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Christianity, Syncretism, and Inuit Art in the Central Canadian Arctic

by

Jennifer Gibson, B. A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

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of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
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Submitted by Jennifer Gibson, B.A., Honours (Winnipeg)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Michael Bell, Thesis Co-Supervisor

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Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

February 1998

Abstract

This thesis proposes that syncretic fusion between Christian iconography and symbols of traditional Inuit spirituality (shamanism) is evident in Inuit art. The potential for syncretism is dependent upon several factors. These include: the attitudes of Arctic missionaries toward traditional Inuit spirituality, the nature of the visual culture to which these missionaries exposed Inuit, the type of art production missionaries encouraged among Inuit through the collection and promotion of Inuit art, and the responses of individual Inuit artists to the teachings of missionaries and their interpretations of Euro-Christian iconography. This thesis also contends that syncretism in Inuit art operates along a continuum, wherein some images are copies of Euro-Christian art forms, while others are indigenized interpretations of Christian themes. Certain works of art are syncretic, and involve the transfer of meaning of symbols across religions. Lastly, some images maintain references to traditional Inuit spirituality alone.

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Lastly, my deep appreciation to my family and friends for their constant encouragement. My immediate family, Jim, Alexis, and Trevor Gibson, and my partner, Vincent Sansregret, are thanked especially for helping to put things into perspective periodically, and for providing a hearty laugh when needed.

It was in the guise of the Holy Spirit
That they swooped down on the tundra
Single-minded and determined
To change forever the face
Of ancient spirituals

These lawless missionaries from afar
Became part of a landscape
Which was once the most sacred tomb
Of lives lived long ago

The last connection to the spirits
Of the most sacred land
Would be slowly severed

Never again to be sensed
Never again to be felt
Never again to be seen
Never again to be heard
Never again to be experienced

Sadness supreme for the ancient culture

Jubilation in the hearts of the converters

Where was justice to be found

They said it was in salvation
From eternal fire
In life after death
And unto everlasting life in Heaven

A simple life lived
On the sacred land was no more

The psalmbook now replaced
The sacred songs of shamans

The Lord's Prayer now ruled
Over the haunting chant of revival

It was not

“Jajai-ja-jiiiaaa” anymore

But

“Amen”

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Glossary of Terms

This glossary uses the newly adopted Inuit orthography spellings.

amaut	carrying pouch on the back of a woman's parka
amauti	woman's parka
amautiit	plural of <i>amauti</i>
angakoq	shaman
Eskimo	term historically used to refer to Canadian Inuit and other Indigenous peoples of Arctic North America; this term is derived from the Algonquin word for "eaters of raw meat"
igloo	house made of snow blocks
Inuit	people; term used by Indigenous peoples of the Canadian Arctic to refer to themselves; "Inuit" is used as both a noun and as an adjective
Inuk	one person
Inuuk	two people
Inuktitut	language of the Canadian Inuit
issumatuq	wise one
kamik	one boot
kamiik	two or two pairs of boots
kamiit	more than two pairs of boots
Netsilik	people of the seal
Nunavut	our land
qaggiq	communal igloo used for religious celebrations, feasting
qajaq	one kayak
qajaak	two kayaks
qajait	more than two kayaks
qallunaaq	"people with the heavy (thick) eyebrows; name given by Inuit to white people; in this thesis, this term will be used to refer to people of non-Inuit origin
qaumutik	sled
qulliq	oil lamp made of stone
qulliik	two oil lamps
qulliit	more than two oil lamps
ulu	semi-circular woman's knife
uluuk	two woman's knives
uluiit	more than two woman's knives
Utkuhikhalingmiut	people of the soapstone pots

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Introduction: Christianity, Syncretism, and Inuit Art in the Central Canadian Arctic

If Christianity has not inspired a great number of artworks, it has inspired a group of varied, innovative and creative pieces.¹

In 1984, art historian Jean Blodgett wrote an article entitled “Christianity and Inuit Art” from which the above quotation is taken. Both before and after Blodgett’s study, few scholars have tackled the subject in any depth. While numerous Inuit art exhibitions over the past thirty years have included images which point to the presence of Christianity in the Arctic, these art works are most often commented upon very briefly or not at all, and there has never been an exhibition which has brought together such pieces in one venue for further consideration. Although Christianity is commonly mentioned in passing as being the current religion to which the majority of Inuit adhere, rarely is the history of Christianity in the Arctic given more than cursory treatment by art historians. Clearly, representations related to the introduction of Christianity in the North are one of the least thoroughly explored subjects in the field of Inuit art history.

Yet, even before the “discovery” of contemporary Inuit sculpture by James Houston in 1949, such works of art had been created by Inuit. More than fifty years ago, Repulse Bay artist Marc Tungilik carved a bust of Christ in ivory at the request of Roman Catholic missionary Father Franz Van de Velde. In 1995, David Ruben Piqtoukun created several sculptures which are personal reflections upon the effects of missionaries’ presence in

Paulatuk. During the interim, various other Inuit artists have explored Christian themes in their art.

Perhaps one of the reasons scholars of Inuit art have not focused their attention on works which take their inspiration from Christianity is alluded to in Blodgett's statement: the subject matter appears infrequently. To dismiss Inuit sculptures, wall hangings, drawings, and prints which are motivated by Christianity simply because they are fewer in number than those which are stimulated by experiences and memories of life on the land or traditional beliefs is, however, unacceptable. Moreover, a study of Christian images and the circumstances under which they have been created may serve to inform part of a larger history, that of cross-cultural contact in the North.

The purpose of this thesis is to address the neglect of Christianity and Inuit art by building upon the findings of Jean Blodgett and exploring the potential for syncretism in works of Inuit art that contain Christian iconography. The question which this thesis ultimately seeks to answer is: is there any evidence of syncretic fusion between Christian iconography and symbols from traditional Inuit spirituality in Inuit art and, if so, in what ways does this syncretism manifest itself? In order to reach this goal, a review of the literature surrounding this topic will be presented, followed by working definitions of syncretism and related terminology.

This thesis contends that the potential for syncretism in Inuit art is dependent upon a number of factors. These factors will be studied in the Chapters two, three, and four, which precede an examination of Christian imagery created by Inuit artists.

The study of syncretism in Inuit art is, firstly, dependent upon knowledge of the history of Inuit-missionary relations and the role of the Christian Church in the Central Canadian Arctic. Chapter two, therefore, focuses on this history by looking at the attitude of Christian missionaries—with particular emphasis on Anglican and Catholic proselytizers—toward Inuit, and Inuit responses to the new religion. Also included in this chapter are historical examples which show that some Inuit fused syncretically Christian doctrine and practices with customs and beliefs of traditional spirituality.

Chapter three will explore the visual culture that Catholic and Anglican missionaries introduced to Inuit as a second factor that might influence how Christian iconography is used syncretically by Inuit artists. The visual culture which missionaries brought to the North includes Euro-Christian iconography in the form of prayer books and catechetical teaching tools. Within Chapter three, there are also examples of church decoration created by both missionaries and Inuit. These are described and examined for syncretic practice.

A fourth chapter will explore the involvement of Catholic and Anglican missionaries in the promotion and collection of Inuit art as an extension of cross-cultural contact. This avenue has been explored, in part, to determine what type of images missionaries supported. Missionary collecting habits have a bearing on whether or not artists include syncretic imagery in their art. The encouragement by missionaries of the production of artworks and the colonialist implications art(ifact) collecting gives rise to are also considered because these topics have not been discussed sufficiently elsewhere.

Chapter five includes descriptions and analyses of the work of three artists from the Central Canadian Arctic—Marc Tungilik (1913-1986), Jessie Oonark (1906-1985), and Charlie Ugyuk (b.1931)—who have chosen repeatedly to include Christian iconography in their art. Within the discussion of each of these three artists, reference is made to Christian imagery depicted by a diverse group of artists. Art works by the three main artists are contextualized by discussions of the artists' biographies. The artists' experiences with Christianity and traditional Inuit spirituality are the focus of this contextualization. Circumstances of the production of individual art works, where available, are given. All images are considered for the level of their syncretic potential.

As stated above, this study of syncretism in contemporary Inuit art is centred around a discussion of select images produced by three artists. It is also important to note other parameters. One of these is geographical. This study emphasizes the creation of Christian images by Inuit artists living in the Keewatin and Kitikmeot regions of the Central Canadian Arctic.² The seven communities that will be referred to consistently in the Keewatin are (from south to north): Arviat, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake, Coral Harbour, and Repulse Bay. Three settlements in the Kitikmeot region which will be considered include (from east to west): Pelly Bay, Taloyoak, and Gjoa Haven. These communities and their surrounding areas are part of the Anglican Church's vast Diocese of the Arctic (**fig. 1**) and the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay (**fig. 2**). The headquarters for the Catholic diocese were once in Chesterfield Inlet, but have been in Churchill since 1930. The Anglican Bishop of the

Churchill since 1930. The Anglican Bishop of the Arctic originally resided in Aklavik until the 1960s, when boundaries of the Diocese changed. The See has since been at Iqaluit.

Another parameter for this thesis is denominational. This study originally began with a concentration on the interaction between the Catholic Church and Inuit in the Central Canadian Arctic. This was due to the importance of visual culture within this denomination and the intense interest of several Catholic missionaries in the promotion and collection of Inuit art. When it was discovered that at least of one the three artists (Jessie Oonark) around whom this thesis centres was Anglican, it became necessary to include an exploration of Anglican Church history in the Arctic. This thesis, furthermore, makes a few references to the existence of other Protestant denominations in the Arctic.

Methodology

This thesis has made use of a variety of methodological approaches in order to accomplish its goals. The author, firstly, surveyed collections of Inuit art at the following institutions for Christian images: Eskimo Museum (Churchill), Musée des Soeurs Grises (Montréal), Winnipeg Art Gallery, Macdonald Stewart Art Centre (Guelph), Art Gallery of Ontario, National Gallery of Canada, and Canadian Museum of Civilization. Additional images were collected from the slide library of the Inuit Art Section, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, while others were gathered from published exhibition catalogues.

Considered as a group, these Christian images lent themselves to further categorization. The author has included examples of different types of Christian images that can be classified as follows: 1.) portraits and icons, including portraits of priests, bishops, and other missionary personnel, as well as depictions of Christ and Christian saints; 2.) angel and devil imagery; 3.) autobiographical documents of religious activity or experiences, such as church services, missionary activities, or scenes which show people (Inuit and/or non-Inuit) actively engaged in Christian-related acts of prayer; 4.) illustrations of biblical stories (narratives) 5.) comments on effects of missionaries; 6.) other symbols associated with Christianity, including crosses. These categories will not be listed again in this study, and they are given here merely as a guide to keep in mind when reading Chapter five.

The thesis is informed in several other ways. A 1995 research trip to Churchill, Manitoba and Rankin Inlet, N. W. T. enabled the author to conduct interviews with both Arctic missionaries (Bishop Reynald Rouleau, Fathers Roland Courtemanche, and Louis Fournier) and Inuit (artists Pierre Karlik and Lizzie Ittinuar, and Theresie and Priscilla Tungilik). Further correspondence and discussion was carried out with missionaries Father Franz Van de Velde, Evelyne Desmarais, Reverend Alan Whitton and Elizabeth Whitton, former missionary André Goussaert, and Inuit writer Alooook Ipellie.

Archival research at the Roman Catholic Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa, the Anglican Church of Canada in Toronto, and the Catholic-run Eskimo Museum Resource Centre in Churchill, were especially helpful in the development of my understanding of

the history of missionary activity in the Central Canadian Arctic. These institutions also provided most of the visuals for the discussion of prayer book illustration, catechetical illustration, and church decoration.

The final methodological tool employed as a basis for the writing of this thesis is the review of published sources in the fields of Inuit art and missionary history. A review of theoretical texts devoted to a discussion of syncretism and related terms was also undertaken.

Literature Review

The review of literature pertaining to this thesis topic consists of three parts. The first section briefly outlines the nature of publications pertaining to the history of Inuit-missionary relations that were used in this thesis. In a second section, sources which apply to contemporary Inuit art will be reviewed at greater length. A third, very brief component of the literature review will identify books in the fields of religious studies and anthropology which define and discuss syncretism. This will be followed immediately by a more thorough exploration of syncretism and related terms.

The history of missions in the Arctic has been well-documented, particularly by the Roman Catholic (Oblate) missionaries. There is a greater wealth of both primary documents and secondary materials relating to Oblate-Inuit interaction than for any other denominations in the Arctic. The Oblate Fathers have kept highly detailed and systematic records of their activities among the Inuit. The most useful materials for the

purposes of this thesis include various documents at the Oblates' Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa. The mission reports, correspondence and, particularly, the Pelly Bay Codex Historicus,³ have made clear who were the people involved in proselytizing the Central Canadian Arctic and what duties the priests carried out as missionaries in the Arctic. Archives Deschâtelets was also an important source for prayer book and catechetical illustrations used in teaching Inuit about Christianity

In terms of published sources, the magazine published by the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay—*Eskimo*—has provided information on the dates, events, and people related to Christianization in the region. Articles in this magazine also reflect the attitudes of missionaries towards Inuit. Father Gabriel Morice chronicled the early years of the Roman Catholic Church in the Central Canadian Arctic,⁴ and current Oblate biographer, Father Charles Choque, has written several monographs on missionaries who were key to proselytizing the area.⁵

The Anglicans seem less committed to documenting their activities in the North. Unlike the Oblates, Arctic Anglican missionaries do not have a conscious programme of publication. For the history of missionary-Inuit interaction, the publications of early Anglican missionaries were used. Semi-autobiographical volumes written by Fleming⁶ and Marsh⁷ were used extensively, as was a Lewis's biography on Reverend Peck.⁸ Another important source of documentation was *The Arctic News*, published by the Diocese of the Arctic. Information on the Anglican ministers was also discovered at the

archives of the Anglican Church of Canada. These records, however, were not nearly as plentiful or detailed as those at Archives Deschâtelets.

Before turning to a discussion of the Inuit art literature, it is appropriate to point out the nature of literature in this field. Writings on contemporary Inuit art consist mainly of articles written in periodicals, particularly *Inuit Art Quarterly*, and exhibition catalogue essays, in addition to a number of unpublished theses. There are a few surveys of contemporary Inuit art which are not written as exhibition catalogues, but published as books.

Because the primary goal of this thesis is to show whether or not there is evidence for syncretism in images where Christian symbols are employed by Inuit artists, I will only consider those authors who have dealt with either Christianity and Inuit art, or those writers who have mentioned syncretism and Inuit art. Sources which extensively discuss one of the three artists upon whom I focus will also be mentioned here. The review of scholarly literature on Inuit art will begin, however, with analysis of writings by two very early and prolific writers—James Houston and George Swinton—in this field because they helped to establish what issues would be tackled by later writers.

One of the first people to write about contemporary Inuit art who had a great impact on the literature in this field is James Houston. With financial assistance from the Federal government, Houston prompted Inuit in the Eastern and Central Canadian Arctic to create sculptures (and later, prints) as a means of supplementing their income, beginning in the late-1940s. In a number of articles and books—“Eskimo Sculptors,” “In

Search of Contemporary Eskimo Art,” “Contemporary Art of the Eskimo,” *Canadian Eskimo Art*, “My Friend, Angotiwak,” “Eskimo Graphic Art,” “Eskimo Artists,” *Eskimo Prints*, and “To Find Life in the Stone”⁹—Houston vigorously promoted the artistic efforts of Inuit. Houston’s writings of the 1950s describe contemporary sculptures as “primitive art,” a tactic used by the author to garner the attention of a public craving for exotic expressions of non-Western peoples. Houston emphasized connections between the subject matter, form, method, purpose, and media of artistic expressions of prehistoric Arctic peoples and those of contemporary Inuit. Generally speaking, he tended to minimize the differences between past and present artistic practices.¹⁰

Although none of the art works Houston chooses to discuss or illustrate in his writings contain Christian content, he is important to consider in my literature review for his writings have proven to be very influential in scholarly writing about Inuit art. The issues of past and present and of Inuit versus Western artistic traditions which he touched upon have been explored in greater detail by later scholars of Inuit art. In a final note, Houston did mention Marc Tungilik in an article he wrote about Repulse Bay,¹¹ although he did not point to the presence of Christian imagery in this artist’s work.

George Swinton has written a great deal about contemporary Inuit art, particularly Inuit sculpture. Like Houston (perhaps even more so), Swinton’s writings have proven to be very influential for the direction of scholarly writing in this field. In his earliest article, “Eskimo Carving Today,” Swinton sets his writing apart from Houston’s early publications. While Houston emphasizes connections between the artistic expressions of

the past and the present, Swinton stresses their differences.¹² In “Eskimo Carving Today,” Swinton first introduces an idea with which he will continue to struggle in many of his later writings: the concept that Inuit art will cease to exist because the people who create it will be subsumed by southern culture.¹³

In one of the earliest surveys of contemporary Inuit sculpture, *Eskimo Sculpture*,¹⁴ Swinton dealt with a number of different issues and themes. Following a seventy-page essay, the author discusses a large number of carvings by diverse artists using a thematic approach. The essay itself primarily includes some general observations on the development of the production of art during the Thule, historic, and contemporary periods. Swinton also speaks of the materials, function, and stylistic developments of Inuit sculpture. His main concern, however, surrounds issues of quality as he feels that there are pieces he would classify as souvenir art, others which are folk art, and pieces which represent fine art. The author also points out that contemporary Inuit art should be seen in light of the “outside influences” affecting Inuit culture. Swinton states that, “Eskimo art, as a living art, is in a state of flux and is changing in spontaneous response to unpredictable new challenges, rather than in terms of predictable traditions or patterns.”¹⁵ The author then, sees Inuit art as an art of acculturation. Swinton, however, considers acculturation an evolutionary process, whereby Inuit increasingly adapt their art to Western modes of representation.

Swinton is the first art historian to mention Christianity’s relation to Inuit art. Within his introductory essay, the author points to the purchase of sculpture by Moravian

missionaries in Labrador in the early twentieth century. He also makes reference to Oblate missionary Father André Steinmann's efforts to promote Inuit art in Povungnituk.¹⁶ Finally, Swinton discusses the possible influence of Christianity in the iconography of a number of mother and child carvings, where an infant is held in front of the adult figure in a pose reminiscent of Renaissance Madonnas and Child, or even Piétas. Swinton, however, restrains from making any strong assertions, stating that these sculptures may be "simply expressions of love and care."¹⁷ Although the author is reasonably hesitant, I find his observations useful and will point to the feasibility of his contemplations by demonstrating that Inuit were exposed to and familiar with Christian iconography in the Western tradition. In examining the art of Jessie Oonark, Marc Tungilik, and Charlie Ugyuk, I will point out that boundaries between Christian and traditional Inuit iconography are not always clearly defined.

In 1966, one year after the publication of *Eskimo Sculpture*, Swinton wrote a brief article entitled "Artists from the Keewatin."¹⁸ It is considered for review because this thesis focuses on Christian imagery by artists in the Keewatin region as well as the Kitikmeot. Unfortunately, the title of Swinton's article is misleading, for he actually only discusses the work of three artists—Erkoolik, Ekoota and Tiktak—and he does so in abstract terms, comparing their style to that of European sculptors working in the modernist tradition.

Swinton returns to the topic of acculturation in "The Changing Art of the Eskimos,"¹⁹ a catalogue essay for an extensive exhibition of Inuit sculpture organized by the

Winnipeg Art Gallery in 1967. He reiterates that contemporary Inuit art has come about as a result of Inuit interaction with southerners, and that its continued existence is due to outsiders who purchase their creations. Again, Swinton is of the opinion that because of their contact with southern culture, Inuit art will cease to exist. He does not see acculturation as a process whereby Inuit combine traditional Inuit culture with southern culture, but as a situation in which Inuit continually adopt southern traditions and give up their own.²⁰

For the exhibition catalogue *Sculpture Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic*, Swinton wrote the essay "Contemporary Canadian Eskimo Sculpture."²¹ In it, Swinton examines the Inuktitut word used to describe carving—*sananguuq*—in order to come to some understanding of Inuit aesthetics. He concludes by stating that much of contemporary Inuit art speaks to a past way of life rather than to present conditions in the North, and that this makes their art a "swan song," implying that it is an activity that will soon die out.²² Like Houston's article for the same exhibition catalogue, Swinton's study does not address sculptures illustrated in this publication which point to evidence of cross-cultural contact and show that some artists were dealing with subject matter reflecting contemporary Inuit lifestyles. One example of such a work is the sculpture *Singing Psalms*, created in 1966 by John Polik of Arviat (**fig. 7**), a carving which represents the artist's response to the recent introduction of Christianity in the Keewatin.

In "Eskimo art reconsidered,"²³ Swinton stresses how contemporary Inuit art is different from art of prehistoric times and discusses the aesthetics and patterns of

thinking which contribute to the style and subject matter of various works of Inuit art. As in his essay “Contemporary Canadian Eskimo Sculpture”, Swinton analyzes the term *sananguaq* in order to come to some understanding of the attitudes and goals Inuit have for the works of art they create. An important point Swinton makes in relation to this thesis, is his statement that many Inuit often think about and view things “syncretistically.” In relation to Inuit art, Swinton defines syncretism as the ability of the artist to represent disparate events and objects simultaneously, without privileging one over another. He comments, moreover, that “many, if not most, Eskimo artists have an ability to group a variety of forms and meanings, often without apparent connections, into ‘entire wholes’”.²⁴ Swinton’s use of the term “syncretism” is vague because he does not discuss it with reference to particular art works in order to show how it operates in Inuit art. Swinton, moreover, does not use the word in the context of religious synthesis, but relates syncretism to formalist concerns. This thesis considers syncretism in both form and iconography.

Published concurrently with “Eskimo art reconsidered,” Swinton’s article “The Eskimo Museum at Churchill, Manitoba”²⁵ is the earliest account of the Catholic Church-run Eskimo Museum published in a periodical devoted to the arts. Swinton clearly intended this brief article as an introduction to the collection assembled by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate over the past seventy-five years. The author provides his readers with a general overview of the contents of the collection, a brief history of its beginnings and growth, in addition to the philosophy behind the museum. He did not,

however, mention the Eskimo Museum's collection of Christian images. Nor did Swinton find reason to mention any of the implications of the collecting of Inuit art by a group of individuals who were insistent on eradicating many traditional Inuit beliefs and practices.

Swinton is best known for his book *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, a survey text which reiterates most of the ideas he discussed in earlier publications.²⁶ One of the points Swinton makes which is applicable to this thesis topic is in regard to the sweeping changes which southerners have introduced to Inuit culture. He states that "while the contemporary *inuit* art forms are not stylistically related to the past, the strong connections the *inuit* have with the past reappear today as vivid echoes which have been blended together with completely new reflections of the changed environment."²⁷ The concept of blending traditional patterns of thinking with new experiences, one being the Inuit adoption of Christianity, is key to my study.

Sculpture of the Eskimo's main strength is its inclusion of more than eight hundred illustrations of sculptures from a variety of private and public collections by artists from across the Canadian Arctic. While the author has included a number of pieces from the Dorset, Thule and historic eras, the vast majority of sculpture illustrated falls within the contemporary period of Inuit art. The following six images in Swinton's text speak directly to the presence of Christianity in the North: a 1963 sculpture by Iqaluit artist Ennutsiak, which shows a group of Inuit holding prayer books and praying over a seal (**fig. 8**); Cape Dorset sculptor Pauta Saila's portrait of a missionary, also created in 1963

(**fig. 9**); a 1960 depiction of an Inuk hand-wrestling with a priest, carved by an unknown artist from Repulse Bay; Pelly Bay artist, Antonin Attark's *Mass* of circa 1954 (**fig. 10**); John Polik's *Singing Psalms* (previously illustrated in *Sculpture Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic*) (**fig. 7**); and a stone carving of an angel, done in 1958 by Povungnituk's Davidialuk Alasua Amittu (**fig. 11**). Among the many illustrations of the mother and child theme are works which iconographically recall depictions of the Virgin and Child in the European tradition.²⁸ It should be noted that none of the above sculptures are commented upon by the author.

It seems appropriate to discuss briefly Swinton's revised and updated edition of *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, which he has retitled *Sculpture of the Inuit*.²⁹ Written twenty years later, the first two hundred and forty-three pages of *Sculpture of the Inuit* differ little from those of its predecessor, with the exception that some attributions have been changed or newly applied and more current spellings of artist's names and communities adopted. *Sculpture of the Inuit* does, however, include two additional chapters where the author attempts to trace artistic developments in the North from 1971 through 1992. In these sections, Swinton essentially concludes that Inuit sculptors have become more conscious of their role as artists and have increasingly used their art as a means of affirming traditional Inuit beliefs and practices.³⁰

Because Swinton feels that more recent Inuit art aims to assert ethnic identity, Christian images are not illustrated or discussed. The author does, however, provide evidence of the early interest in Inuit sculpture taken by Roman Catholic missionaries, in

the form of a photograph of an Oblate priest amongst a collection of carvings. Swinton uses this photograph to show that sculptures created by Inuit in the first quarter of this century are similar to many produced in the contemporary period.³¹ This is an important observation, for it implies that the current date given to the contemporary period of Inuit art—beginning with Houston’s promotional efforts of 1949 in Inukjuak—may need to be revised to include works of art collected earlier by Oblate missionaries.

One final point must be addressed, and that is Swinton’s inclusion of a discussion of sculpture by Marc Tungilik and Charlie Ugyuk, two of the artists upon which this thesis focuses. Although the author included photographs of Tungilik’s work in *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, he did not comment upon them. In the revised text, the author points out some of the subjects which Tungilik has depicted and the manner in which they are rendered,³² but does not mention the recurrence of Christian themes in this artist’s sculptures. *Sculpture of the Inuit* also includes a photograph of Ugyuk’s *Devil after Birth Holding Young Devil* (**fig. 12**). Swinton description of this carving draws attention to its similarity to “fantastic carvings” created at Cape Dorset and Povungnituk,³³ without pointing to the Christian connotations of the title of this work.

The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art,³⁴ published five years previous to Swinton’s *Sculpture of the Inuit*, includes brief essays by Inuit art curator Darlene Coward Wight and Swinton himself. In both essays, mention is made of the latter’s interest in the Christian iconography contained within some mother and child carvings. These are two of the same images Swinton mentioned more than twenty-two years ago in his book

Eskimo Sculpture. Also included in this catalogue, but not commented upon by Wight or Swinton, is the sculpture *Father Henry, O.M.I.*, created around 1955 by Pelly Bay artist Antonin Attark (**fig.13**).³⁵

Directly related to my thesis, and the only article devoted solely to my topic, is Jean Blodgett's "Christianity and Inuit Art."³⁶ Blodgett's study is admirable for the amount of information included in a relatively brief measure of space. She covers a great deal of ground and touches on issues pertinent to this thesis. Upon remarking that the Church's presence among the Inuit has not inspired a great number of Christian images, the author considers reasons for such lack of production. As possible explanations for the paucity of Christian content in much contemporary Inuit art, Blodgett suggests that southern market demands for traditional imagery and Inuit desires to document traditional beliefs, practices and means of existence are key issues. Blodgett suggests that some Inuit art containing Christian symbolism was prompted by clergy and that the latter exposed Inuit to Christian iconography in the European tradition in the form of slides, comics, and posters. In this study, I intend to more fully document missionaries' presentation of Christian images to Inuit.

No less than forty-four sculptures, prints, drawings, paintings, and wall hangings by artists from diverse communities are mentioned by Blodgett specifically, and general references are made to several more. The fourteen photographs in this article provide visual evidence for the great variety of ways in which artists have chosen to approach the subject, and Blodgett expands upon the visual evidence by pointing out recurring themes

within Christian images. Within these themes, Blodgett considers the means used by some artists—most notably Pudlo Pudlat, Mark Emerak and Jessie Oonark—to combine symbols reflective of traditional Inuit spirituality with Christian motifs. Indeed, Blodgett's main objectives are to reveal both the diversity evident within these Christian images, and to show that Christianity is visually interpreted by Inuit differently than it is portrayed by artists from western cultures. Her study, moreover, also suggests that generalizations about Christian imagery in Inuit art are difficult to make³⁷ and that attempts to examine them should take into account each artist's oeuvre.

Two years after Blodgett's article devoted to Christian imagery in Inuit art appeared in *The Beaver*, she and Marie Bouchard collaborated in the publication of *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective*.³⁸ Because of its dual focus on themes and stylistic tendencies of the artist, this exhibition catalogue includes a discussion of Christian themes in Oonark's oeuvre. Analysis of some of these works by Blodgett reveals a blend of Christian and traditional Inuit iconography, which will be addressed later in this thesis. The catalogue also provides much of the biographical information on this artist which will be used in Chapter five.

Marion Jackson's research on Baker Lake and its artists is also particularly useful for this thesis. Additional biographical information on Jessie Oonark, including the artist's comments about Christianity, are found in the transcripts of interviews done by Marion Jackson with the artist and her children.³⁹ Jackson's doctoral dissertation on Baker Lake drawings is also pertinent to this thesis because the author discusses the art of Oonark, as

well as the introduction to Christianity in this community. and the organization by one Inuk of Arctic Christian Fellowship, an alternative to the other Christian Churches in that settlement.⁴⁰

Jackson also makes reference to Christianity's contribution to Inuit art in the exhibition catalogue she co-authored with Marie Routledge on Cape Dorset artist Pudlo Pudlat.⁴¹ The authors include Christian imagery created by Pudlo, and use the artist's comments to interpret works which appear to contain Christian symbolism. In a second, very different article, Jackson briefly describes the Eskimo Museum that is operated by the Catholic Church.⁴²

Published writings on Marc Tungilik are not extensive. However, *Marc Tungilik: Recent Sculpture*,⁴³ a slim exhibition catalogue with an introduction by Darlene Wight, was useful and included two Christian images by this artist. Most biographical data for Tungilik was obtained through the "Pelly Bay Codex Historicus" at Catholic Archives Deschâtelets and from four interviews. One interview with the artist himself was used, as well another with the sculptor's granddaughter, Priscilla Tungilik. Two interviews with Marc Tungilik's daughter, Theresie Tungilik, were also important in revealing the artist's Christian background.⁴⁴

There also has been very little written about Charlie Ugyuk, the third artist upon whom I will focus. Biographical data is based on an article by Jeanne Pattison⁴⁵ and more recent data in an exhibition pamphlet written by Darlene Coward Wight.⁴⁶ Norman Zepp's short examination of Ugyuk's work for the exhibition catalogue *Inspiration: Four*

Decades of Sculpture by Canadian Inuit, includes pertinent interview excerpts with the artist which comment on his use of Christian iconography.⁴⁷ On the other hand, *Kitikmeot, Brothers*, and *The Inuit Imagination*⁴⁸ proved useful visual resources.

A final source which is important to a study of Christianity and Inuit art is Lorraine Brandson's *Carved From the Land: The Eskimo Museum Collection*.⁴⁹ This text clearly documents the history of Inuit art collecting carried out by Oblate Fathers in the Central and Eastern Canadian Arctic. Brandson also includes several Christian images created by Inuit artists. However, these are commented on only briefly or not at all. Equally important, the author also writes about the general history of the introduction of Christianity in the North wherein she suggests similarities between aspects of the new, imported faith and elements of traditional Inuit spirituality.

As noted above, a few authors in the field of Inuit art have employed the term "syncretism" in their writing. But syncretism and the related phenomenon of "indigenization" and "inculturation" are most often used in the fields of religious studies, anthropology, and even literary criticism. Antonio Gualtieri,⁵⁰ Hendrik Vroom,⁵¹ Jerald Gort,⁵² André Droogers,⁵³ Rosalind Shaw and Charles Stewart,⁵⁴ Richard Werbner,⁵⁵ Hugo Nutini,⁵⁶ have all discussed the process of religious synthesis and developed definitions of the term and discussed the conditions under which syncretism might occur. Based on their studies, a working definition of syncretism, indigenization, and inculturation for the purposes of this thesis has been determined below.

Syncretism

It is appropriate, in a thesis which deals with interaction between Arctic missionaries and Inuit and the Christian imagery which subsequently arose out of this cross-cultural contact, that the idea of syncretism should be addressed. Along with “indigenization” and “inculturation,” syncretism is often invoked in discussions of contact between diverse cultures. Syncretism frequently describes a confrontation between and blending of, elements of two different spiritual traditions. Evidence for syncretism may be found in the beliefs, practices, and images of the cultures that interact with one another. Historically, the term has been used most often by theologians and scholars of religious studies. In the twentieth century, however, the word “syncretism” has also appeared in the writings of art historians, anthropologists, and literary theorists.

While he does not actually use the term “syncretism” in the following passage, scholar James Clifford points to the potential for syncretic transformation among Indigenous peoples across the globe.

Throughout the world indigenous populations have had to reckon with the forces of ‘progress’ and ‘national’ unification. The results have been both destructive and inventive. Many traditions, languages, cosmologies, and values are lost, some literally murdered; but much has simultaneously been invented and revived in complex, oppositional contexts. If the victims of progress and empire are weak, they are seldom passive. It used to be assumed, for example, that conversion to Christianity in Africa, Melanesia, Latin America, or even colonial Massachusetts would lead to the extinction of indigenous cultures rather than to their transformation. Something more ambiguous and historically complex has occurred, requiring that we perceive *both* the end of certain orders of diversity and the creation or translation of others.⁵⁷

Clifford suggests that within colonial encounters, there is often a space for colonized peoples to subvert the ideologies of colonizers. He aptly points to the introduction of Christianity among aboriginal peoples as a location where such subversion may take place. Although Clifford proposes the reinvention of traditional indigenous beliefs, his ideas may also be applied to the modification of Christianity in colonial settings. The transformation of cultures and religions as a result of cross-cultural contact is syncretic.

It is helpful, in a discussion of syncretism and the circumstances under which it takes place, to consider various definitions of the term. First coined by Plutarch in the late first century to describe a form of periodic political allegiance, syncretism was then used by Renaissance theologians such as Erasmus to describe positively how Christianity had absorbed classical influences, thus enriching that faith. By the seventeenth century, however, critics of Protestant theologians who hoped for a joining of various Protestant denominations cited syncretism as a confused and unacceptable joining of religions. Until recently, syncretism has maintained negative connotations in the eyes of the Church, among scholars of religious studies, and even within anthropological circles, where writings have historically stressed the sanctity of “pure” or “authentic” traditions.³⁸ Even today, syncretism remains a contentious term among conservatives who hold the belief that spiritualities and cultures are closed entities.

Despite, or perhaps because of its controversial nature, syncretism has again become a topic of exploration in the past fifteen years. More recent definitions of syncretism include one proposed by Antonio Gualtieri in his 1984 study on the introduction of

Christianity among indigenous populations of the Western Arctic. He determined syncretism to be:

a form of cultural encounter in which the traditions entailed are fused—either deliberately or, more usually unconsciously and over a period of time—into a novel emergent whose meanings and symbolic expressions are in some respects different from either of the original singular traditions.⁵⁹

Gualtieri implies in his definition that there may be different variations of syncretism, such as conscious and unconscious religious synthesis.

Similarly, anthropologist Hugo Nutini has spoken of two different types of syncretism: guided and spontaneous. Nutini states that, in all cases of syncretism, there is a dominant (colonizer) and subordinate (colonized) culture involved. In guided syncretism, however, religious leaders of the dominant culture make a conscious effort to guide the syncretic process by pointing out similarities between the beliefs of the two cultures to the subordinate culture. On the other hand, spontaneous syncretism allows the colonized peoples to make their own connections between their traditions and those of the colonizer.⁶⁰ While guided (conscious) syncretism is a technique frequently practised by the colonizer and spontaneous (unconscious) syncretism is more common within the population of the colonized, it should be acknowledged that the reverse is possible as well.

If syncretism involves the confrontation of two disparate cultures, it is reasonable to believe that there may be both a promotion of religious synthesis and a reaction against such amalgamation. The latter is what anthropologists Rosalind Shaw and Charles

Stewart have labelled “anti-syncretism.”⁶¹ André Droogers concurs, describing syncretism itself as “religious interpenetration, either taken for granted or subject to debate.”⁶² Writing in 1994, Richard Werbner took this argument a step further, stating that syncretism is “*continually contested* social action which, operating across cultures or traditions, appropriates, reproduces, or re-invents religious belief and practices.”⁶³ Werbner posits that syncretism involves a constant renegotiation of power between the two cultures involved. Syncretism is thus an ongoing and shifting dialogue across cultures.

Syncretism then, often takes place when: 1.) agents of the cultures in contact with one another attempt an understanding of the beliefs and practices of each; 2.) agents of both cultures have mutual respect for the traditions of each other; 3.) agents of the cultures in contact see parallels between one’s own traditions and those of the other culture and choose to integrate what they perceive as equivalencies.⁶⁴

In exploring syncretism, it is important to acknowledge that the term has been placed both in alignment with and in contrast to various other ideological phenomena, including indigenization and inculturation. Gualtieri, for example, considers indigenization to be “a process of cultural adaptation in which the fundamental meanings of an historical tradition are retained but expressed in symbolic forms of another, diverse culture.”⁶⁵ In indigenization the meaning of one religious tradition predominates over the other, and what occurs is merely the insertion of elements of a different culture into the dominant religion. Gualtieri, however, seems to downplay the difficulty of translating meaning

into symbolic form and the possibility this has for synthesis to occur. Moreover, even in instances where syncretism occurs, one tradition may still predominate over the other. While some elements of two traditions may be synthesized, others remain separate.

Discussions revolving around indigenization and inculturation have been prominent in Catholic theological circles since the Second Vatican Council, and more recently among Protestant theologians.⁶⁶ Although writers on inculturation distinguish the former from syncretism, they are sometimes hard-pressed to describe how the two processes differ.⁶⁷ Aylward Shorter, for example, considers indigenization and inculturation to be virtually the same. He says they both refer to the interaction and ongoing dialogue between the Christian culture of the missionary and the non-Christian culture to which the missionary comes.⁶⁸ Shorter, however, believes that syncretism is a different process. He suggests that, while syncretism distorts “authentic Christian meaning”, inculturation allows the Christian message to remain intact.⁶⁹ In further describing inculturation, the author states: “Inculturation implies that the Christian message transforms a culture. It is also the case that Christianity is transformed by culture, not in a way that falsifies the message, but in the way in which the message is formulated and interpreted anew.”⁷⁰ It seems to follow that, if inculturation allows Christianity to be reinterpreted and “transformed” by members of another culture, synthesis is bound to occur.

To summarize the findings of the above authors, syncretism is a process of synthesis, conscious (guided) or unconscious (spontaneous), which blends characteristics (both spiritual and secular) from two different cultures. Syncretism often transforms the

meaning of a symbol or practice from one religion to another. It commonly involves a dominant and subordinate culture, and may occur at the instigation of the colonizer or the colonized or both. Syncretism may be opposed by members of either culture at any time (this is anti-syncretism). Religious synthesis is not a teleological process, for the two cultures in contact may constantly reinterpret beliefs or behaviours, and choose to oppose syncretism at any time. Syncretism, finally, may involve a member of one religious tradition seeing a similarity between a belief or practice in another tradition and their own.

Indigenization and inculturation, on the other hand, are less significant forms of fusion between two religions. Transformation of meaning of beliefs does not occur, but similarities across cultures are brought forward and emphasized. In indigenization and inculturation, one tradition (usually that of the colonizer/missionary) remains dominant.

When dealing with visual materials created by Inuit over the past fifty years, images may be considered syncretic when a transformation of symbolic meaning occurs. This may happen in two ways: when non-Christian interpretations are attached to iconography from the Christian tradition, or when Christian readings are attributed to depictions of aspects of the Inuit spiritual tradition. Syncretism, finally, may be said to have taken place in artworks which appear to contain mostly either Christian or shamanic imagery, because the creator of the work may not provide viewers with obvious visual evidence for a syncretic understanding of a religious belief or ritual. In order to determine the possibility of such an occurrence in a work of Inuit art, the viewer must bring to the

image an understanding of traditional Inuit spirituality and Christianity. Indigenization or inculturation, on the other hand, is evident in Christian images created by Inuit when non-religious aspects of traditional culture are included within a primarily Christian theme. In the following chapters of this thesis, notions of syncretism, inculturation, and indigenization will be invoked periodically.

Endnotes

¹ Jean Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 85.

² Some images by artists living in other communities will be mentioned in passing. In addition, although Chapter two's exploration focuses on the Central Canadian Arctic, it also surveys examples of Inuit-missionary contact across the Arctic.

³ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C1-9, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Nine Volumes, 1935-1963. The Codex Historicus was a journal of mission activities. Although each mission was expected to keep a Codex, some missionaries were not faithful writers. At other mission stations, records have been destroyed by fire. The Pelly Bay Codex is particularly rich and detailed. Entries were written for many years by Father Franz Van de Velde.

⁴ Adrian G. Morice, o.m.i., *Thawing Out the Eskimo*, 1935, Second edition, translation by Mary T. Loughlin (Boston: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1943).

⁵ Choque's *75th Anniversary of the First Catholic Mission to the Hudson Bay Inuit*, translation by Anne Onhaiser, s.n.j.m. (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1987) was extremely helpful as a survey of the Diocese. See Bibliography for other writings by this author.

⁶ Archibald Lang Fleming, *Dwellers in Arctic Night* (London: The Bible Churchman's Missionary Society, 1928); Ven. A. L. Fleming, "Brief History of Missions to the Canadian Eskimo". Lecture given at the Summer School for the Dioceses of Niagara and Toronto at the Bishop of Strachan School, Toronto. *The Arctic News* (July 1929), 1-9; Archibald Lang Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic* (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, Incorporated, 1956)

⁷ Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "Arctic Century: The Development of the Anglican Church in the Arctic", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1957), 2-16; Rt. Rev. Donald Ben Marsh, "A History of the Work of the Anglican Church in the Area Now Known as the Diocese of the Arctic", *The Arctic News* (June 1967), 2-24; Donald B. Marsh, *Echoes from a Frozen Land*, ed. Winifred Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987).

⁸ Rev. Arthur Lewis, *The Life and Work of Reverend E. J. Peck among the Eskimos* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1904)

⁹ James A. Houston, "Eskimo Sculptors", *The Beaver*, June 1951, 34-39; James A. Houston, "In Search of Contemporary Eskimo Art", *Canadian Art*, Volume 9, number 2 (New Year 1951-52), 99-104; James A. Houston, "Contemporary Art of the Eskimo", *The Studio*, Volume 147, number 731 (February 1954), 40-45; James Houston, *Canadian Eskimo Art* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1954); James Houston, "My Friend, Angotiawak", *Canadian Art*, Volume 13, number 2 (Winter 1956), 223-224; James Houston, "Eskimo Graphic Art", *Canadian Art*, Volume 17, number 1 (January 1960), 8-15; James Houston, "Eskimo Artists", *The Geographical Magazine*, Volume 34, number 11 (March 1962), 639-650; James Houston, *Eskimo Prints* (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, 1967); James Houston, "To Find Life in the Stone", in *Sculpture Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic*, Canadian Eskimo Arts Council (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 52-57

¹⁰ See Houston, "Contemporary Art of the Eskimo", 43 and Houston, "My Friend, Angotiwak", 224 for Houston's comments on the primitive nature of Inuit and Inuit art. For connections Houston made between past and present aesthetic traditions, the reader is directed to any of the author's writings cited in the previous note. Two specific examples are listed here to substantiate my claims. In *Canadian Eskimo Art*, for example, Houston says contemporary Inuit (this is in 1954) carve using the same materials they have used for hundreds of years. He also states that today's artists carve many of the same subjects rendered in prehistoric times—referring mainly to depictions of animals—and even suggests that one of the reasons prompting contemporary sculptors is that, upon creating a likeness of an animal, the carver may capture it in a future hunt. Houston, *Canadian Eskimo Art*, 7, 13, 15, 37. Also see *Eskimo Prints*, 30, where Houston suggested that while printmaking is a technique introduced by non-Inuit, the subject matter and formal characteristics of the works created are connected to traditional Inuit beliefs and thinking patterns.

¹¹ James Houston, "Repulse Bay 1950", in *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 17-22.

¹² George Swinton, "Eskimo Carving Today", *The Beaver*, Spring 1958, 40-47. Two examples of differences between past and present artistic traditions which the author describes follow. Swinton states that form is more important than function in contemporary art, whereas the reverse is true of prehistoric traditions. He also points out that contemporary art is destined for a southern audience and that artists receive monetary compensation for their efforts, whereas objects of the Thule and Dorset periods were created for the use of Inuit themselves. For more on how economic concerns are integral to present-day art-making in the Arctic, see Shannon Bagg, "'Without Carving How Would I Survive?' Economic Motivation and its Significance in Contemporary Inuit Art", Unpublished M. A. thesis (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1997).

¹³ Swinton, "Eskimo Carving Today", 47.

¹⁴ George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965).

¹⁵ Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture*, 16.

¹⁶ Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture*, 40, 71, 203.

¹⁷ Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture*, 90. The carvings of which Swinton speaks are an anonymous *Mother and Child* created by a Salluit artist in 1953 (fig. 3), an anonymous *Family Group* also from Salluit and carved in 1955 (fig. 4) and a *Mother and Child* by Abraham Pov of Inukjuak (fig. 5). Further on in the text, Swinton returns to the subject of Christianity. A 1954 sculpture by Lucassie Usaitaijuk of Salluit (fig. 6) is the object of concern. Depicting a seated woman holding an erect child with arms outspread, the artist has placed a fish on the feet of the female figure. Swinton's comment follows: "With the iconography reminiscent of the Madonna offering her Child to the world, one wonders if the fish could be the familiar symbol for the Son of God. Or is it a fish lying across the feet of an Eskimo mother holding her child?" Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture*, 89-91, 135.

¹⁸ George Swinton, "Artists from the Keewatin", *Canadian Art*, Number 101 (April 1966), 32-34.

¹⁹ George Swinton, "The Changing Art of the Eskimo", *Eskimo Sculpture* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1967), 33-36. The topic of Inuit art as an "art of acculturation" has been discussed by numerous scholars in this field. The earliest and most noteworthy of these is Charles Martijn. See Charles Martijn, "Canadian Eskimo Carving in Historical Perspective", *Anthropos*, Volume 59 (1964), 546-596; Charles Martijn, "A Retrospective Glance at Canadian Eskimo Carving", *The Beaver* (Autumn 1967), 4-19. For more on

acculturation and Inuit art, readers are directed to consult the writings of Nelson Graburn and Norman Zepp, listed in the Bibliography at the end of this thesis.

²⁰ Swinton, "The Changing Art of the Eskimo", 36.

²¹ George Swinton, "Contemporary Canadian Eskimo Sculpture", *Sculpture Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic*, Canadian Eskimo Arts Council (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 36-43.

²² Swinton, "Contemporary Canadian Eskimo Sculpture", 37-38, 42. Etymologically, *sananguaq* means the "making of a model, imitation or likeness." Swinton, I feel, reads more into the term than is warranted when he states that *sananguaq* has acquired aesthetic connotations and implies beauty.

²³ George Swinton, "Eskimo art reconsidered," *Artscanada*, Volume 28 (December 1971/January 1972), 85-94.

²⁴ Swinton, "Eskimo art reconsidered," 94. Joanne Lochhead (nee Bryers), Maureen Flynn-Burhoe, and Peter Millard have used the term syncretism to describe Inuit thought patterns. Joanne Elizabeth Bryers, "The Graphic Art of the Baker Lake Eskimo from July 1969 to July 1973", Unpublished M. A. Thesis (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1974), 66-67; Joanne Lochhead, "Observations on Baker Lake Graphic Art and Artists", *Arts & Culture of the North*, Volume III, number 2 (February 1979), 151. Maureen Flynn-Burhoe, "Woman in the Centre: A Study of the Symbols of Womanhood in the Work of Jessie Oonark Using Interactive Multimedia", M. A. research essay (Ottawa: Carleton University Teaching and Learning Resource Centre, 1995). Peter Millard, "Baker Lake Drawings", in Marion Jackson, Judith Nasby, and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Drawings by Baker Lake Artists* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 43. All three authors draw their usage of the term from Swinton's definition here and in his *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, 140.

²⁵ George Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum at Churchill, Manitoba", *Artscanada*, Volume 28 (December 1971/January 1972), 113-115.

²⁶ George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Eskimo* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972). Some of the issues Swinton deals with in this publication and which he has discussed in other writings follow. The author includes a brief discussion of art from the Dorset, Thule, and historic periods, documents twentieth century efforts by Euro-Canadians to encourage the production of Inuit art, speaks about different types of subject matter, individual and regional styles, and defines *sananguaq*, considering it a key concept in understanding the aesthetics of Inuit art. Swinton also speaks of the "syncretistic approach" which many Inuit bring to their art, "where details can be repeated, omitted, or even added without affecting the whole meaning". Swinton, *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, 140. Swinton's discussion of *sananguaq* and the aesthetics of Inuit sculpture is repeated in "Contemporary Inuit Aesthetics: Touch and the Real", *Arts and Culture of the North*, Volume III, number 2 (February 1979), 143-145.

²⁷ Swinton, *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, 110.

²⁸ The six Christian images can be found on pages 26, 187, 228, 239, 208, and 172 of Swinton, *Sculpture of the Eskimo*. Mother and child sculptures which contain Euro-Christian iconography include the first three sculptures mentioned in above. In *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, they are illustrated on pages 178, 179 and 96. The Salluit *Mother and Child* created in 1953, unidentified in *Eskimo Sculpture*, is now attributed to Mary Irqituk Sorusilik. While Swinton is still uncertain of the author of the 1955 Salluit *Family Group* in *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, he concludes that its creator is also Sorusilik in *Sculpture of the Inuit*. The attribution of this last sculpture was provided for Swinton by Darlene Coward Wight. Other sculptures

which resemble Madonna and Child iconography in *Sculpture of the Eskimo* are by Arviat's Joanni Kaviok, *Mother and Child* from 1968 (35); George Tataniq of Baker Lake, *Mother and Child* from 1967 (221).

²⁹ George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, Revised and updated edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992).

³⁰ Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, 273. Swinton makes these same points at various junctures within the newly added text.

³¹ Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, 247. Swinton says the photograph was taken circa 1920, while the Eskimo Museum Resource Centre dates this image circa 1918. I will use the latter date. The photo will be discussed in Chapter four of this thesis in connection with missionary involvement in the promotion of Inuit art.

³² Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, 247, 257.

³³ Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, 249.

³⁴ Darlene Wight, *The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987).

³⁵ Wight, *The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art*, 9 and 15. Swinton specifically mentions *Mother with Fish Holding Child* by Lucassie Usaitaijuk of Salluit and Mary Iqirquq Sorusiluk's *Mother Holding Child* of 1953 (both are illustrated on page 30 of this exhibition catalogue). The reader is also directed to note 17 of this chapter. Wight, however, includes two additional sculptures in mentioning Christian iconography. These are an unidentified *Mother Holding Child* of circa 1954, created in Inukjuak (fig. 14), and *Mother Holding Child* (circa 1952), attributed to Bernadette Ivalooarjuk Saumik of Repulse Bay (fig. 15). In these last two sculptures, the child is held erect in front of the mother and facing the viewer, a pose reminiscent of Madonna and Child imagery

³⁶ Jean Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art," in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 84-93. This article is a reprint of the original which was first published in *The Beaver* (Autumn 1984), 16-25. I will cite the article as it appears in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*. This article may represent a long-standing interest of the author in this topic. Published in a popular magazine, the article lacks notes and bibliography. Several years earlier, she authored the exhibition catalogue "Looking South" (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1978), which included three Christian images. The author also briefly mentioned the production of carvings of Christ and the Madonna during the historic period of Inuit art. Jean Blodgett, "The Historic Period of Canadian Eskimo Art", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 28.

³⁷ Blodgett does, though, give the reader the impression that, over the past fifty years, Christian images have changed from being stiff and inexpressive to exuding a sense of energy, emotion and suggesting the integration of Christianity into Inuit life. However, she would not hold to this conclusion strictly, for Antonin Attark's, *Mass*, provides evidence of Christianity's integration into Inuit society. Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 86-87.

³⁸ Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986). Biographical information was also found in Bernadette Driscoll, "Tattoos, Hairsticks and Ulus: The Graphic Art of Jessie Oonark", *Arts Manitoba*, Volume 3, number 4 (Fall 1984), 13-19; Sandra Souchoffe, "Jessie Oonark: Giver of Life", *Up Here: Life in Canada's North*, Volume 1, number 4 (June/July 1985), 20-24; Marie Bouchard, "Old Master: Oonark", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 2, number 1 (Winter 1987), 4-

8. These studies are not extremely detailed, however. The *Retrospective* is the most complete exploration of Oonark's life and art.

³⁹ Marion E. Jackson, "Transcripts of Interviews with Jessie Oonark and her Children", translators William Noah and Ruby Arnngna'naaq. Unpublished. Courtesy of Inuit Art and Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Hull, Québec, Spring 1983).

⁴⁰ Marion Elizabeth Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings: A Study in the Evolution of Artistic Self-Consciousness* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1985).

⁴¹ Marie Routledge and Marion E. Jackson, *Pudlo: Thirty Years of Drawing* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1990).

⁴² Marion Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant, o.m.i.—Guardian of Legends and Dreams", *Arts & Culture of the North*, Volume VI, number 3 (Fall 1983), 438. Like Swinton, Jackson is quite general in the comments made for this short article. She does not speak to the Christian images contained in the collection.

⁴³ Darlene Wight, *Marc Tungilik: Recent Sculpture* (Toronto: Images Art Gallery, 1982).

⁴⁴ Marc Tungilik, interview with Norman Zepp and Gabriel Gély, translator Madeleine Natok Anderson, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., February 1982, Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Associate Curator of Inuit Art; Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995; Winnipeg Art Gallery; David F. Pelly, "Theresie Tungilik: Rankin Inlet, November 20, 1991 and February 13, 1992," *Wager Bay Oral History Project: Interview Transcripts* (unpublished, prepared for Parks Canada, March 1982), 129-147; Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet N.W.T., June 15, 1995.

⁴⁵ Jeanne L. Pattison, "Storytellers in Stone", *Up Here: Life in Canada's North*, Volume 7, number 5 (October/November 1991), 23-24, 32.

⁴⁶ Darlene Coward Wight, *Art and Expression of the Netsilik: Guidebook* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1997).

⁴⁷ Norman Zepp, "Themes and Community Styles", in Norman Zepp, *Inspiration: Four Decades of Sculpture By Canadian Inuit* (Vancouver: Marion Scott Gallery, 1995), 80. This will be discussed in Chapter five below.

⁴⁸ *Kitikmeot*, introduction by Joseph Murphy (Vancouver: Inuit Gallery of Vancouver, 1989); Gallery Indigena, *Brothers: Nelson Takkiruaq, Judas Ullulaq, Charlie Ugyuk*, introduction by Erla M. Arbuckle. (Stratford: Gallery Indigena, 1989); Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993).

⁴⁹ Lorraine E. Brandson, *Carved From the Land: The Eskimo Museum Collection* (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1994). The Christian images appear on pages 185-188 of this text. Brandson also briefly writes about the introduction of Christianity in the North.

⁵⁰ Antonio R. Gualtieri, *Christianity and Native Traditions: Indigenization and Syncretism among the Inuit and Dené of the Western Arctic* (Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1984).

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- ⁵¹ Hendrik M. Vroom, "Syncretism and Dialogue: A Philosophical Analysis", in Jerald D. Gort, Hendrik M. Vroom, Rein Fernhout, and Anton Wessels (editors), *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1989), 26-35.
- ⁵² Jerald D. Gort, "Syncretism and Dialogue: Christian Historical and Earlier Ecumenical Perceptions", in Jerald D. Gort, Hendrik M. Vroom, Rein Fernhout, and Anton Wessels (editors), *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1989), 36-51.
- ⁵³ André Droogers, "Syncretism: The Problem of Definition, the Definition of the Problem", in Jerald D. Gort, Hendrik M. Vroom, Rein Fernhout, and Anton Wessels (editors), *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1989), 7-25.
- ⁵⁴ Rosalind Shaw and Charles Stewart, "Introduction: Problematizing Syncretism", in Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw (editors), *Syncretism Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-26.
- ⁵⁵ Richard Werbner, "Afterword", in Jerald D. Gort, Hendrik M. Vroom, Rein Fernhout, and Anton Wessels (editors), *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1989), 212-215.
- ⁵⁶ Hugo G. Nutini, *Todos Santos in Rural Tlaxcala: A Syncretic, Expressive, and Symbolic Analysis of The Cult of the Dead* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).
- ⁵⁷ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 16.
- ⁵⁸ Nutini, 16; Shaw and Stewart, "Introduction", 1, 3-5; Droogers, 9. For a summary examination of changing attitudes towards other religions held by the Protestant Church throughout this century see Gort, "Syncretism and Dialogue", 36-51.
- ⁵⁹ Gualtieri, 1.
- ⁶⁰ Nutini, 17-18.
- ⁶¹ Shaw and Stewart, "Introduction", 7. More specifically, Shaw and Stewart define anti-syncretism as "the antagonism to religious synthesis shown by agents concerned with the defence of religious boundaries."
- ⁶² Droogers, 20-21.
- ⁶³ Werbner, 212.
- ⁶⁴ See Gualtieri, 10 regarding points 1 and 2. With respect to point 3, Nutini has insisted that at the core of religious synthesis is a series of convergent beliefs and practices. Nutini, 16, 349-50. Shaw and Stewart, however, have pointed out that "equivalences are not simply 'there' as channels through which meanings from different religions flow automatically. In order to serve as conduits for integration, they must be perceived as equivalences and given significance as such". Shaw and Stewart, "Introduction", 16. Furthermore, as Hendrik Vroom has stated, beliefs, practices and images undergo interpretation and reinterpretation, so that elements which were at one time considered incompatible are now reinterpreted as concurrent. Vroom, "Syncretism and Dialogue", 32. I would add that, in anti-syncretism, the reverse occurs.

⁶⁵ Gualtieri, 1.

⁶⁶ Gort. "Dialogue and Syncretism", 49.

⁶⁷ While theologians differentiate indigenization and inculturation from syncretism, many anthropologists do not and may challenge representatives of the Church to explain exactly how the former depart from syncretism. See, for example, Shaw and Stewart, "Introduction", 11.

