. He also pointed out that the Resources Division had recently published a report on the Possibilities of Oil and Gas in the North by Dr. Quirin as well as a Report on Mining Activities in the North, 1960.
94. The Committee noted the comments made concerning renewable and non-renewable resources. The Committee adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

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95. Mr. Sivertz, acting as chairman, called the meeting to order at 9:00 a.m. At the request of Mr. Snowden, the Committee agreed to revert to the topic of the previous day "Renewable Resources" to hear a report on a new Boat Loan Fund.
96. Mr. Budgell outlined to the Committee a plan developed to assist Eskimos who wished to purchase new boats and engines in order to gain part of their livelihood from the sea. He stated that many of the boats owned by Eskimos at present are old and dangerous and that low fur prices prevent the Eskimos from buying new boats and engines without some form of assistance. The form of assistance proposed is similar to that available to other Canadian fishermen: 40% of the price of the boat would be given to the purchaser as a

grant; 40% would be loaned by the Eskimo Loan Fund repayable in five years at 5% interest; and the purchaser would be required to pay 20% of the total price in cash at the time of purchase.

97. Mr. Budgell mentioned that this plan had received approval in principle from the Treasury Board. A committee composed of representatives of the Departments of Transport and Fisheries, the National Research Council and the Engineering Division of the Northern Administration Branch had been formed to produce designs and to establish administrative procedures for the scheme. A catalogue of designs would be sent to Northern Service Officers and interested Eskimos would select the boat they wished to purchase from the catalogue.
98. Mr. Sutherland, referring to Mr. Budgell's remarks about low fur prices, mentioned that the present price of fox fur was relatively high; the value of furs purchased in 1961 had been exceeded only twice in the past 20 years.
99. Mr. Paniyuk asked whether diesel or gas engines would be available and said that the people of Southampton Island would like to purchase a Peterhead boat under this plan.
100. Mr. Budgell replied that both gas and diesel engines would be available.
101. Mr. Stevenson asked whether applications to purchase boats or engines would be scrutinized in terms of the need of the individual and whether those who made their livelihood from the sea would be given preference.
102. Mr. Budgell said that the plan was designed primarily for fishermen although others would also qualify but that no canoes or outboard motors could be purchased under the plan.
103. The Chairman suggested that the Committee revert to Agenda Item 6, Education, now that members of the Education Division were present. The Committee agreed.

## VI. EDUCATION

104. Mr. Thorsteinsson gave a resume of the educational activities in the Northwest Territories in the past year as they affect Eskimos. He told the Committee that it would be a while yet before secondary education became a reality across the Arctic, although preparation for academic work was being emphasized with elementary students, with good progress being shown. He then outlined the work being done in curriculum development such as the primers and other texts which have been designed specifically for northern schools. He drew the attention of the Committee to the booklet "Eskimo Way of Living" which had been prepared by the school at Chesterfield Inlet

- and has since been published in the Norwegian language. He commented on the accelerated program developed for older students at the elementary level.
105. In connection with vocational training, Mr. Thorsteinsson spoke of the projects now under way to provide training in widely diversified fields, such as carpentry, diesel mechanics, nurses aides, underground drilling. He also told the Committee of the new program instituted to extend the school lunch program to all school children on a uniform basis.
  106. Canon Cook asked if Mr. Thorsteinsson would give the Committee an indication of the plans for further hostel or school residences.
  107. Mr. Thorsteinsson explained to the Committee that seven cottage type hostels were in operation and that eleven more were in the planning and development stage. He told the Committee that a study was being made of the advantages of the smaller hostel and that consideration was being given to an "in between" hostel for areas where there were a large number of pupils.
  108. Mr. Inukpuk said that if the children kept going to school and staying in hostels they would forget how to hunt and will not be able to hunt with their fathers.
  109. Mr. Thorsteinsson explained that while rules must be established respecting compulsory attendance there were some communities where rules of this kind could not apply. The teachers, however, expected some reason to be given for absence and provision for hunting expeditions would be made in those areas where hunting was a large part of the economy. He explained that the purpose of this education was to make persons better able to understand what was happening in the world and to make them more effective people in their society.
  110. Mr. Inukpuk told the Committee that the children who come from outlying camps got so used to white food while living in hostels that they became dissatisfied with native food. He also suggested that a teacher be sent to his camp and a school be established there.
  111. Mr. Thorsteinsson explained that the present program provided for younger students to be taught as close to home as possible and that when 26 or more students were in a reasonably permanent location a school would be built. It was necessary however, to bring older children together where an ample program could be provided.
  112. Canon Cook said that the matter of native food was the subject of concern to those who operate the hostels since the Game Ordinance ruled that game meat could not be purchased or kept in hostel kitchens even when the meat was donated by parents.

