Nunatsiavummi Sananguagusigisimajangit / Nunatsiavut Art History:

Continuity, Resilience, and Transformation in Inuit Art

by

Heather Igloliorte

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Cultural Mediations

© 2013

Heather Igloliorte

Abstract

This dissertation provides a timely and critical assessment of Nunatsiavummiut [Labrador Inuit] visual arts, both historical and contemporary. While encounters with Nunatsiavummiut have been well documented for over four centuries, and a number of excellent studies from archeology, anthropology, ethnohistory and sociology exist, the art historical literature and documentation is scant. Museum collections, exhibitions and scholarly publications on Inuit art and visual culture have been noticeably devoid of Nunatsiavut content. In light of the advances the field of Inuit art has made in a little over half a century, the near-complete absence of Nunatsiavummiut visual culture from exhibitions and collections as well as from art historical texts is highly conspicuous. Yet despite the lack of an enduring arts industry, a cooperative system, institutional support or scholarly interest, the Nunatsiavut Territory continues to produce exceptional artists.

This dissertation thus aims to fill a critical gap in Inuit art scholarship by providing an overview of Nunatsiavummiut artistic productions through time and across a variety of practices including sewing, grasswork, carving, and now also drawing, photography and other contemporary arts. Drawing on Visual Culture's interdisciplinary theoretical toolkit as well as critical Indigenous research methodologies, this thesis provides a social history of Labrador Inuit visual culture spanning over four centuries of production, in order to illuminate how the complex history of contact, trade, cultural imperialism and Inuit resistance strategies have shaped the production of art in the region. It situates Labrador Inuit visual culture within broader discourses of contemporary Inuit art history. This dissertation argues that the production of Inuit art has played an integral role in fostering and safeguarding Inuit cultural knowledge throughout our long history of contact and exchange; that art making demonstrates the continuity and resilience of Nunatsiavummiut culture despite centuries of colonization; and that in this new era of self-governance, the arts hold the potential to assert and secure our unique cultural identity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Nunatsiavut Government and the Nunatsiavut Interim Research Committee for enthusiastically approving this research project; the Community Liaison Officers and Community Development Officers who generously shared their time and knowledge with me before, during, and after my field research; and Minister Johannes Lampe and Deputy Minister David Lough of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism for their ongoing support throughout this project.

I am extremely grateful for the funding I have received throughout my doctoral studies. This has included a doctoral fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and support from Carleton University, the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program, the New Sun Graduate Student Scholarship, the Gordon Roberson National Inuit Scholarship and a generous grant from the Tasiujatsoak Trust, which allowed me to conduct extensive field research in Labrador.

This research has also been supported and facilitated by the following institutions, staffed by exceptionally generous people: Carleton University, Concordia University, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Library and Archives Canada, the MUN Labrador Institute, The Inuit Art Foundation, The While Elephant Museum in Makkovik, Them Days Archives in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, The Labrador Creative Arts Festival, and The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Archives and Museum, and several other galleries, archives and museums. I would like to acknowledge all of the dedicated museum professionals, archivists, librarians, volunteers, academics, researchers, elders, students and others -- in institutions large and small -- who have contributed so much to the creation of this dissertation.

I wish to thank the Faculty of Fine Arts and specifically my wonderful colleagues in the Department of Art History at Concordia University for their patience and faith in my work throughout this last year while I was both a graduate student and a full-time faculty member.

My deep thanks go to the members of my advisory committee -- Marybelle Mitchell, Carol Payne, and my academic supervisor Ruth Phillips -- for their encouraging feedback, wise criticism, thoughtful responses, careful edits, and their “incredible” patience with my constant misuse of the word “incredible.” Many times in these last months have I thought about how I aspire to be the scholars you are, and to treat my students with the same generosity of spirit and knowledge that you have shown me.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Ruth Phillips, my academic supervisor, for her unfailing support over the last nine years (including my Master’s degree). It is impossible to sum up in a few lines my appreciation for someone has so deeply impacted not only my scholarship but also my life. In the last nine years, she has influenced my outlook; inspired my life’s path; and provided me with the intellectual and critical tools I’ve needed to take each step between then to now. She has generously shared her wisdom, sound advice and insights with me, making me a better writer and a more curious academic. I am privileged to have worked so closely with her.