⁶⁸ Shorter, 11-12. Shorter merely considers inculturation to have a more current and precise meaning than indigenization.

⁶⁹ Shorter, 12.

⁷⁰ Shorter, 14.

Cross-Cultural Contact: Christian Missionaries and Inuit

Part One: People Involved in the Christianization of Arctic North America

In order to examine Christian imagery in Inuit art, it is necessary to explore cross-cultural relations between missionaries and Inuit as they existed in the Arctic until the time when such artworks appeared in the visual repertoire of the Inuit. That is, it is crucial to point out how and why the Inuit came to learn about and accept this new religion.

Although some Inuit may have been introduced to the rudiments of Christianity as a result of their contact with whaling crews and fur traders, it was usually not until missionaries arrived in the Arctic that Northern peoples became exposed to this new religion in a more detailed way and on a more regular basis. Closely following (and in some cases, preceding) those same whalers and traders,¹ missionaries of various denominations came North with the two-fold goal of Christianizing and “civilizing” the Inuit.² An Anglican pew leaflet illustrates this very well: “In the early days, theft, murder and infanticide were rife, but the message of the Gospel changed all this, and as the Eskimos were converted to Christianity, they became honest and law-abiding citizens.”³

Before delving into the specific narrative of the Church and its proponents in the Keewatin and Kitikmeot regions, it is desirable to put that missionary work in context by touching upon the history of missions in what is now Arctic Canada and Alaska. Long

before the twentieth century, when Roman Catholic (Oblates of Mary Immaculate) and Protestant (Anglican) missionaries entrenched themselves along the west coast of the Hudson Bay, men of God⁴ had been active in the northern portions of this continent.

For the sake of clarity, this overview will be organized geographically and chronologically. This method of investigation serves to reveal the patterns of settlement among Protestant and Roman Catholic proselytizers and their ensuing interaction with Inuit. In the Eastern portion of Arctic Canada, for example, Anglicans first dispersed themselves all over Nunavik (Arctic Québec) and then moved north to Baffin Island. At the same time, the Protestants also worked throughout Canada's Northwest and eventually moved further north into the Western Arctic and Northern Alaska. Only later did Anglicans spread south and east throughout the Keewatin and Kitikmeot from their mission posts on Baffin Island.

Roman Catholic missionaries scattered throughout the Northwest to the Western Arctic and Northern Alaska at the same time as their Anglican counterparts. The Oblates were also based in the heart of the Keewatin at Chesterfield Inlet. From there, they settled all over the Keewatin and Kitikmeot. As Catholic missionaries migrated further north and east, they eventually arrived in Baffin Island and Nunavik. Regardless of their denomination, Christian missionaries normally established outposts wherever Inuit traditionally gathered and food was abundant, or at locations where a trading post was already in place. A more specific account of missionary settlement patterns follows, beginning in the East.

As early as 1658, an Inuk held captive by Micmacs of Eastern Canada was baptized by Jesuit missionaries.⁵ It would be another one hundred years, however, before Christian missionaries would actually settle in Canada's Arctic. In 1752, Moravians came to Labrador, intending to establish the first of many missions and trading posts in the far Eastern Arctic. Their inaugural mission was operational in Nain by 1771. Within six years, Moravian missionaries could boast their first convert, a former shaman named Kingmingusilk. After nearly a decade of proselytizing in the area, these missionaries claimed most Labrador Inuit as members of their Church. Not content to remain in Labrador, the Moravians ventured further west, reaching Ungava Bay in 1811.⁶

In Nunavik, Anglican missionary Reverend Edmund J. Peck arrived at Little Whale River, on the east coast of Hudson Bay in 1876.⁷ Peck built a church in 1879 and, only three years later, had baptized more than one hundred Inuit in that region. He then travelled to Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo) in 1884, where he spent a few weeks instructing the Inuit of Ungava Bay. An Anglican mission was not established at Kuujjuaq, however, until the turn of the century.⁸ Oblate missionaries came on the scene in this district much later, erecting their first mission at Kangiqsujuaq (Wakeham Bay) in 1936.⁹ As a result of the early monopoly held by Protestant missionaries, the vast majority of Inuit from Nunavik profess to be Anglicans, some having remained loyal to that denomination for over a century.

Further north, on Baffin Island, Anglicans also preceded the Oblates. Accompanied by Reverend J. C. Parker, Peck was a pioneer in stationing himself at the Blacklead

Island whaling station (near the present-day community of Pangnirtung) in 1894.¹⁰ Peck, Archibald Lang Fleming—who would later be named the first Bishop of the newly-created Diocese of the Arctic in 1933—and Julian William Bilby then proceeded on to Kimmirut (Lake Harbour) in 1909.¹¹ Roman Catholic missionaries were without a presence on Baffin Island until Fathers Prime Girard and Etienne Bazin came to Pond Inlet in 1929.¹² Their late arrival again meant that the Roman Catholic Church would not have a particularly strong following in this region.

On the western coast of North America, Russian Orthodox priests were the first to preach to Indigenous peoples of Alaska. Arriving in the 1740s, they baptized both Aleuts and people from Kodiak Island within twenty years.¹³ But the purchase of Alaska by the United States from the Russian-American Company in 1867 opened up this area to evangelization by missionaries from other Christian Churches. Moravians came to Northern Alaska by 1884,¹⁴ and were quickly followed by representatives of other evangelical Protestant denominations. Of the latter, the Covenant missionaries had great success in converting Alaskan Iñupiat in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹⁵ The appearance of Oblate and Jesuit missionaries in Alaska in 1873 and 1887, respectively, added to the variety of faiths represented in this part of the North.¹⁶

Missionary activity in the Western Canadian Arctic has been dominated by Oblates and Anglicans, who reached the area after proselytizing First Nations peoples further south. Roman Catholic missionaries, for example, had begun preaching to people of the Mackenzie Delta by 1860. At that time, Father Henri Grollier met Inuit at Fort

MacPherson, where he gave the camp leader a picture of the Crucified Christ.¹⁷ Not wanting their competition to get the upper hand, Anglican Bishop William Carpenter Bompas visited Mackenzie Delta Inuit as early as 1869. It was not until 1896, though, that Reverend Isaac Stringer established a mission post at Herschel Island.¹⁸ The Anglicans then opened missions at Kugluktuk (Coppermine) in 1915 and at Aklavik in 1919.¹⁹ Success for Roman Catholic missionaries was also slow in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early-twentieth century. Communication problems even resulted in the death of two Oblates—Fathers Le Roux and Rouvière—at the hands of Copper Inuit near Coronation Gulf in 1913.²⁰ Nonetheless, a Catholic mission was founded at Aklavik in 1924.²¹

A History of Christianity in the Central Canadian Arctic

As noted above, Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries attempted to build Christian communities among Indigenous peoples across the Arctic. They were often highly competitive in their efforts to “save souls” for their respective but, at that time, opposing Churches. Ecumenism in the North was not known among various Christian denominations until the latter half of this century. In the Keewatin and Kitikmeot districts of the Central Canadian Arctic, competition between Catholics and Protestants, the earliest missionaries to these regions, was pervasive. Antagonism, furthermore, existed between missionaries and other agents of western society active in the Arctic during these early years. Whalers, fur traders, and RCMP officers also wanted to control

the lives of Canadian Inuit in one way or another.²² The result of intense competition between missionaries meant that Catholic priests usually gained more converts in areas where they arrived before Protestant ministers, and vice versa.²³ As a result, in the Keewatin community of Baker Lake, most Inuit are Protestant, while Pelly Bay residents in the Kitikmeot are exclusively Catholic.

The Roman Catholic missionaries who have worked among Inuit in the Central Canadian Arctic are members of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), a world-wide missionary organization originating in France in 1826. Oblates, mainly from France, Belgium, and Québec, arrived at Red River in 1845, and were responsible for erecting hundreds of missions in Canada's West and North.²⁴ Early Protestant missionaries in the Keewatin and Kitikmeot were most often English and Scottish Anglicans. Many of these individuals worked under the auspices of the evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS), based in England since 1799. Like the Oblates, CMS-sponsored missionaries began their involvement with Canada's Indigenous peoples further south, opening their first church and school at Red River in 1820.²⁵

The earliest recorded contact between Inuit of the Keewatin and a Christian missionary occurred in 1822, when Anglican minister, John West, arrived in Churchill to preach to Inuit who came there to trade. This was but a brief encounter, and it was not until 1883 that a resident minister was in place at Churchill. Even then, cross-cultural contact with Inuit, who lived further north, remained sporadic.²⁶

Oblate missionaries also met Inuit of this region in the nineteenth century. As early as 1868, a group of Inuit were encountered by Oblate Father Alphonse Gasté at Dubawnt Lake. However, it was Gasté's assistant, Arsène Turquetil, who became the first of many missionaries to maintain a prolonged residence among Inuit of the Central Canadian Arctic. Turquetil—he would be named Bishop of Churchill Hudson Bay in 1932—made two trips to the Keewatin, in 1901 and 1906. Due to his persistence, a Roman Catholic mission was finally founded at Chesterfield Inlet in 1912, one year after the Hudson's Bay Company built a fur trading post there.²⁷

Our Lady of Deliverance was the first Christian Church to be erected along the west coast of Hudson Bay, and it took Turquetil and fellow Oblates, Armand Le Blanc and Prime Girard, five years before they were able to baptize the first Keewatin Inuit. In July of 1917, four families—nine adults and three children—officially became Catholics.²⁸

Romance and mysticism surround these early conversions, which Turquetil attributed to the intervention of Saint Theresa of the Child Jesus (also called the "little flower"), a young Carmelite nun from Lisieux, Turquetil's home diocese. In 1916, Turquetil received her biography, accompanied by some soil taken from under her grave. The next day, the priest entertained several Inuit visitors by playing the harmonium at the Chesterfield Inlet mission. As the Inuit watched Turquetil play, Prime Girard sprinkled some of the earth on their heads. The following Sunday, these same Inuit came to Turquetil requesting baptism. After eight months of instruction, the first believers received this sacrament and Theresa was credited with obtaining the conversions.²⁹

After they had gained this foothold in the heart of the Keewatin, Catholic missionaries raced along the west coast of Hudson Bay in an effort to convert souls to the “true Faith”, establishing missions in the Central Canadian Arctic one after another. The Oblates felt they had to move quickly in order to counteract the Protestant “ministers of error”,³⁰ who were also entering the area more regularly by the 1920s. Two Oblate priests—Lionel Ducharme and Prime Girard—travelled to Arviat in 1923 and built Saint Theresa’s mission the following year.³¹ In 1926, Saint Joseph’s Mission was created at Coral Harbour on Southampton Island by Emmanuel Duplain and Girard.³² Fathers Marcel Rio and Armand Clabaut were sent by Turquetil to begin Saint Paul’s Mission in Baker Lake in 1927.³³ Clabaut also founded Our Lady of the Snows at Repulse Bay in 1933,³⁴ while Pierre Henry built Our Lady of the Poor/Saint Peter’s at Pelly Bay in 1935.³⁵

Among the Anglicans, Reverend Blevin Atkinson entered the Northern Keewatin from Baffin Island, reaching Southampton Island in 1924. At that time, Atkinson stayed only briefly to instruct Inuit in their camps and baptize several people. Two years later, upon requests of Inuit from Southampton, Atkinson sent Inuit catechist Luke Kidlapik to work there on a more consistent basis. The Anglicans’ first ordained cleric, however, did not reside permanently at Saint Mark’s Church in Coral Harbour until 1964.³⁶ Elsewhere in the Keewatin, the year 1926 saw Reverend Donald Ben Marsh establish a mission for the Anglicans at Arviat, in the name of Saint Francis.³⁷ The following year, Reverend Ben P. Smyth arrived in Baker Lake, where Saint Aidan’s Anglican Church was built.³⁸ Chesterfield Inlet soon became an outpost of the Baker Lake Anglican mission. The few

Anglicans at Chesterfield Inlet were ministered to by Inuit catechist Paulose Angote from at least 1938 until 1949, when Angote died from polio.³⁹

Although the Oblates made constant journeys to other Inuit camps and trading posts within the Keewatin and Kitikmeot, several more missions would not be founded until the mid-point of this century. A Catholic mission was not built near Taloyoak (Spence Bay) until 1948, when Father Henry constructed a stone dwelling at Ikpik (Thom Bay). Six years later, Henry and fellow Oblate, Rogatien Papion, built Saint Michael's Church in Taloyoak in response to the settlement of Inuit in that area.⁴⁰ Henry was similarly responsible for the beginnings of Gjoa Haven's Immaculate Heart of Mary in 1951.⁴¹

Anglican missionaries were a bit slower to settle in the Kitikmeot. Although Reverend Jack Turner came from Pond Inlet to preach among Inuit of King William Island and Boothia Peninsula in 1939, he did not remain in the region very long.⁴² The Taloyoak Anglican mission (Church of the Good Shepherd) was established in 1955 by Reverend Donald Whitbread, after catechist Mark Kavavouk had spent several years there.⁴³ Gjoa Haven had an Anglican Church (Church of the Messiah) by 1956, which was headed by Inuit catechist Gideon Kitsualik (he later became a minister) and his wife Rebecca.⁴⁴ Anglicans never found a place at Pelly Bay, which remains a Catholic stronghold even today. Protestants, moreover, had a very slow start with Saint Stephen's, the Anglican Church in neighbouring Repulse Bay.⁴⁵

Two settlements in the Keewatin also welcomed Christianity in post-World War II years. In 1957, Rankin Inlet was a new community, born in response to its recently-

opened nickel mine and the resulting influx of Inuit to the area. That year, Father Robert Paradis ensured that the town's Catholic mission, Our Lady of the Cape, was in operation.⁴⁶ The following year, catechist Armand Tagoona—he was ordained the first Inuit minister in 1960—arrived in Rankin Inlet and soon built the Anglican Church of the Holy Comforter.⁴⁷

Another young settlement sprang up at Whale Cove in 1959, where Inuit from inland areas had been flown by the government due to severe famine. Whale Cove also served to absorb Inuit who left Rankin Inlet following the closure of its nickel mine in 1962. Once again, Oblates entered the scene and built a mission in 1960.⁴⁸ Moses Aligak led fellow Anglicans in prayer at Whale Cove's Christ Church that same year.⁴⁹

Statistically, the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay could boast a religious personnel of twenty-six by 1935: a bishop, eighteen priests, and two lay brothers, as well as five Grey Nuns. Within less than twenty-five years of their permanent arrival at Chesterfield Inlet, the Oblates had gained five hundred Inuit Catholics in addition to another two hundred and eighty catechumens.⁵⁰ Numbers provided by Richard Cushing only seven years later are even more impressive. In 1942, there were thirty-three Oblate Fathers, six lay brothers, and six Grey Nuns stationed at fifteen missions. Seven hundred and sixty Inuit had been baptized and seven hundred others were catechumens. At this time, the Catholic Church's greatest success story in this region was at Chesterfield Inlet, where ninety-eight percent of the Inuit had adopted the new faith.⁵¹ However, a 1951 Dominion of Canada Census of the entire Canadian Arctic counted 7,156 Anglicans,

while only 1,326 people professed to be Catholic. A mere 164 individuals reported following another faith.⁵² In 1957, Anglican Bishop Donald Ben Marsh stated that his Diocese of the Arctic contained twenty established mission stations and four outstations, with a religious personnel of fourteen ministers and deacons, as well as one layman.⁵³ Nine years later, eighty-five percent of Canadian Inuit, or thirteen thousand people, claimed to follow the Anglican faith.⁵⁴

While more recent statistics do not include actual numbers of adherents, they are still helpful in providing an overview of the state of Christianity in the North today. By 1984, the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic had fifty-one congregations of followers.⁵⁵ This means there is an Anglican contingent in virtually every community of the Canadian Arctic. In 1993, Catholic religious personnel in the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay amounted to fifteen Oblates, eight Grey Nuns, seven lay missionaries and eighteen Inuit pastoral leaders, serving sixteen missions.⁵⁶ While Catholic Bishop Reynald Rouleau states that close to one-third of Inuit in his diocese are Catholic today, the proportion of Catholics and Anglicans varies from community to community. When asked to determine what percentage of Central Canadian Inuit were Catholic and Protestant, Rouleau provided the following estimates. At Arviat, Repulse Bay, and Gjoa Haven, there seem to be roughly equal numbers of Anglicans and Catholics. Almost all Inuit at Chesterfield Inlet and Pelly Bay, however, are Catholic. On the other hand, ninety percent of Baker Lake residents subscribe to one of four or five branches of Protestantism. Similarly, only ten and fifteen percent of the people at Coral Harbour and

Taloyoak observe Roman Catholicism. Rouleau, finally, estimates that about eighty percent of Inuit at Rankin Inlet are Catholic, while only thirty percent follow that faith at Whale Cove.⁵⁷

Bishop Rouleau also pointed out that some Inuit adhere to denominations other than Anglican and Catholic. Despite the pervasiveness of Oblate and Anglican missionaries in the Keewatin and Kitikmeot throughout this century, representatives of other faiths have played a part in evangelizing Inuit from these regions for more than fifty years. Reverend Gleason Ledyard of the Christian and Missionary Alliance is one such individual. Ledyard arrived in Arviat in 1946. Four years later, he moved a short distance away to the mouth of the Maguse River. Ledyard attracted some converts among the Anglicans, as the latter denomination was without a minister at Arviat from 1946 until 1954. At Maguse, Eric Anoe assisted Ledyard, teaching *Bible* classes as early as 1956.⁵⁸ Not to be outdone by their Anglican and Oblate counterparts, missionaries with the Alliance Church also travelled throughout the Keewatin and Kitikmeot. Ledyard, for example, made a brief appearance at Gjoa Haven in 1952.⁵⁹

Another evangelical sect to enter the Central Canadian Arctic is Glad Tidings or, as it is known by Inuit, *Qiajut*, *Qaqaliqsimajut*, or *Ukpiqturjuat*. Missionaries with this church travelled throughout the North as early as 1960.⁶⁰

A third alternative Christian denomination to appear in the Keewatin is the unique Arctic Christian Fellowship, organized in 1969 by former Anglican Inuit minister Armand Tagoona. Based in Baker Lake, the Fellowship is syncretic, blending

Christianity with traditional Inuit religious concepts.⁶¹ One way in which the Fellowship is a hybrid of the two spiritualities is the importance it places on repentance or public confession,⁶² a practice that was an important part of the traditional Inuit belief system. What were once taboos broken by Inuit following an animist religion have today become sins committed by Christian Inuit. In both cases, public confession must be completed in order to receive forgiveness and restore balance. Tagoona also advocated the indigenization of gospel songs. He explained that

[i]t would be much better, now, if we Inuit started making our own gospel songs that we could feel. We notice that Inuit sing much better when we sing Inuk song, Ayaa-yaa. I don't mean that we should start singing Ayaa-yaa in our churches. I mean we should have our own songs, written by Inuit themselves. . . . It would be a sign of being Inuit, not having to copy the white man's way of church services. . . . So my desire is to have our own songs and our own melodies to praise God.⁶³

While Tagoona returned to the Anglican Church as a minister at Rankin Inlet in 1985,⁶⁴ Baker Lake residents such as artist William Noah,⁶⁵ continue to support Arctic Christian Fellowship today.

In general, evangelical and Pentecostal movements such as Alliance Church, Glad Tidings, and even Arctic Christian Fellowship, concentrate more on direct communion with God and increased emotionalism. Some even encourage speaking in tongues, a practice which can be seen as a link to the shaman's secret language of traditional Inuit spirituality. Harold Seidelman and James Turner also point out that, "[t]he dynamic interactive services of the Pentecostal churches resemble more closely the participatory angakoq performances of the traditional culture."⁶⁶

Inuit as Agents of Change

Although I have listed the names of many non-Inuit missionaries who were responsible for constructing churches across the Arctic and obtaining souls for Christendom, it is equally true that others spread this new religion in many remote regions of the North. While Catholic Grey Nuns (also known as Sisters of Charity) and wives of Anglican missionaries usually assisted missionaries' efforts in the vicinity of mission posts, numerous Inuit were themselves agents of change, bringing knowledge of Jesus and God to their families and camp members at a distance. Inuit even built permanent houses of worship throughout the North, often receiving little if any economic compensation for their efforts.⁶⁷ From the earliest arrivals of missionaries in the Arctic, moreover, Inuit took priests and ministers into their homes, provided them with food, shelter, and clothing, taught them Inuktitut, and led them to other Inuit in far off camps.

Without active evangelization on their own behalf, the numbers of Christian Inuit reported in the statistics above would not have been very large so soon after the arrival of missionaries in the Central Canadian Arctic. As scholar Maybelle Mitchell has said, "catechists travelled with the missionaries and must be credited with much of the success of their conversion programs."⁶⁸ In many remote Inuit camps, it was common for one Inuk to be appointed Christian leader. Camp members would congregate at that individual's dwelling for services. Hymns were sung, services were read, and listeners were told about some of the teachings the leader had heard at the nearest mission.⁶⁹

Such a situation is illustrated by Jean Briggs in her book, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Briggs discovered that the Utkuhikhalingmiut family with whom she lived in 1963 and 1964 were converted to Anglicanism in the 1930s, through contact with Christian Inuit they met on trading trips to Repulse Bay and Baker Lake. Still living in a camp one hundred and fifty miles south of Gjoa Haven in the 1960s, this group of Inuit were led in religious observances by a male camp leader. Services were held in the Church leader's home or in another, larger dwelling.⁷⁰ Briggs writes, "Everybody in camp, except for the few Catholics, came to church on Sunday mornings, so there were twenty-nine people at church in our ten-foot iglu during my first winter there."⁷¹

It may be argued that one of the reasons two-thirds of Canadian Inuit today are Protestant, is due to their ability to take on increasingly powerful positions of authority within their churches. By 1984, nearly half of the Anglican clergy in the Diocese of the Arctic were already Inuit.⁷² Only twelve years later, missionary personnel among Anglicans in the Eastern Arctic consisted of fourteen Inuit clergy and only five "southern" clergy. That year an Inuk, Paul Idlout, was named Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic.⁷³ As Baker Lake artist Ruth Annaqtuusi Tuluiialik comments,

Many years ago, when there were only a few qablunat here, they taught us about religion. Now we have a committee to organize the church. We have our own choirs and catechists who also wear robes. We no longer see a light over the minister's head. nor give fox pelts as offering. . . . Things changed as the years went by.⁷⁴

By accepting greater roles of responsibility within Arctic Protestantism, Inuit are more capable of directing present and future methods of expressing and practising Christianity

in the North. It seems logical that greater participation in, and perhaps control of, the direction of their spiritual lives would attract greater numbers of Inuit to Protestant denominations.

As we will see, Catholics have been less successful than Anglicans in ordaining Inuit clergy, having to be satisfied with Inuit catechists or lay readers only. Contemporary efforts within both the Catholic and Protestant Churches attempt to grant Inuit a greater voice in matters of interpreting Christian beliefs and integrating them with traditional spiritual practices. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church, Inuit adherents do not hold positions of authority equal to those of Oblate priests.

Countless Inuit spread Christianity across the North. Some of these individuals are more well-known than others. I have already mentioned Armand Tagoona, Luke Kidlapik, Gideon Kitsualik, Mark Kavavouk, Moses Aligak, Paulose Angote, Eric Anoe, and William Noah as ordained Protestant ministers, catechists, or church leaders in the Central Canadian Arctic.

There were other key contributors to the development of the Anglican Church in Canada's Arctic. Thomas Umaok of Herschel Island was an early leader. Becoming a catechist in 1917, Umaok was ordained the first Inuit deacon in 1927, and worked throughout the Western Arctic until his death.⁷⁵ Two other early catechists for the Anglican Church were Nero Anorak and John Miluktok, who assisted Reverend Edmund Peck in Nunavik. Peck considered Miluktok indispensable, for he was known to gather people together in his igloo to be instructed by the missionary. Miluktok continued to

teach fellow Inuit about Christianity in Peck's absence, bringing about a number of conversions.⁷⁶ Further north, at Blacklead Island, Peter Tulugakjuak was the first catechist and Padlo, a woman, spread the Christian message farther afield.⁷⁷ Reverend Noah Nasook first preached to other Inuit at Igloolik, a community north of the Keewatin. He had built the Anglican Church at Igloolik in 1959 and, by 1984, he was still preaching there as a Canon.⁷⁸

Luke Kidlapik, discussed earlier as a catechist on Southampton Island, began his work for the missionaries in 1911, when he travelled with Archibald Lang Fleming to Iqaluit from Blacklead Island.⁷⁹ But Luke Kidlapik was not the only catechist who began working for the Anglican Church on Baffin Island, only to move south into the Keewatin. Joseph Yarley and Joseph Pudlo were two other such individuals. Joseph Yarley first encountered a missionary near Kimmirut in 1909. After a few years of instruction, Yarley became a sled driver for the Anglican mission, travelling with Fleming and Joseph Pudlo throughout southern Baffin Island. He even preached to Inuit independently of Fleming between 1915 and 1920.⁸⁰ Yarley was eventually sent to Arviat in 1932, where Fleming felt he could assist Reverend Marsh by travelling with him to distant camps and helping him spread Christianity to other Inuit.⁸¹ By 1941, Yarley had moved seventy miles north of Arviat to build and maintain an outstation at Tavane. Yarley would remain at Tavane until his death in 1943.⁸²

The second Baffin Island Inuk to spread his knowledge of Christianity among Inuit of the Keewatin was Joseph Pudlo. Fleming met Pudlo on one of his trips to an outlying

camp while he was based at Blacklead Island. Around 1914, he became a catechist at Kimmirut, travelling and preaching to Inuit at camps across Southern Baffin Island for several years.⁸³ Then, in 1927, Pudlo was asked by Fleming to accompany Reverend Ben Smyth to Baker Lake. Pudlo helped Smyth learn Inuktitut and assisted him in evangelizing the people there. He stayed at Baker Lake for two years.⁸⁴ During that short time, Pudlo was able to influence an Inuk named Thomas Tapatai. The latter soon became an assistant to Smyth's follower Canon James.⁸⁵ Tapatai, in turn, worked with the Anglican Church at Baker Lake from 1928 until his death in 1989.⁸⁶

Within the Catholic community of the Central Canadian Arctic, few Inuit have taken even temporary vows to become Oblates or Grey Nuns. One Inuk, however, did commit twenty years of her life to the sisters. She was known as Naya (Sister) Pelagy Poovlaleraq. A Padlarmiut from the Southern Keewatin, Poovlaleraq was trained at Chesterfield Inlet by Father Roland Courtemanche and the Grey Nuns residing in that community. In 1951, at the age of twenty, she made her religious profession. In doing so, Naya Pelagy was the first Inuk to become a nun.⁸⁷ Poovlaleraq worked at the hospital in Chesterfield Inlet until 1955, whereupon she rendered her services to Chesterfield Inlet's Catholic boarding school. She left the Sisters of Charity around 1970 and returned south to Arviat, where she soon married. Reflecting upon why Poovlaleraq did not remain a sister, Father Courtemanche felt that she was discouraged because no other Inuit would become nuns.⁸⁸ While Naya Pelagy was the only Inuk to be a member of a

religious community for any great length of time, it should be noted that another young woman, Alexina Nutarardjuk was a novice with the Grey Nuns in 1956.⁸⁹

Although no Inuit have been ordained Catholic priests, the Oblate congregation did include Inuuk as lay brothers⁹⁰ in the 1960s. The first lay brother was Anthony Manernaluk, who served as a guide to Father Joseph Buliard in the Garry Lake area from 1953 until 1956. After his confirmation in early 1958, Manernaluk travelled to Gjoa Haven, where he began his postulancy under the guidance of Father Pierre Henry. Six months later, he went south to the Oblate Noviciate in Saint Norbert, Manitoba. In December 1959, Manernaluk pronounced his first vows, thus becoming an official member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Manernaluk remained an Oblate brother until November 1962, when he asked to leave the congregation.⁹¹

The second Inuk to become an Oblate brother was a younger sibling of Manernaluk. Nicholas Sikkuark, now a well-known artist, was in the care of Father Pierre Henry in Gjoa Haven by 1955. While at Gjoa Haven, Sikkuark began his postulancy. In 1961, at the age of eighteen, he arrived in Saint Norbert, where he was a novice. One year later, Sikkuark took his first vows.⁹² Archival documents and secondary sources suggest that Sikkuark continued his work as an Oblate until at least 1966, serving in Arctic communities such as Repulse Bay. By 1971, however, Sikkuark was already raising a family and had completed two years of training to become a catechist for the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay.⁹³

In addition to the handful of Inuit who accepted the formal duties of Oblate brother and Grey Nun, many Inuit have assisted Catholic missionaries in other valuable ways, by acting as guides and catechists throughout this century. Oblate Father Robert Lechat pointed out that in Igloolik, a community north of the Keewatin, both Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism were introduced by Inuuk in the 1920s. Maktar, a Catholic, and Umik, an Anglican, passed on to local Inuit what they had learned from their previous brief contacts with qallunaat missionaries elsewhere. In 1930, a group of Inuit who learned about Christianity from Maktar, went to Pond Inlet to ask the priest there to send a missionary to live among them. One year later Father Etienne Bazin was able to fulfill their request.⁹⁴

In the Keewatin, several Inuit have been indispensable to Catholic missionaries at various points during the last eighty years. An early catechist was an Inuk named Joseph Tuni. Soon after his baptism at Chesterfield Inlet in 1917, Tuni travelled to a camp three hundred miles north, where he told Netsilik Inuit to go to the Oblates for instruction in the new religion. Tuni, moreover, took notes on sermons preached at Chesterfield Inlet so that he might later impart the priest's words to distant Inuit.⁹⁵ Oblates also recognize Teresikuluk Niakrogluk as an informal catechist among a group of Keewatin Inuit. Father Eugène Fafard credits this young woman with convincing other camp members—including her father-in-law, Taliriktok, a former shaman—to follow her lead and accept Christianity in the 1930s.⁹⁶

Catholic Inuit have assisted the Christianization of their people in other ways. Beginning in 1925, for example, John Ayaruaq led many missionaries from his home near Chesterfield Inlet to Inuit in outlying camps. He also travelled with Oblates to places such as Churchill, Arviat, Baker Lake, and Repulse Bay. Ayaruaq served the Catholic missions as a guide until his health failed in 1948.⁹⁷ Victor Sammurtok worked for the Oblates at Chesterfield Inlet as a mechanic for twenty years, starting around 1948.⁹⁸ Sammurtok's son, Leonard Putilik, maintained his father's working relationship with the Catholic missionaries. Since 1949, Putilik has been employed by the Oblates, carrying out a variety of tasks: hauling ice, guiding missionaries to camps, and, more recently, maintaining a greenhouse and chicken coop.⁹⁹

On a more formal level, Catholic Inuit living in the Central Canadian Arctic have been catechists for four decades. As early as 1957, Bishop Marc Lacroix authorized Inuk Charlie Idjuk to distribute Holy Communion during a priest's absence at Taloyoak. Idjuk eventually completed two years of training at the Pelly Bay catechetical school in 1971, and was assigned to lead the community of Taloyoak in prayer for at least one year.¹⁰⁰ Beginning in 1966, Walter Porter and his wife led Catholics in prayer at Gjoa Haven for three years. The Porters then had two years of instruction at the Pelly Bay catechetical school. After completion of their training, the family went further west to Cambridge Bay, where they remained Church leaders until Walter's death in 1973.¹⁰¹ A third couple, Barthelemy and Sidonie Nirlungajuq of Pelly Bay also completed the two year educational program in 1971. Catechists for at least fifteen years, the Nirlungajuks began

their work at Iqaluit on Baffin Island in the early 1970s.¹⁰² And finally, sculptor Mariano Aupilardjuk of Repulse Bay acted as a Catholic catechist in the Keewatin. Aupilardjuk had two years of training at Pelly Bay in the early 1970s and was a lay leader at Whale Cove in the late 1970s.¹⁰³

Part Two: Roles of Missionaries and Avenues of Syncretism

Arctic missionaries have historically filled many roles in addition to their primary one of evangelist. As Oblate missionary, Father André Steinmann, has said, “If I had to speak of all the trades we had to practise when we lived with the Inuit, I’d never end.”¹⁰⁴ An interview with veteran missionary Father Roland Courtemanche was equally illuminating. Although Courtemanche said that the main duty of an Arctic missionary is to preach, early Oblates such as himself had to do so much more: “We had to learn the language very well and, after that, we had to learn to travel with them, eat like them (frozen meat most of the time). We adapted to the people, to live like an Eskimo. We did, and so they accepted us.”¹⁰⁵ Northern clergy have been, at various times, doctors, dentists, teachers, traders, carpenters, linguists, welfare and family allowance officers, arts advisors, co-op managers, archaeologists, anthropologists, and scientists. Some of these roles deserve closer examination, as they shed light on cross-cultural interaction in the Arctic.

Missionaries and Health Care in the Arctic

Both Catholic and Anglican missionaries acted as health care providers to Inuit until at least the middle of this century, when the federal government began to build nursing stations across the Canadian Arctic. Religious women, whether they be wives of Anglican missionaries or Catholic nuns, also played an active part in nursing sick Inuit back to health. In the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, for example, the Oblates built Saint Theresa's Hospital at Chesterfield Inlet in 1931. The hospital has been staffed, for the most part, by the Grey Nuns of Montréal. It continues to function today, but now serves as a home for mentally and physically disabled Inuit.¹⁰⁶

In order to find a medical facility sponsored by the Anglican Church, one must travel outside of the Central Canadian Arctic. Further west, at Aklavik, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches each operated a hospital. The Oblates built Immaculate Conception Hospital at Aklavik in 1927.¹⁰⁷ Just as at Saint Theresa's Hospital in Chesterfield Inlet, the Sisters of Charity cared for the sick in Aklavik. Anglican missionaries, however, preceded the Oblates at Aklavik by constructing All Saints' Hospital there in 1926. Although the original structure burned to the ground in 1936, it was quickly rebuilt, and operated until 1961.¹⁰⁸ To better serve Inuit of the Eastern and Central Canadian Arctic, moreover, the Anglican Church opened Saint Luke's Hospital at Pangnirtung around 1930.¹⁰⁹ Both All Saints' and Saint Luke's Hospitals were staffed mainly by nurses working under the auspices the Anglican Church.¹¹⁰

Aside from hospitals, missionaries to the Inuit provided health care for their parishioners in remote regions of Canada's North and later, in burgeoning new

settlements. For their part, some Anglican clergy came to the Arctic prepared to act as doctors and nurses to their congregations. Reverends Parker, Greenshields, Bilby, Fleming, and Marsh as well Marsh's wife, Winifred, received special medical training in England or southern Canada before heading North.¹¹¹ In addition, Joyce Marlow, wife of missionary John Marlow, acted as a nurse to Inuit of Arviat. In 1960, she tended to dozens of people who were inflicted with measles and pneumonia during an epidemic which occurred shortly after the Inuit came to live permanently in that community.¹¹²

Missionaries, with their western medicines, were able to successfully combat viruses and diseases brought into the North by foreigners such as themselves, whalers, fur traders, DEW Line personnel,¹¹³ and other non-Inuit. In fact, the great success of medicines wielded by missionaries against tuberculosis, influenza, measles, small pox, polio, diphtheria, typhoid fever, whooping cough, and other unfamiliar illnesses, was enough to convince many Inuit to follow Christianity. The missionary, in fact, began to assume the shaman's role as healer.¹¹⁴ Anthropologist James Van Stone has said that "[f]aith in shamans, the traditional healers, was declining because of their inability to combat introduced diseases."¹¹⁵

Many angakoqs (shamans) recognized that the missionaries were beginning to usurp their role as healers. Reverend Peck, for one, recorded that, in 1895 on Baffin Island, his companion J. C. Parker had been tending to a sick man. Because the patient's condition was not improving quickly, an angakoq was brought in to try and cure the ill Inuk. The

next evening, the local shaman attended a prayer meeting and told Peck that their professions were the same.¹¹⁶

For their part, missionaries were acutely aware that they were being compared by Inuit to angakoqs, and some played this to their advantage.

[M]issionaries could point out that the peoples' own shamans were unable to cure new diseases—measles, tuberculosis and influenza—which were sweeping the Arctic and, in many areas, causing terrible population losses. . . . The Christian message could all too easily appear to explain why hunters were vulnerable to these diseases, but whites were immune: the non-believer would die. At the same time, Christian death encompassed its own remedy: believers would have eternal life.¹¹⁷

Although the writings of Arctic missionaries seldom indicate that they employed such scare tactics to persuade Inuit to become believers in the new faith, Peck has recounted how he used the medicines in his possession to incite Inuit to follow Christianity. While he was preaching among the people of Nunavik in the 1870s and 1880s, the missionary encountered an Inuit woman named Charlotte Ooyaraluk. Ooyaraluk was opposed to Christianity, but when her daughter was ill, Peck visited and comforted her. The child soon got better, prompting Ooyaraluk to begin listening to the minister's preaching and, eventually, accept baptism.¹¹⁸

Catholic missionaries were not oblivious, either, to the power and prestige that successful healing could bring them. In his first contacts with people of the Keewatin, Arsène Turquetil used western medicines as a tool with which to gain the respect and conversion of Inuit. While staying at one camp in 1906, a sick man's condition seemed to improve when he was near Turquetil. The angakoq attempted to cure his patient, but

to no avail. As a result, camp members believed that the priest had power over the spirits, blocking the shaman's bids to heal the poor man. At a different camp during the same trip, Turquetil gave an injured hunter medicine. When the sufferer quickly recovered, the Inuit agreed to listen to Turquetil's sermons.¹¹⁹ In a speech to the Inuit, the priest told them, "that my songs and Mass were stronger than all the sorcery in the world, because they could not be used to do evil." Hearing these words and witnessing the healing effects of the missionary upon their people, these Inuit allowed Turquetil to baptize some of their children.¹²⁰

Oblate biographer Gabriel Morice also notes that the missionary's ability to cure illness was a major factor in converting Inuit to Christianity. An example of one such conversion was after a woman whose daughter "had been saved from death by prayers that a catechumen recited over her".¹²¹ In this situation, it is important to note that while the mother took up the new religion, the recitation of Christian prayers to restore good health is continuous with the use of magic words in traditional Inuit spirituality.

Missionaries did not necessarily discourage syncretic interpretations of Christian prayer in the context of healing, perhaps because clergy also believed that such acts of devotion could affect miracles. In the Pelly Bay area, for example, Father Pierre Henry encountered a woman who was going blind. Her husband said he would become a follower of Christianity if Henry could restore his wife's sight. The Oblate applied an ointment to the woman's eyes and suggested they all pray together. For nine days, Father Henry stayed with the people of this camp and taught them hymns and prayers. Then the

priest removed the bandages from the patient's eyes. The woman discovered that she was indeed able to see and, as a result, some members of this camp adopted Christianity.¹²²

At the same time, though, a lack of missionary success in healing could cause recent Inuit converts to return to their traditional healers, the angakoqs. One example of such vacillation occurred at Blacklead Island in 1895, and has already been mentioned earlier. Another situation at Arviat in the mid-1940s illustrates this point very effectively. At that time, a series of deadly epidemics was raging in the area. Because missionaries were powerless to control the spread of sickness and death, many Inuit turned away from their new-found Christianity. Anglican missionary Reverend Herbert laments: "The resultant high death rate this summer caused numbers of the older people to revive or persist in many of their superstitious customs."¹²³

Cornelius Remie also found that, when sickness affected people living near Pelly Bay, they "often called in the help of the missionaries whom they considered to be powerful shamans. In case the help given didn't bring about the results one hoped for, the Arviligdjuarmiut [people of Pelly Bay] took recourse to traditional means to remedy illness."¹²⁴ Remie even discovered that some Inuit would use both western medicines and traditional means to heal sickness on a regular basis: "After their conversion to Catholicism the Arviligdjuarmiut quite often called on the missionary, asking him for medicines, but at the same time they continued to practice their traditional means to remedy illness."¹²⁵ The situation at Pelly Bay and that at Arviat demonstrate that the

Inuit often changed their spiritual loyalties. People tended to follow the missionary or the shaman, depending upon who would better help maintain good health.

It should be kept in mind, then, that the primary concern of a people living in harsh Arctic climates was survival. Any means to achieve this goal were taken. The Inuit did whatever they needed to do in order to survive. If one's healthy existence could be improved or maintained by seeking the services of both the missionary and the shaman, many Inuit would certainly comply.

Arctic Missionaries, the Invention of Syllabics, and Education in the North

In addition to acting as health care providers, Arctic missionaries saw themselves as educators. Their primary goal, of course, was to teach Inuit about Christianity. While they might have found spending time with Inuit and instructing them in person was the most effective method of evangelization, Anglican and Oblate missionaries felt they needed a more efficient means of spreading the Gospel in such vast areas. The solution seemed to be the creation of a written form of communication so that the word of God could be printed and distributed in Native languages.

With this in mind, James Evans, a Methodist missionary to the Cree at Norway House, invented the syllabic system of writing in 1841.¹²⁶ Syllabics are comprised of a series of characters which represent the various sounds in a language. By 1876, Anglican Arctic missionary Edmund Peck felt he could reach more potential parishioners by adapting this system. Thus, he began to translate some hymns and parts of the New Testament into

Inuktitut syllabics at his mission post in Little Whale River. Within a year, Peck had taught several Inuit to read syllabics, and they quickly passed their knowledge on to others.¹²⁷

Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the East and Central Arctic both taught Inuit to read and write in syllabics and they soon distributed prayer books printed in the syllabic script among possible converts. Peck's *The Four Gospels Translated into the Language of the Eskimo of Hudson Bay* was published in 1897, while his *Hymns, Addresses, Etc. for the Use of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Land* was released in 1908.¹²⁸ In 1917, only five years after he arrived at Chesterfield Inlet, Oblate Father Turquetil composed *Prières et Cantiques en Esquimau*, for the use of Inuit living in the Central Canadian Arctic.¹²⁹ By 1934, Turquetil had published an edition of fifteen thousand copies of an illustrated prayer book written in syllabic script.¹³⁰

Arctic missionaries did not discriminate in teaching Inuit to read and write. They taught young and old, men and women. Missionaries taught Inuit in camps and at mission stations. Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh commented in 1953 that missionaries established day schools in the North before the government took an interest in the education of Inuit. Through their teaching, missionaries had established a literacy rate of eighty to ninety percent.¹³¹ While they mainly instructed people in catechism, reading, and writing, priests and ministers soon included other subjects such as mathematics, English, and hygiene. Eventually, some children began attending school on a semi-

regular basis at certain missions. By the 1950s, many of these informal schools were partially funded by the federal government.

Reverend Peck was one of the first Arctic missionaries to gather children together at the Blacklead Island mission at the turn of the century. His educational program included some English and counting in addition to reading, writing, and catechism.¹³² In the Keewatin, Donald and Winifred Marsh also taught Inuit simple arithmetic, hygiene, and basic English at Arviat between 1926 and 1943.¹³³ Another minister, Canon James, was school instructor at the Anglican Church and mission of Baker Lake since at least 1952. An interesting aspect of his teaching methods was the use of a gramophone and records to help his pupils learn English.¹³⁴

In the Kitikmeot, both Oblates and Anglicans taught school until the Federal government opened day schools in their communities in the early-1960s. Fathers Van de Velde and Paradis taught children of Pelly Bay arithmetic, hygiene, drawing and, by the 1950s, some English.¹³⁵ Another Oblate, Father Pierre Henry, taught children at Gjoa Haven in the 1950s, even going so far as to begin construction on a separate dwelling for educational purposes in 1957.¹³⁶ In Taloyoak, Reverend and Mrs. Whitbread taught school in the late 1950s.¹³⁷

Education provided by missionaries eventually expanded into more formal settings such as residential schools with accompanying hostels. Funded by the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches and the Canadian government, children living in the residences attended school for ten months of the year, a schedule similar to that followed by

Inlet's hospital. The school was funded by the Federal government and the diocese, and continued operation until 1968. At this point, the government withdrew its funding, and the building was transformed into an education centre for adults.¹⁴⁰

In a December 1955 article for *Eskimo* magazine, the goal of the school was described as an effort to expose Inuit to the "most valuable elements [of western civilization], whilst preserving that which could and should be preserved of the Eskimo culture."¹⁴¹ This quote shows that decisions about which elements of western society Inuit would find most beneficial were made by non-Inuit. Inuktitut was not taught in the school, and Inuit students were expected to speak English. Children, however, were given religious instruction exclusively in Inuktitut, and the Oblate fathers taught syllabic writing to students who were not familiar with it. While at the boarding school, children ate traditional Inuit foods, and were taught more practical skills in addition to school curricula. Boys were taught to trap, fish, and even carve in ivory by a lay brother, while girls were taught to sew, prepare hides, and perform other tasks which would be useful when they returned to their camps.¹⁴²

Residential schools operated by the Anglican and Catholic Churches caused irreparable damage to many Inuit. A high price was paid by Northerners, as thousands of young Inuit were separated from their families for ten months of the year while attending boarding schools. At Chesterfield Inlet in 1955 alone, eighty of the school's one hundred and fourteen pupils were boarders.¹⁴³ Many students at Arctic boarding schools were

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Inuit of the Western and Eastern Arctic have been the most vocal in describing the devastating effects these schools had on them. Writer Minnie Aodla Freeman, who was raised in Nunavik, reflected upon her experience of attending mission-run schools:

I went to their schools and lived with them ten months out of the year. But they did not allow me to speak my own language in their schools, so that I began to think that there was something wrong with my language. At that time, I used to feel that I was in two hells: one while I was in school, the second when I went home, because my grandmother would not hear any other language spoken in her presence in our house.¹⁴⁴

Inuit artist David Ruben Piqtoukun experienced similar discouragement when he went to Catholic residential schools at Aklavik and Inuvik in the 1950s and 1960s. Piqtoukun has said:

For most of each year, I was away at church boarding schools where I received an education in forgetting. Our teachers were not able to understand or appreciate Inuit culture. We learned from them that our *tupilaks* (spirits) were evil. But I remember thinking that the Christian spirits were evil, too. When I returned to Paulatuk in the summer, my

father would say that I knew how to count the caribou but I did not know how to hunt them.¹⁴⁵

Piqtoukun also holds the Catholic Church responsible for the loss of his Native language, stating that the school, “discouraged our language. They discouraged conversation in Inuktitut. We had to adjust to Roman Catholic philosophy, and English. Basically, our culture was not to be discussed or encouraged.”¹⁴⁶

Another Inuit writer, Mary Carpenter, attended both Catholic and Anglican boarding schools at Aklavik in the 1950s. Carpenter refers to Church-run boarding schools as “cultural-extermination institutions”, whose main objective “was to sever the primal bonds between grandparents, parents, and children, and imprint another.”¹⁴⁷ Carpenter adds that she suffered cruel and unusual punishments for speaking her native language, Inuvialuktun, in Church schools. The author concludes on an active note, suggesting that the Vatican and Church of England should now finance the revitalization of Inuvialuktun, a language they attempted to eradicate in their schools.¹⁴⁸

Catechist Schools

In the second half of the twentieth century, missionaries introduced a new means for educating adult Inuit: catechetical schools. Geared toward molding informed Christian leaders, catechist schools were created by both the Catholic and Anglican Churches. Other reasons for the introduction of these training schools included the need to supplement and/or replace an aging clergy (this was a particular concern among the

Oblates),¹⁴⁹ as well as the Churches' recognition that Inuit should have some control over the future of Arctic worship.

The Anglicans established four catechist training schools across the Diocese of the Arctic. The earliest opened at Kugluktuk in the Western Arctic in 1956. By 1962, a second catechist school was in operation at Pangnirtung, while two others opened in the Eastern Arctic at Cape Dorset and at Kuujuaq in 1963.¹⁵⁰ The Anglican catechist schools were created to train properly people to provide Church services and religious teaching. At each school, two laymen and their families lived in houses provided by the Diocese of the Arctic and took special courses. Prospective catechists devoted a few hours per day to study sessions. Lessons might consist of "searching the Scriptures, considering the backgrounds of Biblical times and tracing the drama of God's great redemptive act in the life and work of His Son." Church history from biblical times to the present was included, and catechists-in-training also practised preaching among the community. Interestingly, much of the information was received from audio cassette tapes recorded by Arctic missionaries. Catechists were trained for six months or one year at a time. They were then sent to a community to put their knowledge to use, and were encouraged to return to one of the schools for additional training at a future time.¹⁵¹

In 1969, Catholics also began a school for catechetical leaders. Located at Pelly Bay, the school was run by Fathers André Goussaert and Georges Lorson, with assistance from the Grey Nuns. By 1971, six married couples from the Kitikmeot region had completed a two-year program where they learned more about the Holy Scriptures, Catholic doctrine,

liturgy, and Church history. They were given lectures on religious instruction, English, and geography as well as practical lessons in community development, catechetics, and marriage preparation. Catechists were allowed to distribute Holy Communion in the absence of a priest. They prepared people to receive the sacraments of baptism, Eucharist, confirmation, and marriage, and also had the authority to register marriages. Each of the couples took turns presiding at religious services and teaching catechism to children before they were sent to various communities to act as lay religious leaders. Of the first six graduates of the Catholic catechist program, one family was sent to Whale Cove, where there was no missionary, another went to Cambridge Bay, and two other couples went to Iqaluit to work under a priest. Two couples remained in their respective communities of Taloyoak and Gjoa Haven.¹⁵²

Both denominations chose catechists from among people who were considered leaders within their own community. Catechists were often individuals who were highly respected by their fellow Inuit. Reverend Sperry explained that an Anglican catechist “is usually a leading man in his community by his own right—in travel, the hunt and in general work. I have found that the most effective catechists are those who have the prestige of hard-working hunters and providers”.¹⁵³ Oblate Father Charles Choque noted that candidates for the catechist program at Pelly Bay were to have a strong leadership background among their own people.¹⁵⁴

In more recent times, Catholic and Anglican catechists, as well as Inuit Anglican clergy, periodically meet with qallunaat missionaries to discuss a variety of issues and

concerns. Synods have been held in the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic approximately every five years since 1961, while Catholic catechists and missionary personnel have had annual formation and prayer sessions, beginning in the early- to mid-1970s.¹⁵⁵

In a 1995 interview, Catholic Bishop Rouleau spoke about the purpose of catechist meetings: “We have a session . . . approximately fourteen days every year with . . . forty to forty-five Inuit—if possible, couples—to train them, to share the work [they have done] and the way they do it, and the difficulties they have too, and what kind of needs they have.”¹⁵⁶ The decision to ask Inuit to become more involved in leadership roles within Roman Catholicism can be seen as a result of decisions made after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), when the Catholic Church instituted the use of the vernacular in church ritual, and made many other reforms, including increased support for lay pastoral agents.¹⁵⁷ When asked why the diocese has chosen to develop Inuit leadership in the Catholic Church, Bishop Rouleau responded:

. . . because the missionaries traditionally are coming from the south and we are white and we are not born in the culture of the Inuit. So there is a great risk if we were not connected to the Inuit themselves. And also, what would be the best would be that we would not be there. [The Inuit] can take their own future, their own vision, their own way. The best would be that.¹⁵⁸

Missionary Attitudes toward Inuit, their Culture, and their Spirituality

Rouleau seems sincerely supportive of Inuit and their culture. It should be noted, though, that his statements have been recorded within the last few years. The disposition of many Arctic missionaries toward their parishioners has changed in more recent times.

Reverend Alan Whitton, for example, has admitted that since his time at Baker Lake in the 1960s and early-1970s, his perspective on Inuit traditional beliefs and customs has widened.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, missionaries were (and, in some cases, still are) often disrespectful to Inuit and their culture. In a 1969 assessment of the work of the Anglican Church with Indigenous peoples in Canada, Charles Hendry stated that there "is a considerable amount of rigidity and autocratic paternalism, as well as caste-like racial attitudes, among missionaries".¹⁶⁰ In the past, Hendry says, most missionaries were "recruiters", interested in "expanding the membership" of the Christian Church. "Recruiters" often "condemned each and every practice and belief which contradicted their own. . . . It seemed as if their main purpose in life was to beat the competition of the sorcerers".¹⁶¹

Opposition to the Inuit lifestyle was expressed by Christian missionaries of all denominations. Anglican Reverend Peck called the Inuit "heathens" and referred to their religious practices as "abominations" that could not be condoned.¹⁶² Catholic missionary de Coccola was equally insulting. He called one shaman he encountered among Inuit living southwest of Gjoa Haven, "a thief, and adulterer, and an expert murderer", and denounced a second angakoq as a "social parasite".¹⁶³

With attitudes such as these, it should not be surprising to discover that a lot of missionaries did not treat Inuit as equals. The patronizing tone of the following passage, written by Oblate Father Thibert, reveals his culturally and morally superior feelings:

When a missionary goes to the heathens, his first aim is to convince them that superstition and taboo-observing are futile and an obstacle to progress; intelligent creatures should not be victims of irrational fear and

anxiety, which keeps them in bondage, but instead, being children of God, should follow the law of God—a law of mercy and love.¹⁶⁴

While missionaries stressed that the Inuit followed a religion of fear, they professed Christianity to be centred around a loving God. Yet, in practise, ministers and priests concentrated on the punishment that God would mete out to non-believers and followers of the shaman at the Final Judgement. Inuit artist and writer, Alootook Ipellie, commented on how the Anglican Church at Iqaluit stressed that sinners would go to Hell:

If I did not practise the ways of the Good Lord, I was destined for Hell, the Anglican ministry preached to us each week. I soon came to fear the Lord God and His Son, Jesusie, instead of praising Them for the good They had tried to bring to this world. Each Sunday, the ministers would pound into our heads such words as, 'If you do not follow the word of God, He will punish you on Judgement Day.'¹⁶⁵

In their opposition to Inuit culture, therefore, many missionaries considered shamans to be “agents of Satan” who worshipped the devil. Other evangelists ridiculed traditional rituals and customs as evil.¹⁶⁶ Hugh Brody explains that,

[m]any missionaries, assisted by having learned the hunters' languages, told people that what they believed was true, but that the spirits central to shamanism constituted the devils in Christian theology. Paradoxically this encouraged some of the profound and lasting integration of Christian ideas into existing spiritual systems.¹⁶⁷

The missionaries, ironically, enabled Inuit to maintain their traditional beliefs. At the same time, they inadvertently encouraged a syncretic reading of Christianity, with Satan manifested in the form of spirits from traditional Inuit spirituality. Bernard Saladin D'Anglure concurs and has found that missionaries in Nunavik even “adopted old Inuit

terms for spirit-helpers and the active forces of nature as translations for the evil forces and devil of the Christians.”¹⁶⁸

Notwithstanding negative attitudes, many missionaries took an interest in gaining at least a preliminary understanding of Inuit spirituality. Peck (who worked among the people of Nunavik and Baffin Island) and Marsh (who was stationed in the Keewatin from the 1920s until the 1940s) both learned about the role of shamans, different taboos, and the purpose of amulets. Archibald Lang Fleming wrote at length about the customs of his parishioners on Baffin Island.¹⁶⁹ Beginning in the 1910s, Oblate Arsène Turquetil published several articles on the religious beliefs of the Central Canadian Inuit, detailing specific taboos, the activities of the shaman, and the belief in the immortality of the soul.¹⁷⁰ Father Jean Philippe wrote about traditional Inuit culture in the early-1950s.¹⁷¹ More recently, Father Guy Mary-Rousselière wrote an article on the Iglulik Inuit, which included a discussion of their traditional religious beliefs and practices.¹⁷²

As might be expected, some proselytizers only studied Inuit culture in order to condemn traditional ways. Certainly, this seems to be Father Philippe’s goal, considering that much of his writing was devoted to showing that the Inuit lived a miserable existence and were in need of salvation.¹⁷³ Other missionaries, such as Father Mary-Rousselière (who obtained a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology from the University of Montréal), were somewhat more genuine in their curiosity, and a small number of missionaries have made significant contributions to the fields of anthropology and ethnography.

A few missionaries were more tolerant of Inuit culture after having observed rituals and discussed traditional beliefs with Inuit. Anglican missionary Fleming noted that he and Reverend Bilby,

had not argued with the Eskimo about their religious beliefs. We listened carefully to what they told us of their customs and folklore so as to increase our own understanding and on that foundation we hoped to build because God does not leave any of his children without some glimmer of the truth.¹⁷⁴

Fleming, furthermore, used his knowledge of Inuit beliefs to his advantage in convincing Inuit to accept Christianity. Fleming and Oblate missionary Turquetil were successful in their Arctic conversion programs because they were able to make links between Christian beliefs and those of traditional Inuit spirituality.¹⁷⁵

One instance of a missionary pointing out ties between the two religions occurred in the early twentieth century, when Fleming explained to a shaman how the ten commandments were similar to rules in Inuit life. The minister began with the third commandment, which states that one should not take the name of God in vain. Fleming said that, similarly, Inuit do not speak lightly of their spirits. He then suggested to the angakoq that Inuit followed the eighth commandment—thou shalt not steal—because Arctic peoples considered it a very serious offence to take meat from another person's cache. Fleming persuaded the shaman to see these similarities and concluded that the angakoq “gradually gained the Christian point of view and accepted it with a glad heart.”¹⁷⁶ By comparing Christian beliefs to those of Inuit culture, Fleming was

practising indigenization and, although it may not have been his intention, the missionary was also encouraging Inuit to syncretize Christianity with traditional spirituality.

Oblate missionaries also practised indigenization among the Inuit. Catholic and Inuit traditions were integrated at Pelly Bay in the 1950s. At that time, Father Franz Van de Velde presided as the resident priest. Van de Velde continued Father Pierre Henry's (his predecessor) practise of holding Christmas festivities in a qaggiq.¹⁷⁷ Van de Velde led Catholic services in the giant igloo and, just as in earlier times, feasting, dancing, and games occurred. Contests of strength and marksmanship took place and celebratory drum dances—which are sometimes associated with shamanic ritual—were sanctioned.¹⁷⁸ While Van de Velde realized that drum dancing may be related to shamanism, he said “you can Christianize customs. That’s where our Christmas is coming from. That’s a pagan custom which has been Christianized”.¹⁷⁹ In fact, the use of the qaggiq—a structure which previously accommodated traditional religious activities—for Catholic Mass signifies that the missionaries were indigenizing Christian customs at the same time that they were Christianizing traditional Inuit practises.