113. Superintendent Fraser said that he understood that the Council of the Northwest Territories had agreed in principle to some types of game being allowed in the hostels and that the Game Ordinance was to be amended.
114. Mr. Girard reported that the Council of the Northwest Territories had agreed that no exception would be made to the provisions of the Game Ordinance of the Northwest Territories respecting the sale and consumption of game meat. Under the provisions of the Game Ordinance the Commissioner is permitted however, to make an order allowing the serving of game meat in the hostels. Until this past summer, this power had never been exercised but at the July Session the Council specifically directed the Commissioner to pass an order if requested allowing the serving in hostels of dried moose meat at any time or the serving of duck only in the first two weeks of September. If the hostel management specifically requests the Commissioner to pass such an order, it may be presumed the Commissioner would grant the order under these conditions, as was done in the case of the hostel at Fort Simpson during the past summer.
115. Mrs. Clark said that no specific mention had been made of adult education and asked whether a program of fundamental education for adults was underway.
116. Mr. Thorsteinsson explained the current program of adult education and the present plans for its expansion.
117. Mr. Gunn stated that the present program was inadequate when viewed in the light of other circumstances and gave as an example the case of Eskimos involved in trapping and hunting who were unable to take advantage of any regular program of adult education.
118. The Chairman added that co-operatives and Eskimo Councils play a great role in introducing fundamental educational values.
119. Professor McIlwraith asked what the plans and possibilities were for high school education for Eskimos.
120. Mr. Thorsteinsson replied that Eskimo students were being encouraged to take as much education as possible and that everything possible was being done to encourage students to remain in school and to provide vocational guidance but the results of this program would not be apparent for several years.
121. Professor McIlwraith then asked if thought had been given to providing a bursary which would not only cover students' expenses but would also encourage the family of the student to allow him to be away from home.

122. Mr. Thorsteinsson said that a paper was being prepared covering the situation and added that the Indian Affairs Branch and the Hudson's Bay Company had established scholarships for university education for Indians and Eskimos.
123. Mr. Phillips mentioned that a donation had recently been received which could be used as the basis for a flexible fund for further education. It could be flexible in that the money need not be specifically tied down to pay for tuition; it could be used for what the student needed most to allow him to continue in his studies rather than as a breadwinner.
124. Mr. Allen cited a case in the Mackenzie Delta where children of mixed parentage had been denied trapping rights after they had been to school.
125. Mr. Wagner promised that he would follow this problem up as well as several other administrative problems that Mr. Allen had raised, namely:
  1. The trappers of the Delta would like to be able to sell moose and caribou meat to offset low income due to declining fur prices.
  2. They would like to have the chance to shoot ducks in the springtime.
  3. They would like to receive a government subsidy on muskrat skins which would stabilize the price at a minimum of \$1.00 per skin. He felt that this would allow the trappers subsistence with independence from relief.
126. Mr. Sutherland mentioned that due to a recent drought on the prairies the muskrat price this spring should be about 20% higher in the Delta (i.e., 70 to 75 cents).
127. In reference to the point brought up by Mr. Allen, about children of mixed parentage, Mr. Wagner explained that there was nothing in the Game Ordinance that would prohibit a child of the circumstances described by Mr. Allen from obtaining a general hunting licence.
128. Mr. Bryant added that details of the specific situation mentioned by Mr. Allen were that under the old Game Ordinance, a person had to be dependent on hunting for a livelihood before obtaining a licence, and that this provision no longer applies. As far as the request about selling moose and caribou meat was concerned, this practice was forbidden by the Game Ordinance and the Council of the Northwest Territories was not likely to relax this provision keeping in mind conservation measures.
129. The Committee agreed that the advice of the Canadian Wildlife Service should be sought concerning a possible relaxation of the Water Fowl Hunting Regulations under the Migratory Birds Convention Act to allow a short hunting season in April as suggested by Mr. Allen.

130. The Chairman suggested that the Committee revert to Agenda Item IV, Welfare to hear a report from Mr. Rudnicki, Chief of Northern Welfare Services. The Committee agreed.