I have to particularly thank my husband Matthew for his unwavering support and faith in me. He also deserves full credit for the creation of the database that houses my field research. I have to also thank my best friend and steadfast companion Vienna, who stayed up late with me every night as I worked and who took me for walks when I needed a break. I also thank my curatorial ‘idol,’ dear friend, and mentor Ryan Rice; my friends

and colleagues Carla Taunton, Anne DeStecher, and Linda Grussani who have provided encouragement and commiseration over the years; and the dynamic duo of Alana Conway and Murray Leeder for their immense contributions to this project. Alana for dedicating many long hours to assisting in the transcription of the oral history interviews, and Murray for the long days and late nights spent copy editing this dissertation over the last few weeks. My parents also deserve much thanks for their love and support over the years: without my father's excellent reputation preceding me everywhere I went in Labrador, the field research would have been immeasurably more challenging, and the constant encouragement of my mother – and the occasional much-needed reality check – made grad school immeasurably better.

Finally, to the artists, community members, cultural workers and cultural warriors who have contributed so much to this dissertation, I thank you deeply and sincerely. Without your artwork and your insights this dissertation could not have been realized; we share the authorship and ownership of this document. I hope I have represented you in a way that you feel honoured, appreciated, recognized and respected.

Table of Contents

Preface: A Rich and Invisible History	1
Introduction: A Social History of Labrador Inuit Visual Culture	5
Section I: The Social History of Nunatsiavummiut Art	
Chapter 1: A History of Contact and Cultural Continuity	66
Chapter 2: The Arts Industry in Nunatsiavut: A History of Absences, Missed Opportunities, and Great Resilience	138
Section II: Labrador Inuit Visual Culture	
Chapter 3: Nunatsiavummiut Clothing	195
Chapter 4: Carving Practices in the Nunatsiavut Territory	234
Chapter 5: <i>Sanajaumajuk aggatigut</i> : Things made by Hand	278
Chapter 6: Photography, the Graphic Arts and Other Contemporary Media and Methods: Innovative New Art Forms Rooted in Continuities	312
Conclusion: <i>SakKijâjuk</i> / To Be Visible	344
Illustrations	348
Bibliography	475
Appendices	497

List of Images and Illustrations

- 1.1: The Labrador-Davis Strait Region. Image from *Cultures in Contact*: 46. 359
- 1.2: *Left*: Dorset. Egg Shuldham Island 9, Labrador. Soapstone. 2.5 cm. 360
 Courtesy the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador
 (Collec. No. IdCq-22:396).
Right: Dorset. Whelk. Shuldham Island 9, Labrador. Soapstone. 3.8 cm.
 Courtesy the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador
 (Collec. No. IdCq-22:406).
- 1.3: *Soapstone figurine*, AD 1350-1500, Soapstone 3 cm, Late Dorset. 361
 Found on Shuldham Island, Labrador, photo by William Fitzhugh, 1978.
- 1.4: Two images from Gilbert Hay's illustration of the oral history of the 362
 Tunnit. *The Labrador Inuit*, 1993: 60, 63.
- 1.5: *Mrs. Ellen Hettasch giving a lesson to (front) Susie Martin, Maggie 363
 Brait, Brigetta Atsatata, Rhoda Atsatata, (back) Ningijok Green,
 (unidentified), Sara Obed*. Photo: Kate Hettasch/Them Days Archive.
- 2.1: example of an "Inuit" Grenfell mat. Unknown artist, *Children 364
 Playing*, hooked approximately 6 x 13."
- 2.2: *Mrs. Keddie and her dogs at Cartwright*. Photo provided to *Them 365
 Days* by Joan Stedman. *Them Days*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Pg.6
- 2.3: The "Round House (right foreground in the photo) was the first 366
 crafts centre in Nain. Photo by Dori Zerbe Cornelsen. *Inuktitut Summer*,
 1987: 31.
- 3.1: "Hulda," Photograph provided by Berthold Lenz in *Labrador 367
 Through Moravian Eyes*, 2002: 101.
- 3.2: *Coat*, c. 1920, Caribou skin and mammal sinew, 132 x 52 cm, 368
 Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Major Lachlan T.
 Burwash, IV-B-1832. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of
 Civilization.
- 3.3: Sylvia Jacque, *Mittens*, Moosehide, caribou skin, rabbit fur and 369
 beads, 39 x 21 cm. Postville.
- 3.4: Hans Wolf Glaser, hand-coloured woodcut, Nuremberg, 1567. 370