The examples of past Arctic missionaries encouraging some blending of Christian beliefs and practises with those of traditional Inuit culture and spirituality lead to the question of present attitudes held by Christian Churches towards syncretism and indigenization. Neither the Catholic nor the Anglican Church officially accepts a policy of syncretism. Oblate missionary Father Robert Lechat has said that “in the Christian perspective there is no valid room for syncretism.”¹⁸⁰ Increasingly within the last thirty

years, however, both churches have advocated indigenization. Hendry states that non-Native Anglican clergy must adapt themselves to the customs, beliefs, rituals, and thinking patterns of Aboriginal peoples, and that ministers must be trained in a manner which combines Christian and Aboriginal values.¹⁸¹

Two Catholic clergy who have worked among Inuit in the Central Canadian Arctic have also addressed the question of indigenization. Father Robert Lechat says that, because the Christian message is part of a particular culture, it does not instantly adhere to a culture to which it recently has been exposed. The priest feels that Christianity must be adapted, or indigenized, but that such adjustments must occur after an initial period of evangelization. During evangelization, people (such as the Inuit) are introduced to a foreign religion. According to Lechat, once a community has been Christianized, the people must then re-think the message they have received in light of their own culture, and re-define and re-express Christianity in their own way.¹⁸² Similarly, Bishop Rouleau speaks about the importance of inculturation and its application to Roman Catholicism in the Arctic.

Inculturation for us means you receive something, you take it and you [choose to] integrate it or not, but when it is integrated into your life, you use it according to your values, to your system of norms. So it's not the stranger that inculturates, it's the people who receive something from elsewhere—it can be on the religious point of view, it can also be . . . [about] culture. . . . It's a challenge, but it's a challenge for all the world now. It's not only for the Native people.¹⁸³

Lechat and Rouleau's understandings of indigenization and inculturation imply a passivity on the part of the missionaries in their involvement with Inuit parishioners. In a

study carried out in the Western Arctic, Antonio Gualtieri certainly found that this was the case. After speaking with clergy of both Catholic and Protestant denominations in sixteen communities, the author determined that attitudes towards syncretism and indigenization had not changed significantly from those held by Arctic missionaries of the previous generation.¹⁸⁴ While nine missionaries agreed that indigenization was morally and theologically acceptable, only one cleric actually put it into practise. Several others adopted a policy of non-interference, placing the responsibility on Inuit to inculturate Christianity with traditional spirituality. Six more missionaries disapproved of indigenization. Syncretism, moreover, received even less support from missionaries in the Western Arctic.¹⁸⁵

Twenty-five years have passed since Gualtieri conducted his extensive program of interviews. The subject of whether or not qallunaat missionaries have encouraged indigenization or syncretism among the Inuit needs to be revisited. Inuit Church leaders and parishioners should also be asked how they feel about changing Christian rituals and incorporating elements of traditional spirituality into Christian celebrations. Studies might find that today's Inuit are more open to such integration, now that the shame some Arctic peoples were made to feel towards traditional beliefs and practises is beginning to lift. In fact, it is possible that some Inuit have continued to adhere to traditional spirituality all along, and that others have syncretized Inuit religion with Christianity.

Inuit Responses to Missionaries and the Introduction of Christianity

Although nearly all Inuit profess to be Christians today, this does not mean that they have been passive receivers of Western culture and religion. Despite the authoritarian attitude of Christian missionaries, some Inuit have maintained their traditions and beliefs. In addition to indigenization and syncretism, there are two ways in which this has occurred: open resistance to Christianity and the teachings of the missionaries and, more common, covert persistence of traditional spirituality. The latter may involve religious dualism, whereby an individual ascribes to Christianity, yet retains Inuit beliefs. For, as Hugh Brody notes, the "shamanistic spiritual system does not, intrinsically, exclude the possibility of Christian ideas."¹⁸⁶

When introduced to concepts of Christianity, many Inuit agreed with them. However, when people were told that they must give up their traditional spiritual customs if they wished to "be saved", some were resistant. Fleming found that shamans initially defied his attempts to introduce Christianity among camps on Baffin Island. This minister and Oblate Father Choque also discovered opposition from shamans in the Keewatin district.¹⁸⁷

Much more common than public resistance to Christianity was continuing adherence to traditional Inuit spirituality. As Mitchell notes, "it appears that in spite of its condemnation by foreign missionaries, shamanism merely went underground where it is coexisting with Christian practices."¹⁸⁸ The historical record provides ample evidence for the ongoing practise of shamanism and compliance with traditional Inuit spirituality. General accounts of persistence in the Central Canadian Arctic were acknowledged by

Oblate missionaries.¹⁸⁹ The most detailed descriptions of the continuation of Inuit beliefs, though, concern Pelly Bay Inuit and were written by Cornelius Remie. Information is based on the diary of a local Inuk and the Codex Historicus of the community's Catholic mission. Journal and codex entries reveal the continuing belief in illness and death as a result of not following taboos or due to the recitation of magic words.¹⁹⁰ Shamans were still called upon to heal the sick,¹⁹¹ and amulets were used to prevent or cure illness.¹⁹² Head lifting—a traditional method of healing, sometimes performed by an angakoq—was employed to cure illnesses and to assist people in procuring food.¹⁹³ Magic words could both cause others to have poor hunting and assist people in the hunt.¹⁹⁴ A fear of the spirits of the dead remained, and people respected taboos associated with the dying and recently deceased.¹⁹⁵

Although it is admitted that these incidents occurred more than thirty years ago, several writers on Inuit culture believe that shamanism endures. Jack Butler, former art advisor at Baker Lake, insists that there are several shamans living in and around that settlement who continue to practise for money.¹⁹⁶ In 1979, Ernie Lyall noted that when people in Taloyoak are in serious trouble, they do not go to a missionary for help, they call on a shaman.¹⁹⁷

A few Inuit artists have also suggested that shamanism continues in the Central Canadian Arctic. In a 1983 interview with Marion Jackson, Baker Lake artist, Jessie Oonark, believed that two women in her community might be practising shamans.¹⁹⁸ The

recent comments of two other Inuit artists leave no doubt that shamanism carries on in the Netsilik communities of Gjoa Haven, Taloyoak, and Pelly Bay.

Nick Sikkuark says he recently saw his brother-in-law turn into a caribou for a few moments before he returned to human form. Transforming into an animal is one of the ways an Inuit proves he is a shaman. 'We say it's dead or it's gone,' Sikkuark says. 'But underground it still exists. They're hiding from the white people. It's not out to the people that exploit it.' 'It's like a dark secret,' adds artist Maudie Okittuq. 'Most of it went away because of the missionaries and priests who believed it's not right.'¹⁹⁹

Syncretism in the Central Canadian Arctic

Although Gualtieri found that Anglican and Catholic missionaries of the Western Arctic were not amenable to syncretism and that the Roman Catholic Church officially supports a program of inculturation, not syncretism, the latter did occur in the North. It usually happened at the initiative of Inuit themselves, when they transferred traditional meanings onto Christian doctrine and ritual. Syncretism enabled Inuit to better negotiate an acceptance of Christianity while still holding on to elements of their traditions.

Oblate Father Lechat says that one of the reasons Inuit may have accepted Christianity with little opposition is because there were parallels between traditional religion and Christianity.²⁰⁰ Certain missionaries did point out to Inuit similarities between the two spiritualities. Most often, though, Inuit made these connections and acted upon them. When first introduced to this new religion, some may have viewed Christianity as "a new set of taboos, something to use against sickness or enemies, to call caribou or bring good weather."²⁰¹ Keith Crowe, Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, and others have documented how Christianity was intermittently re-interpreted with tragic outcomes. In a few cases,

messianic or millennial movements resulted in death. In 1922 at Home Bay on Baffin Island, and in 1941 at Sanikiluaq, Inuit claimed to be Christ or God. At both places, non-believers were murdered. Similar, but less life-threatening syncretic religions developed at Pond Inlet in the 1930s, near Arctic Bay in 1948, and at several locations in Nunavik between the 1910s and 1940s.²⁰²

Generally, however, syncretic interpretations of Christianity have not done any physical harm. Just as with the persistence of traditional beliefs, the most detailed source for examples of syncretism in the Central Canadian Arctic is in the writings of Cornelius Remie. Remie points out that, long after the permanent arrival of Oblates at Pelly Bay in 1935, the traditional religious structure of local Inuit remained moderately intact and even “incorporated some elements of Christianity and thus formed a syncretistic structure that continued to exist alongside the imported religion”. He contends that a hybrid of Christianity and traditional Inuit spirituality affected the social and domestic lives of some Pelly Bay Inuit until at least the mid-1960s.²⁰³

Six examples of syncretism appear in Remie’s study. In several situations, ritual observances of the Christian religion were interpreted as traditional taboos. In fact, the people of Pelly Bay used the same term—*tiregusuktok*—to express the observance of Catholic ritual as they did for the observance of traditional taboos. Failure to follow them could result in illness or death. In 1960, for example, Pelly Bay Inuk, Awongaitsiark, wrote in his diary that because a camp member did not observe a day of rest on Sunday, that person’s child lost consciousness.²⁰⁴ Two years later, a diary entry

states that another camp member confided to Awongaitsiark that he had neglected Sunday observance several times the previous year and had thus experienced vision problems.²⁰⁵ Awongaitsiark describes a third example when Inuit felt that, just as one would fall ill by transgressing a taboo, failing to observe Christian rites could cause sickness. In this case, the diarist reported in 1962 that a man hunted seals on a Sunday. As a result of working on the Christian day of rest, the man was certain he would not be able to catch any more seals.²⁰⁶

Syncretism also occurred when elements of the Catholic religion were seen as magical devices or when Inuit viewed missionaries as shamans. In 1952, an Oblate missionary attempted to perform last rites over a dying Inuk. The woman refused, fearing that the prayers would kill her.²⁰⁷ A second example of Inuit considering Christian ritual to be invested with magic power occurred in 1960. One woman did not wish to receive Confirmation because she believed that the ointment used during this sacrament could kill a person. This individual, furthermore, suggested that Oblate Father Van de Velde had the ability to cause death in others, much like a powerful *angakoq*.²⁰⁸

A final case of syncretism in relation to the interpretation of Christian ritual as magic transpired when one Inuk asked another to pray over an ill *angakoq* in order to heal him. When someone prayed over a sick person, they placed a prayer book on the ill person's body and recited a certain prayer. Some Inuit believed that reciting the prayer would drive away evil spirits which had caused the illness. If prayer repeated in this manner did not produce the desired result, one might use a prayer book belonging to another

denomination.²⁰⁹ Oblate Father Clabaut commented further about this practise, which was also followed by Inuit at Repulse Bay in the 1930s. Morice adds that Inuit became “Anglicans” or “Catholics” according to the healing abilities of either prayer book.

If our book or our pictures don't work, they try again with the Anglican book and they are ready to swear by the one that does the trick. Recently a fellow had the nerve to come and tell me that he had put away carefully in a box the prayer books, pictures and crucifix he had received from us, because his little boy, who was sick, had been 'prayed' with the Anglican book.²¹⁰

Christian prayer books and even Catholic crosses or medals became the new amulets in the minds of several Inuit. This is explained very clearly by Peter Freuchen, who found that Inuit near Repulse Bay hung both crosses and amulets around their dogs' necks, hoping to cure them of distemper.²¹¹

According to Remie, examples such as the above, “seem to indicate that the Arviligdjuarmiut interpreted the new religion, at least in the beginning, according to traditional religious categories and incorporated elements of the new religion in their traditional religious structure.”²¹² Once more, the examples of syncretism in Remie's study occurred thirty years ago. Syncretism may indeed have been more common during the early stages of evangelization, when people were just beginning to learn about the new religion and lived on the land, where they did not receive daily instruction from a missionary. Although it might not be obvious to members of the dominant culture, religious hybridity may still exist in the North. Baker Lake's Arctic Christian Fellowship, discussed earlier in this chapter as a non-denominational Christian Church created and led by Inuit, seems to permit a forum for syncretism in the Central Canadian Arctic

today, with its emphasis on public confession, a practise that was integral to the shamanic belief system.

Endnotes

¹ Ernest S. Burch, Jr., "Canadian Inuit Culture 1800-1950", in Canadian Museum of Civilization (editor), *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 309-310.

² The civilizing motive of missionaries is revealed in some of their writings. Among the Protestants, for example, missionary Archibald Lang Fleming often called the Inuit "primitive people", and considered them filthy, describing how he encouraged people to bathe at his home. Archibald Lang Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic* (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, Incorporated, 1956), 67, 91. Fleming, in a patronizing tone, also said that the average Inuk was "an unsuspecting child of nature", in need of the missionary's guidance to "withstand the impact of a highly developed civilization". See Archibald Lang Fleming, *Dwellers in Arctic Night* (London: The Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, 1928), 80. Another Protestant missionary to Canadian Inuit, Donald Marsh, points out how he introduced soap to the daily routine of students who attended his impromptu school in Arviat, as early as 1926. For Marsh, classes in religion were held alongside those in reading, writing, math, and hygiene. Donald B. Marsh, *Echoes from a Frozen Land*, ed. Winifred Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987), 29, 31. Roman Catholic missionaries also felt it was their duty to bring more than just a new religion to the Inuit. Arsène Turquetil thought that the Inuit needed to "be initiated into [western] mentality, into [western] civilization", and saw the introduction of Christianity to Inuit as key to accomplishing this endeavour. Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "The Eskimo: How he Has Adapted to the Desert in which he Lives", lecture presented 30 November, 1920 at the Château Laurier (Ottawa) before the members of the Alliance Française (Montréal: Editions du Devoir, 1927), 18-19. Another Catholic priest has written that he and fellow missionaries sought to bring both "civilization and religion to the Northland". Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "White Lily of the North", *Eskimo* Volume 21 (June 1951), 2. Writing twenty years ago, Hugh Brody reflected upon the activities of Arctic missionaries, whalers and traders. He stated that their goal was "the incorporation of the Eskimos into the mainstream of southern life." Hugh Brody, *The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic* (New York: Penguin, 1975), 17. As an example, Brody points to Moravian missionaries, who were preoccupied with "the overall quality of Eskimo life: godliness, cleanliness and an abundance of other-world virtues were seen as a package deal offered to the heathen through conversion. The Moravians did not distinguish between the sacred and the secular in their view of Eskimo life, but regarded their flock as primitive because heathen." Brody, *The People's Land*, 23-24. As shown earlier in this note, a similar dual motive seems to have occupied the minds of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Also see Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 105.

³ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 23, Series 7, number 4, "Pew Leaflets Published by the Diocese of the Arctic", n.d.

⁴ Women also played a part in the Christianization of Canadian Inuit. Women, however, generally tended to be more sedentary than male missionaries, confining much of their work to the immediate area of established mission posts. Among the Roman Catholics, the Grey Nuns were particularly active in providing health care and education across the Arctic. Wives of Anglican ministers also acted as nurses and teachers in the North before federal government employees stepped in to take over these professions in the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, Inuit themselves were also instrumental in propagating the Christian faith in a variety of capacities. Some of these individuals will be introduced below.

⁵ Louis-Jacques Dorais and Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, "Roman Catholic Missions in the Arctic", in Wilcomb E. Washburn (editor), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 4: *History of Indian—White Relations* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 501.

⁶ Keith J. Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada*, revised edition (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 139; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 43–44; Marsh, *Echoes*, 13; Burch, Jr., "Canadian Inuit Culture", 309; Ven. A. L. Fleming, "Brief History of Missions to the Canadian Eskimo", *Arctic News* (1929), 1. Although Crowe states that the Moravians had erected a mission post at Nain in 1770, all of the other sources above cite 1771 as the year that mission was begun. The Moravian missionaries also operated trading stores throughout Labrador and taught Inuit to read and write in their own language. See Robin McGrath, *Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition*, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 94 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1984), 7. Finally, although two Moravian missionaries had travelled to Ungava Bay in the early nineteenth century, their efforts to remain in the area were thwarted by the highly competitive traders of the Hudson's Bay Company. See Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, "Inuit of Québec", in David Damas (editor), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 5: *Arctic* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 499–500 and Nelson H. H. Graburn, *Eskimos Without Igloos* (Boston: Little-Brown, 1969), 80–81.

⁷ Reverend Arthur Lewis, *The Life and Work of Reverend E. J. Peck among the Eskimos* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1904), 71; Right Reverend Donald Ben Marsh, "A History of the Work of the Anglican Church in the Area Now Known as the Diocese of the Arctic", *Arctic News* (June 1967), 22; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 3, 9; Graburn, *Eskimos Without Igloos*, 84. It should be noted, however, that as early as 1853, Anglicans had preached to Inuit visiting Fort George, where Reverend E. A. Watkins could be found. See Lewis, 68; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 2.

⁸ Lewis, 110, 151–160; S. Gould, *Inasmuch: Sketches of the Beginnings of the Church of England in Canada in Relation to the Indian and Eskimo Races* (Toronto: 1917), 226; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 6, 22; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 3–4, 9. According to Lewis, the Hudson's Bay Company opposed the Anglicans' early efforts to establish a mission in the Kuujuaq area. See Lewis, 196.

⁹ Dorais and Saladin D'Anglure, 502; Saladin D'Anglure, 504; Adrian G. Morice, o.m.i., *Thawing Out the Eskimo*, translation by Mary T. Loughlin, second edition (Boston: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1943), 184; Graburn, *Eskimos Without Igloos*, 123.

¹⁰ Lewis, 209; Gould, 226; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 9, 23; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 5, 9; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 319; L. H. Neatby, "Exploration and History of the Canadian Arctic", in David Damas (editor), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 5: *Arctic* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 387; Graburn, *Eskimos Without Igloos*, 84. Missionaries, in fact, often viewed the whalers with some contempt, believing that many seamen were poor Christian role models, with their rowdiness, drinking, and debauchery. See Lewis, 247.

¹¹ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 36; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 5, 9; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 6, 23. Regarding Fleming's appointment as Bishop, see Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 305–306 and Reverend Canon A. R. Kelley and Reverend D. B. Rogers, *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada*, Volume II (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1961), 49.

¹² Morice, 135; Richard J. Cushing, *The Battle of Hudson's Bay* (Boston: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1942), 36; Charles Choque, o.m.i., *75th Anniversary of the First Catholic Mission to the Hudson Bay Inuit*, Translation by Anne Onhaiser, s.n.j.m. (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1987), 8.

¹³ Sergei Kan, "The Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska", in Wilcomb E. Washburn (editor), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 4: *History of Indian—White Relations* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 506. Kan's article provides detailed information on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska from the 1740s to 1985.

¹⁴ Wendell H. Oswalt, *Mission of Change in Alaska: Eskimos and Moravians on the Kuskokwim* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1963), 18.

¹⁵ Presbyterian and Covenant missionaries worked in Northwest Alaska as early as 1887. See Ernest S. Burch, Jr., "The Inupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska", *Études Inuit Studies*, Volume 18, numbers 1-2 (1994), 81-108.

¹⁶ Oblate Father Lecorre baptized several children in Northern Alaska during the winter of 1873-1874. See P. Duchaussois, o.m.i., *Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the Northwest*, translation by Thomas Dawson, o.m.i. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1923), 306-307; Dorais and Saladin D'Anglure, 501.

¹⁷ Dorais and Saladin D'Anglure, 501; Duchaussois, 271-272; G. Breynat, o.m.i., "The Oblates among the Eskimos", unpublished report, courtesy of Archives Deschâtelets, n.d., 2.

¹⁸ Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 6; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 23. Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "Enter . . . the Anglican Missionaries", *The Beaver*, Number 285 (Winter 1954), 31.

¹⁹ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 281; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 7, 23.

²⁰ Duchaussois, 308-317; Hugh Brody, *Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987), 127; Ed Struzik, "Blackrobes", *Equinox*, Number 51 (May/June 1990), 48-49. Despite its sensationalism, Duchaussois's account of the events leading up to and following the murders of the two Oblates is fairly extensive. This author gives the impression that the Inuit killed the priests because they were hostile to the Christian message, while Brody suggests that the priests were forcing Inuit at gunpoint to make a dangerous journey. Struzik remains non-committal about the reason for the priests' murders. In any case, two Inuuk—Sinnisiak and Uluksak—were found responsible for the deaths, and were imprisoned for two years and then returned to the North.

²¹ Dorais and Saladin D'Anglure, 502; Mary Agnes Sutherland (editor), *Souvenir Album, 1820-1984: Mackenzie-Fort Smith Diocese* (Fort Smith Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith, 1984), n.p. According to Sutherland, the Oblate mission at Aklavik was not operational until 1925.

²² The tone of many studies of mission work among the Inuit reveals the dislike that Anglican and Oblate missionaries had for one another. For a detailed account of the rivalry between Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries to Canada's Northwest, see Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest*, Religions and Beliefs Series, Number 3 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995). Whalers, traders, RCMP and missionaries all struggled for the attention and control of Inuit in Canada's Arctic. The Pelly Bay Codex Historicus, for example, reveals the ongoing tension between Oblate Father Franz Van de Velde and a manager of the neighbouring Taloyoak HBC post. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C3-4, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volumes 3-4 (1951-1955), 497-498, 625 (entries dated May 11, 1952 and April 12, 1954). Also see C. H. W. Remie, *Culture Change and the Persistence of Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices: Notes on the Impact of the Oblate Mission on a Community of Hunters and Gatherers, 1935-1963*, Sociaal Antropologische Cahiers, VIII (K. U. Nijmegen: Vakgroep Sociale Antropologie, 1982), 22-23. Due to the Protestant affiliation of most HBC employees, post managers and Catholic missionaries were notoriously at

odds with one another. Similarly, Anglican missionaries considered traders with Reveillon Frères—who were usually Catholic—their competition. An effective summary of the interplay between Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, whalers and fur traders can be found in Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 93-98. For attitudes of Anglican missionaries towards whalers, see note 10 of this chapter; for examples of competition between the HBC and missionaries, see notes 6 and 8 of this chapter. For interpretations of interfaith rivalry by Inuit, see Armand Tagoona, "Churches", *Inuktitut*, Number 76 (1993), 20-24 and Aloorook Ipellie, "God Save the Good Samaritan Shaman", Unpublished paper presented at the World Council of Churches, Courtesy of the author (c.1989), 4-5. Tagoona and Ipellie's comments point to the divisiveness which existed in many communities as a result of interfaith rivalry that was promoted early on by Anglican and Catholic missionaries across the Arctic. Another account of Anglican-Roman Catholic rivalry which affected several Inuit camps living in the area surrounding Arviat is described by Reverend Herbert in 1945. See Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 6, Series 1, number 1a, Reverend Archibald Cuthbert Herbert to Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, 6 July 1945, 3-4. Finally, one example where the introduction of Christianity has contributed to lasting tension within a settlement is at Baker Lake, as pointed out by Marion Jackson. See Marion Elizabeth Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings: A Study in the Evolution of Artistic Self-Consciousness*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1985), 78; Marion Jackson, "Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens", in Marion Jackson, Judith Nasby and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 32.

²³ Burch, Jr., "Canadian Inuit Culture", 309; David Webster, "Shamans and Missionaries", *Inuktitut*, Number 63 (Summer 1986), 46.

²⁴ Donat Levasseur, o.m.i., *History of the Oblate Congregation* (Ottawa: Editions des études oblates, 1959), 22-41; Duchaussois, 319-324, 14; Guy Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i., "A Model for our Times", *Eskimo*, New series number 10 (Fall-Winter 1975-76), 3-4; Choquette, 1, 9-11, 16-17. Although the founder of the Oblates, Joseph Eugène de Mazenod, began his missionary institute in 1816, the organization did not receive canonical approval until 1826. For a history of the beginnings of the Oblate congregation in France, see Levasseur. Duchaussois' study covers the Oblate expansion into Canada's Northwest, beginning in 1845 at Red River. A much more recent examination of the same topic can be found in Choquette's book.

²⁵ Choquette, 107-110, 122; Crowe, 140; "The Missionaries", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1983), 6.

²⁶ Gould, 219; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 1, 8-9; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 7; Lorraine E. Brandon, *Carved from the Land: The Eskimo Museum Collection* (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1994), 70-71. Gould states that West was actually stationed at York Factory in 1822. Fleming says West arrived in Churchill in 1823, but acknowledges that the missionary met Inuit as early as 1820, during his initial voyage through Hudson Strait, when some Inuit came to the ship from their canoes. Brandon also says West spoke to Inuit at Churchill in 1823. Fleming, Marsh, and Brandon, furthermore, cite Reverend J. Lofthouse as the first permanent missionary in Churchill. They claim that Lofthouse made periodic trips into the Keewatin to speak to Inuit. Brandon, however, says Lofthouse established the Churchill mission in 1882.

²⁷ Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., "Enter . . . the Roman Catholic Missionaries", *The Beaver*, Number 285 (Winter 1954), 35; Duchaussois, 308; Morice, 35, 47, 66-69; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 3-5; Breynat, 5; Cushing, 4-6, 14-20; Michael J. Devaney, *Arctic Apostle: Life of Bishop Arsène Turquetil*, OMI (New York: Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, 1959), 12; "First Efforts to Evangelize the Eskimo", *Eskimo*, Volume 47 (March-June 1958), 2; Brandon, *Carved from the Land*, 9, 70, 177. Regarding Turquetil's appointment as Prefect Apostolic of Hudson Bay in 1925 and his subsequent consecration as Bishop in 1932, see Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 8-9; Devaney, 26-28; Morice, 148. The Hudson's Bay Company built

a trading post at Chesterfield Inlet in 1911. See Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 67; Robert G. Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", *The Musk-ox*, Number 8 (1971), 17.

²⁸ Morice, 90; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 6; Duchaussois, 308; Cushing, 26. Sadly, the first conversions occurred after Father Le Blanc had died at sea in 1916. He had been sent to Montréal to recover from mental distress. See Morice, 85; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 6; Cushing, 22; David F. Pelly, "Living History at Chesterfield Inlet", *Up Here: Life in Canada's North*, Volume 8, number 4 (August/September 1992), 20.

²⁹ As a result, Theresa was canonized in 1925, and declared patroness of Catholic missions. As noted later in this chapter, both the Catholic Church at Arviat and the hospital in Chesterfield Inlet bear her name. The popularity of Saint Theresa in the iconographical program of Arctic Catholics will be discussed in Chapter three. See Armand [sic] Turquetil, o.m.i., "Un Témoin Nous Parle: Le Rôle de Ste Thérèse de Lisieux dans la Conversion des Esquimaux", *Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, Numéro 286 (Septembre-Décembre 1954), 210-217; Devaney, 22-26; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 6-8.

³⁰ Choquette, 169, 171. According to Choquette, this was the phrase most commonly used by Oblate missionaries in denouncing their Protestant counterparts. Also see Tagoon, "Churches", 20, 23. On the other hand, Anglican missionaries referred to Catholic priests as "men of sin". See Choquette, 170-171. Inuit writer Alootook Ipellie states that Anglicans living in Iqaluit called the Catholics *gootinguaqit* or, "people who worshipped the priest who pretended to be God". Ipellie explains: "In the Lord's Prayer, we refer to God as 'Our Father', so we thought the Roman Catholics meant the same Father when they called their priest 'Father'. We had no idea they were worshipping the same God we Anglicans were worshipping." Ipellie, "God Save", 4.

³¹ Morice, 114; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 7; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 9.

³² Morice, 123; Breynat, 6; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 9; Charles Choque, o.m.i., *From Québec to the Canadian North: Mikilar, Lionel Ducharme, Missionary Oblate of Mary Immaculate, Apostle of the Inuit (1897-1979)* (Churchill: Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Hudson Bay, 1992), 68; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Southampton Island, N. W. T., LCB361.C56R1, Joseph Masse, o.m.i., "Mission St. Joseph, Southampton Island", 6 June 1933, 1.

³³ Morice, 125-126; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 8; Cushing, 34; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 9; Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 69.

³⁴ Morice, 151-152; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 10, 22; Armand Clabaut, o.m.i., "Vicariat de la Baie d'Hudson: Rapport sur l'activité missionnaire dans le district de Repulse Bay", *Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, Numéro 261 (Décembre 1937), 441; Cushing, 54; Eleanor Bond, "Repulse Bay: A Brief History", in Winnipeg Art Gallery, *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 9, 14; Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 19. Cushing, Bond, and Williamson, however, acknowledge that Oblates first arrived at this community in 1932.

³⁵ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 10; Eugène Nadeau, *Pierre Henry: Le vagabond du pôle magnétique* (Montréal: Editions Oblates, 1951), 14, 19; Cushing, 56. Nadeau and Cushing point out that the Pelly Bay outpost was not given official status as an independent mission until 1937. This is confirmed by an entry dated August 23, 1937 in the Pelly Bay Codex. See Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C1, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 1 (1935-1942), 31.

³⁶ Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 5, 9; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 8, 20, 23-24. Kidlapik remained as a catechist at Southampton Island until his death in 1954. See "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1954), 15. One of the reasons for the delayed presence of the Anglican Church in the Keewatin was due to "a gentleman's agreement", struck in 1915. Father Turquetil and Reverend Fleming agreed that the Anglicans would stay away from the Chesterfield Inlet region (where the Oblates had already established), if the Catholic missionaries would steer clear of Inuit on Baffin Island. It is apparent that, by the mid-1920s, both denominations had broken this pact. See Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 2, 9; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 241.

³⁷ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 7, 23; Winifred Petchey Marsh, *People of the Willow: The Padlimuit Tribe of the Caribou Eskimo* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), 7; Marsh, *Echoes*, 11, 25

³⁸ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 8, 23; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 269-271; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 2; F. G. Vallee, *Kabloon and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa: Northern Coordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1962), 174; Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 18. Williamson says that Anglicans have maintained a presence at Baker Lake since 1926. However, an article by Fleming and an archival document state that, while Smyth arrived at Baker Lake in 1927, the Anglican Church was not erected until 1930, upon the arrival of Smyth's successor, William John Rundle James. The Anglicans did, nevertheless, precede the Oblates to Baker Lake, if only by a few weeks or months. See Archibald Lang Fleming, "The Bishop Visits Baker Lake", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1952), 6, and Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 14, Series 3, number 6c, "James, William John Rundle, n.d., 1900-1976", Walter Lou Stewart to Archdeacon J. C. M. Clarke, 9 January 1977, 2.

³⁹ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 35, Series 1, number 5a, "Diocesan Files: Natives — Correspondence, 1929-1949", Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming to Paulose Angote, 15 July 1938; Rev. W. J. R. James, "Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1949), 10.

⁴⁰ Charles Choque, o.m.i., *Kajualuk, Pierre Henry: Missionary Oblate of Mary Immaculate, Apostle of the Inuit (1904-1979)* (Churchill: Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Hudson Bay, 1985), 151-153, 184; Father Franz Van de Velde, Trinet S. Constandse-Westermann, Cornelius H. Remie and Raymond R. Newell, "One Hundred and Fifteen Years of Arviliguarmiut Demography, Central Canadian Arctic", *Arctic Anthropology*, Volume 30, number 2 (1993), 4, "People and Places: Spence Bay Has Come a Long Way Against Formidable Odds", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 4, number 1 (Winter 1989), 22; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C4, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 4 (1953-1955), 686; Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Bishop Marc Lacroix, 1906-1976: Bishop of Hudson Bay", *Eskimo*, New series number 13 (Spring-Summer 1977), 21. According to Van de Velde et al., the Ikpiik mission was closed upon the occupation of the Church at Taloyoak. *Inuit Art Quarterly* does not acknowledge the Ikpiik mission and cites 1950 as the date for the establishment of a Catholic Church at Taloyoak.

⁴¹ Choque, *Kajualuk*, 170; T. C. Landon, "Life at Gjoa Haven: The Old Ways and the New", *The Beaver*, Volume 71, number 4 (August/September 1991), 46; Nadeau, 11; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 22; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Pierre Henry Personal Files, HEB7521.P62C119, Pierre Henry, o.m.i., "Codex de Gjoa Haven (1951-1967)", 1; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Pierre Henry Personal Files, HEB7521.P62C1, André Savard, o.m.i., "Causerie du R. P. Pierre Henry, o.m.i. au Noviciat des O. M. I.", décembre 1959, 6; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56R155, Armand Clabaut, o.m.i., "King William Island", n.d. Clabaut's report states that Father Henry had visited the Gjoa Haven area as early as 1935.

⁴² Edward Turner and L. A. Learmonth, "3000 Miles By Dog Sled: The Talk of a Missionary Journey Made by the Late Canon Turner, Which Was 'Almost Certainly the Best Ever Made with Dogs North of the Arctic Circle'", *The Beaver*, Number 280 (March 1950), 26-31; Choque, *Kajualuk*, 98-101; Ray Price, *The Howling Arctic: The Remarkable People who Made Canada Sovereign in the Farthest North* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1970), 73-76. Turner and Learmonth, Choque, and Price all recount the story of Reverend Jack Turner's arrival in an area Oblate Father Pierre Henry considered "his territory", and the ensuing rivalry between these two individuals. Price, however, erroneously places the events slightly later, in 1941-1942. In addition, an article from *The Arctic News* states that Inuit at Taloyoak had been visited by Reverend H. R. Rokeby-Thomas, the Anglican missionary at Cambridge Bay, from 1934 to 1939. See "Extracts from Canon Webster's Letters", *The Arctic News* (Summer 1951), 4. A report written by Oblate Armand Clabaut, finally, states that Netsilik (Inuit who reside in the area surrounding the present-day communities of Taloyoak, Gjoa Haven, and Pelly Bay) had been given Protestant prayer books by HBC post managers at Repulse Bay and King William Island prior to 1933. See Armand Clabaut, o.m.i., "Vicariat de la Baie d'Hudson", 446.

⁴³ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 12, 23; Rev. D. H. Whitbread, "He Travelled 1,900 Miles to the Adjoining Parish!" *The Arctic News* (Fall 1955), 13; "People and Places", 22.; Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "Coppermine and Around", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1953), 5. In a Pelly Bay Codex entry dated May 7, 1952, it is noted that the Anglicans had arrived in the Taloyoak area, established a temporary mission, and proceeded on to Gjoa Haven. A second entry, dated June 14, 1952, speaks to the same subject. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C3, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 3 (1951-1953), 496, 504.

⁴⁴ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 13, 23; Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "Arctic Century: The Development of the Anglican Church in the Arctic", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1957), 13, 16. Landon, 46; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Pierre Henry Personal Files, HEB7521.P62C1, André Savard, o.m.i., "Causerie du R. P. Pierre Henry, o.m.i. au Noviciat des O. M. I.", décembre 1959, 7. The Kitsualiks arrived in Gjoa Haven in 1958. See "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1958), 15. Gideon Kitsualik was ordained a deacon in 1964 and a priest in 1966. See Rev. Gideon Kitsualik, "Rev. Gideon Kitsualik of Gjoa Haven, Wrote in his Annual Report of his Adventures When he Travelled from Home", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1965), 6, and Marsh, "A History of the Work", 13.

⁴⁵ In 1969, there were only fourteen Anglicans at Repulse Bay. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 68, file 3, Series 2, number 4, "Mission Station Files: Repulse Bay, 1963-1979", Donald Ben Marsh to Mr. R. A. Creary, 17 December 1969. By 1971, however, the number of Anglicans at Repulse Bay had jumped to fifty-six. At that time, Reverend Noah Nasook, then based in Igloolik, visited the community to conduct services and perform weddings and baptisms. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 68, file 3, Series 2, number 4, "Mission Station Files: Repulse Bay, 1963-1979", Rev. N. Nasook to Bishop Marsh, 26 May 1971. After Nasook's brief visit, Mr. Abraham Tagoon began taking services regularly at Repulse Bay. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 68, file 3, Series 2, number 4, "Mission Station Files: Repulse Bay, 1963-1979", Noah Nasook to Bishop Marsh, 24 August 1971. In June of 1974, the people of Repulse Bay finally began to build an Anglican Church. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 68, file 3, Series 2, number 4, "Mission Station Files: Repulse Bay, 1963-1979", Rev. Eliyah Keenainak to Diocese of the Arctic, 10 June 1974.

⁴⁶ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 14, 22; Choque, *Kajualuk*, 200; Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Rankin Inlet. Baie d'Hudson", *Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, Numéro 312-313 (Mars-Juin 1964), 106. Regarding the establishment of Rankin Inlet, see Barbara Kilvert, "Rankin Inlet", *The Beaver*, Number 296 (Summer 1965), 16; Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 21; *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project*, Three volumes, Volume one: *Land Use and Occupancy* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976), 102.

⁴⁷ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 13, 23; "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1959), 15. Armand Tagooona (1926-1991) was ordained a deacon in 1959 and a minister in 1960. See "The Ordination of Armand Tagooona", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1959), 4-5; "Ordinations", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1960), 8; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 14, 24; Armand Tagooona, *Shadows* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1975), n.p. Although Tagooona was a cleric with the Anglican Church, his first Christian contacts were with the Catholic Church. At the age of six months, Tagooona was baptized by Father Armand Clabaut at Chesterfield Inlet. Tagooona's adoptive father, Louis Tapatai, was among the first converts baptized by Bishop Turquetil in 1917. See Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 187-188. Tagooona himself wrote that he was a member of the Catholic Church in Repulse Bay, but later became Anglican when his family moved to Chesterfield Inlet. Tagooona, *Shadows*, n.p. Also see Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 169. Armand Tagooona, finally, was a visual artist who focused on drawing and painting the legends and traditions of the Inuit. Examples of his work can be found in his book, *Shadows*. Two of his sketches that relate to Christianity can be found in Tagooona, "Churches", 22-23. One depicts a Northern church and mission residence, while another shows an Arctic graveyard.

⁴⁸ Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 175. Choque lists Rogatien Papion as first resident missionary at Whale Cove. For information on the creation of Whale Cove as a community, see Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 22; *Inuit Land Use*, Volume one: 98-100.

⁴⁹ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 14, 23.

⁵⁰ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 10. All of the statistics which follow relate to populations within the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay and the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic, unless stated otherwise.

⁵¹ Cushing, 8-10.

⁵² Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 23, Series 7, number 4, "Pew Leaflets Published by the Diocese of the Arctic", n.d.

⁵³ Marsh, "Arctic Century", 3.

⁵⁴ Charles E. Hendry, *Beyond Traplines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples* (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1969), 42.

⁵⁵ "Synod '84", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1984), 4.

⁵⁶ *History of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay and Statistics of the Region*, leaflet (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1993).

⁵⁷ Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 18 May 1995; Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 22 May 1995.

⁵⁸ Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 149, 153; Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 20; Webster, 42. Anoe also worked with the Anglican Church in 1965, doing translation work. See Marsh, "A History of the Work", 18. Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh mentioned the arrival of Pentecostal and Evangelical missionaries in the Arctic with distaste. To Marsh, the presence of other denominations only added to the "competition for souls". Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "The Bishop's Letter", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1953), 3.

⁵⁹ Choque, *Kajualuk*, 178.

⁶⁰ Tagoona, "Churches", 22-23. According to the author, *Qiajut* is translated as "the ones who cry", *Qaqaliqsimajut* as "those who want to do good instead of bad", and *Ukpiqturjuat* as "very religious people". It should also be noted that an evangelical missionary arrived in the Keewatin community of Whale Cove in 1961, only one year after an Oblate priest and Anglican minister settled there. See Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 22.

⁶¹ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 16, Series 5-1, number 57, *Tusagaksat*, Number 96 (October 1971), magazine of Arctic Christian Fellowship, contains correspondence between Armand Tagoona and Bishop Donald Ben Marsh, 1969-1971: 1-11, Crowe, 151; Tagoona, *Shadows*, n.p.; William Eakin and Jack Butler, "Baker Lake, 1983-84", *Arts Manitoba*, Volume 3, number 4 (Fall 1984), 21. Tagoona formally resigned as a minister of the Anglican Church in 1971. See Tagoona, *Shadows*, n.p.; *Tusagaksat*, 5; Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 205. Marion Jackson feels that one of Tagoona's goals in organizing Arctic Christian Fellowship was to reduce community divisiveness that was caused by ongoing competition between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches for loyal adherents. Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 79; Jackson, "Qamanittuaq", 32. Also see note 22 of this chapter.

⁶² See *Tusagaksat*, 6-10. Tagoona's comments in this magazine stress the crucial role repentance plays in Christianity for many Inuit such as himself. He notes that public confession is an important part of the meetings of members of Arctic Christian Fellowship. More evidence for syncretism in Arctic Christian Fellowship is that Tagoona preached that Elijah, the Christian prophet, was a shaman, and that Elijah's acts of ascending in a chariot of fire and passing his spirit to Elisha, were part of traditional shaman's practices. Eakin and Butler, 21.

⁶³ "Thoughts of Armand Tagoona", in Penny Petrone (editor), *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 216.

⁶⁴ "Here and There", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1985), 13; Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 205.

⁶⁵ William Noah, "Starvation on the Land and My Experience in Baker Lake", in Marion E. Jackson, Judith Nasby and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Baker Lake Drawings* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 22. Noah, son of artist Jessie Oonark, acknowledges that he is an active participant of the Arctic Christian Fellowship, referring to it as an "independent Christian Church".

⁶⁶ Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 162-163. Also see Marybelle Mitchell, "Social, Economic, and Political Transformation among Canadian Inuit from 1950 to 1988", in Canadian Museum of Civilization (editor), *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series Paper 124 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 351; Brody, *Living Arctic*, 209. George Swinton concurred with this view in an interview with the author. George Swinton, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 18 January 1996.

⁶⁷ The policy of the Anglican Church is clearly outlined in two letters written by Bishop Marsh in relation to the erection of Saint Stephen's in Repulse Bay. In these letters, Marsh states that, although the Diocese of the Arctic would pay for the supplies, the people would be responsible for building. See Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 68, file 3, Series 2, number 4, "Mission Station Files: Repulse Bay, 1963-1979", Bishop Marsh to Rev. Noah Nasook and Mr. Abraham Tagoon, 7 September 1971. This approach applied to all Anglican parishes in the Arctic. See Marsh, "A History of the Work", 16-17. It seems then, that spiritual compensation was reward enough to provoke the people to construct Church dwellings.

⁶⁸ Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 102.

⁶⁹ "Lay Readers and Catechists", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1959), 8. The entire Fall 1959 issue of *The Arctic News*, the newsletter of the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic, is devoted to Inuit catechists and lay Church leaders.

⁷⁰ Jean L. Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 1-3, 43, 48-49, 51.

⁷¹ Briggs, *Never in Anger*, 51. Briggs, however, notes that the camp's religious leader, Inuttiaq (a pseudonym), was flexible in conducting services. "Inuttiaq sometimes decided not to hold services, saying that he was tired or had a bad cough. Occasionally, when he was planning to leave for Gjoa Haven on Monday, he would even cancel a Sunday service in order to prepare the dog food for the trip, in spite of the fact that work of any sort was forbidden on Sunday. At other times he gave no explanation at all for omitting a service. No one ever inquired or commented." Briggs concludes that such irregularity was in line with the adaptability necessary for survival in the North. See Briggs, *Never in Anger*, 49.

⁷² "Into the Future", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1983), 13. The Anglican Church acknowledges that Inuit have assisted missionaries in various ways. In 1961, one year after the appointment of the first Inuit minister, Reverend Sperry commented on the diverse involvement of Inuit as leaders within the Anglican Church. "We have Lay readers who read the services in camps of three or four families; those who lead at larger camps; those who hold an outpost and others who, after long and close association with a missionary, are quite capable of taking on a mission." Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 1, Series 1, number 1h (folder 3), Venerable J. R. Sperry, "Appendix 20: Catechists and Their Place in the Church", 1.

⁷³ My use of the term "southern" clergy indicates clerics of non-Inuit origin. More specifically, it denotes people of European or Euro-Canadian descent. Roger Briggs, "First Impressions Upon Return to the Diocese", *The Arctic News* (Spring/Summer 1996), 6-7. For more on Idlout's appointment as Suffragan Bishop, see Rt. Rev. J. C. R. Williams, "Bishop's Message: Synod 1996", *The Arctic News* (Spring/Summer 1996), 2-3; Rt. Rev. Anthony Burton, "Some Observations on Bishop Idlout's Consecration", *The Arctic News* (Spring/Summer 1996), 7-8; Ven. Hadyn Schofield, "Reflections on Synod 1996", *The Arctic News* (Spring/Summer 1996), 8-9; "Arctic Anglicans Elect First Inuk Bishop", *The Ottawa Citizen*, 1 June 1996: C6.

⁷⁴ Ruth Annaqtuusi Tulurialik and David F. Pelly, *Qikaaluktut: Images of Inuit Life* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), n.p. Tulurialuk's adoptive father was Thomas Tapatai, catechist for the Anglican Church and assistant to Canon James. Tulurialik's comments were made in reference to one of her drawings, entitled *The Minister*, which will be discussed in Chapter five.

⁷⁵ Rev. Thomas Umaok, "The Reverend Thomas Umaok", *The Arctic News* (Summer 1960), 9-10; Marsh, "Arctic Century", 12; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 11, 24. In the last article, Marsh revised his account, giving 1928 as the year of Umaok's ordination to the diaconate.

⁷⁶ Crowe, 147; Lewis, 78, 102, 104, 113-114, 145.

⁷⁷ Crowe, 147.

⁷⁸ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 14, 23; "Synod '84", 4.

⁷⁹ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 119.

⁸⁰ Marsh, *Echoes*, 87-88; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 11; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 233, 237, 258.

⁸¹ Marsh, *Echoes*, 61; "Lay Readers and Catechists", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1959), 9.

⁸² Marsh, *Echoes*, 90; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 11; Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 16, Series 5-1, number 43. Archdeacon Donald Ben Marsh, Circular letter, 15 October 1941. Regarding the death of Yarley and the subsequent search for a replacement at Tavane, see Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 6, Series 1, number 1a, Reverend Archibald Cuthbert Herbert to Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, 31 August 1943.

⁸³ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 92-93, 178-179, 227.

⁸⁴ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 269; "Lay Readers and Catechists", 9; "Fifty-five Years Later—Baker Lake", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1982), 7.

⁸⁵ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 272; Fleming, "The Bishop Visits Baker Lake", 5, 7.

⁸⁶ "Fifty-five Years Later", 8; Rt. Rev. John R. Sperry, "The Bishop's Travels", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1989), 10.

⁸⁷ Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 21 June 1995; "Flower of the Snows", *Eskimo*, Volume 10 (September 1948), 15; Phillipe, "White Lily", 2-4. Phillipe adds that Poovlalerag arrived in Chesterfield in 1946 to spend two years with the Grey Nuns, and then began her postulate in 1948. In a letter to Father Arthur Thibert, Pelagy says that the reason she became a Grey Nun was to help fellow Inuit, particularly children, come to a better understanding of Christianity, thereby enabling them to "lead a devout Christian life". See "Naya Pelagy Writes . . .", *Eskimo*, Volume 24 (March 1952), 15; reprinted in Petrone, *Northern Voices*, 132-133.

⁸⁸ Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 21 June 1995; Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Bishop Marc Lacroix", 22; Pelagie Nanauq, "Pelagie Nanauq / Eskimo Point, N.W.T.", *Ajurnangimmat* (Summer 1981), 44-48. In the article for *Ajurnangimmat*, Pelagy herself does not offer any reasons for leaving the Grey Nuns.

⁸⁹ "News of the North", *Eskimo*, Volume 42 (December 1956), 21. Because this is the only reference to Nutarardjuk, I assume that she did not remain with the Grey Nuns for a significant period of time.

⁹⁰ It should be explained that, while lay brothers within the Oblate congregation are not ordained, they do take vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. These same vows are required of Oblate priests. Lay brothers supported fellow priests, mainly by carrying out manual labour. The brothers were carpenters, plumbers, cooks, and musicians.

⁹¹ Charles Choque, o.m.i., *Joseph Buliard, Fisher of Men: From Franche-Comté to the Canadian North: Joseph Buliard, Missionary Oblate of Mary Immaculate, Apostle of the Inuit (1914-1956)* (Churchill: Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Hudson Bay, 1987), 195; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coajuteurs Files: Brother Anthony Manernaluk, HH4230.A62C9, Press clippings, "Premières Vocations Esquimaudes: Anthony Manernaluk, Frère Coadjuteur Oblat", *L'Apostolat*, Volume 32, numéro 2 (Février 1960), 18-19; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coajuteurs Files: Brother Anthony Manernaluk, HH4230.A62C12, Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., "Le Premier Esquimau à Entrer dans la Congregation des O. M. I., Frère Coadjuteur Anthony Manernaluk, o.m.i.", n.d.; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C29, A. Thibert, o.m.i., "Deux Frères Coadjuteurs: Le Frère Anthony Manernaluk, o.m.i. et le Frère Nicolas Sikkuak[sic], o.m.i. et leur famille, tous convertis par le défunt Père Joseph Buliard, o.m.i., chargé de la desserte de N. D. du T. S. Rosaire, à Garry Lake, N.W.T.", n.d., 1; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coajuteurs Files: Brother Anthony Manernaluk, HH4230.A62C17, R. Haramburu, o.m.i. to Père Danielo, o.m.i., 16 novembre, 1962; "Here and There . . .", *Eskimo*, Volume 54 (March 1960), 15. Manernaluk was born in 1937. It should be noted that Manernaluk and his younger siblings, Nicholas Sikkuark and Louis Anarkranerk, were orphaned when their parents died during an epidemic in 1952. Because they were orphans, the Oblates stepped in as caregivers to the three boys. Father Buliard adopted Manernaluk, while Father Pierre Henry cared for Sikkuark and Anarkranerk in Gjoa Haven. When Manernaluk was asked why he wished to leave the Oblates, he stated that it was due to poor health. See "As the Wind Blows", *Eskimo*, Volume 64 (April 1963), 12.

⁹² Choque, *Kajualuk*, 192; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C9, P. Henry, o.m.i. to Réverend Père R. Beauregard, o.m.i., 24 avril 1961; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C1, Biographical sketch, n.d.; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C1a, A. Thibert, o.m.i., "Le Deuxième Esquimau, o.m.i.: Frère Nicolas Sikkuar[sic], o.m.i.", n.d.; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C5, Nicolas Sitkoa[sic] to Father [J. M. Cochard], 16 March 1961, Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C29, A. Thibert, o.m.i., "Deux Frères Coadjuteurs: Le Frère Anthony Manernaluk, o.m.i. et le Frère Nicolas Sikkuak[sic], o.m.i. et leur famille, tous convertis par le défunt Père Joseph Buliard, o.m.i., chargé de la desserte de N. D. du T. S. Rosaire, à Garry Lake, N.W.T.", n.d., 2; "News from the Eskimo World", *Eskimo*, Volume 62 (Fall 1962), 18-19. Sikkuark was born in 1943. Interestingly, Sikkuark's sculpture focuses on shamanic themes and imagery taken from the traditional Inuit spiritual system. I have not been able to find any examples of Christian images created by Sikkuark.

⁹³ Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C1, Biographical sketch, n.d.; Archives Deschâtelets, Frère Coadjuteurs Files: Brother Nicholas Sikkuark, HH4865.A62C24, R. Haramburu, o.m.i. to Rev. R. McGrath, April 29, 1965; "Oblate Personnel of the Vicariate of Hudson Bay . . . from South to North", *Eskimo*, Volume 73 (Christmas 1966), 4; André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. The 1966 article in *Eskimo* mentions that Sikkuark was working as an Oblate brother in Repulse Bay. Goussaert stated that Sikkuark was with the congregation for approximately four years. On Sikkuark's appointment as a catechist at Whale Cove, see "News from the Arctic", *Eskimo*, New series number 2 (Autumn-Winter 1971), 21 and "News from the Arctic . . . and Elsewhere", *Eskimo*, New series number 5 (Spring-Summer 1973), 24. Darlene Wight and Ingo Hessel, on the other hand, note that Sikkuark moved to Ottawa in 1963, where he remained for two years, studying for the ministry, before returning to work in the North. Darlene Wight, "Focus on Artists:

The Central Arctic", *Inuit Arts and Crafts*, Number 2 (December 1984), 30; Ingo Hessel, "Contemporary Inuit Art", in *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: The Earth Spirit Festival, 1991), 9.

⁹⁴ Brandon, *Carved from the Land*, 178-179. Mathiassen found that Umik had arrived in the Igloodik area in 1920. Both he and his son, Noqatdlaq, introduced Christianity to others. Therkel Mathiassen, *Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Volume 6, number 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1928), 234-236.

⁹⁵ Cushing, 28; Turquetil, "Un Témoin Nous Parle", 219; Morice, 101, 106-107; Turquetil, "Un Témoin Nous Parle", 232.

⁹⁶ Eugène Fafard, o.m.i., *Flower From an Icy Midst: A Little Eskimo Thérèse, Teresikuluk Niakrogluk*, translation by Sister Mary Olive Sarrasin, 1978; Eugène Fafard, "Tirisikuluk, Little Flower", *Eskimo*, New series number 32 (Fall-Winter 1986-87), 3-7; Eugène Fafard, "Tirisikuluk, Little Flower of the Snows", *Eskimo*, New series number 33 (Spring-Summer 1987), 27-30; Eugène Fafard, "Tirisikuluk, Little Flower . . .", *Eskimo*, New series number 34 (Fall-Winter 1987-88), 11-14; Eugène Fafard, "Tirisikuluk, Little Flower . . .", *Eskimo*, New series number 35 (Spring-Summer 1988), 20-23. The story of how Niakrogluk, while on her death bed, inspired others to adopt Christianity is told at length by Fafard. Fafard baptized Niakrogluk in 1934, shortly before she died.

⁹⁷ Lionel Ducharme, o.m.i., "John Ayaruaq", *Eskimo*, Volume 84 (Fall-Winter 1970), 12-13, 17; Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 21 June 1995; Petrone, *Northern Voices*, 138. Among the missionaries for whom Ayaruaq worked were Father Lionel Ducharme and Bishop Arsène Turquetil.

⁹⁸ Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 21 June 1995.

⁹⁹ Pelly, "Living History", 22. According to Father Courtemanche, guides and helpers such as Ayaruaq and Sammurtok were compensated for their assistance by means of food rations, clothing, and other supplies. Much later, after a cash economy was introduced to the North, employees like Putilik were salaried. Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 21 June 1995.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Bishop Marc Lacroix", 21-22; "News from the Arctic", 21; "News from the Arctic . . . and Elsewhere", 24. Idjuk's name has been alternately spelled "Idjuka", "Igjukrak", "Igiok'a" in *Eskimo*. He is not, however, the artist Charlie Ugyuk, who will be discussed in Chapter five.

¹⁰¹ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 16-17; "News from the Arctic . . . and Elsewhere", 24; Guy Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i. and Louis Anakanniq, "Our Catechists are Decimated", *Eskimo*, New series number 6 (Fall-Winter 1974), 6-8.

¹⁰² "News From The Arctic . . . and Elsewhere", 24; "News from the Arctic", 22; Lorraine Brandon, "New Life in the Spirit: Episcopal Ordination of Bishop Rouleau", *Eskimo*, New series number 34 (Fall-Winter 1987-88), 5.

¹⁰³ "News From The Arctic . . . and Elsewhere", 24; Lorraine Brandon, "Western Bishops Visit Hudson Bay", *Eskimo*, New series number 16 (Fall-Winter 1978-1979), 22. Again, there is no evidence of Christian iconography in Aupilardjuk's sculpture. This artist often draws upon shamanic and animal imagery for much of his work. Reynald Rouleau (current Bishop of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay) has also emphasized that catechists, or lay ministers, are not the only Inuit working with the Catholic Church. Just as

among Arctic Anglicans, today's Inuit serve the Catholic Diocese in many different capacities, taking on a variety of leadership roles. "There are a lot of other leaders too: with the young people, with children, initiation to sacraments", says Rouleau. Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 18 May 1995.

¹⁰⁴ Father André Steinmann, o.m.i., "What is a Missionary?" in Brandson, *Carved From the Land*, 178. Also see Marsh, *People of the Willow*, 7; Tuluiialik and Pelly, n.p.; Webster, 46.

¹⁰⁵ Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 17 May 1995. Father Courtemanche arrived at Chesterfield Inlet in 1940 and spent most of his missionary career there. In addition to thirty-five years at Chesterfield Inlet, Courtemanche also worked in the vicinities of Arviat, Coral Harbour, Iqaluit, and Churchill. He has now retired to Québec. Father Courtemanche's statement about the multi-dimensional role of Arctic missionaries is echoed in interviews with former Oblate André Goussaert, who worked among Inuit in the Central Canadian Arctic from 1956 until 1980, and Bishop Reynald Rouleau. André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996; Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 22 May 1995.

¹⁰⁶ Yvette Paquin, s.g.m., "Sister Anastasie Heroux, s.g.m.: A Heroic Woman in the Land of Polar Ice (1900-1994)", *Eskimo*, New series numbers 47/48 (Fall-Winter 1994-95), 12; Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "Vicariat de la Baie d'Hudson: Rapport de Mgr. Turquetil", *Missions des Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, Numéro 246 (Juin 1932), 370-372; Morice, 145; Cushing, 40; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 9; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 73; Pelly, "Living History", 22-23; Jacques Marie Volant, o.m.i., "Addenda [autobiographical notes]", Translation by Gontran Laviolette, o.m.i., Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d. According to Brother Volant, who helped build the structure, construction took place over two summers—those of 1930 and 1931. The Sisters of Charity first arrived in the Central Canadian Arctic as soon as construction of Saint Theresa's Hospital was near completion. Although they usually stayed within the settlement, emergencies did require the Grey Nuns to travel great distances to help cure the ill and infirm. Sister Saint Ignatius of Loyola, for one, learned to travel by dog sled so that she might visit patients in their igloos or tents. See Paquin, 13. For a more detailed history of Saint Theresa's Hospital, see Charles Choque, o.m.i., *Hôpital Ste-Therese, Chesterfield, T. N. O.* (Churchill: Roman Catholic Mission, 1981).

¹⁰⁷ Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 7, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 324-332; Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 7, 9; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 9, 23; Marsh, "Arctic Century", 12, 16. It seems that All Saints Hospital was closed in 1961, when patients were transferred to a new government-run hospital in nearby Inuvik. See Marsh, "A History of the Work", 24; "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Summer 1960), 14.

¹⁰⁹ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 320-321; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 9, 23; Marsh, "Arctic Century", 7, 16. Fleming says Saint Luke's Hospital was built between 1930 and 1931. In "A History of the Work", Marsh gives 1930 as the year the hospital was opened, but revises the date to 1931 in his article "Arctic Century". Fleming also notes that funding for the hospital in Pangnirtung was provided by the Diocese of the Arctic, the federal government, and individuals from the private sector. Saint Luke's Hospital was closed in 1972. See "End of an Era", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 15.