IV. WELFARE – General

131. Mr. Rudnicki stated that the aim of the Welfare Division was to integrate welfare services in the Northwest Territories, particularly in the Mackenzie District. He pointed out that at present there were in effect three government welfare agencies working in the Territories, one for the Territorial Government and two for the Federal Government, one each for Northern Affairs and Indian Affairs.
132. There were now seventeen professional Social Workers in the north, with plans to further develop trained staff.
133. The Welfare Division was now engaged in providing basic welfare services in the north. In the area of welfare the north was considerably behind the south. Within the next year, the Welfare Division was hoping to select Settlement Workers, i.e., Indians, Eskimos and Metis to provide services to outlying areas. The plan was to select twelve or thirteen such Settlement Workers to come to Ottawa to train for one year and then return to the north to aid in community development and help the professionals in the field.
134. Mr. Rudnicki pointed out to the committee that Family Allowances were now being issued in the form of cheques and not in kind. He also pointed out that the child welfare program, recently instituted by the Welfare Division, was comparable to the best existing in other parts of Canada. He also stated that new procedures were instituted recently in controlling relief fund payments. He cited Baker Lake as an example. Infant mortality rates in Baker Lake were as high as 50%. He credited proper relief control for reducing this high rate to nil (By providing the necessities of life to families in need).
135. Dr. Willis stated that there were many Eskimo auxiliary people in various communities who do not understand the overlapping which exists between the various welfare agencies in the north. He pointed out in particular the services provided by the R.C.M. Police, the Indian Health Services, and the Welfare Division of Northern Affairs. He hoped that someday an Eskimo in each community would assume the responsibility for all welfare oases in the community.
136. Mr. Rudnicki said that with the further development of Eskimo Councils and a greater source of funds, Eskimos eventually would be able to hire their own staff for welfare purposes.

137. Mr. Oolateetah said that the Eskimos in Resolute were wondering if Eskimo Social Workers could be placed there. The stationing of a Welfare Worker in Resolute would make things much easier. At present if any advice was needed the Eskimo had to write to Ottawa, wait for a reply, with a resulting long delay. If there were an Eskimo Social Worker stationed at Resolute these problems could be solved much faster.
138. Mr. Rudnicki pointed out that at present there was no Social Worker in Resolute, that the closest one was in Churchill. He stated again the plan of his Division to train Eskimos in social work.
139. Mr. Oolateetah stated that with the greater contact that the Eskimo had with white men the more confident he was that he could take on the white man's jobs. The Eskimos at Resolute therefore would like to have an Eskimo Administrator. He stated that at present the Eskimo was being pushed around and could not think for himself. If the Eskimo had his own Administrator the Eskimo would be better directed and told where he could find employment.
140. Superintendent Fraser asked Mr. Oolateetah who he thought was pushing him around.
141. Mr. Oolateetah stated that he did not want to be taken erroneously. The Eskimo was happy at Resolute; but he thought that arrangements for jobs, who was to get what jobs, who was to go where, could be best administered through an Eskimo.
142. Superintendent Fraser stated that he disliked the idea of the term "being pushed around" being left on record. The Eskimos at Resolute are being treated very well and for the most part, are doing very well for themselves.
143. Mr. Oolateetah pointed out that he was not speaking particularly about Resolute but that he was speaking about the desire of the Eskimos in general to have an Eskimo Administrator. He stated that at present only some of the Eskimos are employed permanently, while others are employed hunting. There was need of someone who could direct not only wage employment but also the hunting industry in the north. What was really wanted was an Eskimo Administrator to whom the Eskimo could speak and who could better organize the needs of the people.
144. Professor McIlwraith stated that he too wanted the term "being pushed around" erased from the record. He stated that the aim of the Department of Northern Affairs was to make the Eskimo more independent. With further education this would be possible and the result would be that the Eskimo would be able to have Administrators with whom they would find it easier to converse.

145. Miss Padlo stated that as a correspondent for the CBC she quite often received correspondence from all over the Arctic. She wished to associate herself with Mr. Oolateetah's remarks. Because of the language and cultural barrier which existed between white men and Eskimos it was difficult for the white person to understand the Eskimo. Such comprehension was very difficult even if the Administrator can speak Eskimo and it was even more difficult if the Administrator could not speak Eskimo or had to speak through an interpreter. She stated that people in hospitals separated from their friends and families in the north would probably recuperate a lot faster if they could speak to an Eskimo Administrator or an Eskimo Welfare Worker who could explain to the sick person as well as to his immediate family in his own language his problems. Miss Padlo concluded by stating that welfare problems would be helped significantly if the Eskimo could deal through Eskimos.
146. Miss Lighthall asked if "INUKTITUT," published for the Eskimos, was sent to hospitals.
147. Mr. Spalding replied in the affirmative.
148. Mr. Williamson stated that there was a definite need for the white people working in the north to have a knowledge of the Eskimo language. A white person in the north becomes more efficient and effective if he learns the Eskimo tongue. Today there was a greater desire amongst those coming to the north to learn Eskimo and he credited the Department of Northern Affairs for encouraging more and more of its Administrators to become fluent in the Eskimo language.
149. Mr. Inukpuk pointed out that sometimes the adult men wanted to hunt and when not hunting to make handicrafts. He stated that when the Eskimo did want to hunt he found that he was short of oil for his boat, and ammunition. He wanted to know if the Eskimo could be helped in getting these things.
150. Mr. Evans stated that nobody had come to him for oil and ammunition and had been refused it. For the most part the people at Port Harrison were very prosperous because of their carving and also because of white fox. This was not to say that there were no poor people at Port Harrison but anybody who had need of oil or ammunition could get it.
151. The Committee noted the general comments on Welfare and the interest of the Eskimo in having some of his own race act as Social Workers and Administrators as soon as possible.