- 3.5: John Russell, *Portrait of Mikak and Tutuak*, 1769, oil on canvas. No dimensions. Institute of Cultural and Social anthropology, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Germany 371
- 3.6: Hünneberg, *Portraits of Attuiock and Caubvick*, 1702 from the full-figure portraits by Nathaniel Dance (shown in Lysaght 1971; see note 7). Courtesy of the Ethnological Museum of Göttingen, Germany. Captain George Cartwright, Pg. 29 372
- 3.7: Mr. Hünneberg portraits, *Portraits of Attuiock and Caubvick*, 1702, sent to a friend of Banks, Blumenbach in 1792. 373
- 3.8: Watercolour, found in the Cartwright papers. Original 10 x 8 cm watercolour pasted into a scrapbook of family mementos and news clippings belonging to Frances Dorothy Cartwright. *Captain George Cartwright*: 77. 374
- 3.9: unknown artist, *Portrait of a Labrador Woman* (Mikak or Caubvick), c. 1772, oil on canvas, 75 x 63 cm. Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Hunterian Museum. 375
- 3.10: Angelica Kauffmann, *Woman in Eskimo Clothing from Labrador* (ca. 1768-72), oil on canvas, 76.5 cm x 63.5 cm. From *Sinews of Survival*: 165. 376
- 3.11: *A Moravian Missionary Conversing with the Eskimos at Nain, Labrador*, 1807-ca. 1830. Painting by Mid (?) Hall after Maria Spilsbury (1777-1820), watercolour on paper, 51 cm x 66 cm. From *Sinews of Survival*: 167. 377
- 3.12: *Parka Band*, ca 1914, Glass, textile, fibre, 79.2 x 10 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-514. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 378
- 3.13: "Two unmarried women with church caps." Photograph provided by Paul Hettasch. Courtesy Unity Archives, Herrnhut. *Labrador Through Moravian Eyes* 2002: 55. 379
- 3.14: *Coat*, 1919, Cotton, fur, wool and glass, 126 x 135 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Mrs. Rosina Ford, IV-B-1624. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 380
- 3.15: "Working in the blubber yard," 1905, Okak, Labrador. Clara Ford collection. *Labrador in Pictures* 1996: 20. 381
- 3.16: Plate 1, E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo*, 1916: 167. 382

- 3.17: “Elias Morhardt on the hunt.” Photography provided by Heinrich Simon. Courtesy Unity Archives, Herrnhut. From *Labrador Through Moravian Eyes*, 2002: 100. 383
- 3.18: *Coat*, 1914, Cotton, 112 x 50 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-303. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 384
- 3.19: Amalia McNeil, *Silapak*, Canvas and rickrack trim, 58 x 21.” Frances Murphy models a contemporary cotton siliapak by Amalia McNeil, Nain Craft Shop. 385
- 3.20: *Coat*, 1914, Seal skin and caribou skin, 72 x 59 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-301. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 386
- 3.21: Nellie Winters, *Duffle Coat*, Duffle and fibre. Photo by Jamie Lewis. *Sketches of Labrador Life*: 8. 387
- 3.22: Susie Igloliorte, *girl’s coat with inukuluk designs*, duffel, cotton, 1966. Collection of Miriam Lyall. 388
- 3.23: *Sealskin boot*, mid-twentieth century, sewn with sinew, Nunavummiut or Nunatsiavummiut. Collected by Dr. Arthur Schwartz. In *Sinews of Survival*: 91. 389
- 3.24: *shaved sealskin boots*. The middle was worn by Amos Atsatata (P89.186.2), Susie Winters made the shorter boots (left, S79.508.2), and the tallest boot was made by Minnie Merkuratsuk (right, P89.185.2). In *Our Boots*: 108. 390
- 3.25: Eleanor Tuglavina Saimat, *shaved sealskin boots with scalloped trim*, 1989, Seal skin, Nain. In *Our Boots*: 110. 391
- 3.26: *Boots*, 1958, Seal skin, sinew and wool, 45 x 28 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-654 a-b. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 392
- 3.27: Nellie Winters, *Boots*, Sealskin, Black bottom boots with contrasting sealskin coloured patterns and embroidery of a person, seal and igloo, From *Sketches of Labrador Life*: 8. 393
- 3.29: Nellie Winters, *mittens*, 2011, Moosehide, sealskin, bear fur, cotton embroidery trim, thread, wool, 36 x 15 cm, Makkovik. 394