¹¹⁰ This conclusion was made after reading many editions of "Arctic News Briefs", in issues of *The Arctic News*, the periodical for the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic. It appears as though some of the nurses at Saint Luke's and All Saints' Hospitals later married Arctic missionaries.

¹¹¹ J. C. Parker accompanied Reverend Edmund Peck to Blacklead Island in 1894. See Lewis, 203, 209. Peck insisted that two of his other assistants at Blacklead Island, Bilby and Greenshields, study medicine in England for one year before coming to the Arctic. Greenshields arrived on Baffin Island in 1898, while Bilby came to replace him in 1901. See Lewis, 288, 312; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 9; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 319. Around 1903, in fact, the Anglicans added a small infirmary to the Blacklead Island mission. "The Blacklead Mission . . . One Hundred Years", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1994), 7. Fleming studied anatomy and medicine at Wycliffe College in Toronto in 1908. Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 34. Winifred Marsh points out that both she and her husband, Donald Marsh, had had some medical training and learned about midwifery and dentistry before arriving in Arviat in the 1920s. Marsh, *People of the Willow*, 7. Donald Marsh even wrote a medical book in the language of the local people, the Padlirmiut. The text was accompanied by Winifred's illustrations. Marsh, *Echoes*, 14.

¹¹² Mrs. John (Joyce) Marlow, "Mrs. John Marlow (Joyce) of Eskimo Point Writes", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1960), 10-12; "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1960), 15.

¹¹³ Brandon notes that the highest incidences of respiratory tract infections such as tuberculosis, were recorded in the Arctic when Inuit moved near DEW Line sites, where they lived in crowded conditions. Brandon, *Carved from the Land*, 74.

¹¹⁴ Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 106.

¹¹⁵ James W. Van Stone, "Eskimo Culture Change: An Historical Perspective", in Martina Magenau Jacobs and James B. Richardson III (editors), *Arctic Life: Challenge to Survive* (Pittsburgh: The Board of Trustees, Carnegie Institute, 1983), 144. Also see Burch, Jr., "The Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska", 93.

¹¹⁶ Lewis, 240-241. Fleming also noted that, by providing Inuit with health care, missionaries were in direct competition with the angakoq. Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 319.

¹¹⁷ Brody, *Living Arctic*, 207.

¹¹⁸ Lewis, 121.

¹¹⁹ Morice, 58-61.

¹²⁰ Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "Eighty Years Ago: Second Journey of Father Turquetil to the Inuit (1906)", *Eskimo*, New series number 32, (Fall-Winter 1986-87), 14-15.

¹²¹ Morice, 100.

¹²² Armand Clabaut, o.m.i., "Arvelegoar The Land of the Large Whales", *Eskimo*, Volume 29 (June 1953), 5, 8.

¹²³ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 6, Series 1, number 1a, Reverend Archibald Cuthbert Herbert to Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, 8 September 1944, 5. Herbert tried to remain positive, adding, "for the main part our members have remained firm and faithful in their belief and trust in our Divine Lord." Reverend Peck's biographer, Arthur Lewis, also noted that Inuit at Blacklead Island in the late-nineteenth century requested the help of their shamans when storms disabled them from hunting. Angakoqs were sought out to improve weather conditions. Lewis, 223.

¹²⁴ Remie, *Culture Change*, 64.

¹²⁵ Remie, *Culture Change*, 40; Cornelius H. W. Remie, "Culture Change and Religious Continuity among the Arviligdjuarmiut of Pelly Bay, N. W. T., 1935-1963", *Études Inuit Studies*, Volume 7, number 2 (1983), 65-66.

¹²⁶ Crowe, 141; Lewis, 82; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 79; McGrath, *Canadian Inuit Literature*, 23. McGrath, however, cites 1840 as the date Evans developed the syllabic writing system. In addition, she points out that Moravians also encouraged literacy among Labrador Inuit. By 1826, the Moravians had printed the entire New Testament in Inuktitut (Roman orthography) and, within fifteen years, nearly all Moravian Inuit could read and write. See McGrath, *Canadian Inuit Literature*, 7, 22 and note 6 of this chapter.

¹²⁷ Neatby, 387; Crowe, 146; Lewis, 82, 86, 88-89; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 79; McGrath, *Canadian Inuit Literature*, 23.

¹²⁸ Rev. E. J. Peck, *The Four Gospels Translated into the Language of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1897); Rev. E. J. Peck, *Hymns, Addresses, Etc. for the Use of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Land*, Hymns by Rev. W. G. Walton (London: The Church Missionary Society, 1908). As opposed to Catholic prayer books, these early Anglican editions were devoid of illustrations. It should be noted that Peck first distributed printed portions of the New Testament in the Arctic in 1879. The first to receive *The Four Gospels* were Inuit near Blacklead Island. See Lewis, 97, 272.

¹²⁹ Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., *Prières et Cantiques en Esquimaux*, 1917, Fourth edition (Churchill: Vicariat de la Baie d'Hudson, 1932). This prayer book was not illustrated and its text appears in Roman orthography Inuktitut.

¹³⁰ Morice, 156. Morice also points out that Oblate Father Arthur Thibert wrote *Prayers, Hymns and Sunday Gospels in Eskimo* in 1933. Morice, 185. Upon investigation at Archives Deschâtelets, however, I was only able to discover Thibert's *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimaux*, published in 1934. This prayer book is printed in syllabics and contains several illustrations. Archives Deschâtelets did not possess a prayer book written by Turquetil in 1934. This leads me to conclude that the two prayer books to which Morice refers may be one and the same. In any case, it is important to note that 1933-1934 is the earliest date when most Inuit of the Keewatin and Kitikmeot would have been exposed to illustrated prayer books. We will see in Chapter three that illustrations in prayer books and from other sources were important tools for teaching Inuit about Christianity. Some of these same illustrations later became sources of iconography in Christian images created by Inuit artists.

¹³¹ Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "The Bishop's Letter", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1953), 2. Donald Ben Marsh became the second Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic, a post he held from 1950 until 1973. See Very Rev. David J. Carter and Venerable John W. Carter, *The Anglican Episcopate in Canada*, Volume III (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1977), 13.

¹³² Lewis, 304-305; "The Blacklead Mission", 7. An impressive sixty-five to seventy children were said to attend Peck's lessons.

¹³³ Marsh, *People of the Willow*, 9; *Echoes*, 28-33; Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 16, Series 5-1, number 13.

Winnifred Marsh, "Jottings from Eskimo Point", 1 July 1935, 1. The Marshes held classes for both adults and children.

¹³⁴ Fleming, "The Bishop Visits Baker Lake", 6. John William Rundle James was made a Canon in 1951 in recognition of his twenty-one years of service to the people of Baker Lake. It is James who can be credited with obtaining the conversions of many Baker Lake Anglicans, including the late artist Jessie Oonark. "Field Notes and News", *The Arctic News* (Summer 1951), 13. James taught the children of Baker Lake until a government teacher arrived in the community in 1957. See "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Spring 1957), 14.

¹³⁵ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB325.C56R21, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. to Mr. N. J. Macpherson, 5 March 1983; Remie, *Culture Change*, 26.

¹³⁶ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 14. Construction on Cooper School was completed in 1959 and the school was officially opened in 1962, with a secular teacher.

¹³⁷ "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1958), 15; Ernie Lyall, *An Arctic Man: Sixty-five Years in Canada's North* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1979), 192.

¹³⁸ Fleming, "Brief History of Missions", 7, 9. The Immaculate Conception Catholic boarding school in Aklavik was closed in 1959, when a new school and hostel was opened by the government in neighbouring Inuvik. See Marsh, "The Bishop's Letter", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1960), 2.

¹³⁹ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 309, 326; Marsh, "A History of the Work", 23; Marsh, "Arctic Century", 16. Marsh differs with Fleming and says the All Saints' Residential School at Aklavik opened in 1937. The Anglicans operated a much smaller residential school at Shingle Point (also in the Western Arctic) in the 1930s. Marsh, "A History of the Work", 7, 23; Marsh, "Arctic Century", 12, 16. Like pupils from the Catholic school and hostel at Aklavik, Anglican children began attending the government-run school in Inuvik in 1959. Marsh, "A History of the Work", 15, 24; "Arctic News Briefs", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1959), 15; Rt. Rev. D. B. Marsh, "The Bishop's Letter", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1960), 2. The Anglican Church did not build residential schools in the Central Canadian Arctic or on Baffin Island. Anglican children from the Keewatin attended the Catholic-run boarding school at Chesterfield Inlet, while those on Baffin Island often remained in their own communities for schooling until a high school and accompanying residence for boarders was built by the federal government at Iqaluit in 1970-1971. For information on the residential school at Iqaluit, see "St. Jude's Cathedral", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 11.

¹⁴⁰ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 14; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Chesterfield Inlet, N. W. T., LCB255.C56R2, "Historique du Pensionnat Ste-Marie, Chesterfield Inlet (1955-1966)", History of the residential school at Chesterfield Inlet, N. W. T., n.d.; Brandon, *Carved from the Land*, 74; "Towards Progress . . .", *Eskimo*, Volume 19 (December 1950), 16; "The Boarding School at Chesterfield and the Education of the Eskimo", *Eskimo*, Volume 38 (December 1955), 12-17; "At the Mercy of the Wind", *Eskimo*, Volume 82 (Christmas 1969), 15; Pelly, "Living History", 23; Williamson, "The Keewatin Settlements", 17. Williamson and Pelly both differ with other sources by claiming that the hostel functioned until 1969. Beginning in 1956, the school offered evening classes to teach adults English and, in 1958, the school was bought by the government. The school and residences were originally called Saint Mary's. In 1964, the residence was renamed Turquetil Hall, and the school building itself was known as Joseph Bernier School. Later still, the school was rededicated to Victor Sammurtok. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Chesterfield Inlet, N. W. T., LCB255.C56R2, "Historique du Pensionnat Ste-Marie, Chesterfield Inlet (1955-1966)", History of the residential school at

Chesterfield Inlet, N. W. T., n.d.; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 14. Sammurtok, an employee of the Oblates (see this chapter, above) and an artist, was a long-time resident of Chesterfield Inlet.

¹⁴¹ "The Boarding School", 12.

¹⁴² "The Boarding School", 17. It is ironic that an Oblate brother and Grey Nuns, not local Inuit men and women, taught boys and girls traditional skills required for living on the land.

¹⁴³ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Chesterfield Inlet, N. W. T., LCB255 C56R2, "Historique du Pensionnat Ste-Marie, Chesterfield Inlet (1955-1966)". Keith Crowe rightly criticizes the residential school approach for taking children away from their homes and families for great lengths of time, sometimes without even letters exchanged. He also points out that children in some Arctic boarding schools were forbidden to speak their language, and that instruction focused too heavily on religion, neglecting other subjects. Finally, Crowe states that children at Church-operated residential schools were taught to dislike children of a different faith. Crowe, 149, 167.

¹⁴⁴ Minnie Aodla Freeman, "Epilogue: Living in Two Worlds", in Martina Magenau Jacobs and James B. Richardson III (editors), *Arctic Life: Challenge to Survive* (Pittsburgh: The Board of Trustees, Carnegie Institute, 1983), 198; Minnie Aodla Freeman, "Living in Two Hells", in Petrone, *Northern Voices*, 239-240.

¹⁴⁵ David Ruben Piqtoukun, "Comments by David Ruben Piqtoukun", in Seidelman and Turner, 7.

¹⁴⁶ David Ruben Piqtoukun, in John Ayre, "David Ruben Piqtoukun", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 9, number 3 (Fall 1994), 18. To assist in healing the wounds caused by the missionaries and Grey nuns who operated the Roman Catholic boarding school at Aklavik, Piqtoukun created a series of powerful sculptures in 1995. Some of these works will be discussed in Chapter five of this thesis.

¹⁴⁷ Mary Carpenter, "Recollections and Comments: No More Denials Please", *Inuktitut*, Number 74 (1991), 57-58.

¹⁴⁸ Carpenter, "Recollections and Comments", 59, 61.

¹⁴⁹ "Missionary News", *Eskimo*, Volume 78 (Summer 1968), 18; Charles Choque, o.m.i., "A School for Eskimo Catechists", *Eskimo*, Volume 79 (January 1969), 12. The statistics reported earlier in this chapter reflect the decline in the number of Catholic clergy serving the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay.

¹⁵⁰ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 18, Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 1, Series 1, number 1h (folder 3), Venerable J. R. Sperry, "The Catechist Training School" in "First Synod of the Diocese of the Arctic (April 9-23, 1961): Appendices 1-29", 1961, 1-2. The archival document states that the catechist training school at Kugluktuk was not opened until 1957. It seems to have taken longer to set up a similar training centre in the Keewatin region but, by 1982, a few individuals had completed studies at a catechist school in Baker Lake. "Bishop Clarke Visits Keewatin", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1982), 9.

¹⁵¹ Marsh, "A History of the Work", 18; Ven. John R. Sperry, "Coppermine Catechist School", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1959), 11-12; Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 1, Series 1, number 1h (folder 3), Venerable J. R. Sperry, "The Catechist Training School", 1-2. While in training at one of the schools, Anglican catechists would receive a food ration and small monthly cash allowance, in addition to housing. When they returned to their communities, payment depended upon the catechists' level of commitment to the Church, that is, how much time they spent fulfilling clerical duties.

Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 1, Series 1, number 1h (folder 3), Venerable J. R. Sperry, "The Catechist Training School", 1-2; Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 1, Series 1, number 1h (folder 3), Venerable J. R. Sperry, "Appendix 20: Catechists and Their Place in the Church", in "First Synod of the Diocese of the Arctic (April 9-23, 1961): Appendices 1-29", 1961, 2; Sperry, "Coppermine Catechist School", 13.

¹⁵² "Missionary News", 18-19; Robert Paradis, o.m.i., "School for the Eskimo Catechists", *Eskimo*, Volume 82 (Christmas 1969), 13; Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 16; "News from the Arctic", *Eskimo*, New series number 2 (Autumn-Winter 1971), 21-23; Théophile Didier, o.m.i., "Hudson Bay-Alaska", *Eskimo*, New series number 5 (Spring/Summer 1973), 16; Robert Lechat, o.m.i., "A Thawing Church in an Icy Land", *Eskimo*, New series number 26 (Fall/Winter 1983-84), 7; Joseph Meeus, o.m.i., "Catechist Families: After Twenty Years", *Eskimo*, New series number 40 (Fall-Winter 1990-91), 5. André Goussaert was involved with the Pelly Bay catechist program for five years, where he helped train two groups of catechetical leaders. André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. Grey Nuns from Chesterfield Inlet were sent to Pelly Bay to instruct the catechists' wives. The first group of catechetical leaders were: Walter Porter at Cambridge Bay, Angelico Nasalik at Gjoa Haven, Charlie Idjuk at Taloyoak, Nicholas Sikkuark at Whale Cove, and Barthelemy Nirlungajuq and Jaki Ujarait at Iqaluit. "News from the Arctic and Elsewhere", *Eskimo*, New series number 6 (Spring/Summer 1973), 22-26. By 1975, three more leaders and their families had completed the program and were sent to other communities. Mariano Aupilardjuk went to Arviat, Louis Anakanniq travelled to Cambridge Bay, and Simon Tinaq moved to Coral Harbour. "News Items", *Eskimo*, New series number 8 (Fall/Winter 1974-75), 22-23. Catholic catechists were also financially compensated for carrying out their religious duties. Full-time catechists were provided with housing, and received a salary equal to that of a primary school teacher, scaled according to the number of parishioners they had. Charles Choque, o.m.i., "A School for Eskimo Catechists", 14-15. Also see Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 16.

¹⁵³ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 1, Series 1, number 1h (folder 3), Venerable J. R. Sperry, "Appendix 20: Catechists and Their Place in the Church", 1. Sperry, "Coppermine Catechist School", 11.

¹⁵⁴ Choque, "A School for Eskimo Catechists", 14. Considering what Choque and Sperry have said, it seems plausible that some catechists were *issumatuq* ("wise ones"), elders admired by Inuit for their knowledge and experience. This conclusion is supported by David Raine, who writes about several Inuit camp leaders who eventually embraced Christianity and led their respective communities in Church worship. David F. Raine, "The Eskimo Bosses", *The Beaver* (Summer 1971), 30-35.

¹⁵⁵ Lechat, "A Thawing Church", 5. Meeus, 7-8.

¹⁵⁶ Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 18 May 1995.

¹⁵⁷ Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 22 May 1995. Reforms brought about by the Second Vatican Council encouraged clergy around the world to change some of their attitudes towards their parishioners, particularly by allowing congregations to follow their own styles of Christian worship. The comments of Father Robert Lechat, for example, reveal his support for Inuit who, in matters of Christianity, "are little by little taking charge of themselves instead of receiving everything passively from the foreign missionary." Robert Lechat, o.m.i., "A Thawing Church", 7.

¹⁵⁸ Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 18 May 1995.

¹⁵⁹ Reverend Alan Whitton, telephone interview, 13 November 1996.

¹⁶⁰ Hendry, 25.

¹⁶¹ Hendry, 54. Also see Freeman, "Epilogue", 198; Freeman, "Living in Two Hells", 239; Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 98-99; Mitchell, "Social, Economic", 339; Brody, *Living Arctic*, 209; Van Stone, 147. Jack Butler, Darlene Wight, and others have noted the long-term affects the missionaries' condemnation of Inuit culture had upon Northern peoples. Shamanism, for instance, became a taboo topic of discussion. See Darlene Wight, "Inuit Tradition and Beyond: New Attitudes Toward Art-making in the 1980s", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 6, number 2 (Spring 1991), 15; K. J. Butler, "My Uncle Went to the Moon", *Artscanada*, Thirtieth Anniversary Issue, *Stone, Bones and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art*, Numbers 184-187 (December 1973/January 1974), 154. Missionaries were intent on stamping out shamanism and have been credited with succeeding in this objective. However, a few writers suggest that other individuals and factors contributed to the decrease in the numbers and influence of practising shamans. They list the fur traders' introduction of the rifle, which secularized the hunt and, subsequently, affected the migration patterns of caribou. This shift in the movements of the caribou meant that many Inuit went hungry, a situation which the angakoq was unable to remedy. Another factor against which shamans were often helpless, was the devastation caused by foreign diseases. Only qallunaat were able to bring relief with western medicines. See Vallee, 172-173; Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 62; Jackson, "Qamanittuaq", 27; Eakin and Butler, 22.

¹⁶² Lewis, 241.

¹⁶³ Raymond de Cocola and Paul King, *Ayorama* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954), 193.

¹⁶⁴ Thibert, "Enter", 34. Thibert was not alone in his superior attitudes or his belief that Christianity was a much kinder religion than traditional Inuit spirituality. For similar comments, see Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "Diary of Famine", *The Link* (May 1945), 4; Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "Realizing a Dream", *The Link* (October 1945), 3; Morice, 155-156. Some missionaries have focussed on the idea that Christianity was a much gentler religion for women and children, who were made to follow the most numerous taboos in Inuit culture. See Marsh, *Echoes*, 142; Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "Notes sur les Esquimaux de Baie Hudson: Tribus, Notes sur Coutumes Religieuses, Genre de Vie, Chasse et Pêche", originally written in 1917, *Anthropos*, Volume 21 (1926), 425.

¹⁶⁵ Ipellie, "God Save", 2. Also see Lyall, 68. While staying at an Inuit camp in the Central Canadian Arctic in the 1960s, Jean Briggs was able to observe similar teachings. The camp's lay religious leader preached that God would only love Inuit if they prayed and did not get angry with one another. Otherwise, they "will burn forever". Briggs, 52, 56. Ipellie stated that elders disciplined younger people by reminding them that, if they misbehaved or broke one of the ten commandments, "we would one day be thrown to the 'Sataanasi', the Satan, on Judgement Day". Ipellie, "God Save", 6.

¹⁶⁶ Wendell H. Oswaldt, *Eskimos and Explorers* (Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, 1979), 286; Wendell H. Oswaldt, *Mission of Change in Alaska: Eskimos and Moravians on the Kuskokwim* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1963), 95-96; Turquetil, "Eighty Years Ago" (Fall-Winter 1986-87), 16; Ipellie, "God Save", 11. Theresie Tungilik suggested that "missionaries felt that shamanism was a bad thing, and that it was evil, when actually all it was was a power that they didn't understand." Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, 15 June 1995.

¹⁶⁷ Brody *Living Arctic*, 207. Burch came to the same conclusion in Alaska. Burch, Jr., "The Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska", 96.

¹⁶⁸ Saladin D'Anglure, 503.

¹⁶⁹ Marsh, 134-138; Lewis, 35-41; Fleming, *Dwellers*, 39, 44, 55, 64; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 120, 127-128, 134-135, 189-191, 346, 376.

¹⁷⁰ Turquetil, "Notes sur les Esquimaux de Baie Hudson", 419-434; Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "The Religion of the Central Eskimo", *Primitive Man*, Volume 2, numbers 3-4 (July/October 1929), 57-64; Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "The Eskimo: How he Has Adapted to the Desert in which he Lives", Lecture presented 30 November, 1920 at the Château Laurier (Ottawa) before the members of the Alliance Française (Montréal: Editions du Devoir, 1927).

¹⁷¹ Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "Pagan Morality", *Eskimo*, Volume 20 (March 1951), 3; Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "Medicine and Taboos", *Eskimo*, Volume 23 (December 1951), 10; Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "The Eskimo", *Eskimo*, Volume 24 (March 1952), 4-6; Jean Philippe, o.m.i., "The Eskimo", *Eskimo*, Volume 25 (June 1952), 5-9.

¹⁷² Guy Mary- Rousselière, o.m.i., "Iglulik", in David Damas (editor), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 5: *Arctic* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 441-442; Guy Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i., "Language and Magic among the Central Eskimos", *Eskimo*, New series number 42 (Fall-Winter 1991-92), 14-21.

¹⁷³ For examples of Philippe's writings on the Inuit, see articles written by this author as listed in the bibliography. While I have singled out Oblate Jean Philippe for studying Inuit culture in order to denounce it and, thus, justify the missionary's presence among those people, Wendell Oswaldt has said that Moravian missionaries in Alaska in the late-nineteenth century did the same. Oswaldt, *Mission of Change*, 70, 76, 146.

¹⁷⁴ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 133-134. Also see Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 187-188.

¹⁷⁵ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 190; Arsène Turquetil, o.m.i., "Bishop Turquetil Recalls How the Hudson's Bay Mission Was Founded", *Eskimo*, Volume 33 (September 1954), 4.

¹⁷⁶ Fleming, *Dwellers*, 89-90. In the 1940s, Archdeacon Donald Marsh encouraged indigenization. He told incoming missionaries to relate their sermons to Inuit life. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection. Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 16, Series 5-1, number 6-4, Archdeacon Donald Ben Marsh, "Notes for New Workers", n.d., 5. Of course, Inuit themselves could and did make connections between their religion and Christianity. Examples of this will be shown below.

¹⁷⁷ The qagqig was a large, communal igloo traditionally used by Inuit of the Pelly Bay area for important spiritual occasions. Before missionaries arrived in the region, local Inuit also had religious ceremonies around the time of the winter solstice. These celebrations focused on the feast of Sedna, mother of all sea mammals. People would join together and erect a qagqig, which they would share as a community. In addition to spiritual rituals, dances, feasts, and games would take place in and around the qagqig.

¹⁷⁸ Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Christmas at Pelly Bay", *Eskimo*, Volume 39 (March 1956), 9-13; G-M. Rousselière, o.m.i. [sic], "Christmas Igloo", *The Beaver*, Number 287 (Winter 1957), 4-5; Frank S. Gonda, "Christmas in the Big Igloo", *North*, Volume X, number 6 (November-December 1963), 28-29; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C6-7, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volumes 6 and 7 (1957-1960), 1034-1035, 1184 (entries dated December 26 and December 28, 1958, and December 27, 1959). Drum dances were also occasionally held at Easter.

See Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C6-7-8, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volumes 7 and 8 (1959-1962), 1242, 1379 (entries dated April 18, 1960 and April 2, 1961). Other Catholic missionaries condoned drum dancing on certain occasions. Father Armand Clabaut allowed Inuit to hold a drum dance at the Catholic mission in Repulse Bay in 1934 and 1935. Armand Clabaut, o.m.i., "Easter at Repulse Bay—1934", *Eskimo*, New series number 27 (Spring-Summer 1984), 8; Choque, *Kajualuk*, 71. Father Henry built a qaggiq at Pelly Bay in 1938, and allowed Inuit to conduct drum dances within the structure. Choque, *Kajualuk*, 96.

¹⁷⁹ Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., interview with Lorraine Brandson, in Lorraine Brandson, *Interviews of Fa. Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. of Sanerajak (Hall Beach), Northwest Territories January 18 to 25, 1986: The Lifestyle of the Eskimo in the Pelly Bay Region*, unpublished interview transcripts, Tape 5B, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, 1986, 4. Van de Velde's actions may have seemed rather liberal at the time, but he did attempt to place some controls over drum dancing. In order to prevent its unscrupulous usage, the priest kept the drum at the Catholic mission after Christmas festivities had concluded. While he stated that Inuit were free to use the drum if they wished, they would first have to ask Van de Velde's permission. Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5B, 3-4; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82R147, Asen Balicki to Cornelius Remie, 10 May 1983.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Lechat, o.m.i., "Evangelization and Colonialism", *Eskimo*, New series number 11 (Spring-Summer 1976), 3.

¹⁸¹ Hendry, 55-56, 66-67, 71-72, 87.

¹⁸² Lechat, "Evangelization and Colonialism", 4-6. The author does recognize the colonialist nature of the period of evangelization, as the title of his article suggests.

¹⁸³ Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview. Churchill, Manitoba, 22 May 1995.

¹⁸⁴ Antonio R. Gualtieri, *Christianity and Native Traditions: Indigenization and Syncretism among the Inuit and Dené of the Western Arctic* (Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1984), 15, 17, 150. Gualtieri's interviews were conducted in the early-1970s.

¹⁸⁵ Gualtieri, 39-40, 117-118, 119, 127. Overall, Gualtieri noted that efforts to indigenize were in the areas of translating scriptures, prayers, and hymns and in examples of liturgical decoration. Church decoration will be discussed further in Chapter three of this thesis.

¹⁸⁶ Brody, *Living Arctic*, 205, 207. Brody and other writers have pointed out that, unlike Christianity, traditional Inuit spirituality is not exclusive. Also see Norman Zepp, "Inspiration: Four Decades of Sculpture by Canadian Inuit", in Norman Zepp, *Inspiration: Four Decades of Sculpture by Canadian Inuit* (Vancouver: Marion Scott Gallery, 1995), 18; Burch, Jr., "The Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska", 94-95; Lorraine Brandson, "Spiritual Beliefs of the Inuit and the Introduction of Christianity", *Eskimo*, New series number 51 (Spring-Summer 1996), 21.

¹⁸⁷ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 75, 197, 220, 221, 271; Choque, *Joseph Buliard*, 112.

¹⁸⁸ Mitchell, "Social, Economic", 351. Also see Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 101; Struzik, 47; Vallee, 29.

¹⁸⁹ Father Buliard discovered a shaman invoking his helping spirit during a seance near Repulse Bay in 1944. Choque, *Joseph Buliard*, 89. Buliard's biographer, Father Charles Choque, says that "pagan customs"

resurfaced among Inuit living inland in the southern Keewatin. Choque, *Joseph Buliard*, 111. Throughout the 1950s at Pelly Bay, Father Van de Velde reported incidents of Inuit who continued to follow traditional beliefs and practices. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C1-9, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 3 (1951-1953), 409 (entry dated January 25, 1951); Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C1-9, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 4 (1953-1955), 700 (entry dated February 13, 1955); Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C1-9, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 6 (1957-1959), 1024 (entry dated December 3, 1958). Anglican missionaries seem to have been more reluctant than the Oblates to admit (at least in writing) the ongoing adherence of their parishioners to traditional beliefs and practises.

¹⁹⁰ Remie, *Culture Change*, 30-32; 35-37; 38-39; 54-62; Remie, "Culture Change", 62-65; 70-75. A French translation of the original syllabic text of the diary can be found at Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa. Archives Deschâtelets, Relations avec les Provinces Oblat: Baie d'Hudson, Indiens et Inuit en Specie. Special Documents: Biographies, Etc., HR3014.E77R14, "Journal de Bernard Irkugaktok [1958-1964]: Traduction en Français par Franz Van de Velde, Traduit Directement du Texte Original", Two Volumes, 18 April 1976. Extracts from this diary were published in *Eskimo*. Bernard Irkugaktok, "Autobiography of an Eskimo from Pelly Bay", Translation by Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., *Eskimo*, New series number 16 (Fall-Winter 1978-79), 7-10; Bernard Irkugaktok, "Autobiography of an Eskimo from Pelly Bay", Translation by Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., *Eskimo*, New series number 15 (Spring-Summer 1978), 14-18; Bernard Irkugaktok, "The Autobiography of a Pelly Bay Eskimo", Translation by Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., *Eskimo*, New series number 14 (Fall-Winter 1977-78), 22-25. It is helpful to know that Awongaitsiark (pseudonym) recorded these events in his diary between 1958 and 1964, while records of the Pelly Bay Codex Historicus range from 1935 until 1965. Despite more than two decades of contact with both Anglican and Catholic missionaries, Edmund Carpenter also found that "witch-fear" (the belief in the use of magic words or thoughts to cause harm to others) was prevalent among the Aivilingmiut of Southampton Island until at least the early-1950s. Edmund S. Carpenter, "Witch-fear among the Aivilik Eskimos", in Victor F. Valentine and Frank G. Vallee (editors), *Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 55-66. Carpenter's field work was conducted in the early-1950s.

¹⁹¹ Remie, *Culture Change*, 40-41; Remie, "Culture Change", 66.

¹⁹² Remie, *Culture Change*, 44. Van de Velde noted that Inuit continued to wear amulets after they were baptized, but they simply hid them from view. Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82C63, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., interview with Fred Miller, o.m.i., Ottawa, Ontario, 10 April 1984, Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandon, Tape 5A, 9.

¹⁹³ Remie, *Culture Change*, 42-43, 53.

¹⁹⁴ Remie, *Culture Change*, 50-53, Remie, "Culture Change", 69.

¹⁹⁵ Remie, *Culture Change*, 47-49; Remie, "Culture Change", 68-69. Ray Price relates a story about a Christian Inuk at Craig Harbour in the 1950s who followed a taboo practice regarding the placating of a killed animal's spirit. See Price, 218-219.

¹⁹⁶ Butler, "My Uncle Went to the Moon", 154; Eakin and Butler, 22.

¹⁹⁷ Lyall, 70.

¹⁹⁸ Jessie Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator William Noah, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 19 April 1983, in Marion E. Jackson, "Transcripts of Interviews with Jessie Oonark and her Children", translators William Noah and Ruby Arnagna'naaq, Unpublished, Courtesy of Inuit Art and Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Hull, Quebec: Spring 1983), 38. Oonark said she thought that Wamaisiq (Oonark's daughter-in-law's mother) and artist Irene Avaalaaqiaq could be shamans.

¹⁹⁹ Riva Harrison, "Northern Delights", *Winnipeg Sun*, 17 December 1997.

²⁰⁰ Robert Lechat, o.m.i., "Christianization of the Inuit", *Eskimo*, New series number 7 (Spring-Summer 1974), 7. Two other explanations Lechat gives for Inuit acceptance of Christianity are: the new religion demanded fewer and less exacting "taboos" than traditional spirituality and, the Inuit were in a state of poverty when missionaries arrived in the Arctic. Robert Lechat, o.m.i., "Christianization of the Inuit", *Eskimo*, New series number 8 (Fall-Winter 1974-75), 18-20. Inuit did turn to Christianity for a variety of reasons, but it should be remembered that subsistence was most important. The missionaries offered Arctic people health care services and material benefits (ammunition, tea, flour, tobacco, textiles, among other trade goods) that Inuit needed and/or wanted to assist their survival. This may have influenced the decision of some Inuit to accept Christianity into their lives. Lechat goes on to list several similarities between the two religions. Lechat, "Christianization" (Spring-Summer 1974), 10; Lechat, "Christianization" (Fall-Winter 1974-75), 14-17. Van de Velde conducted a similar exercise, as have Lorraine Brandson and Frank Vallee. George Swinton and Theresie Tungilik, moreover, discussed points of similarity between Christianity and shamanism in interviews with the author. See Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82C63, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., interview with Fred Miller, o.m.i., Ottawa, Ontario, 9 April 1984; Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Religion and Morals among the Pelly Bay Eskimos", *Eskimo*, Volume 39 (March 1956), 6-8, 14-16; Brandson, "Spiritual Beliefs", 17, 21, 23; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 179-180; Vallee, 170-171, 181; George Swinton, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 18 January 1996; Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. Each of these authors does, however, recognize that there are also many significant differences between the two faiths.

²⁰¹ Crowe, 148.

²⁰² Crowe, 150; Saladin D'Anglure, 503-504; Price 35-62; Lyall, 69; Mary-Rousselière, "Iglulik", 444; Qamanirq, quoted in Susan Cowan (editor), *We Don't Live in Snow Houses Now: Reflections of Arctic Bay* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Producers, 1976), 44. In each case, missionaries and, occasionally, the RCMP were brought in to put an end to the movements by discussion or by force. Interestingly, Sanikiluaq artist Paul Kavik created a sculptural portrait of a female follower of a messianic movement (fig. 16). The woman "imagined she saw Christ approaching from off shore [and] removed all her clothing and frightened a small group of other people into doing likewise. They all rushed into the frigid water and died of exposure." Darlene Wight, *Winnipeg Collects: Inuit Art From Private Collections* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 4. It is not clear if this incident occurred during the 1941 religious revival mentioned above, or whether this was part of a different situation altogether.

²⁰³ Remie, *Culture Change*, 3-4.

²⁰⁴ Remie, *Culture Change*, 34, 72.

²⁰⁵ Remie, *Culture Change*, 34-35.

²⁰⁶ Remie, *Culture Change*, 50.

²⁰⁷ Remie, *Culture Change*, 37; Remie, "Culture Change", 65. Inuit felt that prayers, like magic words, could also have positive effects. One shaman near Chesterfield Inlet interpreted Christian prayer as similar to his requests to the spirits: "'You, priests, have a prayer to obtain caribou, another to beg for seals and still another to help capture the white whale.' [Father Fafard] answered, 'When you recite your 'Our Father', you ask for your daily food. If you pray to Him with confidence, as a child to his father, He will hear your prayer.'" Fafard, *Flower from an Icy Midst*, 20.

²⁰⁸ Remie, *Culture Change*, 37-38; Remie, "Culture Change", 65; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T. LCB321.C56C7, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 7 (1959-1960), 1221 (entry dated March 10, 1960). Anglican missionary Fleming found that at least one Inuk compared him to a shaman. After hearing the Acts of the Apostles, this individual expected Fleming to perform some of the miracles the apostles did. Fleming, *Dwellers*, 90.

²⁰⁹ Remie, *Culture Change*, 46-47; Remie, "Culture Change", 67-68; Morice, 157.

²¹⁰ Morice, 157. Buliard noted the use of a prayer book as an amulet at Wager Bay in 1943. Choque, *Joseph Buliard*, 87. This method of healing was prevalent in Alaska as well. Oswaldt, *Mission of Change*, 94.

²¹¹ Peter Freuchen, in Seidelman and Turner, 155.

²¹² Remie, "Culture Change", 75; Remie, *Culture Change*, 64; Cornelius Remie, "'How Ukpaktoor Lost his Buttock and What he Got in Exchange for It: Cultural Changes amongst the Arviligdjuarmiut of Pelly Bay, Northwest Territories, Canada", in G. W. Nooter, *Life and Survival in the Arctic: Cultural Changes in the Polar Regions* (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1984), 114.

Missionaries and the Introduction of Christian Imagery in the Arctic

In a previous chapter, the roles of Arctic missionaries as health care providers and teachers were discussed. But Catholic priests and Anglican ministers affected the lives of Inuit in other ways, including the production of contemporary Inuit art. In the following two sections, the missionaries' introduction of Christian imagery to Inuit will be explored. Exposure to Christian iconography, initially in the form of Euro-Christian reproductions found in prayer books, catechetical books, and as church decorations, would influence visual interpretations of Christian themes by Inuit. It is important to note that, while Christian imagery was at first limited to the Euro-Christian variety, Inuit later became more active participants in creating the Christian images which appear in Arctic churches.

Use of Christian Imagery as a Teaching Tool

One important aspect of cross-cultural contact between missionaries and Inuit was the introduction to the latter by the former of Euro-Christian art and its accompanying iconography. Pictures featured in prayer books and other religious drawings were an early source of graphic imagery seen by many Inuit. As a result, some Christian images created by Inuit artists were based upon such European reproductions.¹

In this section, it is important to point out that Catholics have historically had a much stronger visual tradition than Protestants who, in the sixteenth century, vehemently

opposed visual representations of God, Christ, and other saints. This held true even in the Central Canadian Arctic of the twentieth century, where most of the Protestant missionaries were members of an evangelical branch of the Church of England. These Anglicans believed in minimal church decoration and adornment, focusing instead on emotional outbursts as evidence of an adherent's personal communion with God.

Less than a century after the Reformation, Jesuit missionaries in Canada began to use paintings and engravings in teaching Christianity to the Hurons, Iroquois, and Montagnais. Jesuit missionaries, unlike their Protestant counterparts, believed that the Christian message could be put into images. Catholics also felt that images were not only expressions of faith in God but also potential teaching instruments of that faith.²

Father Jean Pierron, for one, created his own designs in the 1660s, focusing on depictions of Hell and Heaven. These works made a great impression on the Iroquois among whom he worked. He found that they soon began to listen to his teachings more attentively after viewing a depiction of a Hell where non-believing Aborigines were shown damned to eternal torture by a variety of demons.³ Pierron, moreover, invented a game called "From Point to Point", which was composed of Christian symbols representing the seven sacraments, ten commandments, seven deadly sins, and other basic tenets of Catholicism. This pictorial catechism showed the road from birth to eternity in two paths. One path would lead a person to Hell and the other would guide its follower to Heaven. Pierron's intent was to have "From Point to Point" printed so that it

would be available for widespread use.⁴ His invention seems to be a precursor of later innovations, such as the Catholic ladder and *Catechisme en Images*.

Father de Lamberville, also a Jesuit, brought Christian images with him from France for teaching the Iroquois in the 1680s. Again, these pictures often featured European versions of *Heaven*, *Hell*, and *The Final Judgement*.⁵ A third missionary working in New France who used visuals to instruct Indigenous peoples was Father Claude Chauchetière. Like other Jesuit missionaries, Chauchetière specialized in drawing the tortures of Hell, based on a European reproduction, hoping to sway people to convert lest they burn for eternity.⁶

Nearly two centuries later, Catholic missionaries in Canada's Northwest continued to disperse Euro-Christian images amongst Aboriginal peoples. In 1860, at Fort MacPherson, Father Henri Grollier gave an Inuit camp leader a picture of the crucified Christ and a Loucheux camp leader a picture of "our blessed Lady", each with Latin inscriptions.⁷ A decade later, the Catholic ladder—invented earlier in the century by Father François-Norbert Blanchet—was refined by Oblate missionary Albert Lacombe. "Lacombe's ladder", as it came to be known among Catholic missionaries of the Northwest and Arctic, was used for teaching Christian doctrine in a clear manner. It graphically represented "the human being's progressive peregrination towards salvation, from the time of creation." A standard tool in evangelizing Indigenous peoples of Western and Northern Canada, "Lacombe's ladder included the innovation that the story of salvation was presented in two paths, good and evil."⁸

Catholic medals and pictures of saints central to the Christian faith flowed from the hands of Oblate missionaries to potential Inuit converts throughout this century. The image of the crucifixion is one that Inuit saw early on when they encountered a Roman Catholic priest. Oblate Fathers always wore a large cross with Christ's body splayed upon it. The cross was either partially tucked into the sash of their cassock when indoors, or hung loosely outside their fur parkas while travelling. While Oblates gave Inuit crosses, other popular images included depictions of *Christ of the Sacred Heart*, *Saint Theresa* (patron saint of missions), and various renderings of the Virgin Mary. Just before his death in 1913, Father Rouvière gave some Copper Inuit medals of the Virgin which, he said, they seemed "delighted to have".⁹ Having been little exposed to Christianity, though, these Inuit may have viewed the medals as decorative jewellery or even as amulets.

In fact, syncretic readings of Christian images did occur when Indigenous peoples of Québec were first exposed to crosses and depictions of Christian saints. In the 1630s, some Algonkiens and Hurons viewed religious pictures as amulets that the priests used to cause harm to the Native people.¹⁰ It was as a result of such syncretic interpretations that Jesuit missionaries began to control the distribution of images and insist upon the "proper" interpretation of their iconography.¹¹

Perhaps aware of the situation faced by the Jesuits three centuries earlier, Bishop Turquetil tried to be careful to avoid "the heedless distribution of holy pictures and medals other than those of Our Lord or Our Lady of Carmel" in order to prevent their

being used “superstitiously” by the Inuit.¹² Oblate biographer Charles Choque points to similar concerns. He notes that, when praying in their igloos, Inuit recited their daily prayers,

before a crucifix and an image of the Sacred Heart positioned on the interior wall of snow, in full view. Every Christian wears the scapular medal. However we scrupulously avoid distributing a whole array of religious articles to the faithful for fear of adulterating their Christian faith and fostering a revival of their former superstitions.¹³

When missionaries arrived in the Arctic, one of the most important tools they brought along was their prayer books. At first, missionaries used the spoken word and physical gestures to disseminate information about the Christian faith. However, they soon gained a more thorough understanding of the Inuit language, which enabled them to produce prayer books in syllabics. Catholic missionaries included depictions of saints and biblical scenes to accompany these prayer books. Conventional representations of Christ and Saint Theresa can be found in the first illustrated prayer book produced by the Oblates for use by Inuit in the Keewatin and Kitikmeot. Published in 1934, the prayer book contained several black and white illustrations of paintings and drawings in the Euro-Christian style, including the *Stations of the Cross*, *Christ of the Sacred Heart* (**fig. 17**), and *Saint Theresa* (**fig. 18**).¹⁴ A photograph of Bishop Arsène Turquetil (**fig. 19**) is the frontispiece for this volume. A second prayer book was made available in the Central Canadian Arctic in 1957, containing illustrations similar to those in the 1934 *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimau*. The images are again Euro-Christian in nature, and *Christ of the Sacred Heart* remains prominent (**fig. 20**), as does *Saint*

Theresa. This prayer book also features a depiction of the *Resurrection* (**fig. 21**), an image which showed Inuit how Europeans conceived of angels.¹⁵

In order to control the interpretation of Christian images given to Inuit, the Oblates took the time to explain the new iconography. Some missionaries would even make their own sketches to elucidate events described in the *Bible*. A 1932 photograph from the Resource Centre of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay shows Father Alain Kermel teaching picture catechism to two Inuit girls in Arviat (**fig. 22**). Former missionary to Inuit of the Central Canadian Arctic, André Goussaert, also recalled that Father Bernard Fransen often made sketches of a Christian theme when he was teaching catechism, even depicting the Virgin Mary with an Inuk face.¹⁶ Equally common visual tools utilized in evangelization of Inuit from the Keewatin and Kitikmeot were Lacombe's Catholic ladder and *Catechisme en Images*. Father Joseph Buliard hung Lacombe's catechetical chart inside his mission outpost at Garry Lake in 1949. Father Charles Choque describes what could be seen:

Down the ages, retracing the mysteries of Christ and his Church, Good and Evil wind up their two separate ways till they reach the hereafter: hell, where in a scorching fire two serpents keep vigil on the wicked; heaven, place of glory where among the angels, in a brilliant light, with Jesus and Mary at the feet of the Sovereign Trinity, the Saints enjoy an eternity of happiness.¹⁷

At Gjoa Haven, Father Pierre Henry also taught catechism daily with the help of the Catholic ladder.¹⁸ He was, in fact, an avid fan of employing visuals as teaching tools. In 1952, he reported using *Catechisme en Images*, a series of charts illustrating the *Bible* and major tenets of the Christian faith.¹⁹ It was used to teach both adults and children.

Father Arthur Thibert translated the French explanatory text which faces each illustration into Inuktitut syllabics in 1956 in order to better accommodate the needs of the Inuit. The result was *Catechisme en Images—Ayokertuserk—Illustrated Catechism*.²⁰ Thibert, however, made no changes to the images themselves. European-based illustrations in this book depict the *Trinity*, *Creation*, *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, *Redemption*, *Resurrection*, *Ascension*, *Final Judgement*, *Heaven*, *Hell*, *Seven Sacraments*, *Ten Commandments*, and the *Seven Deadly Sins*, to name a few.

These pictures probably made a big impression upon those being taught. God is depicted in the *Trinity* as a large, robed man with grey hair and beard, the Holy Spirit is a dove, and Christ is a young, bearded man wearing a cloth around his waist with a circular halo behind his head and a crown of thorns (fig. 23). In the *Nativity*, haloes again appear behind the faces of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, while angels are rendered as robed figures with wings, and cows are shown. The *Redemption* features Christ and two others nailed to large wooden crosses, while three figures kneel below, and Jesus wears a crown of thorns. Heaven includes many more robed and winged people as well as faces of cherubs with wings, all living among the clouds in the sky. Perhaps one of the most dramatic pictures in this book is the depiction of *Hell* (fig. 24). Satan is figured as a dark, winged human with horns, holding a trident. His attendants are similarly shown.

Another means of introducing Inuit to Christianity was the periodical *Inungnut Tamênut*, published by the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay from 1941 until 1968. Most of this magazine was printed in syllabics and it contained biblical narratives

and Church history, as well as information on Euro-Canadian society.²¹ *Inungnut Tamênut* also featured illustrations to accompany Christian stories and other pictures. An appendage to the Genesis story, for example, shows the serpent who tempts Eve in the Garden. The figure is a half-human, half-snake creature with horns atop its head. *Christ of the Sacred Heart*, similar to those in early Catholic prayer books, appears in another illustration. A halo of light surrounds his bearded face and long, wavy hair, while he shows viewers the wounds of the Crucifixion on his hands (**fig. 25**).

Thus far, Christian images presented to Inuit involved the introduction of a foreign iconography, one whose central figures were Caucasian, lived in a remote land, and wore clothing highly unsuitable for an Arctic climate. The Oblates, nevertheless, did attempt to indigenize some representations of Christianity to try to make them more applicable to the Inuit. Thibert's 1934 prayer book featured a drawing of a church next to igloos in an Arctic landscape (**fig. 26**). In the 1957 prayer book, Fafard included an illustration to accompany the "Prayer for the newly baptized".²² In this drawing, an Inuit woman wearing a cape-like parka holds a parka-hooded child on a cradle board. The cradle board signifies that the intended audience included Dené and other First Nations parishioners, as well as Inuit.

Inungnut Tamênut also featured several images which might make Christianity more relevant for Inuit. The front cover of the periodical, in fact, featured a family in an igloo seated on a sleeping bench. The father holds an open *Bible* and, above the trio, attached to the igloo wall, is a crucifix flanked by pictures of the Virgin Mary and Jesus (**fig. 27**).

A second sketch modifies the traditional Euro-Christian message of God watching over all of His creatures. Here, although God remains a Caucasian, bearded, and robed personage, He looks down upon Arctic animals of land and sea. Hare, fox, dog, seal, caribou, polar bear, walrus, whale, fish, and bird all appear below (**fig. 28**). Two examples of the Virgin Mary address the issue of adapting Christian iconography for the North. In the first, the Virgin is qallunaat and wears long, flowing robes and hovers above an Arctic winter camp, while a church can be seen in the distance.²³ A second drawing depicts the *Madonna and Child* as an Inuit mother and child. Mary wears an amauti with a skirt, while Christ is dressed in a parka. Both have haloes behind their heads (**fig. 29**).

Although visual imagery has historically been more integral to the Catholic tradition, a few Anglican missionaries did expose Inuit to Christian images. While pictures do not appear in early Anglican prayer books,²⁴ other means were occasionally used to introduce potential converts to visual renderings of Christian themes. Most often this occurred in catechism class, during the early stages of learning about the new religion. In 1895, at his Blacklead Island mission, Reverend Peck held a lantern show using slides that depicted scenes from the Lord's life on earth.²⁵ Fifteen years later, at Kimmirut, Fleming taught Sunday school using picture rolls he had obtained from Europe. He also used New Testament pictures to instruct Inuit in far-off camps.²⁶

In the Keewatin, Reverend James prepared for his first trip to Baker Lake by purchasing Sunday School picture rolls in England.²⁷ In the 1940s, Archdeacon Marsh

advised incoming Arctic missionaries on teaching children. Marsh suggested that ministers read Inuit youngsters a parable or a passage from the New Testament and, with the aid of pictures or picture-stamps, explain the story by showing them the identity of characters on the stamp. The children would affix the stamps to a book and write the *Biblical* passage which described the scene. When the youth left the mission post for the winter, they took their stamp books with them and continued to study with their parents. In this way, both young and old were exposed to visual representations of Christian saints and narratives.²⁸

At a 1961 Anglican Synod meeting of both qallunaat and Inuit delegates from the Arctic, methods of evangelization were discussed. Reverend Whitbread of Taloyoak suggested the use of biblical pictures. Whitbread received the support of catechist Noah Nasook, who stated that he often taught using images and felt that his people would better understand the Christian message by this means.²⁹ Reverend Marlow put these findings into practice by providing syllabic text to accompany two illustrated biblical parables. Pictures for *The Lost Coin* and *The Good Shepherd*, however, were taken from a book originally written in English and are Euro-Christian in nature.³⁰

Alan Whitton, Anglican missionary at Baker Lake from 1963 until 1972, stated that a comic strip version of the *Bible*, written in English, was widely distributed across the Arctic and exposed many Inuit to Christian iconography.³¹ Finally, members of the Anglican Church women's group in Kimmirut reported that they read the *Bible* and

sometimes looked at Christian pictures with the missionary's wife, who explained their meaning.³²

In concluding this section it is appropriate to consider the impression such imagery made upon Inuit viewers. At Pelly Bay, Oblate Father Van de Velde encouraged learning with images. When asked to depict the difference between a diligent and a lazy Inuit child, two Inuit youths made pictures based upon the idea that people should wake up early in order to attend daily Mass. Both sketches contain Christian iconography. Salome Umbidjak's drawing shows a girl still asleep in the igloo while a clock indicates that the time is ten a.m. The picture includes two devils at the top and they have horns atop their heads, just like those in *Catechisme en Images*. A second sketch by Romani Amajorluk shows a girl rising out of bed while a clock reads seven forty. On the wall of this igloo is an image of the Madonna and Child. In addition, an angel with wings in a flowing gown helps wake the girl, while a dark, winged devil is at bay in the corner.³³ Again, this drawing shows knowledge of iconography contained in Euro-Christian images that Arctic missionaries distributed among their parishioners, young and old.

The comments of Arctic Christian Fellowship founder Armand Tagoona are also an illuminating reaction to the sight of Christian imagery. Tagoona remembers visiting the black-robed, long-bearded Oblate priests as a child in Repulse Bay:

In their house and in the church there were many things that captivated me, pictures and drawings of heavenly people. Or at least that is what I thought they were. There were also pictures of fire, in that place *tuungraaluk* [his italics] where the great evil one is king. He lived in the fire yet he did not burn or catch fire. But his poor people were suffering as they dropped down into the fire. These pictures became alive before

my eyes. When I looked away they stayed in my mind for a long time after. In fact they are still in my mind after some 40 years.³⁴

In the eyes of some Inuit, at least, Christian images were often associated with two extremes: absolute good (depictions of heaven, saints, and angels) and absolute evil (depictions of hell, Satan, and his attendants). This interpretation is probably related to the forceful style of preaching that some Arctic missionaries employed among their congregations. That the oppositions of good and evil stood out in the minds of Arctic peoples is also a testament to the success of the use of visuals such as Lacombe's Catholic Ladder and *Catechisme en Images*.

Church Decoration in the North

The second way in which missionaries have affected the production of Inuit art involves church decoration. At first, only Catholic Churches in the Arctic contained images. When Inuit began to come to mission posts from their outlying camps in order to take part in major Christian celebrations, they would have seen depictions of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and other saints in Catholic Churches. In Canada's Northwest in the mid-to late-nineteenth century, the names of Fathers Emile Grouard and Emile Petitot were synonymous with Catholic Church decoration. Petitot painted religious scenes on canvas for the church at Good Hope from 1866-1867 in a Euro-Christian style.³⁵ Grouard painted murals in many churches of the Northwest. At one mission, he even painted Calvary scenes on a large moose skin.³⁶

Images were important features of Catholic Churches in the Central Canadian Arctic Arctic as well. Longtime resident of Taloyoak, Ernie Lyall has written: “The Catholic Churches were impressive inside, real impressive, they had their crosses and pictures of Christ and this sort of thing, and the services were held in Eskimo and Latin.”³⁷ At Chesterfield Inlet, Our Lady of Deliverance featured the Stations of the Cross in 1915.³⁸ In 1934, Father Lionel Ducharme noted that the new mission at Repulse Bay contained two paintings created by Father Etienne Bazin.³⁹

Another Oblate missionary who was artistically gifted initiated an ambitious program of decoration for three churches. To complement the statue of Saint Theresa at the Catholic Church in Arviat, Father Lucien Schneider painted a large mural in 1940 (figs. 30, 31).⁴⁰ A flat Arctic winter landscape is presented, and darkness surrounds an isolated camp as Inuit turn to the light radiating from the centre of the painting. To the left are two hunters, each sitting atop a qaumutik pulled by huskies. At the right, from foreground to background, are an Inuk with a child in her amauti, a qaumutik, a man beside two igloos, and some children. Both the male hunters and the mother and child face the light.

The darkness in this work symbolizes the life of the people before they received the Christian message, while the light literally represents Jesus (the syllabics in the centre of the painting read “Jisosee”), as well as the love of God and the wonders of the Christian faith. It is not coincidental that this painting was rendered at a time when the Diocese’s bishop, Marc Lacroix, declared his motto “From Darkness to Light.”⁴¹ In fact, the

syllabics below the mural read: “Let all Inuit turn to Christ, the light of the World.”⁴²

Indeed, many Arctic missionaries felt it was their duty to lift Inuit out of the “darkness of paganism” and shatter their ignorance of the “one true faith”. This painting can be seen as part of a program to convince Inuit that they needed to be enlightened.

The use of the analogy of darkness and light is important in another way. The Inuit lived in an environment where the reappearance of the sun marked the end of a long, dark winter and anticipated the coming of the season of increased outdoor activity. Traditionally, moreover, coastal Inuit marked the beginning of every dark winter with celebrations devoted to Sedna, goddess of the sea, in the hopes of having a plentiful hunting season.⁴³

It seems that, despite Schneider’s European drawing conventions (one point linear perspective, modelling, and shading) and materials, the artist made a serious attempt at adapting Christian iconography to a Northern context. Even the winged cherubs flanking the niche which holds the sculpture of Saint Theresa, have the facial features of Inuit children.

A second mural was created at Churchill’s Holy Canadian Martyrs’ Cathedral in the 1940s. With text in syllabics, English, and Latin reading “Go Teach Ye All Nations”, this painting has an evangelical theme (**fig. 32**).⁴⁴ The scene is dominated by Christ and his disciples and is set on a rocky outcrop. The saintly figures are clothed in flowing robes, wear sandals upon their feet and scarves about their heads. Christ is similarly dressed and raises his arms to speak to his eager followers. To the left and right of this

main image are two Inuuk driving qaumutiik led by dog teams in a snowy landscape towards the light which radiates from Christ. Although the artist has included an Arctic presence in this picture, it is Christ and his apostles who take centre stage. Schneider has also made it clear that Jesus and the evangelists are not ancestors of the Inuit. In fact, their facial features are rather European, thus suggesting them to be progenitors of the Oblate Fathers themselves.

This interpretation is even more applicable to a smaller painting located in the church at Gjoa Haven. The main motif of Jesus and the disciples is nearly an exact copy of that at Churchill (**fig. 33**).⁴⁵ The syllabics at the bottom read “Go Teach Ye All Nations”, while those at the top say “In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit”. The text at left and right state “To teach them” and “To rejoice”, respectively.⁴⁶ Billowing clouds surround this central scene, suggesting its ethereal nature. To the lower left, a hand (that of an Oblate missionary) holds a cross with Christ’s body crucified upon it. At the lower right, an Inuk wearing a caribou skin parka has his eyes closed and holds the hair off his forehead in order to be baptized or blessed by the hand above. A strong connection is made between the original apostles and the Arctic Oblates of the twentieth century. It is they who hold the key to knowledge of Christianity and are able to provide Inuit with salvation through the sacrament of baptism. In this artist’s Christian iconographical program, the Inuk is shown as a somewhat passive follower.

While travelling from Pelly Bay to build an outpost at Thom Bay in 1948, Father Pierre Henry placed the image of *Our Lady of Perpetual Help* on the lead dog sled. He

demanding that his Inuit travelling party “kneel at the feet of Our Lady to sing her praises and recite a decade or two of the rosary”.⁴⁷ Upon arrival at the site, Mary’s portrait was solemnly carried to the spot where the mission house would be built and the dwelling was dedicated to her. The image, finally, was placed permanently inside the church.⁴⁸ Nine years later at his mission in Gjoa Haven, Father Henry decorated the church with images of *Christ of the Sacred Heart* and *Our Lady*.⁴⁹

The Catholic Church at Pelly Bay was not without decoration. The family of the priest in charge of the Virgin of the Poor Mission arranged for sculptures to be sent to this community on two occasions. In 1959, Father Franz Van de Velde’s Belgian cousin, Martha Caudron, created two small statues of the Virgin Mary. One of these was described by Van de Velde as an “Eskimo Virgin”, and was placed in a niche at the church. At the same time, the Oblate was sent a large, framed image of the Virgin of the Poor.⁵⁰ Van de Velde’s mother, brother, sisters, and extended family provided partial funding for a statue of the *Virgin of the Poor*, which arrived at Pelly Bay in 1962. The sculpture was made of imitation stone and featured a silver and gold rosary on her sash.⁵¹

Edmund Carpenter made an astute comment in his book *Eskimo Realities* in regard to early Arctic Church decoration created by non-Inuit, after a trip to Coral Harbour:

Behind the altar in the Catholic mission there is a religious painting with three-dimensional perspective which depicts a single moment in time and can be accurately seen only from the single position of the kneeling worshipper. As far as I know, this represents the first contact the Aivilik had with a composition done in linear perspective. It involved an extreme break with their traditional conception of space and introduced the artistic counterpart of the modern notion of individualism, every element being now related to the unique point of view of the individual at a given moment.⁵²

Carpenter recognizes that not only were paintings of Christian themes among the earliest visual images Inuit may have seen, but that those same pictures introduced their Inuit viewers to a means of mimicking reality very different from anything they had witnessed before.