VIII. HOUSING

(a) Low Cost Housing

152. Mr. Jenness reported to the Committee about Eskimo housing. His opening remarks were taken from the report, issued prior to the Committee meeting. In addition, he stated that there were virtually no cases where an Eskimo has failed to meet payment obligations for housing.
153. Canon Cook asked what the life span of one of these single unit houses was.
154. Mr. Jenness stated that it was nominally ten years, but it was expected that these houses would last longer.
155. Dr. Willis pointed out that according to Mr. Jenness' figures, an Eskimo would pay \$15.00 a month for ten years to repay the loan he made for his house. In ten years the house was not expected to be livable. Dr. Willis pointed out that he had a scheme whereby the Eskimo could pay rent at the rate of \$15.00 per month and be provided with a more durable home. He was thinking particularly about the modern type of apartment in which the white teacher or the married Northern Service Officer now lived. He stated that the health people were not against several families living together and sharing the same apartment house. He further stated that as one family expanded it could take over more rooms and eventually, if necessary, the whole apartment dwelling. He stated that he did not accept the argument that individual Eskimo families were not used to living together in apartment buildings and would not adapt to it.
156. Mr. Gunn pointed out that this idea would require further studies and that it entailed many problems.
157. Dr. Willis realized that the Eskimo were not used to living together but he felt confident that they could learn how to live together in conditions reminiscent of the south.
158. Mr. Zukerman pointed out an experiment which was now in progress at Frobisher Bay whereby four family units were incorporated in one apartment building. These units had sinks, laundries, places to hang their clothing. He felt that more experimenting must be done, but that the larger house with several units would be welcomed eventually by the Eskimo.
159. Mr. Jenness said that he was in sympathy with the suggestions of Dr. Willis and Mr. Zukerman. However, the problem now was government subsidy. He further stated that there was a need to work with the Eskimo Councils to decide priority of need.

160. The Chairman stated that Dr. Willis was speaking for all the people when he said that he was confident that the Eskimos could learn to live in mere modern and better homes.
161. Mr. Inukpuk said that he and his people liked the new homes that were being provided, but felt that the cost of fuel to heat them was too much. He stated that in the winter, because of the lack of fuel, the homes became quite damp.
162. Dr. Willis pointed out that it takes more money to heat a square foot of house in the north than it does in the south. The answer seemed to be to put the Eskimo in a smaller square footage area, but yet provide him with proper sanitary facilities to prevent any intestinal disease which might be contracted. As the price of a home is lowered, sanitary standards are sacrificed. He stated, however, that there was a threshold below which sanitary facilities must not be lowered.
163. The Chairman pointed out there was hope that eventually the housing co-operatives would be able to solve many of the problems now confronting those working with Eskimo housing. He stated that there was expectation at present that plans for multi-unit homes amongst the Eskimos could be laid before the housing co-operatives.
164. Mr. Yates agreed that a smaller unit was needed to maintain the cost of heating at prices which the Eskimo could afford.

(b) Sanitary Facilities

165. Mr. Yates reported upon sewer and water facilities in the north. He stated that to supply such facilities was more costly in the north than it was in the south. Realizing this, a subsidy had been provided in the new scheme to provide sanitary facilities for all northern settlements over a period of years. Fifty percent of the capital and operating costs for sewer and water facilities was to be borne by the Federal or Territorial Governments depending upon their responsibility, and 50% by the user of these services.
166. He pointed out that it was not economical to install a piped water system in the smaller communities. In larger communities such as Inuvik, it was economical and was being done. In smaller centres truck services would take the place of piped systems. Water points were being built, and near them treatment plants. The truck delivers the water from the tank to the home. The same type of scheme was envisioned for sewage disposal, making use of trucks.
167. The cost of such facilities was difficult to estimate as work had not been started yet, but rather only planned. A rough guess would be that it would