3.30: Linda Palliser, <i>mittens</i> , 2010, Moosehide, beads, and Rabbit fur, 20 x 14 cm. Rigolet.	395
4.1: <i>Left: Sculpture</i> , 1914, Soapstone, 4 x 11 x 5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-319. <i>Right: Sculpture</i> , 1914, Soapstone, 5.5 x 4 x 2.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-319. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	396
4.2: <i>Dogsled</i> , ca 1890, Ivory, 13.8 x 2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-129 a. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	397
4.3: <i>Saw</i> , Ivory, 12.5 x 2.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Dr. Robert Bell, IV-B-851. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	398
4.4: <i>Rifle</i> , 1899, Ivory, 6.5 x 1 x 0.3 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-139. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	399
4.5: <i>Ring and pin game</i> , ca 1899, Ivory and sinew, 11.5 x 2.8 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-134. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	400
4.6: <i>Dominoes</i> (game), ca 1893-94, Ivory, 4.5 x 1.5 x 0.2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-146.1-99. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	401
4.7: Lucas Ittulak, <i>Kayak</i> , 1978, Antler, sinew, thread and bone, 28 x 4 x 6 cm. Carol Brice Bennett collection, Happy Valley-Goose Bay. A highly detailed kayak with seal, harpoon, paddle, knife and other tools.	402
4.8: <i>Caribou with antlers</i> , ca 1880, Ivory, 10.2 x 2 x 2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-799 a-b. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	403
4.9: <i>Fox</i> , 1912, Ivory, 4 x 0.8 x 1.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Mrs. A. W. Wakefeild, IV-B-1150. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.	404
4.10: <i>Fish</i> , 1914, Soapstone, 3.7 x 0.6 x 1 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-534 e.	405

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

- 4.11: *Ivory carvings, female and male*, Ivory, (Female) 2.5 x 2 x 5 cm, (Male) 2 x 1 x 2.6 cm. The Rooms Provincial Museum Division. Image courtesy of The Rooms Provincial Museum. IVB-35, IVB-36. 406
- 4.12: *Women carrying meat*, 1890s, Ivory, thread, black, red and yellow colouring, 5.4 x 7.7 x 1.5 cm. Cotter Collection, Winnipeg Art Gallery. 407
- 4.13: *Sculpture*, 1914, Ivory, 2.5 x 1.2 x 0.3 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-535 a. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 408
- 4.14: *Toy Eskimo village of carved ivory in a covered basket*, Carved ivory village scene and basket, human figures, igloo, kayaks, dog sleds, collected by George F. Durgin (1902) Labrador, Ivory, Wood, Pigment, Leather, String, Fiber, 50 pieces. overall dimensions: 5.7 x 2.7 x 1.3 cm (2 1/4 x 1 1/16 x 1/2 in.) The Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology at Harvard University collection. 409
- 4.15: *Kayak*, Pine and bone, 34.5 x 5 x 10 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by James H. Pocklington, IV-B-1685. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 410
- 4.16: *Igloo and figure*, 1914, Wood and fibre, 20.5 x 8.2 x 11.3 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-330 a-b. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 411
- 4.18: *Top*: Fred Decker, *Dogteam*, Wood, paint, fibre, plaster and paper, 40 x 5 x 4 cm, Collection of Donald Gear
Bottom: Fred Decker *Dogteam*, Wood, paint, fibre, plaster and paper, 37.7 x 5 x 4.2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Judy Hall, IV-B-1990. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization 412
- 4.19: Chesley Flowers, *George River Herd*, 1995-96, Pine and bone, approx. 100 pieces 15.2 x 15.2 x 7.6 cm. Acquired with assistance from the Canada Council for the Arts The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Memorial University of Newfoundland Collection 97.8.15. 413
- 4.20: Gilbert Flowers, *Tuttuit (Herd of Caribou)*, (no date), aspen, antler, max size 5 x 4.5 x 2.5". Spirit Wrestler Gallery 414
- 4.21: Ross Flowers, *caribou*, no date, aspen and antler, max size 6" length. Photo: Birches Gallery 415