Until quite recently, most church decoration was created by non-Inuit. By the early 1960s, however, Inuit congregations began to take a more active role in church decor as they began to settle permanently in Northern communities. Jean Blodgett points to the significance of Arctic church adornment when she says that, “[r]eligious art is one of the few types of contemporary art that the Inuit make for themselves and keep in the North.”⁵³ Certainly this makes it worthy of further consideration by historians of Inuit art.

The first wall hangings produced by Inuit began to appear in Catholic Churches across the Arctic, often at the request of Oblate priests. An extensive decorative program, for instance, was initiated in 1962 by Oblate Father Maurice Metayer at Kugluktuk in the Western Arctic. Mary Uyaraktek of Holman Island executed the design suggested by her parish priest, Father Henri Tardy, for Our Lady of the Lights’ altar cloth. *The Last Supper* is shown in a seal skin appliqué hanging (**fig. 34**).⁵⁴ Using darker fur for the background and silvery-beige fur for figural elements, the piece represents a combination of material native to the North and foreign iconography. The technique is akin to that used by Inuit women in sewing traditional skin clothing, although the style is influenced by western modes of representation, including the use of overlap to suggest depth. The

appearance of the figures, moreover, is foreign to Arctic reality. The men are Caucasian and bearded, wear long gowns and scarves around their heads.

The second part of the decoration for Kugluktuk's Catholic Church is the *Stations of the Cross*. These too were made by Uyaraktek of neighbouring Holman Island, using seal skin appliqué (**fig. 35**).⁵⁵ Again, these images represent dual influences in relation to medium, iconography, technique, and style.⁵⁶ Although more abstract than the figures of The Last Supper, Uyaraktek's people in the various Stations still wear floor-length robes, and some don scarves. Christ is rendered throughout with a crown of thorns atop his head. He is condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, who is shown seated on a large chair (throne) in the first Station. In the second scene, a soldier brings Jesus his cross. Christ struggles under the weight of the cross, and is depicted falling under this burden in three separate images. Jesus encounters his sorrow-filled mother Mary in one hanging, while Simon of Cyrene helps carry Christ's cross in another. One image features Veronica wiping Christ's face and he is shown speaking to the women of Jerusalem in a different work. Jesus' clothing is removed and he is subsequently nailed to the cross. Two figures accompany Christ in three final scenes: his death on the cross, his removal from the cross, and his entombment.

The third and final element of decorative work for this Catholic Church is a seal skin altar hanging depicting the *Crucifixion* (**fig. 36**).⁵⁷ Although Uyaraktek executed this work without the use of a model, her knowledge of Euro-Christian iconography is readily apparent in this image as well. While Uyaraktek has taken artistic liberty by excluding

the cross from the work, she has shown a bearded Christ wearing a crown of thorns and a loincloth. The nails which were used to attach Jesus to his cross are visible at each hand and at the feet, as is a wound in his torso.

More recently, in the Kitkmeot and Keewatin regions, a variety of church decorations has been created by Inuit and, in some cases, non-Inuit. In Taloyoak, for example, a wool duffle wall hanging rests across the front of the altar (**fig. 37**). The syllabic text on this image reads “Holy Mission, Taloyoak”.⁵⁸ With pieces of felt, members of the community created a scene of many Inuit inside an igloo. At the top, two Inuuk with infants in their amautiit, and two other figures sit on the igloo sleeping platform. Below, a woman cuts up a seal as others look on. Linear perspective and modelling have no place here. An attempt is made, however, to suggest three-dimensionality by overlapping parts of figural forms, a technique applied throughout. Perhaps the general meaning to be found in this image is that of sharing (of food). Behind the altar is a large drawing which says “Happy Easter” at the bottom. Here two Inuit men kneel with hands poised in prayer, both facing a large cross with radiating beams of light. The cross is placed atop an igloo, and the symbols of the Eucharist are included. What appears to be a crown of thorns and two long pointed objects (probably spears) represent Christ’s death upon the cross. The drawing has a delicate balance achieved by the symmetrical design adopted by its maker(s).

In Coral Harbour, a photograph taken in March 1985, reveals decoration much different than Edmund Carpenter described seeing years earlier. Now, seal skin has been

used to cover kneeling benches and the altar (**fig. 38**). The altar frontal contains a reference to the Trinity: a cross is flanked by a fish on either side. The fish are a Euro-Christian symbol for the Trinity, but may also be considered significant to Inuit who depended upon fish as part of their diet. Near the top of the frontal is syllabic text which reads: “For God So Loved the World”.⁵⁹

Although materials indigenous to the North are not used in the large appliquéd scene which hangs behind the altar, depictions of traditional Inuit life are shown. Three doves of peace, representing the Trinity, watch over Inuit involved in various activities. Scenes shown include a hunter shooting at birds with a rifle, a man catching fish in a stone weir, and a man in a qajaq aiming his spear at a walrus. Another man guides his dog team to an igloo, where an additional figure cuts up meat from the hunt. Although the syllabics in the photograph are indecipherable, they may relate to the idea that God will watch over Inuit in everything they do. This relates to the message rendered on the altar frontal, and the iconography of God watching over all of His creatures, including those of the Arctic, appeared in an illustration for *Inungnut Taménut*. (**fig. 28**). Alternately, the imagery used in this wall hanging may point to the idea of God as Provider. This is an important message and provides a point of continuity with earlier beliefs. Considered in the context of traditional Inuit spirituality, coastal Inuit considered Sedna the mother of all sea mammals. She was the provider of abundance for the people of the Arctic, just as God is for Christians.

At Pelly Bay in 1984, a wall hanging was made during a visit to the community by students from Ottawa (**fig. 39**). The syllabics read “Praise God”,⁶⁰ while the images include a cross in the upper-right corner, radiating light. In the middle are some snow caps and an igloo. At the bottom are an Inuit hunter holding a harpoon and a woman wearing an amauti, carrying a child in her amaut. A second Pelly Bay decoration is a temporary mural hung above and behind the church’s altar in December of 1988 (**fig. 40**).⁶¹ Behind a border of holly are the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child flanked by six Inuit, three on either side of the two main figures. One man and a boy hold candles, while another man sings hymns from a prayer book held in front of him. The Inuit wear traditional parkas, while Mary is garbed in a gown and Christ only wears a swaddling cloth. Significantly, Mary and the baby Jesus appear Caucasian. The artist has taken care to imply a difference in ethnicity of the saintly figures and those who are mere humans. In this image, Western drawing techniques are used widely. Although there is little detail overall, the Inuit figures may be portraits of local people.

At Chesterfield Inlet, lay missionary Evelyn Desmarais undertook a visual project which placed images of traditional Inuit culture and Christianity next to one another. Between September 1989 and April 1990, Desmarais created a series of “stained glass” windows for Our Lady of Deliverance, working in co-operation with Inuit from the community. Desmarais completed ten windows which depict scenes from the life of Christ. Smaller panels located directly below the Christian images illustrate elements of traditional Inuit life.⁶²

Desmarais attempted to keep her biblical drawings as simple as possible, to ensure that viewers would find them easy to understand. Some of the Christian themes included were the *Resurrection* (**fig. 41**), *The Last Supper* (**fig. 42**), *The Prodigal Son* (**fig. 43**), *Pentecost* (**fig. 44**), and the *Madonna and Child* (**fig. 45**).⁶³

In addition to the larger biblical tableaux, there are smaller scenes below each window depicting traditional Inuit life. The source for many of these images were sketches executed by Inuit children. Desmarais obtained these from the local school. One example includes a group of Inuit standing at the floe edge, watching a bird and walrus (**fig. 45**). Another shows a hunter travelling across a hilly, snow-covered landscape on a snowmobile, hauling a loaded qaumutik behind him (**fig. 43**). One of these traditional scenes was taken from a painting by Inuit artist Anita Isaaluk. This image shows a man holding a whip, following a loaded sled drawn by two dogs across a snowy landscape (**fig. 41**). Using the same technique as she had for the Christian images, Desmarais first traced the original drawings onto another piece of paper.⁶⁴

For several reasons, Desmarais' project at Chesterfield Inlet is not a serious attempt at indigenized church decoration. The technique used is foreign, as is the appearance of biblical personages. The scenes drawn by local Inuit children, furthermore, do not challenge the superiority of the Euro-Christian milieu in any way: they are much smaller than the biblical windows, and they are quaint representations of Northern life, devoid of any references to traditional Inuit spirituality.

Desmarais was also responsible for some of the church decoration at Repulse Bay, where she used her modified “stained glass” technique to create four windows and a large mural in 1990. The mural, which is based upon a drawing by local artist Illuta (Elizabeth Uluta Angotingoar), depicts an Inuit winter camp (**fig. 46**). More than a dozen Inuit clothed in fur parkas are shown outside an igloo. A dog team and qaumutik is included, as is a qajaq. The entire group looks toward a rolling landscape and the cross in the sky above. Desmarais made some modifications to Illuta’s drawing, the most significant being the inclusion of the cross. This was done because the missionary felt the image should include a symbol of Christianity’s presence.⁶⁵ Indeed, it is the cross which remains the focal point of the painting and dominates the mural.

Illuta participated in the decorative program for Our Lady of the Snows in another way. She painted the Inuit figures which appear, kneeling in prayer, on the front of the columns supporting the church’s altar (**fig. 46**).⁶⁶ One image features a man kneeling with hands held in prayer. The other depicts a woman and child similarly posed. Both man and woman wear traditional fur clothing.

Another effort to blend an element of traditional Inuit life within the Christian atmosphere of this church is evident in the use of a qaumutik as an altar (**fig. 46**). This is potentially significant, and could even be viewed syncretically by a people who used the qaumutik to transport the body and blood of an animal that had sacrificed itself for the survival and well-being of Inuit. Transferred into a Christian Church, the qaumutik acts as a table upon which the symbols of Christ’s body and blood are placed. Bread and

wine represent Jesus' sacrifice for the well-being of humankind. On another level, the presence of the qaumutik also refers to the long journeys traditionally made by Inuit to attend church before they moved permanently into settlements.

One final example of Catholic Church decoration in the Keewatin region is at Rankin Inlet, where the walls of Our Lady of the Cape are decorated with wall hangings of various media. Some of these hangings were made specifically for a diocesan celebration focusing on the Year of the Family in 1994.⁶⁷ When the author visited this church in mid-June of 1995, several wall hangings were on its walls. Two of these hangings present the Christian theme of *Pentecost*, which "commemorates the visitation of the Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit, upon the Apostles, giving them the ability to speak all languages".⁶⁸ The first work depicts a dove within a triangle, a reference to the Holy Spirit and the Trinity (**fig. 47**). The text "Come Holy Spirit" is written above and below this central image. Flames emanate from the dove, signifying the presence of the Holy Spirit and the gift of speaking in tongues.⁶⁹

A second, very colourful wall hanging also refers to the *Pentecost* (**fig. 48**). It shows Christ's twelve apostles in long, hooded robes and holding their hands in prayer. The tear-shaped forms which fall down from above are a reference to the ability of speaking in tongues. The inclusion of these images within an Arctic Church would hold great significance for their parishioners. The teachings of the Pentecost—particularly the apostles' ability to speak in tongues after being filled with the spirit of the Holy Ghost⁷⁰—are strikingly similar to the traditional Inuit belief that shamans spoke a secret

language or spoke in the voice of their spirit helpers.⁷¹ While it is not possible to know how Inuit might interpret the Christian story of the Pentecost, it is feasible that some people could translate the apostles' capacity to "speak in tongues" syncretically with shamanic abilities.

Aside from the two wall hangings discussed above, what is perhaps most striking about the decorative program for this church is the prominence given to a large wood carving of *Christ*, created not by an Inuit sculptor but, rather, by an Italian artist (**fig. 49**).⁷² Placed directly behind the altar, Jesus is shown as a bearded figure with long, wavy hair, dressed in a floor-length robe. His arms are extended in a symbol of love and blessing. It is surprising that the church did not commission a local artist to create a more indigenized rendering of Christ in stone.

Although the Anglican faith has not traditionally supported the depiction of Christian saints, their churches have featured non-figural decorative elements. Such is the case at Aklavik, where All Saints' Cathedral contained decoration imported from the United Kingdom. Two stained glass panels from Saint Paul's Cathedral in England, oak from a four hundred year old Scottish church, and a wooden cross from Canterbury Cathedral were donated to this Arctic church.⁷³

More impressive, however, is the large painting which once hung behind the altar of All Saints' Cathedral (**fig. 50**). Completed in 1939 by Australian artist Violet Teague, this work was a reinterpretation of the Nativity. The painting's genesis came after Teague had listened to Bishop Fleming speak about his Arctic missions in England. She

was inspired and offered to paint *Epiphany in the Snows* for the Diocese of the Arctic's new cathedral. Fleming and Teague's intention was that this picture convey that Christ is "for all people".⁷⁴ In this work, the Madonna and Child wear ermine furs and boots made of hide. The three Magi, seen in many Euro-Christian versions of the Nativity, are here represented by five figures. At the far right is a "Nascope-Cree Indian from the Ungava Peninsula bringing as his offering a live beaver symbolical of the beaver sanctuaries which are so beneficial to the people. Kneeling below him is a HBC man offering white Arctic fox pelts, the results of his labors as a trader." Behind the fur trader stands an RCMP officer dressed in furs while, to the left of Mary and Jesus, are an Inuit couple wearing caribou skin clothing. The man offers a gift of ivory walrus tusks. Animals, so often present in Nativity scenes, are also included here. Two reindeer and two sled dogs replace the beasts of Euro-Christian iconography.⁷⁵ A star shines brightly above the entire scene and, in the background, are an igloo encampment and a snow-covered pine tree. Interestingly, the artist has made the ethnic identity of Mary and the Christ Child ambiguous.

Not long after the painting's installation in 1939, an interesting reaction was elicited from the parishioners of All Saints' Cathedral. Fleming reports that a group of Indians saw the mural and stated that they did not previously believe Indians such as themselves would get to Heaven. The reason they felt this way was because they had never seen a picture about Heaven with an Indian represented in it. Now that they had viewed *Epiphany in the Snows*, they changed their minds about the possibility of their eternal

salvation.⁷⁶ This interpretation of the painting by Aboriginal peoples is important, for it suggests the potential for syncretism to occur in reading unfamiliar visual imagery.

Further decoration at All Saints' Cathedral included the creation of a seal skin altar frontal by the women of Pangnirtung. This is the earliest example of the inclusion of church decoration created by Inuit.⁷⁷ Bishop John R. Sperry would later point out that the use of seal skins by Inuit in decorating Arctic churches is highly appropriate. Seal skin decoration is "uniquely a fitting symbol of a people who throughout their entire history have subsisted from that most prized gift the Lord gave to them for their staple means of life: the seal."⁷⁸ Sperry's interpretation also holds true in the realm of traditional Inuit cultural beliefs, where it is believed that Sedna, mother of all sea mammals, released seals, whales, and walrus to the surface to be hunted successfully by Inuit.

Another example of decoration sponsored by the Anglican Church was that at the Anglican hostel in Inuvik. The walls of Stringer Hall were painted by Erwin C. Flaig with Aboriginal and Inuit hunting scenes, fairytale characters, and biblical stories, such as the Storm at Sea, the Fisher of Men, the Five Wise and Five Foolish Virgins. In the dining hall, a representation of the Miracle of Loaves and Fishes was painted, with the children offering food to the Lord being Inuit and Aboriginals. In the hostel's chapel is a scene behind the altar of First Nations and Inuit children coming to Christ (**fig. 51**).⁷⁹ In this last mural, children wear parkas while Christ is bearded and wears a long robe.

In addition to the altar frontal at All Saints' Cathedral, the Anglican Church encouraged church decoration by other Inuit. At Kugluktuk, a triptych of wall hangings appears behind the altar. Made from caribou fur by the local Anglican Church's Women's Auxiliary, these three hangings form one large scene (**fig. 52**). The central panel shows a bearded Christ standing atop a snowy hill in a long robe, with arms outstretched. Below him is a dog team coming from the left. A panel farther to the left depicts the rest of dog team and an Inuit family on a qaumutik. Another dog team, qaumutik, and family are seen further in the distance, all travelling towards Christ. The right panel shows a close-up view of an Inuit family. All three figures—man, woman, and child—have their backs to the viewer and look towards Christ. Gualtieri has said that this church decoration “showed a certain sensitivity to the unique reality of the people amongst whom the Church ministered.”⁸⁰ While these wall hangings may be considered examples of indigenized church decoration, with Christ placed in an Arctic landscape among Inuit, they also reveal the makers' knowledge of both Euro-Christian iconography and western drawing conventions. The Saviour's posture and style of dress are akin to similar representations seen in European versions of Christian art. Overlapping and the diminution in size of figures intended to be further from the viewer both indicate exposure to western notions of perspective.

In the Keewatin, Henry Isluanik of Arviat made three carvings for the Anglican minister John Marlow, at the time the church was enlarged. The sculptures included a

caribou seated with its legs tucked underneath, a seal on the ice, and a woman wearing an amauti and holding a qulliq, or stone lamp.⁸¹

In 1963 at Baker Lake, Elizabeth Whitton, wife of the Anglican missionary Alan Whitton, encouraged the church's youth group to put together a Nativity scene and interpret it in their own way. The resulting three-dimensional model was created from plaster and depicts Inuit bringing fish to the Madonna and Child, while shepherds present other gifts. The entire scene takes place inside an igloo and everyone, including Mary, wear fur clothing (**fig. 53**).⁸²

On the east coast of Hudson Bay, Saint Edmund's Anglican Church at Kuujjuaraapik features a mural painted by Rupert and Edward Weetaluk. The painting depicts Peter walking on water towards Christ. He is beginning to sink due to frailty of his new-found faith, and reaches out to Christ. Peter is shown as an Inuk in a skin parka, while the other disciples are in a Peterhead boat to the left of the main scene. These latter figures are Cree, Inuit, and qallunaat. The scene takes place in Kuujjuaraapik, as the artists have rendered the local sand dunes, cliffs and houses of the sub-Arctic coast.⁸³ Christ remains Caucasian, bearded, and wears a long gown. The techniques and medium used in this painting reflect those of Euro-Christian art. Linear perspective, modelling, and shading are employed, and oil paints are used.

Completed in 1972, the most extensive church decoration in the Arctic is in Saint Jude's Anglican Cathedral at Iqaluit. A conscious attempt at indigenization was made with respect to the decor of this house of worship. An anonymous writer states:

The aim as to what the Cathedral should house and its furnishing is that it should include and contain as many things as possible pertaining to the life of the Eskimos, past and present. It is not desirable that the building be a museum, but rather that it serve as a reminder to Eskimo and English-speaking alike, of the Eskimo people, their ancestry and skills and the wonderful part they have played in the Church.⁸⁴

The church itself is shaped like an igloo, thus reflecting the traditional winter living space of Inuit. Local Inuit voluntarily constructed the building, including its pews and communion rails.⁸⁵ The latter are actually built to look like two qaumutiik turned on their sides. The pulpit, furthermore, is made of the nose of a sled, with runners pointed upwards (**figs. 54, 55**).⁸⁶

Much of the other decoration in the church was donated by Inuit from across the Arctic. Four woven grass baskets, for example, were given to the cathedral in 1970 by the women of Inukjuak, Nunavik to be used as collection plates.⁸⁷ The two narwhale tusks which are joined to form a cross suspended above the altar were gifts from the people of Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, and Grise Fiord. The base of the cathedral's baptismal font is made from Povungnituk soapstone in the shape of a qulliq. The font's top is a replica of a cooking pot, donated by Anglicans from Inukjuak. Its three supporting narwhale tusks are from the communities that provided the tusks for the large altar cross.⁸⁸

The Holy Table itself is made of wood and is dedicated to Bishop Fleming's memory. Fleming's favourite inscription is carved along the front of the table: "I am the Truth. The Truth shall set you free." Walrus tusks which form the cross on the front of the table

were carved by an Inuk from Kimmirut, the first Arctic mission which Fleming established.⁸⁹

The most prominent and colourful decorative components of Saint Jude's Cathedral are the six wall hangings which hang behind the altar. From left to right, these works were created by the women of Baker Lake, Kugluktuk, Povungnituk, Igloolik, Arviat, and Inukjuak.⁹⁰ Each of the six panels were designed and made by women of the local Angnait Ikayuktiukatauyut, the Inuit equivalent of Anglican Church Women.⁹¹ E. J. Scanlon notes that each wall hanging "intermingles Christian symbolism with imagery that is both specifically Inuit and reflective of humanity as a whole."⁹²

The women responsible for the Kugluktuk wall hanging described their creation (**fig. 54**): "The reason why we chose the picture we put on the curtain—the bird on top is to remind us of the Holy Spirit and the Cross means Jesus Christ died on the Cross for us, and the Crown means He is the King of all. So we must believe in Him and go to Church."⁹³

Participants in the making of the hanging of the Povungnituk panel also explained the symbolism contained within their wall hanging (**fig. 54**). The rainbow represents God's Love, while the flowers refer to the idea that one should grow (like a flower) in one's faith. The dog team above the flowers points to the long trips Inuit once had to make to go to the mission to learn more about Christianity. On the other hand, the tent represents the local place of worship used by Inuit in the summer months (three connected igloos point to the house of prayer used at colder times of the year). The cross is a symbol of

Jesus' death on the cross for all of humanity, including Inuit. The clothing shows what Inuit wore on the long journeys to the Anglican mission, while the animals remind viewers that Inuit used to hunt for a living, sometimes without success.⁹⁴

Women from Igloolik were the final collective to discuss their iconography (**fig. 55**). The cross is at the top of the wall hanging because you can see it clearly on the exterior of every church. It reminds people that Jesus died on the cross and that He is the Saviour. The rainbow urges viewers to remember God's covenant with Noah, while the different animals show that God created everything. People from different places are shown wearing different styles of clothing to suggest that God placed His servants throughout the world. A dog team is included as a symbol of the arrival of a missionary in a winter camp. Missionaries introduced the concept of shaking hands in greeting, so two people are pictured engaged in this new custom. This scene also suggests that Inuit themselves brought the good news to others as well. A summer camp is featured below and represents the time when Inuit were beginning to believe in Christianity.⁹⁵

The examples of Catholic and Anglican Church decoration reflect increasing attempts to indigenize church adornment across the Canadian Arctic. It does seem, however, that Catholic missionary personnel have maintained greater control over Christian iconography, even in recent times. The Anglican Church, on the other hand, has allowed Inuit greater participation in the decoration of their churches. The massive effort which Inuit put into the decorative program at Iqaluit in the early-1970s is surely a testament to their support of a relatively new-found faith.

In presenting Christian imagery to Inuit, Arctic missionaries first relied heavily upon the Euro-Christian iconography with which they were most familiar. When first exposed to this new visual culture, a few Inuit syncretized religious pictures, medals, and crosses, interpreting them as amulets. Historically, both Anglican and Catholic missionaries have made only a few, half-hearted attempts to indigenize the visuals they used for teaching Inuit about Christianity. More examples of indigenization, however, surface when discussing church decoration. Despite (and, perhaps, because of) their lack of a strong visual tradition, the Anglican Church seems to have allowed Inuit a greater participation in church adornment than has the Catholic faith. Although it seems that some contemporary, indigenized church decoration has syncretic potential—for example, the use of the qaumutik as an altar, or the Pentecost wall hangings at Rankin Inlet—proof of syncretic readings by Inuit of these elements of church interiors has been left unexplored. Perhaps future research, particularly interviews with Inuit congregations who attend the churches described above, would elicit more information on this question. Nonetheless, by asking Inuit artists to create church decorations, by utilizing materials indigenous to the North in Arctic churches, and by including objects that have important traditional significance for Inuit in houses of worship, several Northern churches reflect the art and culture of the people to whom they minister.

Endnotes

¹ Former Oblate, André Goussaert, feels that many Christian images created by Inuit artists were based upon illustrations in prayer books that they owned. André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. This issue will be dealt with more directly in Chapter Four.

² François-Marc Gagnon, *La Conversion Par L'image: Un aspect de la mission des jésuites auprès des indiens du Canada au XVII^e siècle* (Toronto: Division des Sites Historiques du ministère des Affaires culturelles et de Loisirs, 1975), 14, 100. Jesuits left images and crosses with the Indians as early as 1610. Gagnon, 15.

³ Gagnon, 66. On the other hand, Pierron's *Heaven* featured Aboriginal people who had received baptism.

⁴ Gagnon, 74-75. Pierron invented "From Point to Point" around 1669.

⁵ Gagnon, 81-82.

⁶ Gagnon, 83 and 87. Chauchetière worked among the people of present-day Caughnawaga, Québec from 1677 until 1686. Gagnon, 83. Gagnon notes that the most important images used by Jesuits were eschatological, particularly pictures which depicted a damned man. Renderings of the Final Judgement were also extremely popular. Next in importance were visuals that reflected a christological theme and, finally, mariological images. Gagnon, 44. As noted earlier in this chapter, depictions of Hell and the Final Judgement were also an important part of the early visual teachings of Oblate missionaries working in the Central Canadian Arctic.

⁷ Duchaussois, 271-272.

⁸ Choquette, 195. The Catholic ladder was invented by Blanchet in 1838, while Lacombe's version was created in 1874.

⁹ Duchaussois, 311. Examples of missionaries giving pictures of saints to Inuit in the Keewatin and Kitikmeot follow. At Christmas, 1952 in Pelly Bay, every Catholic Inuit family was given an image of the Virgin. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C3, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus, Volume 3 (1951-1953), 536 (entry dated December 26, 1952). Representations of Saint Theresa were especially common among Inuit of the Keewatin. In 1934, Teresikuluk Niakrogluk held a picture of this saint to comfort her while suffering a painful death near Chesterfield Inlet. Fafard, *Flower*, 37.

¹⁰ Gagnon, 27, 31, 34. Catholic religious personnel may have actually facilitated such views. For example, young Aboriginal students taught by the Ursuline nuns believed that images of the Virgin Mary and Jesus would protect them from *Manitou* whom, they had been taught, was evil. Gagnon, 53.

¹¹ Gagnon, 105.

¹² Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 10. Turquetil's stance may also have been prompted by the fact that some Inuit in the Central Canadian Arctic did view Christian images syncretically. See Chapter two above for examples of Inuit who considered crosses, pictures, and prayer books to be amulets.

¹³ Choque, *Kajualuk*, 114. Also see Robert Lechat, o.m.i., "Christianization of the Inuit", *Eskimo*, New series number 8 (Fall-Winter 1974-75), 16.

¹⁴ Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimaux*, 1934. This prayer book was intended for both catechumens and baptized Catholic Inuit to use at church or in their igloos. Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 10.

¹⁵ Eugene Fafard, o.m.i., *Prières et Cantiques en Esquimaux* (Ottawa: Institut de missiologie de l'université d'Ottawa, 1957). The illustration of Saint Theresa is identical to that in the 1934 prayer book. A more recent Catholic prayer book merely contains simple line drawings, although the figures remain distinct from Arctic realities. People wear sandals and long, flowing gowns. Théophile Didier, o.m.i., *The Holy Bible: A New Covenant* (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1983). The illustrations of Christ in both Thibert's and Fafard's prayer books show that the priests had established that Jesus was to be seen as bearded qallunaat with long, wavy locks, a cleft chin, and a strong, pointed nose.

¹⁶ André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. Although the image Father Kermel is demonstrating is not visible in the photograph, the method of instruction is still of interest.

¹⁷ Choque, *Joseph Buliard*, 166. Choque writes that, in 1943 while on a trip to visit people in outlying camps, Buliard explained an illustrated catechism to a group of Back River Inuit. However, it is not mentioned whether Buliard was using Lacombe's ladder, *Catechisme en Images*, or even a picture catechism of his own design. Choque, *Joseph Buliard*, 78. While at Tavani (a now-abandoned community near Whale Cove) from 1941-1943, Father Lucien Schneider also used images to explicate concepts of the Christian faith. He kept a picture catechism on a table at the mission. Lucien Schneider, o.m.i., "Life at Tavani Forty Years Ago," *Eskimo*, New series number 26 (Fall/Winter 1983-84), 13.

¹⁸ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56R155, Armand Clabaut, o.m.i., "King William Island", n.d.

¹⁹ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Pierre Henry Personal Files, HEB7521.P62C119, Pierre Henry, o.m.i., "Codex de Gjoa Haven (1951-1967)", 1951-1971, 4.

²⁰ Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Catechisme en Images Ayokertuserk—Illustrated Catechism* [Based on the French edition: *Catechisme en Images* published by Maison de la Bonne Presse, Paris] (Ottawa: Institut de Missiologie de l'université d'Ottawa, 1956). The original *Catechisme en Images* was used widely. Jesuit Father Bellarmin Lafortune, for example, used it while teaching the people of Bering Strait, Alaska about Christianity in the first half of the twentieth century. Lafortune was convinced that when catechumens could explain each of the pictures, they knew their catechism thoroughly. Louis L. Renner, s.j., "The 'Little Father' of the Eskimos: Father Bellarmin Lafortune, s.j.," *Eskimo*, New series number 17 (Spring-Summer 1979), 10. The illustration for the Resurrection in Thibert's *Catechisme en Images* is the same as that featured in Fafard's 1957 prayer book. For illustrations of the *Nativity*, the *Redemption*, and *Heaven*, see Thibert, *Catechisme en Images*, 11, 13, 35.

²¹ Distributed to potential converts and baptized Catholic Inuit, *Imungnut Tamêmut* first appeared only once per year or once every two years. By the mid-1950s, a new magazine was printed up to twice a year. *Imungnut Tamêmut* included reports on scientific discoveries, lessons in basic arithmetic, reports on

residential schools, news of the North, and yearly calendars. The periodical can be found at Archives Deschâtelets. For an illustration of the Genesis story mentioned below, see *Imungnut Tamêmut*, Number 2 (1942), 14.

²² See Fafard, *Prières*, 230.

²³ See *Imungnut Tamêmut*, Number 4 (1944), 36.

²⁴ None of the four following Anglican prayer books, published for use among the Inuit, contain illustrations. Rev. E. J. Peck, *The Four Gospels Translated into the Language of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1897); Rev. E. J. Peck, *Hymns, Addresses, Etc. for the Use of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Land*, Hymns by Rev. W. G. Walton (London: The Church Missionary Society, 1908); *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, Translated into Baffin Land Eskimo (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1920); Rev. E. J. Peck, Rev. W. G. Walton, Canon J. H. Turner, and other missionaries, *Portions of the Book of Common Prayer Together with Addresses, Hymns and Choruses in Eskimo (Eastern Arctic Dialect)* (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, 1950). Anglican missionary Alan Whitton added that prayer books and *Bibles* still had no illustrations when he served the people of Baker Lake from 1963 until 1972. Reverend Alan Whitton, telephone interview, 13 November 1996.

²⁵ Lewis, 245.

²⁶ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 83; Fleming, *Dwellers in Arctic Night*, 133.

²⁷ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 6, Series 1, number 3, Reverend William John Rundle James to Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, 26 May 1926.

²⁸ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 16, Series 5-1, number 64, Archdeacon Donald Ben Marsh, "Notes for New Workers", n.d., 7. Marsh wrote this pamphlet while he was an archdeacon, a post he held throughout the 1940s before becoming the second Anglican Bishop of the Arctic in 1950. See Canon A. R. Kelley and Rev. D. B. Rogers, *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada*, Volume II (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1961), 117.

²⁹ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Box 2, Series 1, number 1h (folder 5), "Methods of Evangelism", in "Appendices of the Journal of the First Synod of the Diocese of the Arctic, Anglican Church of Canada, Held in All Saints Cathedral Hall, Aklavik, N. W. T., April 9-23, 1961", n.p.

³⁰ Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 22, Series 6-1, number 6, Reverend John Marlowe, "The Lost Coin", Illustrated biblical parable with accompanying text in syllabics, n.d. [1960s]; Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, M71-4, Box 22, Series 6-1, number 6, Reverend John Marlowe, "The Good Shepherd: The Story of the Lost Sheep", Illustrated biblical parable with accompanying text in syllabics, n.d. [1960s]. In the 1960s, Reverend Marlow served the communities of Arviat and, later, Pangnirtung. See "Rev. John Marlow". *The Arctic News*, Spring 1986, 11.

³¹ Reverend Alan Whitton, telephone interview, 13 November 1996. Unfortunately, this author did not come across any issues of this comic strip which Whitton says was published by David C. Cook in Wheaton, Ohio in the 1960s. In a 1979 presentation, former Baker Lake arts advisor, Jack Butler, said that, aside from record covers and comic books, the Sunday School paper was "probably the most influential visual communication in Baker Lake at the moment". Jack Butler, "Baker Lake Art and Artists", in Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, *Eskimo Art in Conference (Excerpts)*, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 4-5 May 1979, 11. Robin McGrath, finally, noted that "Christian missionaries were among the first to see the didactic potential of comics, and comic-book versions of the life of Christ, the Parables and other religious stories circulated all over the North." McGrath also says that, while most comics were written in English, *Pilgrim's Progress* was translated into Inuktitut syllabics with accompanying illustrations by Anglican missionary Maurice Flint. Robin McGrath, "The Influence of Comics on Inuit Art and Literature", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 4, number 1 (Winter 1989), 5. Maurice S. Flint (editor), *Pilgrim's Progress—Takkorngartaub arvertarninga* (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, 1956).

³² Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 75, Series 2, number 3a, "Angnait Ekayokterkateiyut or A. E. The Women Helpers—magazine *Okauit Angnait Pineekatakooogoot* (The Words of Women Helpers), 1967-1972", Easter issue: 1968, n.p.

³³ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB325.C56R29, Press clippings, "Lever sans soleil", *L'Apostolat*, Volume 37, numéro 10 (Octobre 1966), 19. Unfortunately, these drawings are not dated and were not available for illustration in the list of figures. Please consult the above issue and page of *L'Apostolat* for illustrations.

³⁴ Tagoona, *Shadows*, n.p. It is significant that Tagoona uses the word "tuungraaluk" to refer to Hell. "Tuungraaluk" is etymologically derived from the Inuktitut term, "tungrak", which means spirit. The transfer of a word formerly used in the context of Inuit spirituality to a Christian context has syncretic potential. It allows Inuit, moreover, to continue believing in the malevolent forces of the animist religion while still adhering to Christianity. The application of the Inuktitut word for "spirit" to refer to the Devil was previously discussed in Chapter three above.

³⁵ Choquette, 158; Mary Agnes Sutherland (editor), *Souvenir Album, 1820 - 1984: Mackenzie-Fort Smith Diocese* (Fort Smith, N.W.T.: Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith, 1984), 46-47.

³⁶ Duchaussois, 162.

³⁷ Emie Lyall, *An Arctic Man: Sixty-five years in Canada's North* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1979), 84.

³⁸ Devaney, 18. Turquetil may have brought the images with him from overseas shortly before he built the mission in 1912.

³⁹ Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 113.

⁴⁰ In 1925, a large statue of Saint Theresa was donated to Saint Theresa's Catholic Church in Arviat by seminaries from the French Dioceses of Bayeux and Lisieux. Turquetil, "Un Témoin Nous Parle", 223. Two smaller statues have a place in a niche on either side of *Saint Theresa*. The *Virgin Mary* appears to Theresa's right, while *Saint Christopher holding the Christ Child* (patron saint of travellers) stands to the left. Choque points out that the mural was inaugurated in 1940. Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 191. The mural was destroyed by fire in 1972. Lionel Ducharme, o.m.i., "Eskimo Point, January 9: Night of Anguish . . . And Smile from Heaven", *Eskimo*, New series number 3 (Spring-Summer 1972), 10.

⁴¹ Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 9; Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Bishop Omer Robidoux, o.m.i.: 'The Flying Bishop' (1913-1986)", *Eskimo*, New series number 33 (Spring-Summer 1987), 10. Lacroix's predecessor, Arsène Turquetil, had the motto "That they be converted", while his successor, Omer Robidoux, took "May all be one". Lacroix was the second bishop in the history of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, succeeding pioneering missionary Arsène Turquetil in late 1942. Consecrated in early 1943, Lacroix served as bishop for twenty-five years before retiring from his post in 1968. Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Bishop Marc Lacroix, 1906-1976: Bishop of Hudson Bay", *Eskimo*, New series number 13 (Spring-Summer 1977), 9-25.

⁴² *Eskimo*, Volume 26 (September 1952), 8-9.

⁴³ I would like to thank Dr. Marion E. Jackson for initially pointing out to me the potential symbolic importance that this mural might have had to Inuit regarding the change of seasons. For information on winter celebrations related to Sedna, see "Feast of Sedna", *North*, Volume XVI, number 6 (November-December 1969), 13; Franz Boas, *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, Second edition, 1901, 1907 (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 139-141; Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, Second edition, 1888 (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1974), 603-609.

⁴⁴ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Diocese of Churchill, LCB261.C56R1, Press clippings, Guy De Merlis, "Churchill, Village des Contrastes", *Le Droit*, 6 mai 1950, 13. I can only estimate the date at which this mural was created. The Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay lists Schneider as serving in Arviat, circa 1938-1941, and in Churchill, circa 1944-1945. After this time, Schneider moved to the Eastern Arctic. The year 1944 or 1945 then, seems a logical date for the Churchill painting. For a published biography on Schneider, see Guy Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i., "Missionary, Linguist and Grammarian: Father Lucien Schneider, o.m.i.", *Eskimo*, New series number 16 (Fall-Winter 1978-79), 3-6.

⁴⁵ While I have no written evidence to prove that Schneider created this painting, I am quite certain of his authorship. The only difference between the central image at Churchill and Gjoa Haven is that the latter painting includes God and the dove of the Holy Spirit above Christ, a reference to the Trinity. Though this work is undated, former Oblate André Goussaert, feels that the Gjoa Haven mural may have been painted around 1954 or 1955. Goussaert says that the mural was already on the wall when he was posted to Gjoa Haven in 1957. André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. It is possible, however, that Schneider executed the work in the 1940s while stationed at Churchill. Because of its smaller size and portable nature, the painting may have simply been relocated to Gjoa Haven upon the erection of that mission in the 1950s. On a more modest scale, Schneider also painted three small images for the mission at Tavani, where he worked from 1941 until 1943. These depicted Christ, Mary, and another male saint. Schneider, 15.

⁴⁶ Translation courtesy of William Qamukaq, July Papatsie.

⁴⁷ Choque, *Kajualuk*, 151.

⁴⁸ Choque, *Kajualuk*, 151, 153.

⁴⁹ Choque, *Kajualuk*, 199.

⁵⁰ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C7, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 7 (1959-1960), 1132-1134 (entries dated August 18, August 21, and August 22, 1959).

⁵¹ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C9, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 9 (1962-1963), 1512 (entry dated April 18, 1962). The remainder of funding for this sculpture came from members of a European parish. It seems that this work was of a significant size because of the number of people required to fund its creation and subsequent travel from Europe to Pelly Bay.

⁵² Edmund Carpenter, *Eskimo Realities* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), 190. Although Carpenter does not provide the date at which he viewed this particular painting, it is probable that this occurred during the extensive field work he undertook on Southampton Island in 1950. See Jean Blodgett, "Repulse Bay Sculpture", in Winnipeg Art Gallery, *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 36.

⁵³ Jean Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 92. Blodgett, however, does not go into great detail about church decoration in the Arctic.

⁵⁴ Antonio R. Gualtieri, *Christianity and Native Traditions: Indigenization and Syncretism among the Inuit and Dene of the Western Arctic* (Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1984), 66; Mona Cranna, "Eskimo Church of the Arctic", *North*, Volume X, number 5 (September-October 1963), 22; Sutherland, 71. Gaetano Drago mistakenly located the decoration for this church at Inuvik. Gaetano Drago, *Arte Eschimese* (Roma: Editrice Missioni O.M.I., 1964), 138. This error is repeated by Claire Guillemette-Larmirande in "L'art inuit dans la littérature missionnaire oblate", Unpublished research paper presented to the Department of Visual Arts, University of Ottawa. Courtesy of Archives Deschâtelets, 7 April 1982, 25. Drago also errs by listing the artist of the wall hangings as a seventeen year old boy named "Ukaraktek". Drago, 137, 139.

⁵⁵ Gualtieri, 66; Cranna, 22.

⁵⁶ Drago, in fact, felt that these Stations of the Cross lack conviction and reveal the artist's lack of experience with iconography for a such a foreign subject. He notes that the only thing which is "Eskimo" about the works is the technique used. Drago, 140.

⁵⁷ Gualtieri, 66; Cranna, 22; Drago, 139.

⁵⁸ The photograph of the interior of the Roman Catholic church at Taloyoak is dated April 1982. In this and the following three examples of Arctic church decoration, all dates given refer to the time at which the photograph was taken. I have been unsuccessful in identifying the creators of most of these works, despite inquiries to Eskimo Museum curator, Lorraine Brandon. Further research would be helpful in eliciting the identity of the artists involved. Also in this church (not visible in the illustration) is a smaller hanging suspended from the podium beside the altar. This work shows a dove hovering above a cross. Three red flowers grow on the ground to the left of the cross. Finally, there is a memorial to the founder of the Catholic mission at Taloyoak, Father Pierre Henry. His picture appears above a syllabic text devoted to his memory. Translation courtesy of William Qamukaq, July Papatsie.

⁵⁹ Translation courtesy of William Qamukaq, July Papatsie.

⁶⁰ Translation courtesy of William Qamukaq, July Papatsie.

⁶¹ I do not know whether or not the author of this work is Inuit. The confident use of Western drawing techniques suggests either a non-Inuit artist, or an Inuk of a younger generation, more exposed to these graphic conventions.

⁶² Evelyne Desmarais, telephone interview, 9 October 1996. Working with plexiglass, Desmarais first drew the designs on paper, later enlarging the initial cartoons to fit the size of the plexiglass windows. Desmarais then traced the outlines of her sketches onto the back of the plexiglass using black acrylic paint. After the paint had dried, she filled in the spaces using various colours of liquid glass. Finally, the plexiglass design was attached in front of the original church windows, creating an effect not unlike a stained glass window.

⁶³ Evelyne Desmarais, telephone interview, 9 October 1996.

⁶⁴ Although Desmarais tried to get local adults and children to participate in this project by offering to teach people the technique she used, no one was available at the times she was working on the project. Evelyne Desmarais, telephone interview, 9 October 1996.

⁶⁵ Illuta helped Desmarais paint some of the mural. Evelyne Desmarais, telephone interview, 9 October 1996; Father Louis Fournier, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 1 June 1995.

⁶⁶ Evelyne Desmarais, telephone interview, 9 October 1996.

⁶⁷ Lorraine Brandon, "Our Family: A Community of Love, A Diocesan Celebration at Rankin Inlet", *Eskimo*, New series numbers 47-48 (Fall-Winter 1994-95), 28. Brandon says that the wall hangings were created by members of each community that participated in the celebrations. The author of this thesis is uncertain which of the wall hangings in the Catholic Church at Rankin Inlet were made for these purposes and which were created at other times.

⁶⁸ Gertrude Grace Sill, *A Handbook of Christian Symbols* (New York: MacMillan, 1975), 100.

⁶⁹ Sill, 101.

⁷⁰ Acts of the Apostles 2: 1-4, *The Holy Bible*, Revised Standard Version (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Incorporated), 1972.

⁷¹ During a shamanic performance the angakoq summoned his/her helping spirit(s). The helping spirit(s) entered the shaman's body and spoke through him/her. For example, the angakoq barked if the helping spirit was a dog. Jean Blodgett, *The Coming and Going of the Shaman* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1978), 75-76. Also see Asen Balikci, *The Netsilik Eskimo* (Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1970), 226; Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, translation by Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon, 1964), 13, 62, 96.

⁷² The sculpture of *Christ* is approximately five feet in height.

⁷³ George Hunter, "Cathedral of the North", *The Beaver*, Number 284 (December 1953), 39; Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 344.

⁷⁴ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 340-342. It should be noted that the iconography for this painting was developed after a series of consultations between Bishop Fleming and artist Teague. *Epiphany in the Snows* (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic), n.d. The original painting was destroyed by fire in 1974. In 1991, a framed photograph of the painting was presented to All Saints' Church at Aklavik by Wilbert and Pat Papik.

in memory of Wilbert's mother who is buried at Aklavik. The photograph now hangs in the church. "The Epiphany of the Snow Returns to Aklavik", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1991), 9.

⁷⁵ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 342. According to Fleming, the two reindeer point to the significance of the reindeer herds in the Western Arctic.

⁷⁶ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 343. A similar interpretation of church decoration occurred three hundred years earlier at one of the Jesuit missions in Québec. A Montagnais woman wanted to know if her dead husband was pictured in the Hell of a painting of *The Final Judgement* because he had not been baptized before his death. Gagnon, 17.

⁷⁷ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 343; Virginia J. Watt, "The Beginning", in Canadian Guild of Crafts Québec, *Guilde Canadienne Des Metiers D'Art Québec Canadian Guild of Crafts Québec: The Permanent Collection, Inuit Arts and Crafts, c.1900-1980* (Montréal: Canadian Guild of Crafts Québec, 1980), 11; Gualtieri, 56. Gualtieri also acknowledged the use of porcupine quill decoration on caribou skin which appeared on the church's baptismal font. Watt notes that the seal skin altar frontal was completed by 1939. Unfortunately, the author of this thesis was unable to secure a photograph of this seal skin hanging.

⁷⁸ Rt. Rev. John R. Sperry, "Furs? ? ?" *The Arctic News* (Fall 1986), 3.

⁷⁹ Ellen M. Drewery, "Seven Small Pots of Paint", *North*, Volume X, number 1 (January-February 1963), 7. These paintings were executed between 1959 (the year at which the Inuvik hostel opened) and 1963 (the year when Drewery's article was published).

⁸⁰ Gualtieri, 66.

⁸¹ Mark Kalluak, *Pelts to Stone: A History of Arts and Crafts Production in Arviat*. Hull, Québec: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993, 14. These sculptures were probably completed in the 1960s, when Reverend Marlow was stationed at Arviat. Unfortunately, a photograph of these carvings is unavailable.

⁸² Elizabeth Whitton, telephone interview, 20 November 1996; Elizabeth Whitton, letter to the author, 23 November 1996.

⁸³ J. C. Aylott, "Arctic Art That Stays North", *Arts and Culture of the North*, Volume 5, number 4 (Fall 1981), 380. Aylott also describes the interior decoration at Saint John's Church in Cape Dorset. Local Inuit created a wall hanging that hangs behind the altar. It depicts a variety of Arctic creatures and an Inuit family. The altar frontal is created from seal skins, and contains the "three crosses of Calvary and the star of Bethlehem". Aylott, 380.

⁸⁴ "St. Jude's Cathedral", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 11-12.

⁸⁵ E. J. Scanlon, "First Impressions of Iqaluit", *The Arctic News* (Fall/Winter 1995), 11; "Building a Cathedral", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 13-14. Peter Markosie led the construction project.

⁸⁶ Aylott, 380; "Consecration Day April 9th", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 6. Both photographs of the interior of Saint Jude's Cathedral provided courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Associate Curator of Inuit Art, Winnipeg Art Gallery.

⁸⁷ M. J. Gough, "A Southerner Visits", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 5; "St. Jude's Cathedral", 12.

⁸⁸ "St. Jude's Cathedral", 12.

⁸⁹ "St. Jude's Cathedral", 12.

⁹⁰ Aylott, 380; "St. Jude's Cathedral", 12. The order in which these images are hung was determined by the author after reading published descriptions of some of the wall hangings and translating the syllabics on another.

⁹¹ Gough, 4.

⁹² Scanlon, 11.

⁹³ "The Eskimo Seamstresses Explain their Work on the Cathedral Hangings", *The Arctic News* (Fall 1972), 3.

⁹⁴ "The Eskimo Seamstresses", 4.

⁹⁵ "The Eskimo Seamstresses", 3. Jessie Oonark did much of the work on her community's wall hanging (fig. 54). Other Baker Lake women, however, did help with its finishing work. A discussion of this panel will be included in Chapter five of this thesis. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 86, Series 2, number 2. "Frobisher Bay—Cathedral Gifts, 1971-1974", H. Etegyok to Bishop Donald Ben Marsh, 7 March 1972. Etegyok was asked by Oonark to write on her behalf. Elizabeth Whitton confirms that Oonark worked on the Baker Lake wall hanging for the cathedral. Elizabeth Whitton, telephone interview, 20 November 1996.

Arctic Missionaries and the Promotion of Inuit Art

The decoration of Arctic churches, as discussed in Chapter three, reveals the support that some missionaries gave to Inuit art. But men of God also encouraged Inuit to create works of art for purposes other than beautifying houses of worship. Roman Catholic and, to a much lesser extent, Anglican missionaries have collected Inuit art and artifacts throughout this century. The Oblates also founded a museum in 1945 at Churchill, Manitoba, in which they displayed Inuit sculptures and archaeological specimens. In addition, Catholic priests across the North played a key role in the organization of many Arctic co-operatives, which market Inuit art to qallunaat in southern Canada and across the globe. While missionaries are to be congratulated for their foresight in supporting the artistic efforts contemporary Inuit, the issue of “culture collecting” should also be addressed. Catholic missionaries in particular have acquired a large number of archaeological specimens and historical artifacts. At a time when Indigenous peoples throughout the world are demanding the repatriation of important pieces of their cultural history currently housed in museums operated by the dominant culture, the holding of such objects by qallunaat missionaries must be examined critically.

Missionaries as Collectors and Museum Founders

In terms of promoting the creation of Inuit art, it is Catholic missionaries rather than Anglicans who have made the biggest impact. Perhaps the Oblates took greater interest

in encouraging Inuit art because, as Catholics, they came from a denomination that placed great value on the visual arts. On the other hand, Catholic priests, unlike Anglican ministers, did not marry or have children, giving them more spare time in which to indulge their outside interests. Certainly, freed from the time constraints of raising a family, Oblate missionaries were able to read books written by Arctic explorers and anthropologists, explore archaeological ruins in their region, conduct genealogical or natural history studies, organize co-operatives, and promote the production of Inuit sculpture, drawings, and prints.

Anglican missionary Archibald Lang Fleming, however, did record a few occasions when he bought sculptures from Inuit on Baffin Island. In 1914, for instance, an old Inuk carved three dogs for him from the teeth of a walrus. Fleming and fellow Anglican missionary, Reverend Bilby, also asked several men to make models of animals, birds, sledges, and weapons.¹ Apparently, Fleming kept some of the objects he obtained from Inuit because, in 1939, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild exhibited Fleming's collection of arts and crafts. These included "very fine Eskimo fur work and walrus tusk ivories" in addition to the seal skin altar frontal made by the women of Pangnirtung for All Saints' Cathedral in Aklavik.²

Twenty years later, Reverend Canon William J. Chase of Saint James Anglican Church in New York City, sponsored an exhibition and sale of almost six hundred contemporary Inuit sculptures. This was done in conjunction with the Canadian government and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. Proceeds from the sale of carvings

would be directed toward the training of Inuit catechists who “teach and minister to their own people”.³

One other individual associated with the Anglican Church who encouraged the creation of arts and crafts was Elizabeth Whitton, wife of Baker Lake missionary, Alan Whitton. In 1966, Whitton initiated a sewing project in which local Inuit women made wool duffle garments for sale to a southern market. Sewing sessions were sometimes held at the Anglican Church, but women most often worked in their homes.⁴

Aside from the contributions of Fleming, Bilby, and Elizabeth Whitton, Anglican missionaries did not substantially assist in the early development of Inuit art. Generally, Anglican missionaries did not promote the creation of art among their parishioners in a consistent or significant way.

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate, conversely, began collecting Inuit art and artifacts soon after the establishment of their first mission at Chesterfield Inlet in 1912. A photograph taken circa 1918 shows Father Paul Pioget at the rectory in Chesterfield Inlet with a group of small carvings made of mostly of ivory (**fig. 56**).⁵ Many of the pieces are small in scale and were produced at a time when whalers and fur traders had established a presence in the area. Although trading post managers purchased renderings of animals, figures, and scenes of daily life, most did so to give sculptures to family and friends. Some missionaries also did the same. One veteran Oblate, Father Roland Courtemanche, stated that he only bought a few sculptures from Inuit, and these he gave to relatives and friends as gifts.⁶

Brother Jacques Volant has noted that, in the early years of Catholic missions in the Central Canadian Arctic, missionaries would acquire carvings from Inuit as part of a barter system. Much like the fur traders, the priests gave Inuit qallunaat goods such as ammunition, tea, tobacco, sugar, and flour in exchange for sculptures. Some of these objects formed the beginnings of a collection, while other works were given to benefactors of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay.⁷

Oblate missionaries did not limit their collecting habits to contemporary creations. By 1919, Bishop Turquetil had already donated a number of Inuit artifacts to an ethnographic museum in Switzerland.⁸ In the early 1930s, Father Etienne Bazin arrived at Igloolik, where he began “digging for artifacts”.⁹ Bazin and, later, Brother Volant and Father Guy Mary-Rousselière, discovered numerous objects from the Dorset and Thule eras. Many of these cultural relics eventually found their way into the Oblates’ Eskimo Museum in Churchill, Manitoba.¹⁰

The origin of the Churchill Eskimo Museum, owned and operated by the Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, was a single showcase of Inuit art and artifacts at Bishop Turquetil’s Montréal residence in the early-1940s.¹¹ At this time, a number of events conspired to result in the transfer of these objects from Montréal to Churchill. Father Van de Velde, missionary at Pelly Bay, suggested that objects illustrating elements of traditional Inuit culture be displayed at Diocesan headquarters in Churchill.¹² In addition, American military were stationed at Churchill since 1942, and many soldiers were curious to learn more about Arctic survival. Army personnel came to the local

Catholic mission and asked the priests how Inuit managed to live in some of the coldest regions of the world. Their curiosity prompted the Oblates to exhibit the art and artifacts they had collected over the years.¹³

In 1944, a room at the Bishop's residence in Churchill became the Eskimo Museum.¹⁴ Father Jean Philippe was placed in charge of the Eskimo Museum Collection until 1948, when Brother Jacques Volant replaced him as curator.¹⁵ Volant held this post until 1986, when poor health forced him to retire.¹⁶ Since that time, Lorraine Brandson has acted as museum curator.

The room at the Churchill mission soon became too small to house the Oblates' growing collection. In 1952, all objects were moved from their cramped location to a more public building. The Eskimo Museum now shared space with Diocesan administrative offices and the Diocesan publication, *Eskimo* magazine, a periodical begun only eight years earlier.¹⁷ Finally, in 1962, a larger structure was constructed to house the ever-growing collection which currently consists of more than eight hundred contemporary Inuit sculptures and approximately three thousand artifacts from the prehistoric (both Dorset and Thule periods) and historic ages.¹⁸

According to Volant and Brandson, the mandate of the Eskimo Museum has been to promote greater understanding of and appreciation for traditional Inuit culture through items made by the people themselves.¹⁹ This is evidenced when one breaks down the collection of contemporary sculpture by subject matter. Although the museum does contain a relatively significant number of carvings which depict Christian themes (in

comparison with larger, southern collecting institutions), only twenty-two sculptures on display deal with this subject. This number is a small percentage of the images which are exhibited.²⁰ Statistics reveal the rather broad collecting interests of the Oblates (see *Table One: Subject Matter of Contemporary Sculpture in the Eskimo Museum*). Subject matter extends to depictions of animals and humans, legend episodes, models, and utilitarian items, as well as both traditional and contemporary interpretations of hunting, trapping, transportation, shelter, and religion.

Despite their primary goal of replacing traditional Inuit spirituality with Christianity, the Oblate missionaries have advocated understanding of traditional beliefs and practices by displaying carvings connected to shamanism. In fact, the Eskimo Museum contains ninety works (almost twelve percent of the entire collection of sculpture) which could be considered shamanic in nature. Depictions of drum dances, which admittedly do not always refer to shamanic performances, are included within this subject group. However, there are also numerous carvings of shamans and other figures transforming, as well as renderings of spirits. All of these themes are bound to the non-Christian beliefs of Inuit.

The collecting habits of the Oblates also point to specific individuals who were instrumental in the development of the Eskimo Museum Collection of contemporary Inuit sculpture. By examining statistics which relate first, to communities from which carvings were collected and, secondly, to figures which delineate the years in which sculptures were obtained, an interesting pattern emerges.

Table One: Subject Matter of Contemporary Sculpture in the Eskimo Museum

Subject Matter	Number of Works	Percentage of Works
Animals	265	35
People, including mother and child scenes	178	23.5
Shamanic imagery, including transformations, spirits	90	11.9
Hunting/fishing scenes	78	10.3
Models, scenes of travelling and everyday life	62	8.2
Legends	29	3.8
Totemic images	24	3.2
Christian images	22	2.9
Utilitarian items, such as candle holders, utensils	9	1.2

Missionary personnel in the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay have, over more than fifty years, acquired sculptures from at least thirty-four different communities. The majority of carvings, however, were collected in the Repulse Bay area (three hundred and eleven works, or forty-one percent of the entire collection). Another one hundred and seventeen sculptures (fifteen-and-a-half percent) were obtained from Pelly Bay. The remaining three hundred and twenty-nine works were collected in diverse communities as far west as Kugluktuk, as far east as Greenland, as far north as Pond Inlet, and as far south as Kuujuaaraapik. Most of these other sculptures, though, were acquired within the boundaries of the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay. Considering the large number of works from Repulse Bay and Pelly Bay, it seems likely that the missionaries who lived and worked in these areas consistently promoted art production. George Swinton agrees, and has said: “The main reason for these geographical preferences is simply the physical presence of interested missionaries who had been stationed in those areas and who took personal interest in the Museum, particularly Fathers Van de Velde, Mary-Rousselière, and Henri [sic]”.²¹

In terms of collecting by year, grouping sculptures in five year intervals shows that systematic collecting did not begin until the 1940s. *Graph One: Collecting by Year*, reveals that many acquisitions occurred throughout the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s. There was also a great deal of collecting done between 1951 and 1954. It should be noted that in the category “up to 1945”, only the years 1930, 1944, and 1945 were

Graph 1: Collecting by Year

registered. In 1944 and 1945, twenty sculptures were acquired, representing another short, but active period of art collecting.