- cost the Eskimos \$5.00 a month for these services. The owner of the house would also be required to put in his own plumbing and tanks.
168. Dr. Willis inquired about the toilet system to be used whether it was the “honey bucket” type used at Frobisher or the tank type used in other places in the north. He stated he preferred the plastic bag type of system.
169. Mr. Yates said that both systems would be used.
170. Mr. Allan asked why the Federal Government was spending so much money in Inuvik and yet was not providing for proper sewage systems at this time for the unserviced area. He stated that garbage was lying around sometimes for a whole week. He also stated that some houses were without water for days.
171. Mr. Yates explained what was going to be done in Inuvik to remedy this situation. There were two alternatives; either to extend utilidor services to areas not previously serviced or to provide the truck system of disposal. Mr. Yates also pointed out that it cost about \$300 a foot to provide a utilidor system and that from the utilidor, a utilidette was necessary costing \$100 a foot. Where utilidors now existed in Inuvik it was expected that the people would build their own utilidettes to connect up with the utilidor. In areas not serviced it was expected that the truck service would be provided.
172. Dr. Willis stated that here was a good case for building a multi-unit apartment dwelling. The cost for providing a utilidor service system would be reduced considerably if numerous families contributed to its cost.
173. The Chairman agreed.
174. The Meeting adjourned at 12:15.
175. The Meeting reconvened at 3:00 p.m. and continued with the discussion on housing.
176. Mr. Yates showed the Committee sketches of the low cost houses designed for the Frobisher Bay Housing Co-Operative, and explained that these designs had evolved from plans drawn by the Eskimo themselves. He drew the attention of the Committee to sketch plans which had been distributed and pointed out that the design was adaptable to either standard or prefabricated construction.
177. Dr. Willis referring to figures on the sketch plans said that he found it remarkable that the heating cost of a one-bedroom house was only \$5.00 less than for the 2-bedroom house despite the fact that the second house was twice the size of the first.
178. Mr. Connelly pointed out that this was because of the minimum size cook stove obtainable, i.e., that a point was reached where there was an irreducible minimum flow for oil.

179. Dr. Willis then pointed out what appeared to him to be an apparent discrepancy in the maintenance cost cited for the 2-bedroom and one-bedroom houses, inasmuch as the cost cited for the 2-bedroom house was seven times that for the one-bedroom.
180. Mr. Yates told the Committee that the discrepancy might be due to a low estimate for the maintenance of the one-bedroom house.
181. Mr. Connelly mentioned that experiments had been made in partitioning the standard one-room house but that the resulting rooms were found to be too restrictive.
182. The Committee noted the progress made in economical housing design and expressed interest in the suggestions made regarding multiple dwellings.

#### IX. ESKIMO COUNCILS

183. Mr. Stevenson suggested that some of the Northern Service Officers present give brief reports on the Eskimo Councils in their communities.
184. Mr. Helbecque outlined the development of the Baker Lake Residents Association and the Eskimo Council which operates separately and acts in an advisory capacity to the Residents Association. He described the organization of both. A detailed report on these two Associations was distributed to the members of the Committee.
185. Mr. Williamson described the five-man Rankin Inlet Council with a pattern adjusted to the particular community setting at Rankin Inlet, which saw several different groups living in the same area, yet, each retaining distinct identities. He said that the Council served as the best means of unifying the community. The five men meet to deliberate certain problems and the present the results of their deliberation to the full community.
186. Mr. Zukermman reported to the Committee on the Council at Frobisher Bay, which was started about 1958 and had recently been revived with a membership of 14 persons including two white people and three women.
187. Mr. Houston said that no one at Cape Dorset had felt that the Council meetings held there were too useful or significant but that the Co-operative with its emphasis on concrete matters had supplanted the Council and the discussions in the Co-operative now became meaningful although in many instances the subject matter was the same that would have been covered in a Council meeting.
188. Mr. Evans said that the Council at Port Harrison was possibly the most recently formed since it was inaugurated in December 1961. One of the difficulties of this Council lay in a dispersed population since only 80 people

live in the actual settlement at Port Harrison. The Council pattern had been adapted so that there was a settlement council which consulted with the camp leaders. Mr. Evans reported that the Council began its operations by organizing its own Christmas festivities, a radical departure from previous years when the Christmas activities had been organized for the Eskimos by the whites. As a second project, the Council had bought several surplus buildings from the R.C.M. Police and it planned to use these buildings as community halls.