- 4.22: Ross Flowers, *Salmon*, Antler. Photo by Ned Pratt. *Sketches of Labrador Life* (2000): 40. 416
- 4.23: Eva Nochasak, *Seal*, 2011, Soapstone, Nain. 417
- 4.24: Manuel Lethbridge, *Hunter and Seal*, 2003, Mixed Media, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection 418
- 4.25: Gilbert Hay. *Sitting Bear*, 2011, Anorthosite, 15 x 10 x 14 cm. Nain. 419
- 4.26: Billy Gauthier, *Sedna's Tears*, 2008, Serpentine, Labradorite and slate, 12.5 x 12 x 2.5". North West River, Nunatsiavut (Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Pg. 27 420
- 4.27: Jacko Jararuse, *Untitled*, 1996, Vertebrate whale bone, caribou antler, 68 x 27 x 43 cm. *First Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Pg. 45 421
- 4.28: Gilbert Hay, *Nuijak*, 1995, Soapstone, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. 422
- 4.29: Gilbert Hay, *Amaguilu, Alailu & Akkikilu (Wolves, Indians & Partridges)*, 1995, Serpentine. The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. 423
- 4.30: Gilbert Hay, *Taqqavut – Our Shadows*, ca 1980, Serpentine, Nain. 424
- 4.31: John Terriak, *Walrus at Breathing Hole*, 2011, Serpentine and bone, 22 x 13.5 x 13 cm. Nain. 425
- 4.32: John Terriak, *Woman in Amauti*, 2011, Soapstone and serpentine, 13 x 9 x 12.5 cm. Nain. 426
- 4.33: Charlie Terriak, *The Founder*, 1997, Soapstone, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. 427
- 4.34: Billy Gauthier, *Shaman Drummer*, 2008, Serpentine, caribou antler, sinew and ptarmigan feathers 10 x 11 x 4". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. In *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Pg. 26 428

- 4.35: Billy Gauthier, *Swimming Loons – my tribute to Kenojuak Ashevak*, 2012 Muskox horn, antler, Serpentine, Labradorite, 18 x 18 x 12". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photos by Spirit Wrestler Gallery. 429
- 4.36: Billy Gauthier, *Whale Hunter*, 2007, Serpentine, anhydrite and cherry wood, 3 x 5 x 6". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. In *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Pg. 27 430
- 4.36: Billy Gauthier, *Woven in Stone*, 2008, Serpentine, alabaster, caribou antler, 4.75 x 4.5 x 4.5". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2. 431
- 5.1: Top: Elsie Blake starting a piece of grass work. Bottom: Basket made by Druscilla Rich, Rigolet. Photo by Judy McGrath. *Them Days*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Pg.16 432
- 5.2: Garland Baikie, Lid Knobs, 2011, Caribou antler, various sizes approximately 1". with drilled holes for attaching to baskets for wife Sarah Baikie's grasswork. 433
- 5.3: Table mat, 1914, Grass, 20.7 x 19 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-184. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 434
- 5.4: Basket, 1914, Grass, 75.3 x 5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-184. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 435
- 5.5: *Basket*, 1976, Grass, 36 x 26 x 24 cm. Collection of Carol Brice-Bennett, Nain. 436
- 5.6 Belinda Shiwak, *Basket with lid*, 1990, Grass and raffia, 23 x 18 cm. Rigolet. 437
- 5.7: Elizabeth Tooktoshina, *Basket with lid*, 2010, Grass and raffia, 8 x 8 cm. Collection of Jane Shiwak, Rigolet. 438
- 5.8: Rich Druscilla, 1979. 1. *Grass basket with lid and Labradorite handle*. Patterned with brown raffia. 5 x10". Collection of Memorial University Gallery. 2. Rigolet, 1979. *Table top*. Patterned with brown raffia. 24". *Grass Work of Labrador (no pagination)* 439
- 5.9: Jane Shiwak, *Basket with lid*, 2009, Grass, 16 x 11 cm. Rigolet. 440