Before examining the involvement of specific missionaries in the collection and promotion of contemporary Inuit art, it is helpful to describe the provenance of the Eskimo Museum's collection in a more general way. In her book, *Carved From the Land: The Eskimo Museum Collection*, curator Lorraine Brandson discusses the various paths sculptures took before their arrival at the museum. The majority of pieces accessioned before 1970 were direct purchases made by missionary personnel. In more recent years, many purchases have been made through the co-operative system or from the North West Company. A small number of carvings were given to missionaries as gifts, and later donated to the museum. Finally, a few private donations have been made to the collection over the years.²²

Brandson, like Swinton, cites specific individuals who were instrumental in building a quality collection of works of art by Inuit. The curator credits Fathers Franz Van de Velde and Pierre Henry for their foresight in obtaining inventive scenes created on walrus tusk ivory boards, created from the mid-1940s until the mid-1950s in Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay.²³ She also acknowledges Fathers Rogatien Papion and Bernard Fransen at Repulse Bay as missionaries who have encouraged the production of contemporary sculpture.²⁴ Each of these four individuals has made important contributions to the development of contemporary Inuit art.

Brandson points out that, “[s]ince the 1940s Father Franz Van de Velde worked closely with the people of Pelly Bay to promote the creation of beautiful small carvings for which this community is famous for today.”²⁵ In an interview with Brandson, Van de Velde said he got the idea to encourage carving from Father Etienne Bazin, who was stationed at Igloolik. In the early 1940s, Van de Velde met Bazin while both were visiting Repulse Bay. Bazin mentioned that a woman in Igloolik was making beautiful things in ivory and that he had been encouraging other people to carve things since the late-1930s. Van de Velde was evidently inspired by Bazin’s story, and the latter offered to send boxes of ivory to Pelly Bay for the creation of sculpture.²⁶ At first, Van de Velde found that the Inuit made miniature hammers, saws, spoons, and knives. The priest told Inuit he did not want them to make replicas of qallunaat things, but encouraged them to create works that made reference to their traditional culture.²⁷

In order to promote Pelly Bay carvings and build up a market for their purchase, Van de Velde sent samples of sculptures to various places in Europe and the United States. To keep shipping costs down, packages had to be small. These practical considerations brought about the birth of distinctive Pelly Bay miniatures.²⁸

The first sale of a large number of carvings was made in 1946 to an American woman named Margaret Oldenburg. Oldenburg was a botanist at the University of Saint Paul in Minnesota.²⁹ Archival records reveal that Oldenburg purchased miniature hunting scenes in ivory as well as replicas of artifacts traditionally used by Inuit. Also included in her collection were a Thule whale harpoon blade and a small carving of a crucifix.³⁰ While

the inclusion of a crucifix may seem unusual, Van de Velde did encourage at least one of his parishioners to create Christian imagery as early as 1945. At that time, the priest asked sculptor Marc Tungilik to make him a copy of a bust of Christ.³¹

Another early customer of Pelly Bay sculpture was James Houston, who made a two-hour stopover in the community in 1954. According to mission records, Houston seemed surprised to learn that the local Inuit had been creating carvings for sale for nine years. He asked to see Van de Velde's art collection, which was displayed in the window of the mission. Houston then purchased three of these sculptures for nine dollars. He said these works would appear in an exhibition which would travel throughout Europe and in the United States.³²

Van de Velde found that sales of Pelly Bay carvings greatly expanded when a radar base of the DEW Line was built twelve miles from the community in 1955. Sometimes two hundred men worked at the site. Members of the building teams and, later, crew of the radar station, were good customers. The creation of an airport for the DEW Line meant even more contact with the southern market and thus, increased sales.³³

In fact, it was through a DEW Line engineer that Van de Velde came in contact with another individual who would become a major collector of early Pelly Bay sculpture. Jean-Paul Drolet purchased carvings from Pelly Bay artists from the late-1950s until 1963. Drolet bought works both for himself and to sell to others in order to raise funds to build a church in Québec.³⁴ In 1961, he offered to buy six hundred dollars worth of

sculpture, no small sum at that time. Drolet continued to order Pelly Bay carvings through Van de Velde until late 1963.³⁵

The early-1960s was a busy time for Van de Velde. Not only was he encouraging the people of Pelly Bay to create carvings for eager collectors, but he also began to promote the production of decorative seal skin hangings. In 1961, Northern Affairs officer Mike Shand suggested that Van de Velde have people make “seal skin rugs”, as a means of generating some income for the local Inuit.³⁶ The people of Pelly Bay complied with this request. Seal skins were obtained by local hunters and sent to southern Canada to be tanned. The skins were then returned to the community to be made into wall hangings by women of the area. Hundreds of seal skin wall hangings were created between 1961 and 1963, as well as mitts and dolls. The project seems to have ended in late 1963 due to a lack of buyers.³⁷

Van de Velde encouraged Pelly Bay Inuit to manufacture traditional items such as qajait, fur clothing, skin footwear, and hunting implements as yet another means of helping his parishioners secure additional income. A few artifacts were already made in 1946 for the botanist Oldenburg. Twelve years later, anthropologist Asen Balikci asked Van de Velde for replicas of artifacts used by Inuit to hunt seals at their breathing holes.³⁸ By 1972, two Pelly Bay Inuuk were building eight qajait per year for museums in Canada, the United States, and other countries.³⁹

Van de Velde, in fact, gave many carvings and contemporary artifacts (hunting and domestic implements, clothing) to his parents in Belgium. When they died, his sister

took over the collection and donated it in 1989 to Belgium's Musée National de Tervuren. The collection consists of approximately one hundred objects from the 1940s onward.⁴⁰ Included among these items are three ivory busts of Christ crowned with thorns, created by Marc Tungilik in the late-1940s, and a stone Madonna and Child in bas-relief, carved by Martha Panniark in the 1950s.⁴¹

Final evidence for this Oblate Father's intense interest in Inuit art is Van de Velde's *Canadian Eskimo Artists: A Biographical Dictionary—Pelly Bay*, published in 1970 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of contemporary Inuit sculpture at Pelly Bay in 1945. The biographical dictionary combined Van de Velde's interests in art and genealogy.

Another pioneer missionary in the Kitikmeot region who took an interest in the artistic abilities of his parishioners was Father Pierre Henry. While Henry may have helped Van de Velde encourage the people of Pelly Bay to begin making sculpture in the mid-1940s, he soon left that community to establish missions at Thom Bay, Gjoa Haven, and Taloyoak. Henry's interest in the visual arts continued and at Gjoa Haven in 1957 the priest encouraged his two Inuit adoptees, Nick Sikkuark and Louis Anarkranerk, to draw.

At his suggestion, Louis and Nicolas [sic] drew sketches inspired by Inuit life situations for an art exhibition in Winnipeg. A polar bear emerging from the water, furtively sneaks away between enormous blocks of ice in total disarray. A caribou with majestic antlers and white mane stands proudly against the fiery sky of the setting sun. Children with running noses and hoods white with frost, frolic in the snow. A mother with her baby on her back and a pail in her hand makes her way to the lake to fetch water; a hunter pulling a freshly harpooned seal, leaves a crimson trail on the snow.⁴²

Nick Sikkuark has since become a highly-gifted and respected Inuit artist.

A third Oblate who was involved in the development of Inuit art is Father Rogatien Papion. Papion was a missionary in Repulse Bay and throughout the Kitikmeot region in the late-1940s and early-1950s. He later served the people of Arviat and neighbouring Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet for many years. David Serkoak of Arviat recalls that Papion was among the people who encouraged the people of his community to carve. The missionary apparently even had an artistic bent of his own, as Serkoak says, "I remember Father Papion carving a nice sculpture, he was a natural artist."⁴³

A separate avenue which Oblate missionaries are said to have taken in assisting the creation of Inuit arts and crafts, is their work among polio victims at Saint Theresa's Hospital in Chesterfield Inlet. Scholar Marybelle Mitchell wrote that, beginning in the 1930s, missionaries encouraged the production of art by patients in mission hospitals operated by Catholics at Chesterfield Inlet and Anglicans at Pangnirtung. Unfortunately, the author does not go into any detail.⁴⁴

Further research into the situation at Chesterfield Inlet has revealed the somewhat sketchy involvement of the Oblates in encouraging hospital patients to create works of art and handicrafts. Father Courtemanche, who was priest in the community from 1940 until 1942, 1949 until 1968, and 1975 until 1987, has only said that local Inuit were given money for making rosary beads and crucifixes for the church and for sale to others.⁴⁵ Examples of such work are part of the holdings at the Eskimo Museum and the Musée des Soeurs Grises (**figures 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62**).

Lorraine Brandson's extensive study on the Eskimo Museum Collection, however, does not mention any significant production of art among patients at Chesterfield Inlet. It should also be noted that, in 1948, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild of Montreal sent letters to women across the Arctic, asking them to urge Inuit to make crafts such as basketry, small carvings, fur and skin work, and utilitarian items of stone. Among those to receive such a notice were the Catholic Grey Nuns who operated Saint Theresa's Hospital in Chesterfield Inlet since 1931.⁴⁶ An enquiry about the promotion of art activity among invalids at the hospital to the Musée des Soeurs Grises did not elicit a response.⁴⁷

In 1950, the Canadian Department of Mines and Resources funded the Canadian Guild of Handicrafts to send James Houston North to promote carving among the Inuit. The Federal government specifically wanted Houston to go to Chesterfield Inlet to encourage handicraft production among polio victims staying at Saint Theresa's Hospital. Houston was also supposed to train missionaries to instruct the Inuit in handicrafts after he left.⁴⁸ Houston eventually arrived at Chesterfield Inlet in late summer of 1950, after encouraging carving among Inuit at Repulse Bay. Although he intended to spend two or three months in Chesterfield Inlet, Houston wrote that:

[t]he white people of Chesterfield Inlet seemed generally opposed to this plan . . . as they said they had put up with a number of various government personnel during the summer . . . and complained of shortages of food and lack of accommodation. The Roman Catholic Mission hospital had no accommodation and could offer meals for only three days . . . The polio victims were hospitalized and not in need of handicrafts instruction, according to the local authorities.⁴⁹

Houston's comments are open to interpretation. They do not state unequivocally that any art production was taking place at the time of his visit, under the guidance of the Oblates or anyone else.

Art historian and curator Darlene Coward Wight, however, discovered that Chesterfield Inlet's trading post manager, William Brownie, wrote to his superior that he had told Houston that Saint Theresa's Hospital was already having Inuit make "ivory work, soapstone items and various sealskin articles".⁵⁰ From this letter, Wight concludes that "Houston had obviously not encountered such an active Arctic handicrafts industry on any of his previous travels and must have felt he would be wasting his time if he stayed on".⁵¹ While it remains to be seen whether or not the Oblates or Grey Nuns engaged hospital patients in any large-scale, organized production of arts and crafts, Rankin Inlet artist Pierre Karlik has said that he and others first learned to carve at Chesterfield Inlet while in Saint Theresa's Hospital. During his stay at the hospital in 1950 and 1951, Karlik was taught by Brother Bedard to carve animals, sea mammals, and cribbage boards made of ivory.⁵² Although future research may elicit a clearer picture, art production at the hospital in Chesterfield Inlet did occur to a greater or lesser extent at various times.

Oblate Missionaries and the Formation of Arctic Co-operatives

Some Oblate Fathers aided the cause of contemporary Inuit art in a different way. As Lorraine Brandson points out, several priests, including Fathers Joannes Rivoire, Louis

Fournier, Joseph Meeus, and André Goussaert, were involved in the formation of co-operatives in various Northern communities.⁵³ Among their many and varied functions, Arctic co-operatives continue to buy Inuit sculpture from local carvers for distribution in the south. Co-operatives in a few Arctic settlements have also supported the creation of prints.

Perhaps it is the efforts of Father André Steinmann, who established the co-operative in Povungnituk, which are most well-known, or those of Father Henri Tardy at Holman Island. In the late-1950s, Steinmann started the Povungnituk Sculptors' Society, which soon became a co-operative in the early-1960s.⁵⁴ In 1961, the Oblate priest arranged for artist Gordon Yearsley to go to Povungnituk to teach people printmaking techniques.⁵⁵ Father Tardy encouraged people to make drawings as early as 1960.⁵⁶ He helped form the Holman Island Co-operative in 1961, and promoted the production of sculpture and seal skin wall hangings. Tardy also helped develop that community's printmaking program.⁵⁷

In the Central Canadian Arctic, though, Fathers Fournier and Rivoire, as well as André Goussaert were instrumental in getting co-operatives at Igloolik, Repulse Bay, Gjoa Haven, and Pelly Bay off the ground. While stationed in Igloolik, Fournier worked with Pacome Qulaut to found a co-operative in 1963. Fournier was the co-op's manager until 1973, when he was posted to a different community. Carving was marketed almost from the beginning of the co-op's existence. As co-op manager, Fournier bought most

carvings that were brought to him, but would not purchase something of low quality. The pricing of sculptures was determined by a committee of Inuit.⁵⁸

Joannes Rivoire arrived in Repulse Bay in 1965, with one of his goals being the organization of a co-operative. Rivoire did found and administer the Naujat Co-operative in 1968.⁵⁹

André Goussaert aided in the foundation of co-ops at Gjoa Haven in 1965 and Pelly Bay in 1967. In discussing the goals of the co-operatives and the reason many Oblates became involved with them, Goussaert commented:

I think it was a good expression really from a faith point of view, sharing, and working together. It really fit in very well and the people saw it that way as well. So a lot of missionaries actually got involved with the co-operatives at the outset.⁶⁰

As auditor of the Pelly Bay, Gjoa Haven, and Taloyoak co-ops for a number of years, Goussaert bought art to be sold in southern Canada, the United States, and abroad. In terms of deciding what carvings would be purchased, Goussaert points to Father Van de Velde as an important predecessor, in the days before the co-op system emerged. "Van de Velde had done a tremendous job in not buying everything. He would send pieces back and tell people to finish them off, so that there certainly was quality control with Van de Velde. We built on that with the co-op". At Pelly Bay, a collectivity of Inuit decided what was bought and determined at what price sculptures were to be sold.⁶¹

The Question of "Culture Collecting"

The active involvement of several Oblate missionaries in the promotion of contemporary Inuit art is admirable, and it may be said, as Lorraine Brandson puts it, that the Eskimo Museum, “represents the Oblate missionaries’ commitment and devotion to Inuit culture”.⁶² On the other hand, the acquisition by Catholic missionaries of a large number of archaeological specimens and historical artifacts borders on colonialist behaviour. Witness the following account, written by Father Charles Choque:

Brother Deschâtelets, animated by a real missionary spirit, decided to set up an Eskimo museum in the St. Joseph Scholasticate in Ottawa. He requested Father Lionel [Ducharme]’s collaboration. He needed clothes made from caribou or seal skins, a drum, a few ivory spearheads or any other native objects which gave credit to the culture of the ancestors, left no doubt as to the hardships caused by the climate, and bore witness to the Inuit unending fight for survival. A few amulets would also be welcomed to prove the influence of the shaman, the existence of a religion of fear grounded in the belief of Spirits which controlled land, sea and air.⁶³

Deschâtelets seems interested in portraying the Inuit as “noble savage”. This attitude was not uncommon at a time when late-nineteenth century ideas of evolutionism still held sway, even in the field of museum display. James Clifford notes that, “[t]he value of exotic objects was their ability to testify to the concrete reality of an earlier stage of human Culture, a common past confirming Europe’s triumphant present.”⁶⁴ At the same time, however, relativist anthropology, developed by Franz Boas, was beginning to gain popularity. According to this theory, museum collections would point out the “‘authentic’ context of collected objects”, and claimed “to be the last to rescue ‘the real thing.’”⁶⁵

As “rescuers” of a disappearing culture, the work of Oblate missionaries was applauded by audiences who would view the display which Deschâtelets had organized. In fact, it is possible that one of the goals of exhibitions such as that at Saint Joseph’s Scholasticate and another mentioned below, held in Washington, was to secure additional funding for Arctic missions by wealthy benefactors. To expose southern Canadians and Americans to the “hardships” suffered by the Inuit “in their unending fight for survival”, enabled missionaries to promote their cause. An underlying motive of these artifact displays was to show that the Oblates were desperately needed in the North in order to provide Inuit with some hope in their miserable lives, by introducing them to a loving, forgiving God, and providing the people with much-needed health care and education.⁶⁶

Such culture collecting, however, also points to deeper issues of power and control. For, if Ducharme was able to obtain amulets from Inuit in the Central Canadian Arctic, this suggests that the people had given up traditional beliefs, their “religion of fear”. That missionaries would have access to such objects insinuates their control over the use of them. Scholar Karl Hutterer agrees that “the act of collecting ethnographic specimens must be seen as an act of taking possession physically and symbolically of the essence of individuals as well as whole societies.”⁶⁷ Marianna Torgovnick’s comments are equally critical of museum displays and those responsible for them. She feels that many of them

bespeak the death of animals, and the death of cultures. Their existence can be justified by their ability to ‘salvage’ vanishing forms of life and by their educational value; but their ideological basis and their origins in conquest, killing, and appropriation remain suspect.⁶⁸

It should be added that, in addition to what may have been genuine anthropological interest, it appears that missionaries sometimes collected artifacts as trophies of their success in subverting traditional Inuit spirituality and shamans. Father Ducharme, for instance, participated in "The Exposition on Inuit Life", sponsored by the Oblate Scholastics in Washington, D.C. Ducharme's contribution to this exhibition was a shaman's belt.⁶⁹ Another example where preservation seems to be synonymous with possession involves a shaman's belt made by Jacob Kringorn Sissenark of Pelly Bay. This item was "donated" to Father Franz Van de Velde in 1958.⁷⁰ It is possible that, in accepting Christianity as his new religion, Sissenark surrendered his shaman's belt as a sign of his new-found faith. Sissenark was not the only named individual to relinquish an amulet belt to a priest. Teresikuluk Niakrogluk's father-in-law, Taliriktok, offered to give his shaman's belt to Father Eugene Fafard upon baptism.⁷¹ In her visit to the Eskimo Museum, furthermore, Jackson took note that the museum contains various artifacts from the historical period including "amulets and belts worn by shamans for healing or establishing communication with the spirits".⁷² Keeping in mind that the primary purpose missionaries had for being in the North was the replacement of traditional Inuit spirituality with Christianity, it is not implausible that the acquisition of shamanic equipment symbolized victory for the "one true faith".

Endnotes

¹ Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic*, 212. It should also be noted that Moravian missionaries in Labrador bought sculpture from Inuit in the historic period. According to Swinton, many of these carvings were sent to London, England. George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 40. Wight says Labrador Inuit probably began carving ivory for trade with the Moravians in the late-eighteenth century. Darlene Coward Wight, *Inuit Ivories from the Collection* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1992). Virginia Watt also notes that the missionaries taught Inuit basketry two hundred years ago. Watt, "The Beginning", 12.

² Watt, "The Beginning", 11.

³ *Contemporary Eskimo Sculpture*, Introduction by W. T. Larmour (New York: Saint James Church, Government of Canada and The Canadian Handicrafts Guild, 1959), n.p.; Virginia Watt, "Landmark Exhibition in New York Parish Hall", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 6, number 2 (Spring 1991), 56-57.

⁴ Marion E. Jackson, "Life Experience of the Artist", in Marion E. Jackson and David F. Pelly, *The Vital Vision: Drawings by Ruth Amaqtuusi Tularialik* (Windsor: Art Gallery of Windsor, 1986), n.p.; Anita E. Jones, "Stitching to Survive", in Katharine W. Fernstrom and Anita E. Jones, *Northern Lights: Inuit Textile Art from the Canadian Arctic* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1993), 25-26, 28. The women of Baker Lake made mittens, duffle socks, and kamiit.

⁵ Virginia Watt has reproduced this image in her article "In Retrospect", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 3, number 2 (Spring 1988), 27, as has George Swinton in his book, *Sculpture of the Inuit* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992) 246. Upon further research, Swinton determined that the image was exposed twice. Thus, both figures are Father Pioget. Swinton also suggests that the Oblate Father may have taken the photograph himself. Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, 247.

⁶ Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 17 May 1995.

⁷ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection, LCB261.C56R1: Diocese of Churchill, Press clippings, Rick Bray, "Le musée esquimau n'est pas à vendre", *Le Droit*, 1 avril 1975, 4; "Church Museum Preserves Eskimo Artifacts", *The Phoenix Star*, 5 April 1975, n.p.; Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum at Churchill, Manitoba", *Artscanada*, Volume 28, number 6 (December 1971/January 1972), 114. Father Franz Van de Velde confirms that he "bought" carvings from Pelly Bay Inuit in exchange for various supplies. Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 2.

⁸ Lorraine Brandson, "Carved From the Land: The Eskimo Museum", *Museum International*, Volume 46, number 2 (1994), 15.

⁹ "Church Museum", n.p.; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection, LCB261.C56R1: Diocese of Churchill, Press clippings, Bray, 4.

¹⁰ Jacques Marie Volant, o.m.i., "Letter to the Senate [upon receiving Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Manitoba]", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, 1979, 2; Jeannine Veisse, *The Churchill Eskimo Museum Le Musée Eskimo de Churchill* (Churchill: The Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1979), 4. Volant said that, when he was in Pond Inlet between 1935 and 1950, he

collected several prehistoric artifacts, which he sent for examination to Ottawa. Volant does not say whether or not these objects became part of the Eskimo Museum Collection. See Jacques Marie Volant, o.m.i., "Addenda [autobiographical notes]", Translation by Gontran Lavolette, o.m.i., Unpublished. Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d. Father Mary-Rousselière conducted archaeological digs near Pelly Bay in the summer of 1956, and again in 1960, in addition to other excavations near Igloodik and Pond Inlet. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C5, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 5 (1956-1957), 789, 793-794 (entries dated July 3, July 26, and July 31, 1956); Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C7, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 7 (1959-1960), 1284 (entry dated August 9, 1960). Dr. Marion E. Jackson has noted that prehistoric artifacts in the Eskimo Museum Collection were either excavated by or given to Oblate missionaries. Marion Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant, o.m.i.—Guardian of Legends and Dreams", *Arts & Culture of the North*, Volume VI, number 3 (Fall 1983), 438.

¹¹ Yvonne C. Condell, "The Eskimo Museum", *Arts & Culture of the North*, Volume I, number 3 (May 1977), 32; Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum", 113. Turquetil had moved to Montreal in July 1939 in order to secure more funding for the Arctic missions from benefactors. See Choque, *75th Anniversary*, 13.

¹² Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum", 114; Veisse, 4.

¹³ "Brother Jacques Maintains Museum", *The Daily Mercury*, 29 November 1979, 7.

¹⁴ Lorraine E. Brandson, *Carved from the Land: The Eskimo Museum Collection* (Churchill: Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1994), 10; Brandson, "Carved from the Land", 15; Lorraine Brandson, "Eskimo Museum in Churchill, Manitoba", *Information North* (Winter 1986), 2; Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant", 438; Condell, 32; Volant, "Letter to the Senate", 1, Veisse, 4-5.

¹⁵ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 10; Brandson, "Carved from the Land", 15; Volant, "Letter to the Senate", 1; Volant, "Addenda"; Charles Choque, o.m.i., *In Memory of Piku: Brother Jacques Marie Volant, Oblate of Mary Immaculate (1900-1987)*, Translation by Fr. G. LeBleu, o.m.i., Unpublished. Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, 2 November, 1987, 5; Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant", 438; Condell, 32; Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum", 114; Veisse, 4.

¹⁶ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 20. Volant received several accolades for the work he did at the Eskimo Museum. In 1979, he received an Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Manitoba. In conjunction with Volant's receipt of this honour, an exhibition of over one hundred sculptures and artifacts from the Eskimo Museum's collection was exhibited at the university's Gallery 1.1.1. See "Brother Volant Honoured by Manitoba University", *Eskimo*, New series number 18 (Fall-Winter 1979-80), 32; Choque, *In Memory of Piku*, 7; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 13; Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant", 438; Gallery 1.1.1., *An Exhibition of Eskimo Sculpture Held in Honour of Brother Jacques Volant, o.m.i.* (Winnipeg: Gallery 1.1.1., School of Art, University of Manitoba, 1979). In 1981, moreover, Volant was awarded an honorary diploma from the Association of Canadian Museums. See Choque, *In Memory of Piku*, 7; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 13; Lorraine Brandson, "Award of Merit Given Brother Volant", *Eskimo*, New series number 22 (Fall-Winter 1981-82), 29. Volant died in 1987. Choque, *In Memory of Piku*, 8; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 20. For more on the Oblate Brother, see Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Brother Jacques Volant, o.m.i. (1900-1987)", *Eskimo*, New series number 34 (Fall-Winter 1987-88), 18-21.

¹⁷ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 10. Swinton and Condell say the building was not acquired until 1954. Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum", 114; Condell, 32.

¹⁸ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 11; Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum", 114; Condell, 32; Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant", 438. The museum also contains a number of natural history specimens. Brandson, "Eskimo Museum in Churchill, Manitoba", 2. Brandson also points out that a resource centre and photographic archives were added to the museum in the late-1970s/early-1980s. Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 12-13; Brandson, "Carved from the Land", 16. Contemporary prints, drawings, and wall hangings are not actively collected by the museum mainly for reasons of limited exhibition and storage space, as a large percentage of the museum's collection is displayed year-round.

¹⁹ Volant, "Addenda", n.p.; Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 10.

²⁰ The following statistics are based upon my count of seven hundred and fifty-seven contemporary sculptures displayed in May and June of 1995. Practically the entire collection of objects is exhibited. Several of the remaining forty-odd pieces not on display are damaged in some way. These works are held in storage at the museum.

²¹ Swinton, "The Eskimo Museum", 114.

²² Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 11-12; Brandson, "Carved from the Land", 16; Condell, 32. Father Roland Courtemanche and Bishop Reynald Rouleau each report having been given a few sculptures as gifts. Rouleau also notes that he has been given a few wall hangings. Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 17 May 1995; Bishop Reynald Rouleau, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 18 May 1995.

²³ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 10-11; Brandson, "Eskimo Museum in Churchill, Manitoba", 2. According to Jeannine Veisse, these scenes on walrus tusks were commissioned by the Eskimo Museum in the mid-1940s. Veisse, 8.

²⁴ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 12.

²⁵ Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 12; Brandson, "Carved from the Land", 15. Father Van de Velde was at Pelly Bay from 1938 until 1965. Van de Velde served Igloolik from 1965 until 1968. He was then priest at Sanerajak (Hall Beach) from 1969 until 1986. Since 1986, the Oblate Father has lived in Belgium. See "Biographies of Oblate missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d. He became a member of the Order of Canada in 1984. "Father Van de Velde Decorated", *Eskimo*, New series number 27 (Spring-Summer 1984), 26.

²⁶ Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., interview with Lorraine Brandson, in Lorraine Brandson, *Interviews of Fa. Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. of Sanerajak (Hall Beach), Northwest Territories January 18 to 25, 1986: The Lifestyle of the Eskimo in the Pelly Bay Region*, Unpublished interview transcripts, Tape 5A, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, 1-2. At the time, ivory was plentiful at Igloolik, but not at Pelly Bay.

²⁷ Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5A, 2; Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 1-2.

²⁸ Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5A, 1; Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., *Canadian Eskimo Artists. A Biographical Dictionary: Pelly Bay* (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1970), 2; Remie, *Culture Change*, 23; Remie, "How Ukpaktoor Lost his Buttock", 110. Pelly

Bay is one of the most isolated communities in the Canadian Arctic. Supply ships are not able to dock there, so all goods must either be flown in or brought by snowmobile from neighbouring communities.

²⁹ Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 2; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C2, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 2 (1943-1950), 266 (entry dated August 14, 1946); Remie, *Culture Change*, 23; Remie, "How Ukpaktoor Lost his Buttock", 109.

³⁰ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82O34, Margaret Oldenburg to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 23 June 1947. In her letter to Father Van de Velde, Oldenburg indicates that she dispersed the collection, giving some objects to various friends and acquaintances. Van de Velde says Oldenburg bought at least a dozen sculptures, and that she told the priest that these pieces were destined for the museum in Saint Paul, Minnesota. Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 1; Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 2. Oldenburg also donated important books written by explorers such as Amundsen, Franklin, Ross, Schwatka, and as well as ethnographer Rasmussen, to the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay. Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D60, Margaret Oldenburg to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., December 1958; Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5A, 2-3. These volumes formed the beginning of the Eskimo Museum's library. Brandson, *Carved from the Land*, 12.

³¹ Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 23. Van de Velde's photograph collection shows that other Pelly Bay artists had carved Christian subject matter. Two crucifixes, one from the 1950s, and three relief carvings of torsos with hands held in prayer, one from the 1940s, can be seen. Archives Deschâtelets, Father Franz Van de Velde: Personal Collection of Photographs, Volume 1, "Negatives Kugaardjuk - Pelly Bay", 1935-1980, 45, 48-49. Andre Goussaert notes that many Pelly Bay artists have included Christian imagery in their oeuvres at some point in their artistic careers. Andre Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. Tungilik's Christian imagery will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

³² Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C4, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 4 (1953-1955), 623 (entry dated April 8, 1954); Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 1. After the proposed exhibition, the three Pelly Bay sculptures would become part of the collection of the National Museum (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) in Ottawa. Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D195, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "À Titre de Renseignement", 26 April 1979. Houston made a return trip one day in 1955. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C4, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 4 (1953-1955), 710 (entry dated April 5, 1955). Van de Velde says that the sculptures displayed in the window of the Pelly Bay mission eventually made their way into the Eskimo Museum Collection. Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 2. Wight also notes that the first stone church built in Pelly Bay by Father Henry now serves as a museum, housing artifacts and fur clothing which once belonged to the people of the area. Darlene Wight, "Community Profiles: The Central Arctic", *Inuit Arts and Crafts*, Number 2 (December 1984), 17.

³³ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB327.C56R68, "Netsilik Eskimos of Pelly Bay and Spence Bay Areas, General Conditions: RCMP Report for Year Ending December 31, 1955", 4; Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 2; Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5A, 1; Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 2; Remie, *Culture Change*, 23-24; Remie, "How Ukpaktoor Lost his Buttock", 110; Remie, "Culture Change", 59.

³⁴ Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5A, 4.

³⁵ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D95, Jean-Paul Drolet to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 19 mai 1961, 4-6; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D96, Jean-Paul Drolet to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 24 août 1961, 2-3; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D98, Jean-Paul Drolet to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 18 septembre 1962, 1; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D100, Jean-Paul Drolet to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 10 octobre 1963, 1; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D101, Jean-Paul Drolet to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 19 novembre 1963, 1-2.

³⁶ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D120, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 27 August 1961; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D121, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 4 October 1961. The idea of producing decorative items from seal skin was not new. Seal skin handbags were created as early as 1951 at Arctic Bay. See Canadian Guild of Crafts Québec, *Guilde Canadienne Des Metiers D'Art Québec Canadian Guild of Crafts Québec: The Permanent Collection, Inuit Arts and Crafts, c. 1900-1980* (Montreal: Canadian Guild of Crafts Québec, 1980), 153.

³⁷ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D122, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 7 November 1961; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D124, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., December 1961; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D127, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 1962; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D128, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 30 October 1962; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D129, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 8 December 1962, 1-3; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D130, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 26 August 1963. These records reveal the prices obtained for items, as well as "suggestions for improvement" by Shand. Shand told Van de Velde to ask Pelly Bay artists to make large rugs only, to use fur trim instead of strips of seal skin for borders, and that customers preferred a natural-shaped skin with only a few central designs. For photographs of seal skin hangings produced at this time, see Archives Deschâtelets, Father Franz Van de Velde: Personal Collection of Photographs, Volume 2, "Negatives Kugaardjuk - Pelly Bay", 1950-1980, 4.

³⁸ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D69, Asen Balikci to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 2 décembre 1958; Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D70, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Facture de Objets Eskimos Achetés par Mr. Asen Balikci, Anthropologiste, Musée National, Ottawa, Canada", 12 décembre 1959. At the time, Balikci was employed by the National Museum of Canada, for whom these artifacts were collected.

³⁹ Georges Lorson, o.m.i., "Development of an Eskimo Community", *Eskimo*, New series number 4 (Fall-Winter 1972), 20. Also see Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 3.

⁴⁰ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82C44, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Inventaire de la Collection, sculptures, de mes parents donnée au Musée National de Tervuren—Belgique", n.d., 1.

⁴¹ Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82C44, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Inventaire de la Collection", 8, 15.

⁴² Choque, *Kajualuk*, 200-201.

⁴³ Mark Kalluak, *Pelts to Stone: A History of Arts and Crafts Production in Arviat* (Hull, Québec: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993), 10. A fourth priest who encouraged the creation of sculpture in the Central Canadian Arctic was Bernard Fransen. Fransen stimulated the arts, especially at Repulse Bay and Rankin Inlet, from the mid-1950s until the early-1970s. See Charles Choque, o.m.i., "Visit of the Apostolic Pro-nuncio to the Missions of Hudson Bay", *Eskimo*, Volume 84 (Fall-Winter 1970), 6. Fransen left the priesthood in the mid-1970s. See Eskimo Museum, "Biographies of Oblate missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d. Future research may uncover more details of the involvement of Fathers Henry, Papion, and Fransen in the promotion of Inuit art in the Central Canadian Arctic.

⁴⁴ Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 168.

⁴⁵ Father Roland Courtemanche, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 17 May 1995. André Goussaert also said that some Arctic Oblates would ask Inuit to make crucifixes or ivory candle stick holders for their local church. André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996.

⁴⁶ Darlene Coward Wight, "The Handicrafts Experiment, 1949-1953", in Darlene Coward Wight, *The First Passionate Collector: The Ian Lindsay Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1990), 50-51. Also see Watt, "The Beginning", 12. It also seems that children at Chesterfield Inlet's boarding school, which opened in 1955, were taught ivory carving by an Oblate brother. See "The Boarding School at Chesterfield and the Education of the Eskimo", *Eskimo*, Volume 38 (December 1955), 17 and Chapter two above.

⁴⁷ Jennifer Gibson, letter to Soeur Marie Lemire, s.g.m., 11 October 1996. The main purpose of the Musée des Soeurs Grises is to heighten awareness of the founder of the Grey Nuns, Saint Marguerite d'Youville. The museum's collection of artifacts and art from around the world began in the nineteenth century, although a display was not organized until 1959. The museum has two hundred sculptures and artifacts made by Inuit from Chesterfield Inlet and surrounding areas. C. Montpetit, s.g.m., letter to the author, 25 October 1996. Montpetit's letter did not include any comments about the encouragement of handicraft production at Saint Theresa's Hospital.

⁴⁸ Virginia Watt, "In Retrospect" (Spring 1988), 27, Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 170-171.

⁴⁹ James Houston, quoted in Virginia Watt, "In Retrospect", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 3, number 3 (Summer 1988), 23.

⁵⁰ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Memo dated 16 December 1950, in Wight, "The Handicrafts Experiment", 66-67.

⁵¹ Wight, "The Handicrafts Experiment", 67.

⁵² Pierre Karlik, personal interview, Translator John Ayaruaq, Jr., Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 19 June 1995.

⁵³ Brandon, *Carved from the Land*, 12. Further research may extract more information on the involvement of Joseph Meeus with the co-operative movement. Meeus has served as a missionary in a number of Nunavik settlements, as well as at Chesterfield Inlet, Iqaluit, and Pelly Bay. Information from "Biographies of Oblate missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay.

⁵⁴ Nelson H. H. Graburn, "Eskimo Art: The Eastern Canadian Arctic", in Nelson H. H. Graburn (editor), *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 48; Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs*, 172; Guillemette-Lamirande, 21. Between 1958 and 1964, Steinmann encouraged people to create a visual record of traditional Inuit legends. Nancy Gautsche, "Inuit Art: Tradition and Regeneration", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 8, number 2 (Summer 1993), 28; George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture*, 71, 203.

⁵⁵ Ian G. Lumsden, *The Murray and Marguerite Vaughan Inuit Print Collection* (Fredericton, N. B.: Beaverbrook Art Gallery, 1981), 10; Nelson H. H. Graburn, "Inuit Art", in Martina Magenau Jacobs and James B. Richardson III (editors), *Arctic Life: Challenge to Survive* (Pittsburgh: The Board of Trustees, Carnegie Institute, 1983), 187; Helga Goetz, "Inuit Art: A History of Government Involvement", in Canadian Museum of Civilization (editor), *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series Paper 124 (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 371. For more on Father Steinmann, see Guy Mary-Rousselière, o.m.i., "Father André Steinmann, o.m.i.: 1912-1991", *Eskimo*, New series number 43 (Spring-Summer 1992), 3-12.

⁵⁶ Lumsden, 10.

⁵⁷ Henri Tardy, o.m.i., "Co-op 20 Flashback: The Beginnings of Holman Island Co-op", *Inuktitut* (Winter 1979-80), 54-56; Daniel M. Beveridge, "A Tribute to the Eskimo Cooperatives", *Eskimo*, Volume 83 (Spring-Summer 1970), 17; Ed Struzik, "Blackrobes", *Equinox*, Number 51 (May/June 1990), 48, 53; Goetz, 371-372. Tardy, who lived in Holman Island from 1949 until 1982, was inspired to try printmaking after seeing Cape Dorset prints. He remembers encouraging Helen Kalvak to draw in 1962, paying her one dollar for each sketch she submitted. See Janet Catherine Berlo, "Drawing and Printmaking at Holman", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 10, number 3 (Fall 1995), 22, 24.

⁵⁸ Georgia, "Igloolik Remembers a Hero", *Eskimo*, New Series number 50 (Fall/Winter 1995-1996), 4; Father Louis Fournier, o.m.i., personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 1 June 1995. Fournier has lived and worked in Repulse Bay since 1988. He has nearly forty-five years of experience as an Oblate missionary in the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay.

⁵⁹ Eskimo Museum, "Biographies of Oblate missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d.; Choque, "All Aboard", 20; Théophile Didier, o.m.i., "A Disastrous Fire at Repulse Bay", *Eskimo*, Volume 83 (Spring/Summer 1970), 3-5; Jean Blodgett, "Repulse Bay Sculpture", in Winnipeg Art Gallery, *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 33; Eleanor Bond, "Repulse Bay: A Brief History", in Winnipeg Art Gallery, *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 9, 14. Choque mistakenly says Rivoire arrived at Repulse Bay in 1960. The biographies of Oblate missionaries reveals that, in fact, Rivoire came to the Arctic in 1960, but was stationed at Chesterfield Inlet and then Igloolik before going to Repulse Bay in 1965. Didier notes that Rivoire had already founded the Naujat co-op. Blodgett and Bond note that this co-op was formed in 1968.

⁶⁰ André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. Goussaert has suggested that he and others in Gjoa Haven had been working towards the establishment of a co-operative there since he arrived in the community in 1957. Also see André Goussaert, "The Evolution of an Eskimo Community", *Eskimo*, Volume 71 (Spring-Summer 1966), 12-14. Goussaert served as priest in Gjoa Haven from 1957 until 1966, and in Pelly Bay from 1967 until 1974. He left the priesthood in 1980. Remie and Lorson note that the Koomiut Co-operative in Pelly Bay was legally registered in 1966. Remie, "How Ukpaktoot Lost his Buttock", 116; Georges Lorson, "Development of an Eskimo Community", *Eskimo*, New series number 4 (Fall-Winter 1972), 18.

⁶¹ André Goussaert, personal interview, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 January 1996. Van de Velde has said that, although he wanted a co-op and talked about it with the people of Pelly Bay, he had no time to start one. Van de Velde, interview with Lorraine Brandson, Tape 5A, 3; Father Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 2. In late 1962, Northern Affairs officer Mike Shand asked Van de Velde to consider setting up a handicrafts co-op, and offered to help get him started. Archives Deschâtelets, Oblate Fathers Documents: Father Franz Van de Velde Personal Files, HEF3244.F82D129, Mike Shand to Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., 8 December 1962, 2.

⁶² Brandson, "Carved from the Land", 17.

⁶³ Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 67. Ducharme received this request in the mid-1920s.

⁶⁴ James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture", in James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 228.

⁶⁵ Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture", 228.

⁶⁶ Marianna Torgovnick points out that the French and Belgians of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries engaged in similar behaviour, displaying objects from African nations at World's Fairs to justify the need of their colonial intrusions in those countries. Marianna Torgovnick, "'But Is It Art?'" in Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 76-77.

⁶⁷ As quoted in Suzi Jones, "Art by Fiat, and other Dilemmas of Cross-cultural Collecting", in John Michael Vlach and Simon J. Bronner (editors), *Folk Art and Art Worlds* (Michigan: UMI Press, 1986), 247. James Clifford also suggests that museum collections represent the appropriation of, in particular, cultures deemed to be exotic in the eyes of Western society. See Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture", 220-221.

⁶⁸ Torgovnick, 77-78.

⁶⁹ Choque, *From Québec to the Canadian North*, 111-112. While Arctic explorers and anthropologists also have collected shamanic paraphernalia and clothing, their acquisition of these objects had a slightly different meaning than for missionaries.

⁷⁰ Betty Kobayashi Issenman, *Sinews of Survival: The Living Legacy of Inuit Clothing* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 210. Van de Velde, moreover, can be accused of assisting the colonialist agenda of museums as "culture collectors", by providing them with contemporary artifacts made by the people of Pelly Bay. On the other hand, Van de Velde, as noted above, was able to secure for his parishioners much-needed income in return for the production of such artifacts.

⁷¹ Fafard, *Flower from an Icy Midst*, 32.

⁷² Jackson, "Brother Jacques Volant", 438.

Christianity and the Art of Marc Tungilik, Jessie Oonark, and Charlie Ugyuk

Among artists from the Central Canadian Arctic, I have discovered more than one hundred sculptures, prints, drawings, and wall hangings which reflect the makers' knowledge of Christian iconography. Additionally, at least seventy works of art from other Canadian Arctic regions speak to Christianity in some way. Communities whose artists seem to have produced the most Christian images are Baker Lake, Repulse Bay, Cape Dorset, Chesterfield Inlet, Povungnituk, and Pelly Bay. Some Inuit artists who have repeatedly included Christian iconography in their work are Jessie Oonark (1906-1985), Marc Tungilik (1913-1986), Charlie Ugyuk (b.1931), Pudlo Pudlat (1916-1993), David Ruben Piqtoukun (b.1950), Kiawak Ashoona (b.1933), Davidialuk Alasua Amittu (1910-1976), Alooook Ipellie (b.1951), and his grandfather, Ennutsiak (1896-1967).¹

This chapter will focus on three particular artists—Marc Tungilik of Repulse Bay, Jessie Oonark of Baker Lake, and Charlie Ugyuk of Taloyoak. Reference will be made to other artists and art works when they relate to the issues raised by the Christian images produced by these three individuals. Unlike previous discussions of Christianity and syncretism in Inuit art, which have been mostly formalist or descriptive in nature, works of art examined here will be considered in terms of both style and iconography. Concern will be shown for ways in which iconography that relates to traditional Inuit life and beliefs intersect with Christian symbolism, sometimes resulting in syncretism. The context and conditions of creation for some of the art works below will also be discussed.

Christianity has elicited a very distinct response from each of these three artists. This may be due, in part, to the different experience with and exposure to the new religion that each artist has had. Marc Tungilik's Christian images are mostly depictions of angels and reveal his preoccupation with winged figures and flight. Tungilik has also rendered Christ on several occasions, and he has portrayed a priest as well. This artist, finally, has carved a totemic image which relates simultaneously to Christianity and traditional Inuit cultural beliefs. Jessie Oonark has done numerous biblical narratives, but has also depicted images that contain an autobiographical element, documenting Arctic Anglicanism. In other works, Christian iconography and that of traditional Inuit culture interpenetrate. Both Tungilik and Oonark sometimes created Christian images because they were asked to by missionaries or they were otherwise commissioned. Charlie Ugyuk, on the other hand, seems to have personal reasons for depicting Christian content in his works. His devil imagery, while referencing shamanism and the spirit world, is also somewhat autobiographical, a reflection, perhaps, of how he sees himself and others see him. A few of Ugyuk's carvings reflect his anti-Christian sentiment and are social commentaries on the introduction of Christianity to the Arctic and its negative repercussions on the *angakoqs*.

Marc Tungilik (1913-1986): Carvings of Christ and an Interest in Flight

Marc Tungilik was born at Netjilik Ilani on King William Island in 1913.² Tungilik, named for his father's brother, was the third of four sons born to Nicholas Saumik and

Domina Tiaksak.³ In 1935, Tungilik married Louisa Pujatark, another Netsilik from King William Island.⁴ Between 1938 and 1946, Tungilik and Pujatark lived mostly in the Pelly Bay area, where they had two daughters and one son. Tragically, two of these children perished as infants: one due to suffocation and another during a flu epidemic.⁵ In 1947, Tungilik and his family travelled to Repulse Bay, where his wife gave birth to a second son. But tragedy struck again, when both mother and child died as a result of the flu.⁶

At that point, the sculptor moved to Igloolik, where he met and married widow Louise Angugatsiaq in 1949.⁷ Following his marriage, Tungilik and his family camped near Repulse Bay and Wager Bay for much of the 1950s. Around 1958, Tungilik built a small house at Repulse Bay. He continued to live in this settlement until his death in 1986.⁸

While Marc Tungilik may have heard about Christianity from other Inuit or from fur traders at Gjoa Haven, his first contacts with a missionary seem to have occurred in 1939. In February of that year, Father Pierre Henry baptized Tungilik, his first wife, and his parents at a seal camp after only nine days of instruction in the Catholic faith.⁹ With such a swift indoctrination, it is difficult to believe that Christian beliefs immediately replaced those of traditional Inuit spirituality. In fact, Tungilik's father, Saumik ("the left-handed one"), was a powerful shaman. According to the artist's daughter, Theresie Tungilik, Saumik was about to pass his powers on to Marc when the missionaries entered the region.¹⁰

Records kept by the Catholic mission at Pelly Bay state that Saumik did not relinquish his role as angakoq after he received the sacrament of baptism: “Un vieux sorcier réputé, après son baptême a encore usé quelques fois de son métier.”¹¹ While Tungilik’s father continued to practise shamanism, his mother spread the new religion, teaching others as much as she could understand about Christianity.¹² The missionaries at Pelly Bay—Father Franz Van de Velde, in particular—felt that Marc himself was “assez bon chrétien” but that, around 1950, his “instruction” in the new faith was not yet complete.¹³

The Oblate missionaries were able to check the religious progress of Tungilik and other Inuit by making occasional visits to outlying camps. Theresie Tungilik recalls that the Catholic priests at Repulse Bay—Fathers Théophile Didier and Guy Mary-Rousselière—travelled periodically to her family’s camp at Wager Bay in the 1950s. Though the Oblates may have brought flour or biscuits for hungry Inuit, and toys and candy for the children,¹⁴ their primary purpose was to ensure their parishioners’ ongoing adherence to Christian faith and ritual.

When asked to comment about the part Christianity played in the Tungilik family when she was a child, Theresie Tungilik responded, “[m]y parents, the moment they woke up, they prayed [for thanks] that they were still alive. Before breakfast they prayed. They prayed after each meal. They prayed in the evening. They were constantly praying.” The artist’s daughter also noted that her father “was truly religious . . . because, although he didn’t have the greatest voice in the world, he always sang hymns from the church, whether he was carving or hunting.”¹⁵ After Marc Tungilik and Louise

Angugatsiaq had settled permanently in Repulse Bay, they attended church services regularly. Granddaughter Priscilla Tungilik, who lived for a time with Marc and Angugatsiaq as a child during the late-1970s and early-1980s, recounted:

[w]e used to go to church every day from seven o'clock in the evening until eight, and some days from eleven to twelve or twelve-thirty, and then go back to church Sunday evening at seven. But we used to go to church every day and we all had to say a prayer before we went to bed. So we'd all sit around and say a prayer. And if we were out on the land, Grandma would pray out there and we'd have a Sunday service. My grandparents were very religious.¹⁶

Emphasis on Christian devotion was not unusual among the generation of Inuit who recently had been introduced to Christianity. According to Frank Vallee,

the contemporary stress on observances may be interpreted as continuous with the traditional emphasis on conforming to rules laid down by the spirits. The object in so conforming nowadays is not to ensure an abundant wildlife harvest, but to ward off evil spirits and ensure a happy afterlife. When we say evil spirits, we mean concretely the Devil or Satanasi as the Eskimos call him.¹⁷

It would be logical for people who, like Marc Tungilik, had been raised to adulthood to adhere to traditional beliefs and practises, to transfer syncretically some of those traditions and apply them to Christian ritual. In other words, prayer probably had a different meaning for Christian Inuit who spent part of their lives following an animist religion, than it had for qallunaat missionaries.

Whatever their interpretation of Christian doctrine and ritual, Tungilik and Angugatsiaq maintained close connections with the Catholic Church from the time of their marriage until their deaths. Louise Angugatsiaq even became a catechist and served communion at Our Lady of the Snows in Repulse Bay. As a church leader, she taught

religion classes to children, prepared children to receive communion, and ensured that Catholic adults had their newborns baptized. Angugatsiaq also provided suicide counselling to those in need.¹⁸ Considering her strong commitment to the Catholic Church, it should not be surprising that Angugatsiaq paid tribute to her faith by creating a Nativity scene in stone (**fig. 63**).¹⁹ This sensitively rendered composition is an indigenized version of a Christian theme, with all three figures wearing parkas and kamiit.

Unlike his second wife, Marc Tungilik was a prolific sculptor. The artist began carving in his teens and continued to do so until his death in 1986.²⁰ He carved a variety of subject matter, including animals (most notably muskoxen), hunting scenes, human figures, shamans, spirits, and legendary episodes. While Tungilik used diverse media, such as stone, whale bone, baleen, antler, and caribou hoofs, he most often worked with ivory from walrus tusks or whale teeth.²¹ And, although the source of ivory demands that works carved in this medium be small, Marc Tungilik took this limitation to an extreme. One of the unique features of many of Tungilik's sculptures—his trademark, in fact—is their extremely small size. Despite vision problems, which required him to wear two pairs of glasses while hunting and carving, it has been noted that the artist was able to fit ten of his figural sculptures into one empty rifle cartridge.²²

In a 1982 interview, Marc Tungilik credited Oblate missionary Father Joannes Rivoire with encouraging him to create miniatures as early as 1965.²³ Theresie Tungilik also recalls that another Catholic priest at Repulse Bay—Father Théophile Didier—even

bought her father a magnifying glass in an effort to assist Tungilik's creative efforts.²⁴

Twenty years previous to Father Rivoire's support, however, Father Van de Velde was able to convince the artist to work on a small scale, when Tungilik was still living around Pelly Bay. The Oblate priest has recorded the incident as follows:

One day I gave him a small bust of Christ, asking him to reproduce it in ivory. I almost had to force him to even try. When I had long forgotten all about it, he brought me the finished product. I was overwhelmed. A beautiful little bust, a head crowned with thorns. It was eight or nine centimetres high and is now in the Eskimo Museum at Churchill.²⁵

This 1945 sculpture was the earliest Christian image Tungilik carved, but Christianity was a theme to which he would return at different points in his life.

Tungilik did not create just one bust of Christ in the mid-1940s, but several. Three examples of this subject are currently housed in the Eskimo Museum (**figs. 64, 65, 66**). As noted in the above quote, Van de Velde requested that the artist make a copy from a Western source. Even though the original model is not available, it is clear when viewing these sculptures that Western conceptions of Jesus were maintained by Tungilik.²⁶

The trio of ivory carvings portray Christ with wavy, shoulder-length hair, a full beard and moustache, a long face, prominent nose, cleft chin, and chiselled jaw line. This physiognomy is not common among Inuit. It does, however, resemble conventional European interpretations of Christ since the Middle Ages. Also foreign to the Arctic is the style of dress which Jesus is shown wearing. Tungilik has clothed his subject in a tunic with classical drapery shown in low relief as softly undulating folds. Attention to

different textures is evident, and the face of Christ is carefully depicted. Jesus appears solemn, even sorrowful.

Small in scale,²⁷ these representations of Christ do not exude the sense of monumentality that larger sculptural portraits might convey. Their size invites close observation, not admiration from afar. When the viewer advances for a closer look, however, they are faced with the seeming unapproachability of these portrayals. Distance between object and audience is encouraged by Tungilik's interpretation of the Saviour as stoic and royal. Royalty is signified by the artist's inclusion of the crown of thorns atop Jesus' head, a sign of his biblical status as "King of the Jews." This sense of royalty, in addition to the format chosen, also contributes to the perception that Tungilik's subject seems somewhat remote. Portrayed in bust form, Jesus is shown without arms that might otherwise embrace his observer. This unapproachability is, nonetheless, appropriate for depictions of a supreme being who demands the utmost respect of his followers. The remoteness is also an apt metaphor for the emotional disconnectedness Tungilik may have felt, carving a subject which was still relatively foreign to him at the time.

In the 1950s, Tungilik created another image of Jesus (**fig. 68**). Theresie Tungilik remembers her father working on a depiction of a crucified Christ when she was a young girl.²⁸ Carved for the Roman Catholic mission in Repulse Bay, the resulting wood Crucifixion is at least twelve inches in height a total contrast in size and medium from Tungilik's other sculptures. Christ is shown nude except for a loincloth which is knotted at his left side. His arms are uplifted and outstretched, with wounds at his hands. The

artist has rendered biceps and triceps through slight undercutting of the material. While knees are slightly bent, Tungilik has not separated the figure's legs with negative space. Although facial features are roughly depicted, this Christ also seems to have shoulder-length hair. This crucified Jesus is similar to Tungilik's busts of Christ because it, too, is derivative of Western iconography. There are no references to traditional Inuit culture or spirituality in these early Christian images.

Tungilik's daughter has explained that her father and other Christian Inuit of Repulse Bay were familiar with Euro-Christian imagery. She notes that her father would have seen the pictures in *Catechisme en Images*, and that most people had prayer cards, which they would use as page markers for their prayer books. "The priests used to hand out little pictures of Mary or Jesus or angels on a little paper, all painted up with pretty colours."²⁹

Visual sources or models such as these influenced the way in which many Inuit rendered Christian themes. For, while Marc Tungilik seems to have been one of the first Inuit artists to have executed Christian subject matter, others soon followed. Perhaps prodded by Oblate missionaries, several individuals from Chesterfield Inlet, Repulse Bay, Pelly Bay, and other communities, created Christian images in the 1940s and 1950s. Depictions of Christ, the Madonna and Child, and Saint Theresa were most popular, in addition to portraits of missionary personnel. Like the early busts of Christ carved by Tungilik, many of these sculptures were strongly influenced by Euro-Christian iconography, if they were not direct copies of images from prayer books. A 1954 *Bust of*

Christ (**fig. 70**), attributed to Victor Sammurtok of Chesterfield Inlet, is strikingly similar to Tungilik's. Sammurtok is credited with authorship of another, full-length version of *Christ* (**fig. 71**), as well as a third small sculpture of *Christ of the Sacred Heart* (**fig. 72**).³⁰ The last work is based upon renderings of this subject in *Inungnut Tamênut* (**fig. 25**) and early Catholic prayer books (**fig. 17, 20**). Sammurtok, finally, chiselled a portrait of *Saint Theresa* (**fig. 73**), as did an unidentified artist from Repulse Bay (**fig. 74**). These two images of the patron saint of missions, particularly the second, are both derived from a Catholic prayer book illustration of her likeness (**fig. 18**).

Whereas the above portrayals of Christ and Christian saints reflect Euro-Christian iconography and show few signs of indigenization,³¹ some artists did depart from this pattern to create sculptures which reflect the culture of their makers. Repulse Bay artist Irene Kataq Angutitok's *Virgin Mary and Christ Child* (**fig. 75**) and *Blessed Virgin* (**fig. 76**) are two examples of indigenized versions of traditional European representations of the Madonna and Child. Mary is an Inuit woman³² who wears an amauti and kamiik in both sculptures. In *Virgin Mary and Christ Child*, the Madonna even has braided hair, a style in which most Inuit women traditionally wore theirs. The halo atop Mary's head in *Virgin Mary and Christ Child*, and the posture of the Virgin in both sculptures reveal the artist's exposure to Euro-Christian iconography but, overall, this pair of sculptures is a unique response to a Christian theme.

Indigenization plays a greater role in the Christian images created by Marc Tungilik later in his life than in his earlier work. These later sculptures usually consist of angels,³³

which he carved from the late-1970s until his death in 1986. Theresie Tungilik notes that she had not seen her father produce Christian carvings for a long time until he began to do them again after he had an eye operation.³⁴

Like his busts of Christ, all of Marc Tungilik's angels are miniatures in ivory. While Tungilik did complete his first angel before 1950 (**fig. 78**), this sculpture is stylistically quite different from more recent versions. Tungilik angels of the 1970s and 1980s are more in keeping with the general style of work done by the artist during these years. In other words, Tungilik's later angels are better integrated into his overall oeuvre. His tiny angels all wear floor length gowns with vertical lines carved to render the pleats in their drapery. They stand on stone bases or in front of arch-shaped stone walls, and their wings may point up, down, or to the sides. Tungilik has made angels that blow trumpets³⁵ and others that clasp their hands in prayer (**figs. 79, 80**). One holds a cross (**fig. 81**), another has a horn halo (**fig. 82**), and still others stand with arms hanging at their sides (**figs. 83, 84**). Eyes are often drilled, and this feature, along with the angels' large, bald heads and sunken cheeks, give the figures a gaunt, skeletal appearance not unlike that possessed by Tungilik's other figural carvings.³⁶

The preoccupation of Marc Tungilik with Christian angels is worthy of further contemplation. Winged figures should be considered both in terms of their meaning within Christendom and in light of traditional Inuit spirituality. In Christianity, angels are capable of flight and they are ethereal beings that straddle the human and heavenly realms. In an animist religion, fluidity between human and animal beings is stressed, and

it is believed that, for example, a person is able to transform into a bird and vice versa.