189. Mr. Inukpuk raised the problem about two Eskimos from Port Harrison who were now in Great Whale River and would like to return to Port Harrison but could not afford gas for their boat engines.
190. The Chairman referred the question to Mr. Fyfe who informed the Committee that the matter had already been raised with him but that no action could be taken at present.
191. Mr. Furneaux told the Committee that the Eskimo Council at Povungnetuk had been formed in January 1962 and that the Co-operative acted as the basis for the Council. The members of the Council had begun collecting a tax to employ someone to maintain cleanliness in the community.
192. Mr. Bond told the Committee that an interim Council had been formed initially at Cambridge Bay and that in December 1961 a more permanent Council had been elected with a membership of 8 Eskimos and 4 whites.
193. Mr. Gunn said that no formal Council had been established at Coral Harbour since the background of the people was not conducive to such organization - the people belong to several diverse groups of Eskimos.
194. Mr. O'Brien told the Committee that there was a dual Council at Coppermine similar to the organization at Baker Lake. He said that the Eskimo Council had been formed and was controlled by the people themselves and met every two weeks.
195. Mrs. Clark asked the Northern Service Officers if they had the impression that there was a point or a place where the Eskimos felt they should meet on their own without any white persons in attendance.
196. Mr. Helbecque replied that at Baker Lake the Eskimos would invite white persons to attend their councils only for technical advice, but otherwise felt that the presence of white people was inhibiting to free discussion.
197. Mr. Allen said that the Housing Co-operative at Inuvik was proof of the co-operation between white people and Eskimos and that the Eskimo members of the Co-operative relied upon the white people to handle much of the

administration. He said that the Indians in the Mackenzie Delta had at one point belonged to the Co-operative but had since lost interest.

198. The Committee noted the development of self reliance among the Eskimos engendered by the formation of Councils.

## X. ESKIMO CULTURE

### (a) Standard Orthography

199. Mr. Rudinicki reported to the Committee on the work done since the last Committee on Eskimo Affairs. He said that a seminar had been held in the summer of 1961 at Churchill as the 1961 Committee had suggested. He asked Mr. Gagne who had been intimately involved with the Churchill seminar to explain the development of the new standard orthography further.
200. Mr. Gagne said that the orthography had now been accepted by most of the Eskimo people and that the major work to be done was to implement the new orthography by training Eskimos to teach others.
201. Mr. O'Brien asked whether the new orthography had been designed to cover all variations of the language.
202. Mr. Gagne replied that some difficulties had been encountered but none were found either insuperable or fundamental. He explained to the Committee that the orthography would not mean any disuse of dialects and that it had no connection with semantics but affected only the written language.
203. Mr. Williamson stated that he felt this was a significant moment in Eskimo history.
204. Mr. Erklou told the Committee that although he had some doubts when the subject of the new orthography was first raised, he was now convinced that the new orthography expressed the Eskimo language more accurately than syllabics and that more writing would be done. He added that he felt the new orthography would be of great advantage to the future generations of Eskimos.
205. Mr. Gagne invited suggestions from the Northern Service Officers about the selection of the initial twelve candidates to be trained to teach orthography.
206. Mr. Williamson suggested that the Eskimo Councils should discuss the training program and assist in the selection of candidates.
207. Mr. Oolteetah said that all Eskimos now know Roman numbers and would learn the new orthography quickly.
208. The Committee noted the progress made on the new standard orthography.

(b) Arts and Handicrafts

209. Mr. Mitchell spoke of the progress being made in the program of arts and handicrafts development and said that many new products were being developed. He told the Committee that craft production would soon become a major source of income in the north.
210. Mr. Larmour showed the Committee several sealskin items and spoke of the Eskimo development of new crafts typified by these items. He also referred to the market promotion program and the program of informing the public about imitations as well as the importance of the maintenance of standards. He also showed the Committee several items made from various materials, such as hard plastic, granite, caribou antlers, hoofs and sealskin. He made specific reference to the rapid development of the Baker Lake crafts program.
211. Mr. Houston said that almost every settlement could produce arts and crafts if they wanted to, if there was ample material and if it were economically feasible to do. He told the Committee that the market for Eskimo carvings was continuing to grow. He explained that while travelling recently in Europe, he had studied with an engraver in France and was teaching the Eskimos a new technique in making prints by engraving on a hard material. He spoke of the enormous art potential of the Eskimos and urged that the world market be further developed for Eskimo arts.
212. Professor McIlwraith suggested that the worth of Eskimo art as Eskimo art had reached a place in the modern world. He expressed his hope that Eskimo art would continue for many years as an integral part of the Canadian way of life, and would enrich all of the people of the world.
213. Miss Lighthall said that there was a very great demand for Eskimo art but that the Canadian Handicrafts Guild realized that the continuance of Eskimo art and of the demand depended on safe-guarding the Eskimo character and originality. She urged that works not be copied or reproduced.
214. Mr. Gagne raised the problem of obtaining a [copyright] for a piece of Eskimo art so that it would not be possible for an imitation to be made.
215. Mr. Houston explained the present situation in regard to this question and told the Committee that the legal situation was imprecise but that ethically the situation was very clear - that such imitations were morally wrong.
216. Miss Lighthall said that the Canadian Handicrafts Guild was fighting to preserve the originality of Eskimo art and craft products, and to combat imitations. She spoke of the full cooperation that the Guild had received from the Department of Northern Affairs and the Japanese authorities. She told the

Committee that the Guild was most concerned with the control of outlets for Eskimo art and crafts.