- 5.10: an incomplete grass mat shows the difference between the thin blade of grass and the spiny middle. of the spiny Sharon Baikie, *Mat (Unfinished)*, 1994, Grass, 11.5 x 0.5 cm. Sarah and Garland Baikie collection, Rigolet. 442
- 5.11: *Basket*, 1914, Grass, 18.9 x 9.1 x 7.2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-211. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 443
- 5.12: Garmel Rich, *Vase*, Grass and silk embroidery thread. Photo by Craft Council. From *Sketches of Labrador Life*, Pg. 12. 444
- 5.13: Garmel Rich, *Creamer and sugar bowl*, grass and silk embroidery thread. Photo by Craft Council. From *Sketches of Labrador Life*, Pg. 12. 445
- 5.14: Elizabeth Tooktoshina, *miniature basket with lid*, 2011, Grass and raffia, 9 x 7 cm. 446
- 5.15: Sharon Baikie, *Mat with Flag*, 1993, Grass, 9 x 0.5 cm. Collection of Belinda Shiwak, Rigolet. 447
- 5.15: Louisa Palliser, *Key chains*, 2011, Grass, beads and metal, Rigolet. 448
- 5.16: Louisa Palliser, *Teacup, saucer and tea spoon*, 2010, Grass, 8 x 6 cm. Rigolet. 449
- 5.17: Belinda Shiwak, *Mat*, Grass, 18 x 0.5 cm. Collection of Jane Shiwak, Rigolet. An example of the “open work” style of basketry is shown on the border of this tray 450
- 5.18: Group project, *Mat*, 1992, Grass, 14 x 0.5 cm. Belinda Shiwak Collection, Rigolet. 451
- 5.19: Ruth Pottle, *Bowl*, 2010, Grass, 16 x 4.5 cm. Collection of Jane Shiwak, Rigolet. 452
- 5.20: *Basket*, 1912, Grass, 18.3 x 5.4 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Frank G. Speck, IV-B-166. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 453
- 5.21: Georgina Broomfield, *Grass Basket*, grass, raffia. The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. 454
- 5.22: Naomi Williams, *Wheelbarrow*, 2011, Grass, 12.5 x 5 x 5 cm, Rigolet 441

5. 23: Garmel Rich, <i>Stanley Cup</i> , Grass, silk embroidery thread, 12".	455
5.24: Belinda Shiwak, <i>Bowl</i> , 2002, Grass, cotton and embroidery floss, 39 x 13 cm. Rigolet	456
5.25 Emily Flowers, <i>Dolls</i> , Fibre. Photo by Eric Walsh. <i>Sketches of Labrador Life</i> , Pg. VI	457
6.1: Josephine Kalleo, <i>Women as Trappers</i> c. 1984, pen, felt tip marker on paper. <i>Taipsumane</i> 1984: 11	458
6.2: Josephine Kalleo, <i>Education</i> . c. 1984, pen, felt tip marker on paper. <i>Taipsumane</i> 1984: 9	459
6.3 Josephine Kalleo, <i>Weddings</i> . c. 1984, pen, felt tip marker on paper. <i>Taipsumane</i> 1984:15.	460
6.4: Gilbert Hay, <i>Inuksuk</i> , 1981, Lithograph, 45.4 x 32.7 cm.	461
6.5: Heather Campbell, <i>Nuliajuk Meditating</i> , 2007, mixed media on paper, 15x20"	462
6.6: Heather Campbell, <i>Anansiak: My Grandmother</i> , 2009, watercolour, ink and pencil crayon.	463
6.7: Heather Campbell, <i>Inuit Grande Odalisque - (after Ingres)</i> , 2009, watercolour and ink on paper.	464
6.8: Heather Campbell, <i>Inuit Judith with Holofernes (after Klimt)</i> , 2010, watercolour, acrylic and pen and ink on paper, approx. 4" x 9"	465
6.9: Dinah Anderson, <i>Migration</i> , 1997, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. Linocut Ed. 5/8.	466
6.10: Dinah Andersen, <i>Watching as she Sleeps</i> , 1996, Oil on Canvas. 81 x 101.5 cm. <i>First Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador</i> , Pg. 41	467
6.11: James Andersen, <i>self-portrait</i> , photograph, c. 1980.	468
6.12: James Andersen, <i>Bella</i> , photograph, 1969	469
6.13: James Andersen, <i>Whale with men standing on top</i> , photograph, 1945	470