In addition, Harold Seidelman and James Turner point out that,

[i]n shamanic cultures, birds are seen as representations of the shaman's flight to another world to mediate between humankind and the mysterious forces of nature. Birds in flight represent the angakoq's soul, a messenger from the spirit domain, and the power of Sila. Angakoqs are closely identified with water birds (fulmars, loons, geese), expressing a mastery of earth, sea and sky. Bird symbolism is not restricted to shamanism but is common to all religions.³⁷

With this information and the knowledge that Tungilik probably subscribed to the beliefs of traditional Inuit spirituality at least until his baptism in 1939, the artist's understanding of angels is open to debate. It is not unreasonable to believe that Tungilik's conception of Christian angels was influenced by what he already knew about shamanism and the place of winged figures in that religion.

Around 1970, in fact, Tungilik created a stone sculpture of a winged figure that appears to have different connotations than his angels. *Untitled (Bird Shaman)* (**fig. 85**) does not wear a long gown. Arms have become wings and a beak sprouts from the creature's head. The viewer may be seeing, not an angel, but a shaman in the midst of transformation.

Tungilik's interest in angels and bird-like imagery is reflected in the work of many other Inuit sculptors.³⁸ Images by Lucy Kinakulu (**fig. 86**), Tujeatsiak (**fig. 87**), David Tuktdjuk (**fig. 88**), Josiah Nuilaalik (**fig. 89**), Barnabus Arnasungaaq (**fig. 90**), Thomas Sivuraq (**figs. 91, 92**), David Ruben Piqtoukun (**fig. 93**), Latcholassie Akesuk (**fig. 94**), Davidialuk Alasua Amittu (**figs. 11, 95, 96**), Isah Qumalu Siviuarpi (**fig. 97**), and Edward

Snowball (**fig. 98**) all share a common element: the inclusion of wings. Some of these artworks signal the potential for syncretic readings, as the line separating Christian and shamanic iconographies becomes blurred. Do these wings belong to angels in the Christian sense, or are they those of an angakoq who has transformed into a bird in order to make a spirit journey? Some symbols signal a Christian reading, while others demand a shamanic interpretation. A continuum emerges, according to which set of symbols takes greater precedence. But at some point, symbols are so thoroughly mixed into one image that the artist's intent is ambiguous and syncretic. Furthermore, while viewers may assume that certain sculptures, such as Marc Tungilik's ivory miniatures, are straight-forward representations of Christian angels, the artist may maintain a mental connection to shamanic transformation that is not necessarily evidenced in the carving's iconography. This again would make the representation syncretic.

Perhaps the ambiguity surrounding Tungilik's conception of angels is best illustrated in a walrus tusk sculpture he carved in relief one or two years before his death (**figs. 99, 100**). On one side of the tusk, the following subjects are carved in profile from bottom to top: a bear, a muskox, a walrus, a seal, a robed figure with wings, a ptarmigan, and a goose. On the other side of the tusk, from bottom to top are three frontal faces of a bearded and moustached man, four profiles of a similar man's face, and three birds with wings outspread.

This carving represents a reconciliation of two very different spiritualities. On the one hand, it includes the Euro-Christian imagery of a winged angel in a long gown with hands

held in prayer. The seven faces are qallunaat and may refer to a missionary or Christ himself. Overriding this iconography, though, is the totemic organization of this sculpture. Writing about multiple or totem images among the artists of Repulse Bay, Jean Blodgett has said that such works are characterized by “the co-existence of human and animal forms.” Blodgett also comments that totemic sculptures may “represent a microcosm of the world of man and animals, for these artworks suggest not only a time of plenty, but also an understanding of the interrelated and interdependent nature of the relationship between men and the animals around them.”³⁹ It may have been Tungilik’s intention to emphasize the interrelation between animals and humans in this totem and even, by extension, their ability to transform into one another. The artist, furthermore, may also have wanted to suggest the holiness of all of the creatures rendered on the walrus tusk, both human and animal. In animist religions, all things—people, animals, even objects—are considered sacred.

In conclusion, the Christian images of Marc Tungilik reveal that the artist’s way of handling Christian iconography changed over time. While his early renderings of Christ were heavily influenced by Euro-Christian iconography and stylistic concerns, Tungilik’s Christian imagery of the late-1970s and early-1980s, particularly his angels, were unique. At the very least, the miniature angels are indigenized interpretations of a Christian theme. The artist’s interest in winged figures, moreover, extended to shamanic iconography and his concentration on images of flight may point to syncretic readings of all of Tungilik’s winged people. His totemic sculpture, lastly, fuses the iconographies of

two religions. It signals the importance placed on the interrelation between and sacredness of the animal and human worlds in traditional Inuit spirituality. Such notions of interdependence have manifested themselves in the art work of numerous Inuit artists and could also embrace depictions of missionaries, Christ, Christian saints, and angels to provide a fertile space for syncretic art forms in the art of Marc Tungilik and other Inuit artists.

Jessie Oonark (1906-1985): Documents of Arctic Anglicanism and Biblical Narratives

Jessie Oonark, named after her paternal grandfather (Una), was born about 1906 in the Keewatin region, close to where the Back River meets Garry Lake.⁴⁰ An Utkuhikhalingmiut, she lived nomadically for much of her life, moving from camp to camp in the Central Arctic interior between Baker Lake and Gjoa Haven. Like Marc Tungilik, Oonark's father, Aglaquarq, was said to be a shaman. Oonark remembered that when she was young, she was asked if she wanted to have her father's helping spirit: "It was small and wore a baby caribou skin hat. They asked me if I wanted to have it. I saw it from a distance and it almost came near me, but I didn't want to have a spirit for a helper."⁴¹ This incident suggests that Oonark was given the opportunity to become a shaman.

But instead of following the religion of her ancestors, Oonark chose to learn the teachings of the minister, Reverend William John Rundle James, and his assistant, Thomas Tapatai, when they first reached her camp in the late-1920s. Oonark

remembered that she was given a prayer book and *Bible* when her eldest child, Janet Kigusiuq (born in 1926), was still a baby being carried in Oonark's amaut.⁴² The artist, her husband, Kabloonak, and another man tried to learn about the new religion by reading the syllabic text in their prayer books. As they became more literate, they began to pass on their knowledge to others: "We taught everyone—everyone that is my age. We taught them how to read and write, and they learned the Bible from us, and they learned the story from us."⁴³

All was not well, however. Oonark recalled that Christianity caused a rift in the camp where she lived. Her uncle's wife did not like to hear about the Christian teachings. The artist said, "I remember being told off because I believed in little pieces of paper—and they tear easily . . . They used to tell us to shut up and not to read them and not to have anything to do with them. And because we wanted something to do with them, we moved away."⁴⁴

Reverend James found that, although they were isolated, the people of Back River "seemed to be the most interested in the Word of God." He reported that when Utkuhikhalingmiut men came to Baker Lake to trade furs, they would hold prayer meetings in the loft of the Hudson's Bay trading post. James also said he rarely used to see Utkuhikhalingmiut women in Baker Lake.⁴⁵ Oonark affirmed that she only used to make the long, arduous trip to the community on foot about twice per year, at Christmas and Easter. She and other new converts would attend church services and seasonal festivities. On one of these trips in 1944, Oonark and five of her children—Victoria

Mamnguqsualuk, Mary Yuusipik Singaqti, Peggy Qablunaaq, Nancy Pukingnak, and William Noah—were baptized by Reverend James. Later that year, Miriam Nanurluk Qiyuk, Janet Kigusiuq, and Josiah Nuilaalik (Oonark's other three children) were also baptized. In 1946, moreover, Oonark and Kabloonak were officially married by the minister in Saint Aidan's Anglican Church.⁴⁶

Despite the more convenient location of a Catholic mission at Garry Lake, manned by Father Joseph Buliard, from 1949 until Buliard's death in 1956, few Utkuhikhalingmiut became Catholics or switched from Anglicanism to the rival denomination.⁴⁷ Buliard remembered stopping over in Oonark's camp, but the artist has no recollection of this:

I never saw a Father, but I remember a lot of people who followed along the Catholic faith. I did see some people though. I've even said a couple of times that I wanted a Father to come around. I would like to talk with them about their faith or let them talk to me. I would like to see them.⁴⁸

The artist's interest in talking to a priest belies the intense competition between the two Churches. Perhaps Oonark was open to listening to the words of an Oblate Father because she did, at some point during her life on the land, have contact with one:

I believe that priests—if they believe right—that their prayers are quite strong. One time, I was skin and bones. I was so sick. And a priest came along and prayed for me, and I'm alive now. . . . I just can't forget him, that priest. He didn't give me life, but his prayers did.⁴⁹

The ability of missionaries to successfully heal impressed a great number of Inuit, and Oonark was no exception. The artist herself turned to prayer, sometimes depending on the benevolence that acts of devotion might bring. Janet Kigusiuq said that her mother and the entire family used to pray in times of hunger.⁵⁰ The use of prayer to bring

material benefits was similar to the traditional practise of asking the spirits to bring Inuit a successful hunt.

Prayer to the Christian God could not, unfortunately, save the life of her husband, who died from an illness between 1953 and 1954. For several years, Oonark and her children continued to suffer the pangs of hunger as they lived with various family members. In 1958, the situation became desperate, and a Royal Canadian Air Force plane transported a starving Oonark and one of her daughters to Baker Lake. This would be the artist's home for the rest of her life.⁵¹

Life in a settlement, surrounded by many other people was much different than existing on the land in a small family camp. Among the adjustments to be made was regular attendance at Saint Aidan's Church. When Oonark moved to Baker Lake, she began going to church services three times per week.⁵² Canon James ensured that his parishioners came to every service. When asked if the minister affected any changes among the Inuit of Baker Lake, Janet Kigusiuq replied,

Yes, everything changed completely—especially when Canon James was a missionary in Baker Lake because he was a real hard person towards religion. Everybody would go to church unless they had a really good reason not to go to church When Canon James was a missionary in Baker Lake, everybody used to go to church. Whether you were a native or a non-native, you would be asked to come to church, and you would attend every church service.⁵³

But after more than thirty years as a preacher to the Inuit, James eventually did leave Baker Lake in the early-1960s. In 1963, Reverend Alan Whitton became the Anglican minister in the settlement, a post which he held until 1972.⁵⁴ Jessie Oonark developed a

close association with the new pastor and his wife, Elizabeth. Oonark became janitor for Saint Aidan's Church after living for some time in Baker Lake. After cleaning the mission twice a week, she went to the Whitton's for coffee. There she would sing hymns and talk in Inuktitut to the missionary's young children. On other occasions, Oonark pored over the Whitton's collection of *National Geographic* magazines.⁵⁵

In 1966, Elizabeth Whitton began a sewing project, encouraging Jessie Oonark and other Baker Lake women to make parkas, slippers, mittens, and duffle socks for sale in the community and for shipment to southern markets. Some of these women (including Oonark) also created appliqued pictures from scraps of left-over fabric. Although the project was not long-lived, Elizabeth Whitton was one of the early key contributors to the development of the now-famous Baker Lake wall hangings.⁵⁶

In the mid- to late-1960s, Elizabeth Whitton urged Oonark to draw what are believed to be the artist's first Christian images. Elizabeth asked Oonark to design some illustrations for the Easter 1968 issue of *Okausit* (**figs. 102, 103**), a magazine published by the Diocese of the Arctic's Women's Auxiliary. Whitton remembers that she specifically requested that Oonark include some drawings which related to the church.⁵⁷

The resulting images document Anglicanism in Baker Lake at the time, depicting Reverend Whitton, catechist Thomas Tapatai, local Inuit worshippers, and even a church exterior (**fig. 104**).⁵⁸ While many of the women in these drawings have tattoos (Oonark chose to forego this traditional method of beautification), it is possible that the artist included herself as one of the parishioners. Some of the pages upon which Oonark drew

her designs were divided into four sections. Others were created on duplicating stencils (**fig. 105**).⁵⁹ Presumably, these devices were used by Elizabeth Whitton to better enable her to transfer images for publication in *Okausit*. In the drawings used for the cover of *Okausit* (**fig. 106**), Inuit men, women, and children are featured in traditional fur clothing, kneeling with hands held together in prayer. A drawing in the upper-right corner of this sheet (not used in the magazine), shows two men kneeling in prayer in front of a small cross on an altar.

Two of four drawings on a second page repeat the subject of a cross on an altar (**fig. 107**). In both cases, however, a large arch is added to frame this motif. Two photographs taken by the Whittons in the 1960s show that Oonark's cross, altar, and arch are clearly references to Saint Aidan's Church in Baker Lake (**figs. 53, 108**).⁶⁰ The image in the upper-left corner of this paper, moreover, shows a robed figure holding a book. This is intended to represent either Reverend Whitton or Tapatai in his ecclesiastical garb, preaching in front of a pulpit.

Tapatai and Whitton are rendered in another Oonark drawing (**fig. 109**). Elizabeth Whitton has identified the figure in the upper-left corner as Tapatai, with Reverend Whitton shown on the right. She explained that, in Saint Aidan's Church, Tapatai's reading desk and seat appeared to the left of the arch, while Whitton's was on the right.⁶¹ Again, these desks are visible in the photograph of the Baker Lake Anglican Church (**fig. 108**).

The autobiographical nature of images related to Christian worship is not unique to Oonark. Antonin Attark (**fig. 10**), John Polik (**fig. 7**), Marion Tuu'luuq (**fig. 110**), Ruth Annaqtuusi Tularialik (**fig. 111**),⁶² Mary Yuusipik Singaqti (**fig. 112**), Kananginak Pootoogook (**fig. 113**), Anirnik Oshuitoq (**fig. 114**), Kiawak Ashoona (**fig. 115**),⁶³ and Ennutsiak (**figs. 8, 116**) have all rendered Arctic church services or Inuit engaged in prayer. John Kaunak (**fig. 117**), Antonin Attark (**fig. 13**), Pudlo Pudlat (**figs. 118, 119**), Pauta Saila (**fig. 9**), and others (**figs. 120, 121**) have also, like Oonark, portrayed local missionary personnel. There is a wide range of styles and means of approaching these themes. Some works are syncretic, but many more are indigenized interpretations of the new religion. Indigenization is evident in Oonark's early drawings of her Christian milieu, if only for their inclusion of worshippers dressed in fur clothing. Her portraits of Reverend Whitton and Thomas Tapatai, furthermore, are based on direct observations of her subjects. They are not copies of official portraits of missionaries that can be found in prayer books (**fig. 19**), as are some unidentified representations of *Bishop Arsène Turquetil* (**fig. 121**).⁶⁴

Oonark would draw upon the iconography used in the early Church drawings in later images. She began to use the arch, in particular, as a symbol of both a Christian house of worship and the traditional Inuit winter dwelling.⁶⁵ The wall hanging she executed for Saint Jude's Cathedral in Iqaluit between 1971 and 1972 (**figs. 54, 122**) is a perfect example of the intersection of these two symbols.⁶⁶ The hanging itself focuses on the theme of prayer and its importance to Inuit across the Canadian Arctic. People are

shown praying wherever they are: on the land, in their igloos, and in churches. Most of the figures wear traditional garments in diverse styles, signifying that they are from different cultural groups in various parts of the North. People either kneel and clasp their hands, or stand and throw their arms to the heavens. A baptism, finally, occurs in the church at the centre of the hanging. It takes place inside one of several domed shapes that appear in this work. Other arches appear as the rainbow, a second church, and two igloos. It is especially appropriate that Oonark chose the arch as a focal shape for a work of art that hangs in a church dwelling which is itself in the form of an igloo.⁶⁷ Much more than her first images, this work is indigenized, as it brings together elements of traditional Inuit culture with Christianity.

Around the time that Oonark was working on the wall hanging for Saint Jude's Cathedral, she began to create another image in wool and stroud, which is now in the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario (**fig. 123**). The arch holds a key place in the organization of this latter image, which has been heavily analyzed for its potential Christian content by several scholars. Jack Butler proposed that this art work could represent the Ascension.⁶⁸ Butler, George Swinton, Jean Blodgett, and Jim Nickel have also developed the theory that the hanging depicts Moses in the central upper portion (presenting the tablets of the law and representing the Old Testament), with Jesus directly below (distributing food to the multitudes and symbolizing the New Testament).⁶⁹ Oonark herself said that the wall hanging shows people praying in the arch-shaped church, and that people on either side of the arch are coming to the church, but are still

outside of it. When asked if the figures on top are travelling to church or if they are out on the land, Oonark replied:

I was more thinking of people on the journey and seeing different tribes of different people, sort of walking between the hills or mountains. Those two women on the way back corners have the latest clothes from the Cambridge Bay area, and then next to her is a young one. Every young person seems to have those kind of parkas with a long tail and sort of a straight cut.⁷⁰

Oonark's comments point to the possibility an autobiographical element in this image, as she herself once travelled great distances to attend Christian celebrations at Baker Lake. Perhaps during the journey and, certainly upon arrival at Baker Lake, the artist would have met people whose cultural origins were different than her own. Oonark's explanation of this hanging also suggests that its content and form are a logical extension of earlier artistic concerns. It reflects the maker's continuing interest in the design of traditional fur garments from various Arctic regions.⁷¹ Just as in the hanging created for Saint Jude's Cathedral, Oonark presents this theme in the context of diverse cultural groups being followers of Christ. This wall hanging also shows Oonark's fascination for exploiting the arch shape doubly, as a symbol of a house of worship and as representative of the igloo.

Oonark continued to play with the symbolism that the arch could offer her. In a massive wall hanging completed in 1973 (**fig. 124**),⁷² the artist inserted arches and other Christian iconography into a work that also contains references to traditional spirituality. The focal point of this work is the large bird/woman⁷³ at the top of the hanging. This figure has angel-like wings which are outspread in a protective gesture to the two smaller

birds below. Beside and below her, several figures kneel in supplication or prayer. Two men place a hand on the heads of the kneeling men who flank the bird/woman, perhaps in a gesture of blessing. At the bottom, four men who are inside two arches genuflect and hold their hands in prayer. Between the two arches is a third vaulted shape that contains faces and is outlined with birds. This third arch is positioned directly below the bird/woman, and may be a reference to this central character. Finally, two semi-circular shapes which contain two faces appear at the top corners. The use of the arch/igloo shape here may simply reflect Oonark's interest in design, as she has surrounded the two forms with inverted kamiit.⁷⁴

The Christian symbols in this drawing—people kneeling, hands held in prayer, and the arch as house of worship—are subsumed by the main figure. The bird/woman is a signifier of traditional Inuit spirituality, and bird imagery is a prevalent theme in Oonark's work, often representative of shamanic beliefs.⁷⁵ Here, the bird/woman points to the belief in the mutability of human and animal life, a theme reflected, as we have seen, in the art of Marc Tungilik and others. The bird/woman can also be interpreted as a shaman in the midst of transformation, accompanied by her small bird spirit helpers. Finally, the appearance of the bird/woman's wings recalls those of Christian angels⁷⁶ and allows viewers to read this image syncretically. It may have been the artist's intention to suggest visually a similarity between the shaman and the angel. In closing, Oonark's decision to surround a figure representative of traditional Inuit beliefs with Christian iconography has definite syncretic potential.

Thus far, Oonark's Christian imagery has been mostly concerned with general symbols or references to the church at Baker Lake. But she has also depicted several biblical narratives as well.⁷⁷ In 1975, Oonark was one of twenty Canadian artists commissioned by the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops to create an illustration for the new *Sunday Mass Book*. Native artists were asked to use "their own sacred symbols in conjunction with those of the Christian world."⁷⁸ Oonark responded by submitting several drawings.⁷⁹ Other sketches which may have been produced as part of this commission include seven drawings (**figs. 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135.**), all of which are narrative in nature. *Waiting for the Lord* was chosen (**fig. 136**).

In this image, Christ is dressed in a long golden robe and he appears to be floating above a group of Inuit. Mary is among the people below Christ. She is depicted as an Inuk with long braided hair and wears fur clothing. Christ has his arms outstretched in a stance which recalls the Crucifixion and the stigmata are visible on his hands. Mimicking the pose of Christ, is an angel⁸⁰ who heralds the Saviour's arrival.

Waiting for the Lord was one of several drawings that Oonark made which interpret the Crucifixion. Two others are an untitled version (**fig. 129**) and the 1978 drawing, *Giver of Life* (**fig. 137**).⁸¹ The three illustrations share some similarities and a few differences. In the last two images, Christ appears on a cross to which he is being nailed by a soldier. *Waiting for the Lord* and *Giver of Life*, however, present the supporting figures in this drama as Inuit, and the ethnicity of Christ is left rather ambiguous. The untitled drawing, however, shows the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene in long gowns,

and Christ is a qallunaat with a beard. In fact, the untitled drawing is one of several Oonark narratives(**figs. 128, 130, 131, 132, 135**) which, more than *Waiting for the Lord* or *Giver of Life*, reflect Oonark's exposure to Euro-Christian iconography. The artist may have seen Euro-Christian images in picture rolls or stamps sometimes used by Anglican missionaries—including Baker Lake's Canon James—in teaching the new religion to Inuit.⁸²

Waiting for the Lord, however, is slightly less influenced by qallunaat sources of imagery, as the artist attempts to imbue the drawing with the "sacred symbols" of her own culture, in fulfillment of the request made by the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops. It is bird imagery that again provides the entry point for syncretic readings of this illustration. The angel in *Waiting for the Lord* is an armless winged figure which also appears in another Oonark drawing that may have been made at the same time (**fig. 134**). It is worthwhile to compare other bird and angel imagery produced by Jessie Oonark to the figure which appears in *Waiting for the Lord*. The bird imagery used in *Dream of the Bird Woman* (**fig. 139**) and, to a lesser degree, in *Flight of the Shaman* (**fig. 140**), is visually similar to that used to depict the angel in *Waiting for the Lord*. The shamanic bird imagery⁸³ in all three is much different than Euro-Christian version of an angel Oonark included in a different drawing (**fig. 131**). The "angel" at Christ's side in *Waiting for the Lord* may also be interpreted either as an angakoq transformed into a bird or, alternately, as Christ's helping spirit.

The interpretation of an angel as a figure from traditional Inuit spirituality is applicable to a second drawing (**fig. 134**) which includes a winged figure identical to the one in *Waiting for the Lord*. It is this author's contention that this second drawing is a didactic representation of, at the top, a traditional Inuit marriage arrangement and, at the bottom, a Christian marriage in the Baker Lake Anglican Church. This graphic image can be read not only as an illustration of two different approaches to marriage, but sequentially as well. The top scene may precede the bottom: a marriage is arranged, and then a church service makes the union official in the eyes of God. This theme is significant to the artist because Oonark had an arranged marriage and, subsequently, she arranged the marriages of some of her children.⁸⁴

The multiple interpretations that can be made of Oonark's wall hangings, drawings, and prints which contain Christian iconography is reflective of the general richness of this artist's visual repertoire. Images from past and present belief systems are combined in syncretic blends in several of Oonark's works demonstrating, as Maureen Flynn-Burhoe has said, the artist's "capacity to hold conflicting ideas in a balance."⁸⁵ There is an ambiguity in many of Oonark's images, moreover, which points to the many layers of meaning that she is able to communicate simultaneously.⁸⁶ Joanne Lochhead (nee Bryers) and Flynn-Burhoe have determined that this characteristic reflects the syncretistic, or holistic, vision that the artist possessed.⁸⁷ Jean Blodgett, finally, says that Oonark's ambiguous visual forms are ultimately related to the interconnectedness of the animal and human worlds, as put forth in traditional Inuit spirituality. "Oonark's

treatment of her subjects changed and transformed them”, adds Blodgett.⁸⁸ The above exploration of Oonark’s use of Christian iconography reveals that shamanic beliefs have informed Jessie Oonark’s vision of Christian imagery, occasionally resulting in the syncretic transformation of meaning from one spirituality to the other.

Charlie Ugyuk (b.1931): Autobiography, Demons, and Social Commentary

Charlie Ugyuk, named for his father, was born on the sea-ice in 1931 to a Netsilik family living in the Kitikmeot region around Taloyoak. Like the artists Marc Tungilik and Jessie Oonark, Ugyuk lived in hunting camps for at least the first half of his life. Ugyuk’s son, Inuk Charlie, has said that he still lived with his father on the land in 1970.⁸⁹

Ugyuk’s exposure to Christian teachings is difficult to gauge. It is likely that the artist might have heard about the new religion when still a child from either Anglican or Oblate missionaries, who stopped briefly in the area in the mid- and late-1930s.⁹⁰ Roman Catholic and Anglican mission outposts were set up near or at Taloyoak in 1948 and 1955, respectively. The early qallunaat missionaries with whom Ugyuk probably had contact include Father Pierre Henry and Reverend Donald Whitbread.⁹¹ Father Pierre Henry, who was known for his avid use of images in teaching Inuit about Christianity, may have exposed the young Ugyuk to Euro-Christian iconography shown in prayer books, the Catholic ladder, or *Catechisme en Images*.⁹²

Many of Charlie Ugyuk's sculptures certainly reflect a knowledge of Euro-Christian symbolism. However, the artist did not include Christian iconography in his oeuvre until nearly fifteen years after he began carving around 1961.⁹³ One of the first individuals in his community to become a full-time carver, Ugyuk's early works include medium- and large-scale stone sculptures of people and animals engaged in traditional activities, as well as miniature dog teams in ivory.⁹⁴ Shamanism, however, has become a prevalent theme in Ugyuk's work created since the 1980s.

Ugyuk's visual exploration of shamanism has periodically included Christian iconography. Winged and crucified shamans, as well as evil spirits or transforming angakoqs with Satanic attributes, show an intersection of two very different iconographies. An early example of the intersection of Christian and shamanic symbols is evident in *Devil* of 1975 (**fig. 144**). Ugyuk shows a bald, standing figure that holds a traditional hunting implement. The appearance of the fishing leister clearly parallels the Euro-Christian symbol of Satan's trident, and is included in several of this artist's sculptures. Ugyuk's *Devil* also has horns and a tail. This sculpture has been interpreted "as a story about the demons that come with drinking [alcohol]."⁹⁵ Of all versions of Ugyuk's demonic creatures, *Devil* incorporates Christian iconography to the greatest degree. The reader will see that the Satanic symbolism in Ugyuk's work is later subsumed by more overt shamanic signifiers.

Christian iconography associated with Satan reappeared in Ugyuk's visual repertoire with great force in the mid-1980s. Several sculptures made at this time show tortured,

gargoyle-faced creatures with horns (**figs. 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151**).⁹⁶ Not only do these demons contain shamanic references, but they are also autobiographical. Ugyuk's devils are, in part, manifestations of how he views himself and others view him. For Ugyuk was convicted of sexually assaulting a family member at this period, and served time in the Yellowknife Correctional Institute for his violent, abusive behaviour.⁹⁷ Inuit art curator, Darlene Coward Wight, has recently written that:

Devil-like creatures began to appear in Ugyuk's work in the mid-1980s, along with other works that had ironic references to Christianity. The artist feels that angakoks were viewed as devils by missionaries, and refers to this in many of his sculptures. These may double as self-references also, as a result of guilt for family violence he has caused, under the influence of alcohol abuse.⁹⁸

The three following sculptures, all created in 1985,⁹⁹ each contain shamanic and Christian iconography, and two include disturbing references to rape. *Demon with Trident* (**figs. 146, 147**) depicts a nude figure holding a trident in its hands. The hermaphroditic creature has one large breast and an erect penis,¹⁰⁰ as well as two faces. The figure's feet and hands are claw-like and it has animal ears and horns. Here the Christian symbols of Satan's trident and horns are really accoutrements to the more numerous references to the transformative nature of the angakoq. Previously mentioned references to sexual duality are emphasized by the inclusion of two different faces and point to the belief that the shaman could transform into the opposite sex.¹⁰¹

Demon (**figs. 148, 149**) is an equally disturbing image that represents the shaman's duality and ability to transform into an animal. Like *Demon with Trident*, this figure has two frightening faces and claw-like feet and hands. Another reference to shamanism is

the exaggerated spinal cord that winds its way down the creature's back. It signifies that one of the angakoq's tests of power was to view him/herself as a skeleton.¹⁰² While *Demon* does have Devil-like horns, this attribute does not stand out as much as the figure's large, erect, arrow-tipped penis. This is an obvious reference to the sexual assault the artist has committed, with the penis represented as a dangerous weapon.

In the third carving, *Demon* (figs. 150, 151), references to rape subside and Satanic attributes play a greater part. Not only is this figure holding a trident, but it also has horns and a large wing at the back. The wing is significant in the context of the creature's other bird-like attributes—it has feet and hands like claws—which reflect an angakoq's transformative state. Equally important, however, the wing has a basis in Christian iconography. The Devil of *Catechisme en Images* is a horned, winged human who holds a trident (fig. 24). It is probable that Ugyuk had seen *Catechisme en Images* or another, similar Euro-Christian interpretation of Satan from a different source at some point in his life. While a knowledge of Western Christian iconography has contributed to the making of all three demonic figures, it plays a particularly strong part in this third sculpture. The winged *Demon* is a syncretic blend of angakoq and Satan.

Ugyuk used bird symbolism in another way which is reminiscent of Christian iconographic forms. The artist has created a variety of flying shamans whose wings are suggestive of Christian angels (figs. 154, 155, 156, 157). As discussed in the art of Marc Tungilik and Jessie Oonark, the appearance of bird/angel imagery can be syncretic. In Ugyuk's usage, the angel-like wings are sometimes dominated by other shamanic

references, such as the helping bird spirit in *Transformation* (fig. 154). On the other hand, Ugyuk's *Drummer* (fig. 155) represents a balance of symbols. It features the shaman's drum and beater as well as angel-like wings. All of these sculptures, however, point to the ability of both angakoq and angel to take flight, thus straddling human and spiritual worlds.

A third use of Christian iconography employed by Ugyuk is the depiction of crucified shamans. Angakoqs are posed standing with arms outspread (figs. 158, 159, 160), and are often suspended on a pole (figs. 159, 160).¹⁰³ In these sculptures, Christian iconography intersects with shamanic references in a potentially syncretic way. Crucified shamans may reflect a belief on the part of the artist in the similarity between the angakoq and Christ. Both had the capacity to die and resurrect themselves.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Ugyuk views Christ as a powerful angakoq.

Ugyuk, finally, has utilized Christian iconography in his sculpture to reflect his anti-Christian feelings. *Bad Spirits* (fig. 161) and *Shaman with Cross* (fig. 162) both feature angakoqs in the midst of transformation with a cross embedded in their bodies. The figure in *Shaman with Cross*, for example, is attempting to turn into a bird, as it holds a feather in its hand and has claws for feet. The authors of *The Inuit Imagination* were able to obtain an explanation of *Bad Spirits* from Ugyuk:

Christianity was forced on us, according to the artist, and the angakoqs came to be seen as devils. [Ugyuk] thinks that the Inuit were criticized and condemned for beliefs that were really not part of the traditional culture and religion.¹⁰⁵

Bad Spirits then, represents a commentary on the devastating effects of Christian missionaries on traditional Inuit spirituality. In fact, most of the sculptures created by Ugyuk that have been discussed—his devils/shamans and crucified angakoqs—can be considered a critique of missionaries who promoted the idea that shamans were evil people who worshipped Satan. Figuratively speaking, some Northern preachers did “crucify” the shaman. And, as noted in Chapter two of this thesis, many Arctic missionaries were vehement in their condemnation of traditional Inuit beliefs and practices.

Ugyuk is not the only artist to comment on the negative effects of missionaries on Inuit. A critique of colonialist institutions such as the Christian Church is becoming an increasingly common tenet in art work created by a younger generation of Inuit artists. David Ruben Piqtoukun, for example, has created several sculptures which point to the pain caused by the Oblate missionaries and Grey Nuns who operated the boarding school he attended as a child (**figs. 163, 164, 165**).¹⁰⁶ Mission-run residential schools helped destroy many vestiges of Inuit culture, including language and traditional beliefs and practices.

To conclude, Charlie Ugyuk is an example of an artist who has applied his knowledge of Christian iconography to shamanic subject matter. Several of his works can be considered syncretic with their symbolic references to shamans as devils or Christ on the cross. Ugyuk’s critique of Christian missionaries, moreover, as evidenced in *Bad Spirits*

and *Shaman with Cross* points out new directions which future Inuit artists may choose to pursue in using Christian iconography in their work.

Concluding Observations

The use of Christian iconography by the three main artists discussed in this chapter reveals diversity in the interpretation of Christian themes by Inuit artists. It has been discovered that there are a variety of ways in which syncretism may appear in Inuit art, and that syncretic fusion is often a matter of degree. Some Christian images, such as Marc Tungilik's busts of Christ, are copies of Western sources. Other works, like Tungilik's miniature robed angels and Jessie Oonark's drawings for the Whittons, are indigenized. When there is believed to be a transfer of meaning of symbols, like the winged figure in Oonark's *Waiting for the Lord*, or the devils of Charlie Ugyuk, syncretism occurs. Syncretism is also possible in images which appear to contain primarily Christian or shamanic imagery, because the artist may not provide visual, symbolic evidence for the syncretic understanding of a religious belief or ritual. This was discussed particularly in reference to Marc Tungilik's angels and images involving winged figures in general. Lastly, there are many images of Inuit art which are devoid of Christian iconography. In artworks such as these, shamanic symbolism retains its original connotations within traditional Inuit spirituality. The result is a continuum upon which works may be considered more or less syncretic after careful consideration of their

form and iconography, and concern for the the context of their creation and their maker's exposure to both traditional Inuit spirituality and Christianity.

Endnotes

¹ The communities and artists that are responsible for the largest number of Christian images are listed in descending order, beginning with that settlement or artist responsible for the most Christian images.

² Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", Genealogies of Inuit living in the Pelly Bay area, 1950-1951, 57; Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., *Canadian Eskimo Artists, A Biographical Dictionary: Pelly Bay* (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1970), 23. In an interview, the artist said he remembered living close to the present-day settlement of Taloyoak as a young boy. Marc Tungilik, interview with Norman Zepp and Gabriel Gély, translator Madeleine Natok Anderson, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., February 1982, Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Associate Curator of Inuit Art, Winnipeg Art Gallery. The biography of Marc Tungilik is discussed in some detail in this thesis because the author has uncovered previously unpublished information about the life of Tungilik. This unpublished information is in the form of both interviews and archival documents and helps to provide a context for the art works discussed later.

³ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 55.

⁴ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 57; Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 23.

⁵ Tungilik and Pujatark's eldest child, moreover, died in 1954 at the age of sixteen, while giving birth near Repulse Bay. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 57; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G1, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Liber Animarium de la Mission de Pelly Bay—Kugaardjuk—St. Pierre et la Vierge des Pauvres", Genealogies of Inuit living in the Pelly Bay area, 1982, Volume 1, 18. A female child suffocated in 1943, while a son died during a flu epidemic in 1946. Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C2, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 2 (1943-1950), 214 (entry dated August 10, 1943); Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C2, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 2 (1943-1950), 259, 261 (entries dated February 1, 1946 and March 1, 1946).

⁶ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 57; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G1, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i., "Liber Animarium de la Mission de Pelly Bay—Kugaardjuk—St. Pierre et la Vierge des Pauvres", 1982, 19; Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56C2, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 2 (1943-1950), 278 (entry dated

May 24, 1947); Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 23. In the last source, Van de Velde mistakenly says Pujatark died while giving birth to her first child, a girl.

⁷ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 57; Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 23; Jean Blodgett, "Appendix [artist biographies]", in *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 59. Theresie Tungilik, the first child born to Marc and Angugatsiaq, has said that Father Théophile Didier arranged for her parents to meet one another. Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995; Theresie Tungilik, interview with David F. Pelly, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 20 November 1991, in David F. Pelly, *Wager Bay Oral History Project: Interview Transcripts*, Prepared for Parks Canada, Contract number K3129-91-197, March 1992, 137.

⁸ Theresie Tungilik, interview with David F. Pelly, 20 November 1991, 130-132, 137; Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. According to Theresie Tungilik, Marc died at the Churchill hospital on September 22, 1986, following a heart attack. Marc's second wife, Angugatsiaq, had died only eighteen months earlier from cancer.

⁹ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T. LCB321.C56C1, "Pelly Bay Mission: Codex Historicus", Volume 1 (1935-1942), 54 (entries dated February 16, 1939 and February 25, 1939); Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 55, 57. It should be noted that Tungilik and other Netsilik Inuit may have been exposed to Christian doctrine by traders with either the Hudson's Bay Company or the Canalska Trading Company. Both companies operated trading posts at Gjoa Haven (which is on King William Island) in the 1920s and 1930s. See Darlene Wight, "Community Profiles: The Central Arctic", *Inuit Arts and Crafts*, Number 2 (December 1984), 12; Darlene Coward Wight, "The Netsilik Communities—A Brief History", in Darlene Coward Wight, *Art and Expression of the Netsilik: Guidebook* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1997), n.p.

¹⁰ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. Theresie Tungilik also commented on the reputation Saumik had as an angakoq. When Theresie was living in Coral Harbour in the early-1970s, she met an elderly man who was "a pretty strong shaman. And he said he feared only one shaman, and he said that was Saumik. That was my grandfather."

¹¹ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 55. This source also indicates that Saumik wished to commit suicide in his old age and may have succeeded because he died under mysterious circumstances in 1942. He was not given a Christian funeral, but was buried on the land under a pile of rocks.

¹² Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 55.

¹³ Archives Deschâtelets, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay Collection: Pelly Bay, N. W. T., LCB321.C56G4, Franz Van de Velde, o.m.i. and Rogatien Papion, o.m.i., "Mission Saint Pierre—Pelly Bay—Kugardjuk N. W. T.: Liber Animarum et Familiarum Parochiae", 1950-1951, 57. Despite the fact that the authors of this text found Tungilik's catechetical instruction lacking, they noted that the artist was

confirmed by the Catholic Church in 1944 and 1950. The second confirmation was an error made by the Oblates, who may have confused their records.

¹⁴ Theresie Tungilik, interview with David F. Pelly, 20 November 1991, 137.

¹⁵ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. Also see Theresie Tungilik, interview with David F. Pelly, 20 November 1991, 133.

¹⁶ Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995.

¹⁷ F. G. Vallee, *Kabloon and Eskimo of the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa: Northern Coordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1962), 178.

¹⁸ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995; Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995. Theresie Tungilik believes her mother began catechetical work in the 1970s.

¹⁹ Theresie Tungilik has said that her mother carved only occasionally, and that she usually created figural works using a soft soapstone. Angugatsiaq seems to have done most of her carving after the Repulse Bay co-operative was founded in 1968. Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. This sculpture was illustrated in *Eskimo* Volume 79 (January 1969), 2.

²⁰ Marc Tungilik, interview with Norman Zepp and Gabriel Gély, translator Madeleine Natok Anderson, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., February 1982; Darlene Wight, *Marc Tungilik: Recent Sculpture* (Toronto: Images Art Gallery, 1982), n.p.; Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. According to both Theresie and Priscilla Tungilik, Marc was a hard worker who carved every day in order to provide well for his family. Tungilik also carved out of love, making barrettes and toys for Theresie as a child and, much later in life, creating Christian images and other sculptures as gifts for family and friends. Both his skill as a sculptor and his ability as a provider garnered Marc Tungilik the respect of other Inuit artists. Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995; Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995; Marc Tungilik, interview with Norman Zepp and Gabriel Gély, translator Madeleine Natok Anderson, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., February 1982; Theresie Tungilik, interview with David F. Pelly, 20 November 1991, 134; Theresie Tungilik, in "The Contemporary Living Art: Mattiusi Iyaituk, Theresie Tungilik, Natar Ungalaq, Charlie Kogvik, Joseph Suqsluk, William Gruben, John Teriak, Charlie Inukpuk", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 11, number 1 (Spring 1996), 6; Theresie Tungilik, interview with David F. Pelly, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 13 February 1992, in David F. Pelly, *Wager Bay Oral History Project: Interview Transcripts*, Prepared for Parks Canada, Contract number K3129-91-197, March 1992, 145-146.

²¹ Marc Tungilik, interview with Norman Zepp and Gabriel Gély, translator Madeleine Natok Anderson, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., February 1982; Wight, *Marc Tungilik*, n.p.; Darlene Coward Wight, *Inuit Ivories from the Collection* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1992), n.p.; Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995; Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995. Tungilik's earliest works—hunters holding harpoons, replicas of hunting implements, and dog teams—were all carved from ivory. When he lived in the Pelly Bay region, Tungilik may have obtained ivory while hunting walrus or from Father Van de Velde, who had boxes of the material shipped in from Igloolik (see Chapter four). Ivory was much more plentiful in the area surrounding Repulse Bay, where the artist spent most of his adult life. Jean Blodgett, "Repulse Bay Sculpture", in *Repulse Bay* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1979), 44; Wight, *Marc Tungilik*, n.p.

²² Norman Zepp, "Themes and Community Styles", in Norman Zepp, *Inspiration: Four Decades of Sculpture by Canadian Inuit* (Vancouver: Marion Scott Gallery, 1995), 33; Marie Routledge and Ingo Hessel, "Regional Diversity in Contemporary Inuit Sculpture", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 5, number 3 (Summer 1990), 19; Marie Routledge and Ingo Hessel, "Contemporary Inuit Sculpture: An Approach to the Medium, the Artists, and their Work", in Canadian Museum of Civilization (editor), *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series Paper 124 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 466. After a successful operation on his cataracts in the late-1970s, Tungilik was able to work wearing only one pair of glasses. At this time, his sculptures became even smaller. Priscilla and Theresie Tungilik both recalled with affection how some of these minute works would sometimes get lost if the artist dropped them on the floor during the carving process. Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995; Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995. It may be that Tungilik worked in the miniature, in part, as a means of defying his visual handicap.

²³ Marc Tungilik, interview with Norman Zepp and Gabriel Gély, translator Madeleine Natok Anderson, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., February 1982; Wight, *Marc Tungilik*, n.p. The artist would have had contact with Father Rivoire when the latter was preaching at Our Lady of the Snows, the Roman Catholic mission in Repulse Bay, from 1965 until 1974. Eskimo Museum, "Biographies of missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d.

²⁴ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. Father Didier was a missionary in Repulse Bay from 1947 until 1960, 1965 until 1973, and 1976 until 1977. Eskimo Museum, "Biographies of missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d.

²⁵ Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 23; Van de Velde, letter to the author, 13 August 1997, 1; Van de Velde, letter to the author, 8 September 1997, 1. In the published text, Van de Velde mistakenly states that this bust was Tungilik's first carving of any kind, an error that Jean Blodgett repeats in "Repulse Bay Sculpture", 38. Van de Velde also says that Tungilik made an ivory miniature of two or three centimetres high, which was presented to Pope Pius XII in 1948. Van de Velde, *Canadian Eskimo Artists*, 23.

²⁶ The reader is directed to **figs. 17, 20, 25** for examples of Euro-Christian images of the Saviour that were found in Catholic prayer books and the periodical *Imungmut Tamémuit*. Catholic followers like Tungilik would have had access to such texts and the images found within them. It should be noted that one Tungilik's three images of Christ is much smaller than the other two. Due to the tiniest sculpture's amazingly small scale, there is necessarily a minimization of detail. Tungilik, finally, returned to carving small busts of Christ atop pedestals in the 1980s. An example from the Theresie Tungilik collection (**fig. 67**) suggests that these more recent portrayals of Jesus, although still heavily influenced by Euro-Christian versions, were less exacting than those of the mid-1940s. The early busts can probably be counted among the most finely detailed sculptures the artist ever produced. Tungilik's deteriorating eyesight may be partially responsible for the lack of detail found in his later works. With respect to the more recent rendering of Christ, the artist may have been working solely from memory of his earlier pieces or he may have seen these earlier busts of Christ on display at the Eskimo Museum in Churchill.

²⁷ Although it is tempting to connect the diminutive size of these busts of Christ to the pre-historical Inuit art traditions of the Dorset and Thule periods, when sculptural forms were easily transportable, the inclusion of flat bases clearly indicates that these busts were meant for display purposes. Also, unlike objects from the prehistoric eras, Tungilik's works were created to be sold. There is no evidence to suggest that Tungilik kept early Christian sculptures of his own design for personal use in prayer. Tungilik's busts of Christ, however, are more closely related to the small-scale trade art of the historic period, when models of

implements and replicas of non-Inuit items were carved for whalers, fur traders, and missionaries. Routledge and Hessel, "Regional", 19; Routledge and Hessel, "Contemporary", 464; Zepp, "Themes", 33. Jean Blodgett has even discussed the links that Marc Tungilik's sculpture has with the historic era. Blodgett feels, and I agree, that "similarities between what we call the historic period and the contemporary period [of Inuit art] . . . make the division at the Houston time seem arbitrary." Jean Blodgett, "The Historical View", in *Conference for Curators and Specialists Who Work with Inuit Art*, Record of conference minutes for September 15-16, 1982 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1982), 149-150. It is generally held that art works made before James Houston's 1949 promotional efforts are considered historical, while those created after this time are said to be contemporary. Art in both periods, however, was created for qallunaat. The style of sculpture executed by some artists (including Marc Tungilik) in the late-historical period, furthermore, was continuous with what they produced in the early-contemporary period.

²⁸ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. Theresie and Priscilla Tungilik both remarked that this sculpture is still displayed in Our Lady of the Snows on special occasions. Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995; Priscilla Tungilik, personal interview, Churchill, Manitoba, 4 June 1995. The composition of this sculpture is similar to *Jiisusi* (fig. 69), attributed to Isah Qumalu Sivuarapi of Povungituk. Both works were executed in the 1950s as commissions for their local Catholic Churches. At some point after their completion, the sculptures were attached to larger wooden crosses painted white.

²⁹ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995.

³⁰ The sculpture which depicts *Christ of the Sacred Heart* (fig. 72) has been attributed by this author to Victor Sammurtok. This attribution has been made due to the similarity of stylistic details in this sculpture with those in the Sammurtok's other full-length carving of *Christ* (fig. 71).

³¹ Jean Blodgett has noted the derivative nature of these early Christian images, stating that such works are "stiff and unexpressive" and "lack conviction" Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 85.

³² For a discussion of the reverse—Inuit woman and child as Madonna and Child—see George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 90, 135; Darlene Wight, *The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 9, 15. For illustrations of some of these images, see figs. 3, 5, 6, 14, 15.

³³ Tungilik also depicted a priest in 1981 (fig. 77). This may be the only portrayal of a missionary that the artist ever created. As with Tungilik's angels, *Priest* is an ivory miniature with a proportionately large head and drilled eyes. The character in this sculpture wears a long shawl-like robe, a reference to the missionary's vestments. The identity of the preacher is unknown.

³⁴ Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995. At first, when her father started making angels, Theresie viewed the sculptures merely as evidence of her father's conversion to Christianity. Soon, however, she also began to notice how much work Tungilik was putting into these images, and how beautiful they were. "I started realizing 'here is one man who makes these carvings, and no other Inuk really makes these types of carvings.' Then they became very special."

³⁵ Although I do not have a photograph of such an angel, Theresie Tungilik has such a sculpture in her collection of her father's work. She has stated that these were very popular among collectors in Canada and the United States, and that her father received many requests for angels of this type. Theresie Tungilik, personal interview, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., 15 June 1995.

³⁶ Wight, *Marc Tungilik*, n.p.; Routledge and Hessel, "Regional", 19; Routledge and Hessel, "Contemporary", 466.

³⁷ Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 94. Jean Blodgett has expressed similar views. She adds that a shaman may turn into a bird in order to fly. Blodgett, "Repulse Bay Sculpture", 40. Finally, Darlene Coward Wight has noted the importance of bird symbolism in the Inuit shamanic culture. Among eighty sculptures in a Winnipeg Art Gallery exhibition that dealt with shamanic themes, the bird was an element of one-third of all images. Wight has said that "[t]he bird is a psychopomp, a conductor of souls to the spirit realm and the mythology of the bird-soul extends to religions other than shamanism. The shaman could change himself into a bird, or be accompanied by a bird while still alive, indicating the capacity to undertake an ecstatic journey to the dwelling places of the spirits." Darlene Coward Wight, *Multiple Realities: Inuit Images of Shamanic Transformation* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1993), n.p.

³⁸ Numerous Inuit graphic artists have also depicted winged figures. Examples of works on paper and textiles which contain this imagery will be mentioned within the discussion of the art of Jessie Oonark. Christine Lalonde has explored Cape Dorset graphic artist Pitseolak Ashoona's interest in images of flight. Lalonde also touched upon the connection between Christian and shamanic iconography in winged beings and the importance of bird symbolism in a spiritual context across the globe. Christine Lalonde, "Cross-Cultural Lines of Inquiry: The Drawings of Pitseolak Ashoona". Unpublished M. A. thesis (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1995), 94-97.

³⁹ Blodgett, "Repulse Bay Sculpture", 40-41. Blodgett points out that the totem format of sculpture was probably foreign to Inuit, and may have been introduced after encouragement from qallunaat whalers, explorers, fur traders or missionaries. Blodgett, "Repulse Bay Sculpture", 42. In relation to Blodgett's comments about totemic imagery pointing to the interrelation between animal and human life, is a similar explanation given by Baker Lake artist, Simon Tookoome, to his drawing, *The Story* (fig. 101). Two of the three meanings Tookoome applies to *The Story* relate to traditional Inuit spiritual beliefs, and one of these is the artist's concern to show that "people and the animals used to be close together. They understood each other." Tookoome particularly likes this drawing because, he says, "it can be translated into Inuit stories like traditional stories, but it can be translated into biblical stories, like creation. Adam and Eve lived closely with the animals and could touch them. In the Inuit legends, it is the same story." Simon Tookoome, in Marion E. Jackson, Judith Nasby, and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Baker Lake Drawings* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 111. Clearly, Tookoome sees connecting points between Christianity and traditional Inuit spirituality in *The Story*, a fact which is not easily evidenced from looking at the image alone. As stated earlier in reference to Tungilik's miniature angels, viewers should not assume that works of art are simply representations of either Christian or shamanic imagery. The possibility for syncretism in seemingly straight-forward images is real because fusion is not always overt.

⁴⁰ Marie Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark 1906-1985", in Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 7; Sandra Souchotte, "Jessie Oonark: Giver of Life", *Up Here*, Volume 1, number 4 (June/July 1985), 21; Dennis G. Siemens, "A Descriptive Study of the Cultural Influences on the Work of Oonark, an Eskimo Artist", Unpublished research paper (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1973), 13. This chapter will not explore the biography of this artist in any depth. A detailed biography of Jessie Oonark and a diverse pictorial sampling of her art was published in Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986).

⁴¹ Jessie Oonark in Marie Bouchard, "Old Master: Oonark", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 2, number 1 (Winter 1987), 4; Jessie Oonark in Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 9; Jessie Oonark, interview with Marion E.

Jackson, translator William Noah, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 12 April 1983, in Marion E. Jackson, "Transcripts of Interviews with Jessie Oonark and her Children", translators William Noah and Ruby Arngna'naaq, Unpublished, Courtesy of Inuit Art and Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, (Hull, Québec, Spring 1983), 15. It may be that Aglaquarq wanted to pass his powers on to his daughter. As explained above, Saumik had similar intentions for his son, Marc Tungilik. It should also be noted here that Nunurluk, the father of Oonark's husband, Kabloonak, was a powerful shaman. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 25.

⁴² Jessie Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator Ruby Arngna'naaq, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 23 February 1983, in Marion E. Jackson, "Transcripts of Interviews with Jessie Oonark and her Children", translators William Noah and Ruby Arngna'naaq, Unpublished, Courtesy of Inuit Art and Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, (Hull, Québec, Spring 1983), 8-9; Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 12-13; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5. Marion Jackson reports that Reverend James and Thomas Tapatai visited the Utkuhikhalingmiut in the early-1930s and that it was at this time that Oonark, her husband, Kabloonak, and fellow camp members, Marion Tuu'luuq and Luke Anguhadluq, adopted Christianity. Marion Elizabeth Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings: A Study in the Evolution of Artistic Self-Consciousness*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1985), 130. Reverend James himself has written that he was not able to baptize Utkuhikhalingmiut at Back River until December of 1936. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 6, Series 1, number 3, Reverend William John Rundle James to Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, 9 January - 6 February 1937, 1-2; Vallee, 174-175.

⁴³ Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator Ruby Arngna'naaq, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 23 February 1983, 8; Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 12-13; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5.

⁴⁴ Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator Ruby Arngna'naaq, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 23 February 1983, 8-9; Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 12-13; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5. Oonark noted that her uncle's wife, the woman who so vehemently objected to Christianity, went insane and died. The artist's comments in relation to this tragedy are telling: "And, here that very person is going to be dying insane. The Christian faith is not to be mocked. It isn't a toy. There's a final penalty to it. And she paid it . . ." Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator Ruby Arngna'naaq, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 23 February 1983, 9. Oonark seems to have felt that Christianity had a certain power, a power that could kill. This attitude may have been informed by traditional spiritual beliefs, where spirits were not to be ridiculed or ignored.

⁴⁵ James, quoted in Vallee, 174-175

⁴⁶ Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 13, Bouchard, "Old Master", 5.

⁴⁷ Charles Choque, o.m.i., *Joseph Buliard, Fisher of Men: From Franche-Comté to the Canadian North: Joseph Buliard, Missionary Oblate of Mary Immaculate, Apostle of the Inuit (1914-1956)* (Churchill: Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Hudson Bay, 1987), 162, 164. Buliard made his first trip to the Back River area in 1942. Joseph Buliard, o.m.i., "Pioneering at Garry Lake", *Eskimo*, Volume 14 (September 1949), 2. Oonark's daughter, Janet Kigusiuq, also reported that very few of the people who lived in the Back River area became Catholics. Janet Kigusiuq, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator William Noah, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 9, March 1983, in Marion E. Jackson, "Transcripts of Interviews with Jessie Oonark and her Children", translators William Noah and Ruby Arngna'naaq, Unpublished, Courtesy of Inuit Art and Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (Hull, Québec, Spring 1983), 54.

⁴⁸ Charles Choque, o.m.i., "In Memory of Artist Jessie Oonark", *Eskimo*, New series number 30 (Fall-Winter 1985-86), 17; Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator Ruby Arngna'naaq, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 23 February 1983, 8.

⁴⁹ Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator Ruby Arngna'naaq, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 23 February 1983, 9; Oonark in Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 24; Oonark in Bouchard, "Old Master", 8.

⁵⁰ Janet Kigusiuq in Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 14; Janet Kigusiuq, in Bouchard, "Old Master", 5. Oonark and her family periodically faced starvation until after she moved permanently into Baker Lake in 1958.

⁵¹ Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 14-15; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5; Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 121. Oonark died in the Churchill hospital in 1985, succumbing to Parkinson's Disease. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 23-24; Bouchard, "Old Master", 7-8; Souchotte, 20. Though she received a Christian burial, Oonark's body was laid to rest on the land, not in the cemetery, according to her wishes. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 24; Bouchard, "Old Master", 8.

⁵² Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 16; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5.

⁵³ Janet Kigusiuq, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator William Noah, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 9, March 1983, 53-54. Oonark's son, William Noah, also reported that Canon James was very strict. "The Minister, Reverend Canon James, would go after you if you missed one service, and you'd better have some good explanations for him if you missed one church service". William Noah, "Starvation on the Land and My Experience in Baker Lake", in Marion E. Jackson, Judith Nasby, and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Baker Lake Drawings* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 19. In retrospect, Kigusiuq seemed to have appreciated James' iron-fistedness: "after Canon James, some missionaries seem to be good, but I don't think they're good enough because they never seem to force anybody to come to church—even now. And today, it is a very different generation, and nobody seems to want to go to church anymore, and without any good reason at all." Janet Kigusiuq, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator William Noah, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 9, March 1983, 53-54.

⁵⁴ Reverend Alan Whitton, telephone interview, 13 November 1996.

⁵⁵ Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 16, 19; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5-7; Jean Blodgett, "The Art of Jessie Oonark", in Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 31.

⁵⁶ Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 86-87; Maria Muehlen, "Baker Lake Wall-hangings: Starting from Scraps", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 4, number 2 (Spring 1989), 7; Maria Meuhlen, "Inuit Textile Arts", in Canadian Museum of Civilization (editor), *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*, Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series Paper 124 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 479; Anita E. Jones, "Stitching to Survive", in Katharine W. Fernstrom and Anita E. Jones, *Northern Lights: Inuit Textile Art from the Canadian Arctic* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1993), 25; Joanne Elizabeth Bryers, "The Graphic Art of the Baker Lake Eskimo from July 1969 to July 1973", Unpublished M. A. Thesis (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1974), 12. Bryers says Whitton began the sewing project in 1965. Sheila Butler claims that Whitton managed the sewing project in 1966 and 1967, while Jackson says Whitton's project was discontinued only several months before Jack and Sheila Butler arrived in Baker Lake in the summer of 1969. Sheila Butler, "Wall Hangings from Baker Lake", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, Introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 96; Jackson, *Baker Lake Drawings*, 87. Gabriel Gély and Boris Kotelewetz, two crafts officers at Baker Lake in the 1960s, also encouraged the production of appliqued wall hangings. Cynthia Cook, "Northern Lights: Inuit

Textile Art from the Canadian Arctic, A Review Essay on the Exhibition Catalogue", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 9, number 4 (Winter 1994), 47. An earlier reference to Elizabeth Whitton can be found in Chapter four above. Oonark's twenty year artistic career began about seven years before Elizabeth Whitton began the sewing project, when she was remunerated for drawings she made for wildlife biologist Andrew Macpherson in 1959. W. T. Larmour, "She Sits and Sings", *North*, Volume XV, number 6 (November-December 1968), 2; Bernadette Driscoll, "Tattoos, Hairsticks and Ulus: The Graphic Art of Jessie Oonark", *Arts Manitoba*, Volume 3, number 4 (Fall 1984), 13; Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 16-17; Bouchard, "Old Master", 5; Souchotte, 23; Debbie Hanna, "Oonark", *Arts West*, Volume 2, number 1 (1976), 14; Siemens, 13. A failed neurological operation effectively disabled Oonark from drawing or sewing in 1979, although she did make a few sketches as late as 1982. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 23; Blodgett, "The Art", 34-35; Bouchard, "Old Master", 7; Driscoll, "Tattoos", 19; Souchotte, 20. Oonark, finally, died in the Churchill hospital in 1985, succumbing to Parkinson's Disease. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 23-24; Bouchard, "Old Master", 7-8; Souchotte, 20. Though she received a Christian burial, Oonark's body was laid to rest on the land, not in the cemetery, according to her wishes. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 24; Bouchard, "Old Master", 8.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Whitton, telephone interview, 20 November 1996. *Okausit* began publication in late 1967 and appeared in both English and Inuktitut. Elizabeth edited five issues over a two-year period, after which time another missionary wife took on editorial duties. About five hundred issues of *Okausit* were distributed through Anglican missions across the Arctic. The archives of the Anglican Church of Canada has several issues of *Okausit*. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984, M96-07, Box 75, Series 2, number 3a, "Angnait Ekayokterkateiyut or A. E. The Women Helpers — magazine *Okausit Angnait Pineekatakoogoot* (The Words of Women Helpers), 1967-1972". Blodgett, finally, has said that Oonark wall hangings and drawings that contain Christian content range in date, "from early drawings done for the Whittons in the mid-1960s to the 1978 drawing made into the print *Giver of Life*". She also notes that Oonark's Christian imagery is "generally concerned with individual worshippers or Biblical subjects." Blodgett, "The Art", 46.