217. The Chairman explained that some imitators could not legally be stopped, since they produced art forms “inspired by” Eskimo art, and were not making direct copies.
218. Mr. Larmour suggested that the public should be more discriminating when purchasing Eskimo art and crafts, and insist upon the genuine articles only. He thought it would be useful if the artist inscribed his name on the works.
219. The Chairman thanked Mr. Larmour for showing the samples of recent Eskimo crafts to the Committee. He then spoke of the work done by Mr. Houston in the eleven years he had been with the Department; of the tremendous part he had played in the promotion of Eskimo art; of the affection and esteem in which Mr. Houston is held by the Department and all people in the North, Eskimo and white alike. All who knew him in the Department regretted that Mr. Houston would be leaving in the near future.

(c) Inuktitut & Inuktitun:

220. The Chairman told the Committee that INUKTITUT and INUKTITUN continue to have a useful and growing role to play in the North, and introduced the editor of INUKTITUT, Miss Mary Panegoosho, one of the interpreters for the Committee.
221. The Committee endorsed the Chairman’s remarks about the increasing quality and use of these two publications.

XI. OTHER BUSINESS

222. The Chairman asked Mr. Lawrence, of the CBC, to tell the Committee of the growth and role of the CBC Northern Service.
223. Mr. Lawrence outlined the development of the CBC Northern Service, and spoke of the service it provides and its organization. He told the Committee that broadcasts in the Eskimo language now originated from Northern stations and from Montreal, by short wave. He introduced Miss Padlo, who broadcasts a program called UQUASI twice-weekly from Montreal, in the Eskimo language. He said that broadcasting in the Eskimo language was a valuable method of keeping the language very much alive, and told the Committee that the CBC Northern Service wished to institute more spoken language programs in the North, and was looking for people with bilingual or trilingual facility for northern stations. He told the Committee of a new program to begin shortly, entitled “The Commissioner Replies”, for which

listeners would be asked to submit questions for reply by the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

224. Miss Padlo spoke briefly of her experience with the program UQUASI, the initial difficulties she had encountered as well as the warm and congratulatory letters she had received from listeners. She told the Committee that many people have told her that they regard the program as a “friend” coming into their homes. She then thanked the white members of the Committee for their deep interest in her people.
225. The Chairman conveyed the Minister’s thanks to the members of the Committee, and expressed his own thanks to the Committee members for their participation and interest. He also expressed his gratitude to the numerous visitors who had shown a lively interest in the [proceedings]. He thanked the Eskimo delegates for attending, and commended them for speaking so effectively on behalf of their people, and at the same time spoke of the excellence of the translation service which had been provided.
226. The Meeting adjourned at 6:30 p.m.

P.F. Girard,  
Secretary.

## Appendix: Inuktitut Versions of the Minutes of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Meetings of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs (1960-62)

In 1961, the Eskimo Affairs Committee decided to produce “a condensed Eskimo version” of the meeting minutes. “The condensation planned is to include only items considered of particular interest to the Eskimo people and responsibility for the selection, editing and translation of this material was assigned the Welfare Division,” a memorandum to file on 23 November 1961 noted.

The Northern Administration Branch intended to distribute “the Eskimo version of these minutes ... as widely as possible with copies posted at Eskimo meeting places: such as missions, trading stores, departmental offices and schools, nursing stations and so on and also with copies available for circulation to hunting camps, et cetera.”

Concurrently, the Branch prepared a condensed English version of the minutes for internal government audiences, which consisted of simple extracts from the full minutes to assist “non-Eskimos in helping to explain to Eskimos what was discussed at the Eskimo Affairs Committee meeting.” The English and Inuktitut versions were similar but not the same. “The Eskimo version will have to be reworded to convey in Eskimo idiom some of the abstract ideas expressed in the English condensation,” the memorandum noted.

The condensed meeting minutes were distributed according to a formula that provided for one copy to each Inuk in a hunting area and one copy to each Inuk in “a wage employment area” where, presumably, the higher concentration of people would allow for sharing of a copy. 109 copies of the Eskimo version and 60 copies of the English version were distributed in the Frobisher Bay region, and 78 copies of the Eskimo version and 54 copies of the English version in the Keewatin region.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Memorandum for File, “Distribution of Minutes,” 23 November 1961, LAC, RG 85, vol. 1382, file 1012-9(5).





