- 6.14: James Andersen, *Bob Andersen and his brother Jim with musical organ*, photograph, 1955. 471
- 6.15: Michelle Baikie, *Spirits*, 1996, Digital photography, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. 472
- 6.16: Michele Baikie, “Our Labrador,” photograph, 1993. 473
- 6.17: Barry Pottle, *lighting the qulliq*, digital photograph, 2009 474
- 6.18: Installation view of Barry Pottle, *Eskimo Identification Tag System Series* (2008 -2011), at the Ottawa Art Gallery, 2011. 475
- 6.19: Barry Pottle *Eskimo Identification Tag System Series* (2008 -2011), photographic series, 2008 – 2011 476
- 6.20: Installation view of Barry Pottle, detail: “Leena,” *Eskimo Identification Tag System Series* (2008 -2011), at the Ottawa Art Gallery, 2011. 477
- 6.21: Barry Pottle, *Setting the Table* (2012) digital photograph 478
- 6.22: Mark Igloliorte, *Komatik Skate Box*, digital video still, 223.5 x 59.7 x 55.6 cm, Image Credit: Navarana Igloliorte. 479
- 6.23: Mark Igloliorte, *Work* (2008) oil on plexiglas, 90.4 x 100 cm, Image Credit: Tara Nicholson 480
- 6.24: Mark Igloliorte, *Untitled* (Diptych Series) (2011) oil on prepared archival paper, 14 x 16.5 cm, Image Credit: Guy L'Heureux 481
- 6.25: Shirley Moorhouse, *Finding Inner Strength*, 1996, Embroidery, beadwork, applique on black duffle. 100 x 73 cm. *First Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador: 47* 482
- 6.26: Shirley Moorhouse, *The Spirit Soars*, 1996, Textile, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. 483
- 6.27: Shirley Moorhouse, *In My Backyard After Three Beers*, 2006, Happy Valley - Goose Bay, Nunatsiavut black stroud, fur, beads, hide, metal, found materials, silk, rayon, wool, nylon, chicken wire 484
- 6.28: Michael Massie, *Come Sit and Have Some Tea*, 2005, Anhydrite, sterling silver, ebony and bone, 40x 51.5 x 29 cm (figure), 14 x 28 x 9 cm (teapot). On loan from Christopher Bredt and Jamie Cameron, Toronto. *In the Shadow of the midnight Sun*, Pg. 47. 485

- 6.29: *festivitea* tea set #V, Michael Massie, 2005, Stephenville, NL 486
 Silver, brass, bloodwood, bone, horsehair Size: 8 x 11 x 2.75"
 (teapot) Size: 6.25 x 6.25 x 1.75" (creamier) Size: 4.5 x 5.75 x 1.75"
 (sugar)
- 6.30: Michael Massie *grandfather, i have something to tell you*, 2004, 487
 anhydrite, bone, bird's eye maple, mahogany, ebony, Stephenville, NL,
 Size: 17.25 x 9.25 x 12 inches
- 6.31: Michael Massie, *Enigmas of a Teapot* (2003), Stephenville, NL, 488
 sliver, wood, sealskin, and other mixed media

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Relevant Correspondence: Hawkes and Sapir 1913 – 1916	497
Appendix B: Oral History and Visual Culture Archive (CD attached)	

Glossary

Nunatsiavut Visual Culture: Inuttitut Words and Art Terms

Translations by Rita Andersen and Wilson Jararuse

In Collaboration with the Department of Language, Recreation and Tourism,
Nunatsiavut Government

All terms are in Inuttitut, the Nunatsiavut dialect of the Inuit language

ÂkKisimausik --- Design

Amautiup sivuganga --- amautik front apron

Amautiup tunusua --- amautik back tail

alak --- sole of a kamik

allanguajuk sanangualunilonnet --- To draw or carving

amameotaks / parka band -- decorative bands of cloth used to trim parka hoods, often with beaded or embroidered floral designs

Amautik (singular) / **amautet** (plural): traditional women's pullover parka with large hood and tails in the front and back

Amijak Kongasimmiutak --- Fur necklet

anânak --- mother

angakuk (singular) / **Angakkuik** (plural) --- shaman

atâtak --- father

Atigik (singular) / **atiget** (plural) --- coat

Church bonnet --- women's crocheted wool cap introduced by Moravians; the colour of the ribbon (pink, blue or white) signifies marital status

Dickie ---- colloquial term for silapak

flensing --- to remove the outer layer of blubber from a whale

iglu --- snow house

ingutak --- grandchild

illusuak (singular) / **illusuat** (plural) --- sod house

IniKunattut sanasimajangit --- What beautiful things he has created

innik --- son

Isumajâk -- To ponder

inukuluk designs – designs of little people embroidered on duffel and other materials

Inua – a physical embodiment of a spirit – a carved amulet worn somewhere on the body, to give protection

Kallunâk (singular) / **Kallunât** (plural) --- White/ European / Caucasian person