⁵⁸ It is not certain whether all Christian images created for the Whittons were made solely for illustration in *Okausit*. Those that were can be dated between 1967 and 1968. Others similar in style are given these dates as well. A few, such as the church exterior, may have been complete before the commission, and are dated accordingly.

⁵⁹ Blodgett, "The Art", 31.

⁶⁰ In 1926, Reverend James reported purchasing an oak cross for the Baker Lake Church. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) Records, 1895-1973, M96-07, Box 6, Series 1, number 3, Reverend William John Rundle James to Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, 26 May 1926. This cross is just visible in the photograph of Saint Aidan's Church, directly below the large arch.

⁶¹ Elizabeth Whitton, letter to the author, 23 November 1996.

⁶² The artist has explained her drawing, *The Minister*, in great detail in Ruth Annaqtuusi Tulurialik and David F. Pelly, *Qikaaluktut: Images of Inuit Life* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), n.p.

⁶³ Jean Blodgett notes that Kiawak Ashoona's *Figure with Bible* was inspired by the artist's recent conversion to the Full Gospel Church. Blodgett says the sculpture "is an impressive testament to Kiawak's faith in his new religion", and "clearly demonstrates the integration of Christianity into Inuit life", with the figure dressed in modern Inuit clothing. Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 89.

⁶⁴ Only one example is provided for illustration, but several others were created by unidentified artists and are very similar in style to the image found at the end of this thesis. Other carvings of missionary personnel from the 1950s can be found in the Eskimo Museum in Churchill.

⁶⁵ Blodgett also noted that the use of the arch in the Whitton drawings set a precedent for Oonark's inclusion of this form in later images. Blodgett, "The Art", 47.

⁶⁶ Oonark was responsible for most of the work on this wall hanging. Anglican Church of Canada Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, Donald Ben Marsh (1903-1973) Records, 1938-1984. M96-07, Box 86, Series 2, number 2. "Frobisher Bay—Cathedral Gifts, 1971-1974", H. Etegyok to Bishop Donald Ben Marsh, 7 March 1972. Etegyok was asked by Oonark to write on her behalf. Elizabeth Whitton confirms that Oonark worked on the Baker Lake wall hanging for the cathedral. Elizabeth Whitton, telephone interview, 20 November 1996. The decoration of Saint Jude's Cathedral is discussed in Chapter three above.

⁶⁷ I thank Darlene Coward Wight for pointing out to me the significance of the connection between the wallhanging's arch symbolism and the igloo shape of Saint Jude's Cathedral. It is possible that Oonark was inspired to use arches as a central motif in this hanging after she learned that the cathedral was built to look like an igloo. The decoration of Saint Jude's Cathedral was discussed in Chapter three above. It is also important to recall that igloos were the regular houses of worship used by most Christian Inuit before they settled permanently in communities such as Baker Lake. In Chapter two, the author pointed out that Father Van de Velde held Christmas services in a large igloo, or qaggiq, for many years. That chapter also refers to a group of Utkuhikhalingmiut with whom anthropologist Jean Briggs lived in the early-1960s. They too used the igloo for church services. See Chapter two above.

⁶⁸ Jack Butler, "Baker Lake Art and Artists", in Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, *Eskimo Art in Conference (Excerpts)*, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 4-5 May 1979, 10; Jack Butler in Blodgett, "The Art", 47.

⁶⁹ Butler, "Baker Lake Art and Artists", 10; Butler in Blodgett, "The Art", 47; Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 91; Jim Nickel in Blodgett, "The Art", 47-48.

⁷⁰ Jessie Oonark, interview with Marion E. Jackson, translator William Noah, Baker Lake, N.W.T., 13 April 1983, in Marion E. Jackson, "Transcripts of Interviews with Jessie Oonark and her Children", translators William Noah and Ruby Arnagna'naaq, Unpublished, Courtesy of Inuit Art and Information Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Hull, Quebec, Spring 1983), 26.

⁷¹ Jean Blodgett discusses Oonark's intense interest in different types of traditional Inuit clothing at length, in Blodgett, "The Art", 36-39. This is explored within the larger context of a study of the symbols of womanhood in Oonark's art. For example, an interest in clothing is consistent with the fact that Inuit women traditionally spent much of their time sewing. Another sign of Inuit woman which is relevant here is Oonark's regular use of the ulu, the semi-circular woman's knife, in much of her work. The ulu shape is quite similar to that of an arch, and its form has entered the wall hanging currently under discussion. For a full discussion of symbols of Inuit woman in Oonark's art, see Blodgett, "The Art", 36-41, 56-57; Maureen Flynn-Burhoe, *Women in the Centre: A Study of the Symbols Womanhood in the Work of Jessie Oonark Using Interactive Multimedia as a Method of Exploration*, M. A. research essay (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1995); Driscoll, "Tattoos", 13-19.

⁷² This wall hanging was commissioned by William Teron, former Chairman of the Board of the National Arts Centre (NAC). Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 20; Bouchard, "Old Master", 7. The Terons donated the

hanging to the NAC on the condition that it would always be kept on display. When the NAC took the hanging down, the Teron family asked for it back. Michael Bell, electronic mail communication, 13 January 1998.

⁷³ The clothing design and the appearance of stylized hairsticks at the sides of the head, along with facial references to tattooing, firmly identify this figure as female. See note 71 of this chapter for references to Oonark's use of symbols of woman in her art.

⁷⁴ Oonark's children have discussed this work in terms of their mother's interest in design, specifically referring to the diverse styles of traditional clothing. Blodgett, "The Art", 37.

⁷⁵ Jean Blodgett points out that birds, signifiers of the spiritual, appeared consistently in Oonark's work, as shaman's helping spirits or as shamans transformed to take flight. Blodgett, "The Art", 54.

⁷⁶ Peter Mellen supports the idea that this figure represented an angel. He concludes: "Drawing on the mythology of her people as well as the icons of Christianity, the work presents an epic story of Eskimo life." Peter Mellen, *Landmarks of Canadian Art* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 76. Also see Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 91.

⁷⁷ Other Inuit artists, including Mark Emerak (fig. 125) and Oonark's daughters, Janet Kigusiuq (fig. 126) and Miriam Marealik Qiyuk (fig. 127), have also worked with biblical narratives. For commentary on Emerak's print and Qiyuk's wall hanging, see Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 89-90.

⁷⁸ Canadian Catholic Conference, *Art Collection D'art* (Ottawa: Canadian Catholic Conference, 1976), 6; Choque, "In Memory of Artist Jessie Oonark", 16. Also see Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 20; Blodgett, "The Art", 46; Bouchard, "Old Master", 7; Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 91. This was not Oonark's earliest biblical narrative. The first may be a Nativity scene she drew around 1969 or 1970 (fig. 128).

⁷⁹ Driscoll and Souchotte both state that Oonark created not one, but several drawings on a Christian theme for this commission. Driscoll, "Tattoos", 19; Souchotte, "Jessie Oonark", 21.

⁸⁰ Oonark identified the three main figures in this drawing as Jesus, Mary, and an angel. Canadian Catholic Conference, 10. Choque and Blodgett have also described this image. Choque, "In Memory of Artist Jessie Oonark", 16; Blodgett, "The Art", 46.

⁸¹ *Giver of Life* was made into a print in 1984. One of these prints was presented to Pope John Paul II during his visit to Canada that year. Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 24; Blodgett, "The Art", 46; Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", 90; Choque, "In Memory of Artist Jessie Oonark", 17-18. Choque provides a lengthy description of this print. Oonark was not the only artist to use the iconography of the Crucifixion in her art. Marc Tungilik and Isah Qumalu Sivuarapi, as discussed earlier, also showed Christ on the cross. Graphic artist Alootook Ipellie, moreover, rendered an Inuk on a cruciform in his ink drawing, *I, Crucified* (fig. 138). The drawing and accompanying story are syncretic, for they speak to the traditional Inuit belief in soul travel. The crucified individual depicted in the drawing is intended to represent an angakoq, not Christ. See Alootook Ipellie, *Arctic Dreams and Nightmares* (Penticton, B. C.: Theytus Books, 1993), 20-25.

⁸² Specific mention of the Arctic missionaries' use of visuals as teaching tools is made in Chapter three. Elizabeth Whitton has said that Oonark was exposed to Christian imagery in the form of calendars and traditional *Bible* pictures. She believes that these visuals may have influenced the artist's vision of Christian themes. Elizabeth Whitton, letter to the author, 23 November 1996.

⁸³ On the subject of winged figures, I would add that other Inuit artists, including Mark Uqayuittuq (fig. 141), Simon Shaimaijuk (fig. 142), have presented similar creatures in their graphic images. In both cases, the artists associated the images of flight with shamanic transformation.

⁸⁴ Bouchard, "Jessie Oonark", 9-10, 16; Bouchard, "Old Master", 4-5; Ruby Arngna'naaq, "Janet Kigusiuq", *Imkittut*, Number 58 (Winter 1984), 42; William Noah, in Judith Nasby and William Noah, "Excerpt from Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Drawings by Baker Lake Artists" (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1996), 12.

⁸⁵ Flynn-Burhoe.

⁸⁶ Butler, "Baker Lake Art and Artists", 5-6; Blodgett, "The Art", 50, 70. Blodgett has also said that Oonark often refuses or is unable to explain many of her art works, perhaps because they have "conveyed layers of meaning that she herself is consciously unaware of." Blodgett, "The Art", 49. It is also possible that Oonark disliked providing a didactic explanation for some of her work because she did not want to place limits on the potential of their various meanings.

⁸⁷ Joanne Elizabeth Bryers, "The Graphic Art of the Baker Lake Eskimo from July 1969 to July 1973", Unpublished M. A. Thesis (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1974), 66-67; Joanne Lochhead, "Observations on Baker Lake Graphic Art and Artists", *Arts & Culture of the North*, Volume III, number 2 (February 1979), 151; Flynn-Burhoe. George Swinton, however, was the first scholar to make these comments about Inuit art in general. George Swinton, "Eskimo Art Reconsidered", *Artscanada*, Volume 28 (December 1971/January 1972), 94.

⁸⁸ Blodgett, "The Art", 51.

⁸⁹ Jeanne L. Pattison, "Storytellers in Stone", *Up Here: Life in Canada's North*, Volume 7, number 5 (October/November 1991), 23; Gallery Indigena, *Brothers: Nelson Takkiruk, Judas Ullulaq, Charlie Ugyuk*, introduction by Erla M. Arbuckle (Stratford: Gallery Indigena, 1989), n.p. The people of Taloyoak did not begin to settle in the community until the late-1950s and early-1960s, when educational and medical facilities were built. Wight, "The Netsilik Communities", n.p. The biographical section on Ugyuk is particularly brief due to the lack of published information about the artist. Ugyuk, furthermore, is relatively inaccessible for interviews. Pattison noted that among his artistic siblings, "Charlie . . . is perhaps the most difficult to know, [but] is friendly and pleasant when he accepts your genuine interest." Pattison, 23. Kardosh has also cited a difficulty in communicating with this artist. Judy Kardosh, "Introduction", in Marion Scott Gallery, *Vital North: The Spirited Sculpture of the Kitikmeot Inuit* (Vancouver: Marion Scott Gallery, 1996), 3. Several of Ugyuk's brothers are also well-known sculptors: Judas Ullulaq, Joata Suqslak, Nelson Takkiruk, and Steven Aqqaq. Ugyuk's nephew, furthermore, was the famous carver Karoo Ashevak. Darlene Coward Wight, *Art and Expression of the Netsilik: Guidebook* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1997), n.p.; Arbuckle in *Brothers*, n.p.; Pattison, 23.

⁹⁰ The artist has not discussed his religious affiliation, but his imagery, as shown below, suggests that Ugyuk holds anti-Christian sentiments. The evangelization of Taloyoak and surrounding areas is discussed in Chapter two. Anglican missionary H. R. Rokeby-Thomas of Cambridge Bay stopped periodically to preach at Taloyoak between 1934 and 1939. Reverend Jack Turner of Pond Inlet also visited camps around Taloyoak in 1939. See Chapter two. Among the Catholics, Father Pierre Henry travelled west from Pelly Bay to Gjoa Haven as early as 1935. He would have probably preached to Inuit around Taloyoak at this time as well. See Chapter two.

⁹¹ See Chapter two. Other Catholic missionaries who were stationed near Taloyoak in the 1940s and 1950s included Fathers Rogatien Papion, Robert Paradis, and Joseph Leverage. Father Henry himself lived near Taloyoak between 1948 and 1951, at which point, he preached in Gjoa Haven. Eskimo Museum, "Biographies of missionaries who served the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay", Unpublished, Courtesy of Churchill Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, n.d. While it is more likely that Ugyuk had greater exposure to Anglicanism due to the fact that this is the denomination which most people of Taloyoak follow (see statistics provided by Bishop Rouleau in Chapter two above), this has not been established as a fact.

⁹² Henry used all three sources when instructing people in the new faith. See Chapter three.

⁹³ Tom G. Svensson, "Ethnic Art in the Northern Fourth World: The Netsilik", *Études Inuit Studies*, Volume 19, number 1 (1995), 80.

⁹⁴ Wight, *Art and Expression*, n.p.; Pattison, 32.

⁹⁵ Seidelman and Turner, 164. Alcohol and the negative transformative effects it has had on Ugyuk is more explicitly suggested in the 1985 sculpture, *Figure with Ulu Hand Drinking from Bottle* (fig. 145). This later figure has horns as well.

⁹⁶ Cape Dorset artist Kiawak Ashoona has also made a number of spirit figures with strange faces and horns. For an example of this imagery, see George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 189.

⁹⁷ Darlene Coward Wight, personal communication, 17 November 1997.

⁹⁸ Wight, *Art and Expression*, n.p. Also see Pattison, 24.

⁹⁹ Ugyuk has continued to carve demonic figures since this time. A 1996 sculpture with horns, tail, and trident is a more recent example (figs. 152, 153).

¹⁰⁰ A tiny face with a gaping mouth (not visible in the illustration) has been carved on the end of the penis. This may be a reference to sexual assault.

¹⁰¹ Blodgett has written that shamans on Baffin Island and the West coast of Hudson Bay were able to change into the opposite sex. Jean Blodgett, *The Coming and Going of the Shaman* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1978), 61. Also see Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, translation by Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon, 1964), 257-258.

¹⁰² Blodgett, *The Coming and Going*, 63-64; Eliade, 59, 62, 435.

¹⁰³ Also see Ugyuk's winged *Drummer* (fig. 155), discussed earlier. Norman Zepp supports the idea that such images refer to the Crucifixion. He has noted that Ugyuk made a sculpture that shows "an outstretched figure, supported by a post, holding crosses in his hands" Zepp, "Themes", 80.

¹⁰⁴ The shaman could, for example, harpoon himself and then come back to life with no signs of harm. See Blodgett, *The Coming and Going*, 64; Eliade, 59; Arsene Turquetil, o.m.i., "The Religion of the Central Eskimo", *Primitive Man*, Volume II, numbers 3-4 (July and October 1929), 63; Knud Rasmussen, *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Volume VII, number 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1930), 57-58.

¹⁰⁵ Seidelman and Turner, 199. Also see Zepp, "Themes", 80. Louise Anaija, a resident of Taloyoak, has said that Charlie Ugyuk had been a follower of her great-uncle, who was a well-respected shaman (he is now deceased). Anaija also stated that Ugyuk blamed Christian missionaries for making the Inuit believe that shamans were devils. Information courtesy of Darlene Wight, 17 November 1997.

¹⁰⁶ For Piqtoukun, these carvings are not only a means of critiquing the colonizer, they also are a way of healing wounds. See David Ruben Piqtoukun in Darlene Coward Wight, *Between Two Worlds: Sculpture by David Ruben Piqtoukun* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1996), 24-26. While the above exhibition catalogue includes seven sculptures by Piqtoukun that speak to the pain which the Catholic missionaries and Grey Nuns caused him, only three are illustrated in this thesis. The artist's comments which accompany the three images selected for this chapter can be found in the List of Works at the end of this thesis.

Conclusions

This thesis has shown that several Inuit artists have actively responded to the introduction of Christianity in their art in unique ways. Inuit artists have not been passive receivers of the Christian faith and its accompanying visual culture. Rather, some Inuit have re-interpreted the new religion in their lives and in their art. Such re-interpretation has manifested itself, at times, as syncretism.

The author has explained that syncretic fusion between Christian iconography and symbols of traditional Inuit spirituality is evident in Inuit art. While there are no set rules for religious synthesis in Inuit art, the potential for syncretism to occur is dependent upon several variables which this thesis has explored.

The viability of syncretism in Inuit art is, firstly, dependent upon the attitudes of Arctic missionaries towards traditional Inuit culture and spirituality, as revealed in Chapter two. This chapter also shows that syncretism is contingent upon Inuit responses to Christianity. By building upon the findings of Anglican and Catholic missionaries, the reports of anthropologist Cornelius Remie, and recent comments by Inuit artists Nick Sikkuark and Maudie Okittuq, this thesis has found that there is evidence for the persistence of traditional Inuit beliefs, as well as proof of their syncretic fusion with Christian beliefs in the history of Inuit-missionary relations in the Central Canadian Arctic. While scholars such as Antonio Gualtieri found that many Arctic missionaries

did not support syncretism, this thesis reveals that fusion occurred despite the objections of the proselytizers.

The second factor which determines the possibility of syncretism in Inuit art is the visual culture which Arctic missionaries introduced to Inuit. The prayer books, catechetical pictures, and Euro-Christian church decoration explored in Chapter three have influenced the attempts of Inuit artists to interpret Christian imagery in the 1940s, 1950s, and beyond. The visual documentation of Euro-Christian iconographic sources provided in this thesis supports this point by showing that several works of art produced in the early-contemporary period of Inuit art were copies of Western sources. This conclusion builds upon a previous statement by art historian Jean Blodgett, who has said that early Christian imagery created by Inuit is derivative of qallunaat works of art.

The type of art production missionaries encouraged among Inuit is a third variable which bears upon the likelihood of syncretism in art. Chapter four of this thesis has shown that Arctic missionaries (especially the Oblates of Mary Immaculate) supported imagery which deals with traditional Inuit culture and spirituality, as well as that which renders Christian themes, thus allowing Inuit artists the freedom to explore these subjects in their work. These findings on missionary collecting habits and their involvement in the promotion of Inuit art add to the work of Lorraine Brandson, in particular. They also raise the question of the deeper implications that “culture collecting”, as practised by the Catholic missionaries, entails.

It is ultimately the Inuit artist's own individual response to the teachings of the missionaries and interpretations of the visual culture which the proselytizers introduced, that determine whether or not syncretism will be made manifest in a work of art.

This thesis has shown that not all Christian imagery made by Inuit is syncretic. The examples of church decoration created by Inuit, as discussed in Chapter three, and a careful study of Christian iconography in the work of three Inuit artists—Marc Tungilik, Jessie Oonark, and Charlie Ugyuk—in Chapter five, have found that there are different degrees of fusion between Christianity and traditional Inuit spirituality.

The result is a continuum wherein some works of art can be categorized as syncretic, while others are indigenized. At either end of this continuum are some artworks which are copies of Euro-Christian iconography and those that retain their significance only in the context of traditional Inuit spirituality. The author of this thesis, however, has argued that a determination of the degree to which works of Inuit art are syncretic is dependent upon an examination of their form and iconography, as well as a consideration for the context of their production and their creator's exposure to traditional Inuit spirituality and Christianity.

While this thesis has addressed the neglect of Christian themes in Inuit art to some degree, there is much more work that can be done in this field of research. For example, more detailed documentation of church decoration created by Inuit is needed. This author was only able to determine the identity of four artists responsible for the ornamentation of Arctic churches: Mary Uyaraktek at Holman Island, for her work on

wall hangings at the Catholic Church in Kugluktuk; Illuta, for her graphic designs which were employed in the Repulse Bay Catholic Church; Henry Isluanik, for his sculptures which are displayed in Arviat's Anglican Church; and, Jessie Oonark, for her wall hanging for the Anglican Cathedral in Iqaluit. The desire to see increased identification for such art works springs from this author's belief that church decoration should no longer be excluded from discussions of contemporary Inuit art, which currently emphasize objects made for a southern market.

A second line of inquiry which demands further exploration is the need for additional interviews with Inuit artists in order to determine what may be changing attitudes toward the Christian faith and qallunaat missionaries. Recent sculptures by Charlie Ugyuk and David Ruben Piqtoukun show that some Inuit are beginning to question the methods of evangelization and education that were imposed upon them by Arctic missionaries. However, the often covert social commentary contained within these carvings is only made intelligible by the artist's description of their work. In speaking of Piqtoukun's sculptures which critique the dominant missionaries and Grey Nuns of his childhood, Marybelle Mitchell notes that, "the timeless, harmonious and almost lyrical imagery of the Piqtoukun work is in shocking juxtaposition to the written text accompanying it. There is passion and resentment in this work, but you would not know it unless you read the [artist's] captions."¹

In fact, the sculptures of Piqtoukun and Ugyuk may be a sign of what is yet to come in works of Inuit art which deal with Christianity. As Arctic Inuit are becoming more

exposed to new technologies such as television and the world-wide web in this age of globalization, they are beginning to question the teachings of qallunaat missionaries, which may lead to conflict that is given expression in their art.

Two other avenues worthy of further investigation which go beyond a discussion of art, include the possibility of syncretic fusions of Christianity and Inuit shamanism in the fields of music and literature. The potential for syncretism in hymns has been suggested in Chapter two, when the author quoted Arctic Christian Fellowship founder, Armand Tagoona. Tagoona advocated the creation of "Inuit-style hymns" to be sung in Northern churches. These songs would combine the traditional "Ayaa-yaa" melodies and constructs with Christian lyrics.

At least one Inuit writer's work reflects syncretic views of religion. Some of the short stories of Alootook Ipellie, in particular, blend references to Christianity with traditional understandings of the nature of the soul that speak to the shamanic belief system. A relatively young author who received a Westernized education, Ipellie seems more conscious of his syncretic style than Inuit of a previous generation might be.

In closing, it should be noted that a discussion of syncretism would be impossible without the meeting of two disparate cultures. Syncretism is a cross-cultural phenomenon which operates globally. It has significance not only as a by-product of the confrontation between Euro-Canadians and Inuit in the late-twentieth century, but among other societies throughout the world.

Endnotes

¹ Marybelle Mitchell, "'Inuit Art is Inuit Art: Part Two'", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 12, number 2 (Summer 1997), 7.

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Appendix 1: List of Works

This list of illustrations is organized in two sections in order to accommodate both works of art and documentary photographs. Every entry, however, has been assigned a figure number which corresponds to an accompanying illustration at the end of this thesis. The first section of this list of illustrations includes images of a documentary nature, such as prayer book illustrations and church interiors. These images have been assigned a descriptive title if none is available, followed by a date, a location, and a photographer credit. The artist, if applicable, is listed before the title. The second section of this list consists of works of art created by Inuit. These entries are grouped first by community and then by individual artist. The title, date, media, measurements, collection, and photo credit are then given when available. All measurements are in centimetres unless stated otherwise: height x width x depth for sculptures; height x width for works on paper and wall hangings.

- fig. 1** Map, Anglican Diocese of the Arctic
Courtesy of Dorothy Keeley, Anglican Church of Canada Archives
- fig. 2** Map, Catholic Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay
Courtesy of Lorraine Brandson, Eskimo Museum
- fig. 26** Church beside igloos, 1934
Photo: Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimau* (1934)
- fig. 19** *Bishop Arsène Turquetil*, 1934
Photo: Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimau* (1934), frontispiece
- fig. 18** *Saint Theresa*, 1934
Photo: Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimau* (1934), 59
- fig. 17** *Christ of the Sacred Heart*, 1934
Photo: Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Prières, Cantiques Evangiles du Dimanche en Esquimau* (1934), 97
- fig. 20** *Christ of the Sacred Heart*, 1957
Photo: Eugène Fafard, o.m.i., *Prières et Cantiques en Esquimau* (Ottawa: Institut de missiologie de l'université d'Ottawa, 1957), frontispiece

- fig. 21** *Resurrection*, 1957
Photo: Eugène Fafard, o.m.i., *Prières et Cantiques en Esquimau* (Ottawa: Institut de missiologie de l'université d'Ottawa, 1957), 114
- fig. 22** Father Alain Kermel, o.m.i., teaching picture catechism, 1932
Arviat
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1932
- fig. 23** *Trinity*, 1956
Photo: Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Catechisme en Images—Ayokertuserk—Illustrated Catechism* (Ottawa: Institut de Missiologie de l'université d'Ottawa, 1956), 3
- fig. 24** *Hell*, 1956
Photo: Arthur Thibert, o.m.i., *Catechisme en Images—Ayokertuserk—Illustrated Catechism* (Ottawa: Institut de Missiologie de l'université d'Ottawa, 1956), 37
- fig. 28** God watching over all creatures, 1941
Photo: *Inungnut Tamênut*, Number 1 (1941), 2
- fig. 27** Cover, 1942
Photo: *Inungnut Tamênut*, Number 2 (1942)
- fig. 25** *Christ of the Sacred Heart*, 1943
Photo: *Inungnut Tamênut*, Number 3 (1943), 36
- fig. 29** *Madonna and Child*, 1956
Photo: *Inungnut Tamênut*, Number 14 (1956), back cover
- figs. 30, 31** Lucien Schneider, o.m.i., Mural in Saint Theresa's Catholic Church, 1940
Arviat
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay
- fig. 32** Lucien Schneider, o.m.i., Mural in Holy Canadian Martyrs' Catholic Cathedral, c.1944-1945
Churchill
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay

- fig. 33** Lucien Schneider, o.m.i. (attrib. to), Mural in Immaculate Heart of Mary Catholic Church, 1940-1955
Gjoa Haven
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay
- fig. 34** Mary Uyaraktek, *The Last Supper*, 1962
Our Lady of the Lights Catholic Church, Holman Island
Photo: Mona Cranna, "Eskimo Church of the Arctic", *North*, Volume X, number 5 (September-October 1963), 23
- fig. 35** Mary Uyaraktek, *Stations of the Cross*, 1962
Our Lady of the Lights Catholic Church, Holman Island
Photo: Mona Cranna, "Eskimo Church of the Arctic", *North*, Volume X, number 5 (September-October 1963), 25
- fig. 36** Mary Uyaraktek, *Crucifixion*, 1962
Our Lady of the Lights Catholic Church, Holman Island
Photo: Gaetano Drago, *Arte Eschimese* (Roma: Editrice Missioni, o.m.i., 1964), 139
- fig. 37** Interior of Saint Michael's Catholic Church, 1982
Taloyoak
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1982
- fig. 38** Interior of Saint Joseph's Catholic Church, 1985
Coral Harbour
Photo: Lorraine Brandson, Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1985
- fig. 39** Unidentified artists, *Praise God*, 1984
Our Lady of the Poor/Saint Peter's Catholic Church, Pelly Bay
Photo: Bishop Omer Robidoux, o.m.i., Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1984
- fig. 40** Unidentified artist(s), Mural in Our Lady of the Poor/Saint Peter's Catholic Church, 1988
Pelly Bay
Photo: Father J. Meeus, o.m.i., Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1984

- fig. 41** Evelyne Desmarais and Anita Issaluk, *Resurrection and Inuk with Qaumutik*, 1989-1990
Our Lady of Deliverance Catholic Church, Chesterfield Inlet
acrylic and liquid glass on plexiglass
top image: 6 feet x 4 feet; bottom image: 3 feet x 4 feet
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay,
Father Hubert Mascaret Collection
- fig. 42** Evelyne Desmarais, *The Last Supper*, 1989-1990
Our Lady of Deliverance Catholic Church, Chesterfield Inlet
acrylic and liquid glass on plexiglass
6 feet x 4 feet
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay,
Father Hubert Mascaret Collection
- fig. 43** Evelyne Desmarais and Unidentified artist, *The Prodigal Son and Hunter on Snowmobile Pulling Qaumutik*, 1989-1990
Our Lady of Deliverance Catholic Church, Chesterfield Inlet
acrylic and liquid glass on plexiglass
top image: 6 feet x 4 feet; bottom image: 3 feet x 4 feet
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay,
Father Hubert Mascaret Collection
- fig. 44** Evelyne Desmarais, *Pentecost*, 1989-1990
Our Lady of Deliverance Catholic Church, Chesterfield Inlet
acrylic and liquid glass on plexiglass
6 feet x 4 feet
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay,
Father Hubert Mascaret Collection
- fig. 45** Evelyne Desmarais and Unidentified artist, *Madonna and Child and Inuit Watching Bird and Walrus*, 1989-1990
Our Lady of Deliverance Catholic Church, Chesterfield Inlet
acrylic and liquid glass on plexiglass
top image: 6 feet x 4 feet; bottom image: 3 feet x 4 feet
Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay,
Father Hubert Mascaret Collection
- fig. 46** Evelyne Desmarais and Illuta (Elizabeth Uluta Angotingoar), *Winter Camp Scene with Cross*, 1990
Our Lady of the Snows Catholic Church, Repulse Bay
acrylic on plexiglass
4 feet x 16 feet

Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1990

- fig. 47** Unidentified artist, *Pentecost*, n.d.
Our Lady of the Cape Catholic Church, Rankin Inlet
burlap, felt
exact measurements unavailable
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 48** Unidentified artist, *Pentecost*, n.d.
Our Lady of the Cape Catholic Church, Rankin Inlet
wool or stroud, felt
exact measurements unavailable
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 49** Unidentified (Italian) artist, *Christ*, n.d.
Our Lady of the Cape Catholic Church, Rankin Inlet
wood
approximately 5 feet in height
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 50** Violet Teague, *Epiphany in the Snows*, 1939
All Saints' Anglican Cathedral, Aklavik
5 feet x 8 feet
Photo: *Epiphany in the Snows* (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, n.d.), courtesy of Anglican Church of Canada Archives
- fig. 51** Erwin C. Flaig, Christ with Inuit children, 1959-1963
Stringer Hall, Inuvik
exact measurements unavailable
Photo: Anglican Church of Canada Archives. Diocese of the Arctic
Collection: P7530-315
- fig. 52** Unidentified artists (Anglican Church's Women's Auxiliary), Triptych wall hanging, n.d.
Saint Andrew's Anglican Church, Kugluktuk
caribou hide
exact measurements unavailable
Photo: Anglican Church of Canada Archives. Diocese of the Arctic
Collection: P7530-158

- fig. 53** Baker Lake Anglican Youth Group, *Nativity*, 1963
 Saint Aidan's Anglican Church, Baker Lake
 plaster, hide, and other media
 exact measurements unavailable
 Photo: Courtesy of Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 54** Interior, Saint Jude's Anglican Cathedral, 1972
 Wall hangings, Women's Auxiliaries of, left to right: Baker Lake, Kugluktuk,
 Povungnituk
 Iqaluit
 wool or stroud, felt, embroidery thread
 exact measurements unavailable
 Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery
- fig. 55** Interior, Saint Jude's Anglican Cathedral, 1972
 Wall hangings, Women's Auxiliaries of, left to right: Igloolik, Arviat,
 Inukjuak
 Iqaluit
 wool or stroud, felt, embroidery thread
 exact measurements unavailable
 Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery
- fig. 56** Father Paul Pioget, o.m.i., with group of sculptures made by Inuit. c.1918
 Chesterfield Inlet
 Photo: Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay
- fig. 108** Interior, Saint Aidan's Anglican Church. 1960s
 Baker Lake
 Photo: Courtesy of Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton

REPULSE BAY

Marc Tungilik (1913-1986)

- fig. 64** *Bust of Christ*, 1945
 ivory
 9.4 x 4.4 x 2.4
 Collection: Eskimo Museum: C52.6-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
 Note: This sculpture was executed while the artist still lived in Pelly Bay

- fig. 65** *Bust of Christ*, c.1945-1947
 ivory
 12.4 x 4.8 x 4.
 Collection: Eskimo Museum: C52.7-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
 Note: This sculpture was executed while the artist still lived in Pelly Bay
- fig. 66** *Miniature Bust of Christ*, c.1945-1947
 ivory
 base: 5.8 x 3.5 x 1.7 cm; figure: 1.9 x 6 x 5 mm
 Collection: Eskimo Museum: C52.8-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
 Note: This sculpture was executed while the artist still lived in Pelly Bay
- fig. 78** *Untitled (Angel with Trumpet of the Apocalypse)*, pre-1950
 ivory
 12.6 x 11.5 x 7.5
 Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1981.I.001
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997
 Note: This sculpture is attributed to Marc Tungilik
- fig. 68** *Crucifix*, 1950s
 wood
 exact measurements unavailable
 Collection: Our Lady of the Snows Roman Catholic Church (Repulse Bay)
 Photo: Bishop Omer Robidoux, o.m.i., Eskimo Museum Resource Centre,
 Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1981
- fig. 85** *Untitled (Bird Shaman)*, c.1970
 stone
 exact measurements unavailable
 Private collection
 Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 94
- fig. 80** *Angel*, c.1980
 ivory, stone
 3.5 x 3.6 x 1.8
 Collection: Art Gallery of Ontario
 Photo: Courtesy of Cynthia Cook, Art Gallery of Ontario

- fig. 84** *Angel*, 1981
 ivory and stone
 2.6 x 2.6 x 1.8
 Collection: Eskimo Museum: C81.10-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 79** *Angel*, 1981
 3.7 x 1.6 x 1.1
 ivory and stone
 Location unknown
 Photo: Darlene Wight, *Marc Tungilik: Recent Sculpture* (Toronto: Images Art Gallery, 1982)
- fig. 77** *Priest*, 1981
 ivory and stone
 4.7 x 3.6 x 1.5
 Location unknown
 Photo: Darlene Wight, *Marc Tungilik: Recent Sculpture* (Toronto: Images Art Gallery, 1982)
- fig. 82** *Angel*, 1982
 ivory, muskox horn, stone
 7.3 x 4 x 2.5
 Collection: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada
 Photo: Jean Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art" in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 90
- fig. 81** *Angel with Cross*, 1980s
 ivory and stone
 exact measurements unavailable
 Collection: Theresie Tungilik
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 83** *Angel*, 1980s
 ivory
 exact measurements unavailable
 Collection: Theresie Tungilik
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

- fig. 67** *Bust of Christ*, 1980s
 ivory
 exact measurements unavailable
 Collection: Theresie Tungilik
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- figs. 99, 100** *Totem scene with figure of Christ and dove*, 1984-85
 ivory and stone
 exact measurements unavailable
 Collection: Theresie Tungilik
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

Louise Angugatsiaq Tungilik (1917-1985)

- fig. 63** *Nativity*, c.1968
 stone
 approximately 5 inches in height
 Location unknown
 Photo: Charles Choque Collection, Eskimo Museum Resource Centre,
 Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, 1968.

Irene Kataq Angutitok (1914-1971)

- fig. 75** *Virgin Mary and Christ Child*, 1952
 ivory and stone
 18.5 x 5.5 x 4.8
 Collection: Eskimo Museum, C52.5-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 76** *Blessed Virgin*, 1959
 stone
 20.8 x 8.7 x 5.2
 Collection: Eskimo Museum, C59.11-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

Lucy Kinakulu Tabo (b.1953)

- fig. 86** *Angel Winged Man*, c.1972
 stone
 11.8 x 10.3 x 4.7
 Collection: Eskimo Museum, C72.23-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

John Kaunak (b.1941)

- fig. 117** *French Missionary Paddling Kayak*, c.1960-1966
wood, stone, sinew, graphite
6.2 x 46.8 x 19.6
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

Tujeatsiak

- fig. 87** *Untitled (Angel Winged Man)*, c.1968
stone
exact measurements unavailable
Private collection
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 94

Bernadette Ivalooarjuk Saumik (b.1938)

- fig. 15** *Mother Holding Child*, c.1952
stone
7.9 x 3.2 x 3.3
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-76-554
Photo: Darlene Wight, *The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 31
Note: This sculpture is attributed to Bernadette Ivalooarjuk Saumik

David Tuktdadjuk (b.1946)

- fig. 88** *Flying Man*, c.1976
ivory
11.1 x 4.2 x 4.3
Collection: Eskimo Museum, C76.10-1
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

Unidentified artist

- fig. 57** *Crucifix*, 1945
ivory, stone
31.8 x 10.9 x 5.1
Collection: Eskimo Museum, C45.5-1
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

Unidentified artist

- fig. 74** *Saint Theresa*, 1952
ivory
4.2 x 3.3 x 1.3
Collection: Eskimo Museum, C52.3-1
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

Unidentified artist

- fig. 121** *Bishop Arsène Turquetil*, 1952
ivory
12 x 5.9 x 2
Collection: Eskimo Museum, C52.4-1
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

BAKER LAKE

Jessie Oonark (1906-1985)

- fig. 104** *Untitled (Arctic Church Exterior with Family)*, mid-1960s
exact measurements unavailable
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
Photo: Courtesy Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 105** *Untitled*, mid- to late-1960s
Gestether duplicating stencil
circa 27.9 x 21.6
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
Photo: Courtesy of Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 106** *Untitled*, c.1968
felt tip pen on paper
27.9 x 21.6
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
Photo: Courtesy of Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 107** *Untitled*, c.1968
felt-tip pen on paper
27.9 x 21.6
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton

Photo: Courtesy of Elizabeth and Alan Whitton

- fig. 109** *Untitled*, c.1968
felt tip pen on paper
circa 27.9 x 21.6
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
Photo: Courtesy Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 102** *Okausit* (cover), Easter 1968
circa 27.9 x 21.6
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
Photo: Courtesy of Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 103** *Okausit* (page 3), Easter 1968
circa 27.9 x 21.6
Collection: Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
Photo: Courtesy of Reverend Alan and Elizabeth Whitton
- fig. 139** *Dream of the Bird Woman*, 1968
felt pen and ink on paper
48.4 x 60.6
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery
Photo: Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective*
Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 104
- fig. 128** *Untitled (Nativity)*, c.1969-1970
coloured pencil, felt-tip pen, and graphite on paper
66.2 x 50.1
Collection: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, MS980.130
Photo: Courtesy of Macdonald Stewart Art Centre
- fig. 140** *Flight of the Shaman*, c.1970
graphite, coloured pencil, and felt-tip pen on paper
50.8 x 65.9
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery
Photo: Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective*
Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 114
- fig. 122** *Untitled (Wall Hanging for Saint Jude's Cathedral)*, 1971-1972
stroud or wool, felt, embroidery thread
exact measurements unavailable
Collection: Saint Jude's Anglican Cathedral (Iqaluit)
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery.

- fig. 123** *Untitled*, c.1972
 stroud, felt, embroidery thread
 212 x 144
 Collection: Art Gallery of Ontario
 Photo: Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective*
 Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 84
- fig. 124** *Untitled*, 1973
 stroud, felt, embroidery floss and thread
 373 x 601.5
 Collection: William and Jean Teron
 Photo: Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective*
 Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 86
- fig. 136** *Waiting for the Lord*, 1975-1976
 coloured pencil on paper
 76.5 x 56.5
 Collection: Roman Catholic Church of Canada
 Photo: Canadian Catholic Conference, *Art Collection D'art* (Ottawa:
 Canadian Catholic Conference, 1976), 11
- fig. 129** *Untitled (Crucifixion)*, pre-1978
 coloured pencil on paper
 exact measurements unavailable
 Location unknown
 Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
 Development, Canada: SCAP 09-133
- fig. 130** *Untitled (Raising of Lazarus)*, pre-1978
 coloured pencil on paper
 exact measurements unavailable
 Location unknown
 Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
 Development, Canada: SCAP 09-112
- fig. 131** *Untitled (Christ, Angel, and Apostle)*, pre-1978
 coloured pencil on paper
 exact measurements unavailable
 Location unknown
 Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
 Development, Canada: SCAP 09-132

- fig. 132** *Untitled*, pre-1978
coloured pencil on paper
exact measurements unavailable
Location unknown
Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada: SCAP 09-109
- fig. 133** *Untitled*, pre-1978
coloured pencil on paper
exact measurements unavailable
Location unknown
Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada: SCAP 09-113
- fig. 134** *Untitled*, pre-1978
coloured pencil on paper
exact measurements unavailable
Location unknown
Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada: SCAP 09-129
- fig. 137** *Giver of Life*, c.1978
coloured pencil and graphite on paper
56.5 x 76.2
Collection: Sanavik Co-operative Association, Limited (Baker Lake)
Photo: Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 134
- fig. 143** *Drum Dance*, 1978
graphite and coloured pencil on paper
56.7 x 75.9
Collection: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, MS980.132
Photo: Marion E. Jackson, Judith Nasby and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Baker Lake Drawings* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 67
- fig. 135** *The Last Supper*, n.d.
coloured pencil
circa 35.5 x 22.8
Location unknown
Photo: Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 45

Ruth Annaqtuusi Tulurialik (b.1934)

- fig. 111** *The Minister*, 1982-1985
coloured pencil and graphite on paper
76.5 x 57
Location unknown
Photo: Ruth Annaqtuusi Tulurialik and David F. Pelly, *Qikaaluktut: Images of Inuit Life* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Josiah Nuilaalik (b.1928)

- fig. 89** *Bird Shaman*, 1990
stone
28 x 13 x 7
Private collection
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 57

Janet Kigusiuq (b.1926)

- fig. 126** *Untitled (Series of Biblical scenes)*, 1977
coloured pencil and felt pen on paper
exact measurements unavailable
Location unknown
Photo: Courtesy of Slide Library, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada: BL87DR77.1

Mark Uqayuittuq (1925-1984)

- fig. 141** *Untitled (Greeting of the Dog Children)*, n.d.
graphite and coloured pencil on paper
50.8 x 66
Collection: MacDonald Stewart Art Centre, MS980.157
Photo: Marion E. Jackson, Judith Nasby and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Baker Lake Drawings* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 81

Miriam Marelak Qiyuk (b.1933)

- fig. 127** *Untitled*, 1976
duffel, felt, and embroidery thread
75 x 136

Collection: Saint Aidan's Anglican Church (Baker Lake)

Photo: Jean Blodgett, "Christianity and Inuit Art", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 91

Mary Yuusipik Singaqti (b.1936)

fig. 112 *To Baptize the Inuit*, n.d.

stroud, felt, cotton embroidery thread

147.1 x 149.4

Collection: University of Guelph/Macdonald Stewart Art Centre

Photo: Jean Blodgett "Christianity and Inuit Art", in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 86

Marion Tuu'luuq (b.1910)

fig. 110 *Prayer Meeting*, 1990

stroud, felt, cotton embroidery thread

143 x 117.5

Private collection

Photo: Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and Winnipeg Art Gallery, *The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: Prairie Region Exhibition*, introduction by Don DeGrow (Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1997)

Barnabus Arnasungaaq (b.1924)

fig. 90 *Angel*, 1975-1976

stone

32 x 22.1 x 21

Collection: Art Gallery of Ontario

Photo: Courtesy of Cynthia Cook, Art Gallery of Ontario

Thomas Sivuraq (b.1941)

figs. 91, 92 *Untitled (Hunter Angel)*, 1995

stone and antler

12 inches in height

Private collection

Photo: Courtesy Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

Simon Tookoome (b.1934)

fig. 101 *The Story*, 1993

coloured pencil on paper

56 x 76

Collection: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre

Photo: Marion E. Jackson, Judith Nasby and William Noah, *Qamanittuaq: Where the River Widens, Baker Lake Drawings* (Guelph: Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, 1995), 111

TALOYOAK

Charlie Ugyuk (b.1931)

fig. 144 *Devil*, 1975

stone, horn

13.5 x 13.5 x 12

Private collection

Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 194

fig. 12 *Devil after Birth Holding Young Devil*, 1983-1985

stone

36 x 27.1 x 20.8

Collection: Art Gallery of Ontario, S2629

Photo: George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 249

fig. 145 *Figure with Ulu Hand Drinking from Bottle*, 1985

stone

23.2 x 15 x 23

Private collection

Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

figs. 146, *Demon with Trident*, 1985

147 stone, antler, muskox horn, black inlay

36.3 x 41.3 x 29

Private collection

Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

figs. 148, *Demon*, 1985

149 stone

27.4 x 16.7 x 14.2

Private collection

Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

- figs. 150, 151** *Demon*, 1985
stone, muskox horn
43 x 24.5 x 24
Private collection
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery
- fig. 157** *Helping Spirit*, 1988
stone, ivory, bone
26.5 x 26.5 x 15
Private collection
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 64
- fig. 159** *Harpooned Shaman*, 1988
whalebone, stone, ivory
63 x 36 x 28
Collection: National Gallery of Canada, 38069
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 151
- fig. 161** *Bad Spirits*, c.1988-1990
stone, whalebone, antler, and ivory
53.5 x 36 x 28
Collection: National Gallery of Canada, 38068
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 199
- fig. 155** *Drummer*, 1990
whalebone, antler, stone
67 x 65 x 39
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-96-1
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 49
- fig. 160** *Shaman*, 1994
whalebone, stone, bone
26 x 29 x 9.25 inches
Location unknown
Photo: Norman Zepp, *Inspiration: Four Decades of Sculpture by Canadian Inuit* (Vancouver: Marion Scott Gallery, 1995), 81

- fig. 158** *Shaman*, 1995
whalebone, muskox horn, stone, seal skin
Private collection
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery
- figs. 152, 153** *Demon with Trident*, 1996
stone, antler, muskox horn
37.4 x 33.2 x 45
Private collection
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery
- fig. 154** *Transformation*, n.d.
stone, antler, and whalebone
60 x 22.5 x 30
Location unknown
Photo: Gallery Indigena, *Brothers: Nelson Takkiruaq, Judas Ullulaq, Charlie Ugyuk*, introduction by Erla M. Arbuckle (Stratford: Gallery Indigena, 1989)
- fig. 156** *Spirit*, n.d.
stone, antler
15 x 13 x 10.5
Location unknown
Photo: Inuit Gallery of Vancouver, *Kitikmeot*, introduction by Nigel Reading (Vancouver: Inuit Gallery of Vancouver, 1989)
- fig. 162** *Shaman with Cross*, n.d.
stone, whalebone
22 x 14 x 19.5
Location unknown
Photo: Inuit Gallery of Vancouver, *Kitikmeot*, introduction by Nigel Reading (Vancouver: Inuit Gallery of Vancouver, 1989)

CHESTERFIELD INLET

Victor Sammurtok (1903-1980)

- fig. 71** *Jesus*, c.1930
ivory
5 1/4 inches in height
Location unknown
Photo: Sandra B. Barz, "Auctions", *Arts & Culture of the North*, Volume V, number 2 (Spring 1981), 325

- fig. 72** *Christ*, c.1950
 ivory
 4.7 x 1.8 x 1.1
 Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G76-751
 Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery
 Note: This sculpture is attributed to Victor Sammurtok
- fig. 60** *Crucifix*, 1954
 ivory
 4.6 x 2.8 x 0.5
 Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1981.I.012
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997
 Note: This sculpture is attributed to Victor Sammurtok
- fig. 61** *Monstrance*, 1954
 ivory and plastic
 6.7 x 3.7 x 0.3
 Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1981.I.011
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997
 Note: This sculpture is attributed to Victor Sammurtok
- fig. 70** *Bust of Christ*, 1954
 ivory
 6.6 x 2.8 x 1.5
 Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1981.I.013
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997
 Note: This sculpture is attributed to Victor Sammurtok
- fig. 73** *Saint Theresa*, 1954
 ivory
 9.5 x 2.8 x 2
 Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1981.I.002
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997
 Note: This sculpture is attributed to Victor Sammurtok

Unidentified artist

- fig. 120** *Priest (Father Marcel Rio)*, c.1952
 ivory
 8.9 x 3.4 x 1.8
 Collection: Eskimo Museum, C52.12-1
 Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995

PELLY BAY

Antonin Attark (1909-1960)

- fig. 10** *Mass*, c.1954
ivory and plastic
6.1 x 42.8 x 5.4 cm
Collection: Eskimo Museum, C54.2-1
Photo: Robert R. Taylor, Eskimo Museum Resource Centre, Diocese of
Churchill Hudson Bay
- fig. 13** *Father Henry, O. M. I.*, c.1955
stone
9.4 x 6.0 x 2.1
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-76-343
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

ARVIAT

John Polik (b.1901-D)

- fig. 7** *Singing Psalms*, 1966
antler, hide, sinew
5.6 x 11.3 x 6.5
Collection: Art Gallery of Ontario
Photo: Courtesy of Cynthia Cook, Art Gallery of Ontario

UNSPECIFIED COMMUNITY (HUDSON BAY REGION)

Unidentified artist

- fig. 58** *Crucifix*, twentieth century
15.6 x 9.9 x 2.5
ivory, baleen, metal
Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1983.I.028
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997

Unidentified artist

- fig. 59** *Crucifix*, twentieth century
ivory, metal
6.7 x 4.3 x 0.8 cm
Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1983.I.029
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997

Unidentified artist

- fig. 62** *Rosary*, twentieth century
67.4 cm in length
ivory, metal
Collection: Musée des Soeurs Grises, 1983.I.013
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1997

CAPE DORSET

Pudlo Pudlat (1916-1993)

- fig. 118** *Ajurutuijjuak (Archbishop)*, 1991
lithograph
56.9 x 76
Printer: Niveaksie Quvianaqtuliaq
Collection: West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Limited (Cape Dorset)
Photo: West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, 1991 *Cape Dorset Annual Graphics Collection* (Cape Dorset: Dorset Fine Arts, 1991)
- fig. 119** *Arctic Allegory*, 1992
lithograph and stencil
51.3 x 66.4 cm
Printer: Pitseolak Niviaqsi
Collection: West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Limited (Cape Dorset)
Photo: West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, 1992 *Cape Dorset Annual Graphics Collection* (Cape Dorset: Dorset Fine Arts, 1992)

Pauta Saila (b.1916)

- fig. 9** *Priest*, 1963
12 1/2 inches in height
stone
Location unknown

Photo: George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 187

Anirnik Oshuitoq (1902-1983)

- fig. 114** *Praying*, 1966
coloured pencil on paper
20 x 26
Collection: Charles Gimpel
Photo: The Yaneff Gallery, *The Charles Gimpel Collection of Inuit Drawings, 1961-1966* (Toronto: The Yaneff Gallery, 1983)

Kaninginak Pootoogook (b.1935)

- fig. 113** *The Baptism*, 1992
lithograph and stencil
66.2 x 51.4
Printer: Aoudla Pudlat
Collection: Dorset Fine Arts (Cape Dorset)
Photo: Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and Winnipeg Art Gallery, *The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: Prairie Region Exhibition*, introduction by Don DeGrow (Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1997)

Kiawak Ashoona (b.1933)

- fig. 115** *Figure with Bible*, 1983
stone
67 x 16 x 24
Collection: West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Limited (Cape Dorset)
Photo: Jean Blodgett "Christianity and Inuit Art" in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 88

Latcholassie Akesuk (b.1919)

- fig. 94** *Untitled*, 1962
stone
20.5 x 21.3 x 7.5
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G76-137
Photo: George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 60

PAULATUK/TORONTO

David Ruben Piqtoukun (b.1950)

- fig. 93** *Shaman Going to the Moon*, 1995
Brazilian soapstone, African wonderstone
22 x 34.8 x 7.2
Private collection
Photo: Darlene Coward Wight, *Between Two Worlds: Sculpture by David Ruben Piqtoukun* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1996), 13
- fig. 163** *Sadness in their Spirits*, 1995
Brazilian stone, African wonderstone
32.2 x 36.3 x 8.8
Private collection
Photo: Darlene Coward Wight, *Between Two Worlds: Sculpture by David Ruben Piqtoukun* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1996), 24
Artist's comment on this sculpture: "The priests and nuns at boarding school did not show their emotions like the Inuit. I remember their harshness more than their kindness. Their clothes seemed to us like the wings of angels. The separation from the base demonstrates their lack of connection to the land and the Inuit world. We have seen many outsiders come and go, trying to substitute their ideas for the Inuit way of life." (Piqtoukun in Wight, *Between Two Worlds*, 24)
- fig. 165** *Guidepost*, 1995
Brazilian soapstone, limestone, slate
94.5 x 61 x 14.5
Private collection
Photo: Darlene Coward Wight, *Between Two Worlds: Sculpture by David Ruben Piqtoukun* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1996), 25
Artist's comment on this sculpture: "The Christian cross merges here with the inukshuk, the 'likeness of a person' that was used as a navigational marker on the land. The base suggests the clothing of the Grey Nuns. The new beacons have led many people away from the old signposts." (Piqtoukun in Wight, *Between Two Worlds*, 25)
- fig. 164** *Priest and Nun*, 1995
Brazilian soapstone, African wonderstone
31.3 x 31.6 x 19.5
Private collection
Photo: Darlene Coward Wight, *Between Two Worlds: Sculpture by David Ruben Piqtoukun* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1996), 26

Artist's comment on this sculpture: "Their faces, turned away from each other, the priest and nun share rudimentary seal's ears reflecting their inability to listen to the Inuit in a human way. The damaged base is intended to represent the incompleteness of their lives." (Piqtoukun in Wight, *Between Two Worlds*, 26)

IQALUIT

Ennutsiak (1896-1967)

- fig. 8** *People Praying Over a Seal*, 1963
stone and ivory
12.5 x 24.6 x 14.3
Collection: Eskimo Museum, EMC69.27-1
Photo: Jennifer Gibson, 1995
- fig. 116** *People in Church*, 1965
stone and ivory
8.7 x 22.2 x 9.8
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G72-220
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

IQALUIT/OTTAWA

Alootook Ipellie (b.1951)

- fig. 138** *I, Crucified*, n.d.
pen and ink
Location unknown
Photo: Alootook Ipellie, *Arctic Dreams and Nightmares* (Penticton, B.C.: Theytus Books, 1993), 20

POVUNGNITUK

Davidialuk Alasua Amittu (1910-1976)

- fig. 11** *Untitled (Angel)*, 1958
stone
6 inches in height

Photo: George Swinton, *Sculpture of the Inuit* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 172

fig. 95 *Untitled (Angel Man with Wings)*, pre-1974
stone
Collection: Musée de la Civilization (Québec), 71-381
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

fig. 96 *Untitled (Angel Man with Wings)*, pre-1974
stone
Collection: Musée de la Civilization (Québec), 71-282
Photo: Courtesy of Darlene Coward Wight, Winnipeg Art Gallery

Isah Qumalu Sivuarapi (1925-1979)

fig. 69 *Jiisust*, 1950-1960
stone
44 x 18 x 12
Collection: Diocese of Labrador City Schefferville (Labrador City, Labrador)
Photo: Nancy Gautsche, "Inuit Art: Tradition and Regeneration", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 8, number 2 (Summer 1993), 29

fig. 97 *Prayer*, 1979
stone
12 x 14.5 x 7.5
Private collection
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 152

SALLUIT

Mary Iqirquq Sorusiluk (1897-1966)

fig. 3 *Mother Holding Child*, 1953
stone
20.2 x 10.4 x 16.7
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-76-630
Photo: George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 89

fig. 4 *Family Group*, 1955
stone
7 1/2 inches in height
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery
Photo: George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 90

Lucassie Usaitaijuk (1897-1962)

fig. 6 *Mother and Child with Fish*, 1954
stone
19 x 9.8 x 15.5
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-76-633
Photo: Darlene Wight, *The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 30

INUKJUAK

Abraham Pov (b.1927)

fig. 5 *Mother and Child*, c.1959
stone
7 inches in height
Private collection
Photo: George Swinton, *Eskimo Sculpture* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 91

Unidentified artist

fig. 14 *Mother Holding Child*, c.1954
stone, soap
17.5 x 11.5 x 18.4
Collection: Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-60-48
Photo: Darlene Wight, *The Swinton Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 31

KANGIQSUALUJJUAQ

Edward Snowball

fig. 98 *Winged Drummer*, 1986

antler
18 x 18 x 17
Private collection
Photo: Harold Seidelman and James Turner, *The Inuit Imagination: Arctic Myth and Sculpture* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), 55

SANIKILUAQ

Paul Kavik (b.1948)

fig. 16 *Nude Woman*, 1984
stone
23 x 24.8 x 6.6
Collection: Marie Bouchard
Photo: Darlene Wight, *Winnipeg Collects: Inuit Art From Private Collections* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), 10

PANGNIRTUNG

Simon Shaimaijuk (b.1915)

fig. 142 *Untitled (Dreams)*, 1987
coloured pencil on paper
38 x 56.5
Collection: Uqqurmiut Centre for Arts and Crafts, on long-term loan to the National Gallery of Canada
Photo: July Papatsie, "Historic Events and Cultural Reality: Drawings of Simon Shaimaijuk", *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Volume 12, number 1 (Spring 1997), 19

HOLMAN ISLAND

Mark Emerak (1901-1983)

fig. 125 *Simon of Cyrene*, 1983
lithograph
50.5 x 39.5
Printer: Roger Piktukana
Collection: Holman Island Eskimo Co-operative, Limited

Photo: Jean Blodgett, “Christianity and Inuit Art”, in *Inuit Art: An Anthology*, introduction by Alma Houston (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1988), 89

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Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

S. E. MGR ARSÈNE TURQUETIL O.M.I.

ÉVÊQUE DE PTOLEMAIS

VICAIRE APOSTOLIQUE DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

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L.J.C. at A.L.

1942

АДВ СТО

Vicariat de La Baie d'Hudson

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11 **MAN RI**
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He is risen!

Fig. 103

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