210. Inspector Parsons \_\_\_\_\_ ԾԵՆԿՆԻՐՎԱԼ ԺՆՆԵՆ. ԸժժՅ  
ՃՃԵ ԵԾՆԵՆԻՐ ՈՈՏԵՐԼՈՇԾԵՄԵԿ ՈՈՏԵՐԾՊՊԵՐԼԵԿՏՅԼԸ  
ՄԵՆԵՐԾ ՆԾՐԵՆ ՆԵՐՈՐԾՅ ՃՃԵ ՃԵՐՏ ՄԵՆԵՐԾԾՅՎԵՐԵՐԸ.

214. Mr. Phillips \_\_\_\_\_ ԾԵՆՏ ԵՃԵԼՅ ՄԵՆԵՐԼԵՏ ՃՃՏ. ՔԵՏՅ ՄՅՐ  
ՎՅՅՎԵՆԵՄՎԼԸՅ ՄԵՆԵՄՈՅ ՎՔԵՐՎՐ ՏԾՆՈՐՊ ԿԵՅՎԵՐՏ ՃՃԵ  
ՎԼՅՅ ՄՃժ ԵՃԵ ՎՐԻ ՄԵՆԵՐԾՐԵ ՎՔԵՐՎ ՆՅՎՆՐ ՄԵՆՏ  
ՅՅՅՅՅՅ ՎԼՅ ՅՐՎՆ St. James Ը ՎՈՒՐ ՎՐՎԵԵ ՄԵՆՏ  
ՅՐԵՐԾՅ \$2000 ԸԵՏ ՄԵՆԵՐԼՅ ՃՃՏ. ԿԵՅՎԵՐՏ.

215. ԵԼԵՏԾՅ ՅՐԵՐԾՐԼԸ \$2,500 ԸԵՏ ՃՃՏ ՄԵՆԵՐԼԵՏ  
ՄԵՆԵՐՅՈՈ ՄԵՆԵՐՎԵԵՄՃՅՐ. ՄԼԵ (ՄՃժ ՄԵՆԵՐՅՐ) ՄԵՆԵՐ ՎԵՆՅ  
ԸՅ ՆՈՇԾԵՄՅՅ ՄԵՆԵՐՆՎՐ.

216. Mr. Lawrence \_\_\_\_\_ ԵԸՈժ ԾԵՐԵՆՊ ԾԵԼ ՄԵՆՏ ՄՅՐ  
ԾԵՆՎԵՐԼԸ ԵԸՈժ, ԾԵՐՃՃՏ ՄԵՆ ՄՅՈՅ.

217. ԼԵՏ ՄԵՆԵՐԵՐՃՃՏ ՄՅՅԵՆԵՐԾՅՅ ՆԵՐՎՐ ՆԵՐՎԸՅՅ ԼԵՅ  
ՅԿՐԵՐԾԸ).

218. Mr. Bolger \_\_\_\_\_ ԾԵՆՏ ՄԵՐՆՊՅՅ ԵԸՈժ ԾԵՆՎԵՐՊ ԵՃՅՅՅՅ  
ՄԵՆԵՐԼԵՐԸ.

































225. ԵՈՒՔ ԵՆՈՒՆ ձեռնարկ ՎԵՎԵԼՈՎՆԵ ԺԵՂՈՒՅԻՆ ԵՈՒՔԻ  
ՄԵՐ ԺԵՂՈՒՅԻՆ ԵՈՒՆԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵ ԵՆՈՒՆԻՆԵՐԻ ԺԵՂՈՒՅԻՆ  
ՎԵՎԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵՆ. ՁԵՐ ԵՈՒՆԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵՆ ԱՆԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵ  
ԵՆՈՒՆԻՆԵՐԻՆԵՆ ԱՆԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵՆ ԵՆՈՒՆԻՆԵՐԻՆԵՆ ՎԵՎ  
ՎԵՎԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵՆ ԱՆԵՐՎՈՐԻՆԵՆ.
226. ԵՈՒՔԻ ԵՆՈՒՆ 6:30-Ի ԵՆՈՒՆԻՆԵՆ.

P.F. Girard,  
Secretary.

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# SHAPING INUIT POLICY

## The Minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Committee, 1953-1962

Edited by Peter Clancy and P. Whitney Lackenbauer

During the 1950s, a decade of socio-economic turbulence in Canada's Arctic the Eskimo Affairs Committee played a significant role in shaping a new set of policy initiatives that Ottawa was framing toward Inuit. In bringing together representatives of the major arctic field organizations, both public and private, the committee provided a formal avenue of consultation over the new policy initiatives being framed by the Department of Northern Affairs. Through the committee's work, the northern administration gained a source of intelligence from well-established arctic organizations at a time when the department's own field presence was still embryonic. The minutes of the committee offer important insight into development-administration in-the-making, covering a wide swatch of issues from education to health care, the case for a new field administration, proposals for expanded credit channels, and measures to extend the scope of wage employment and small manufacturing.



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