Kamik --- traditional skin boots

Kayak --- single person watercraft

komatik --- sleds with dog team

kullik --- lamp

muktuk --- thick slices of whale skin

natsik --- jar seal

Nuliajuk --- Sedna, the Inuit sea goddess

Nunatsiavummi Sananguagusigisimajangit --- Nunatsiavut Art History

panik --- daughter

piusik --- custom

puijik --- seal

natsik --- jar seal

SakKijâjuk --- To be visible

SakKijâjuk saniganga --- Visible side

SakKik --- To appear

Sanasimajangit takugatsait --- His work is on display

Sanajaumajuk aggatigut --- Something made by hand

silapâk (singular) / **silapât** (plural) ---known as ‘dickies,’ pullover-style coats, often made of cotton or canvas

Silapâliujuk --- She is making a removable covering for her duffel coat

Taitsumanintait --- Them Days

Umiak --- large, open-water skin boat

UKâlannik --- To narrate

Ulu --- women’s knife, in the shape of a half circle

Unikkâtujuk --- To tell a story

unikkauset --- stories, histories

Preface: A Rich and Invisible History

Growing up in Labrador, I was immersed in art and local Inuit visual culture. Our home was filled with grass baskets, stone sculptures and a great variety of handmade items my father collected on his frequent trips along the Labrador coast. An assortment of wood, bone and metal scrapers, *ulus*, and other tools for preparing sealskin and hide were gathered on our mantelpiece. We had a collection of hand-sewn or knitted mitts, hats, boots and coats. Wall-hangings in duffel and beadwork or hooked rugs depicting Inuit hunting or travelling by dog team hung alongside framed prints and drawings of the regional landscape. There was also no shortage of reading material on Labrador around our house, as my father never passed a bookstore without buying whatever they had in the way of memoirs, photo books, scholarly texts, or literature on “the lure of the Labrador wild.”

Like many Labradorians, I seemed to be constantly surrounded by artists and craftspeople, so much so that I took it for granted. My father would draw huskies and caribou out of Richard Harrington’s Arctic photo books. My mother taught me to sew by hand and by machine and to make all manner of crafts and projects from doll’s clothes to curtains to cross-stitch pincushions. We made our own Christmas tree ornaments and bought handmade decorations from other craftspeople at the church sale. Of my three brothers, two are talented amateur artists – my oldest brother Gareth is a dedicated student of photography and my youngest brother Justin has recently taken up carving small sculptures and delicate jewelry in both stone and bone – and my other brother Mark is a brilliant contemporary artist who was recently long-listed for the national Sobey Art Award. My uncle Ron Lyall still turns old saw blades into *ulus* and carves his own

Kulliks (stone oil lamps) and my aunt Miriam is always working on something: a bit of embroidery or knitting, a traditional doll, or folded paper garlands of “Moravian stars.”

Perhaps most significantly, I grew up in the shadow of my paternal grandmother Susannah (Susie) Igloliorte, who spoke almost no English, and passed away when I was very young, but who I was constantly reminded I was “just like.” She was, as they say on the coast, very clever at making things. A prolific and talented seamstress, she was well known in Hopedale and throughout the province for her handmade skin boots, gloves and clothing. Among the countless other handmade treasures she made for my family, I still have my first baby *kamiks* (skin boots) and photographs of my beloved childhood coat, an example of the popular handmade duffel parkas embroidered with Arctic scenes and people. These were known as “inukuluk” parkas, for which my grandmother drew her own elaborate and playful designs. My mother saved these drawings of Inuit children playing with sleds or around miniature igloos, carefully rendered by my grandmother on recycled scraps of loose leaf or the thin paper that lines Purity biscuit cracker boxes. Because of her skills and knowledge in the production of traditional clothing and particularly *kamiks*, she was also featured several times in Labrador’s beloved *Them Days* magazine and other local publications, as well as in anthropological texts on Inuit clothing and art. All this leaves behind a material and archival record of a woman I didn’t have a chance to know well but to whom I have always felt a strong connection. Perhaps the constant comparisons to my artistic grandmother became self-fulfilling; I went on to do a Bachelor of Fine Arts at NSCAD University before moving to Ottawa to study Inuit art history at Carleton University.

Given the richness and proliferation of the living visual culture I had experienced in Happy Valley-Goose Bay and knew to be found throughout the Nunatsiavut Territory, imagine my surprise when, as a young grad student, I went looking for writing on Labradorimiut art and came up with almost nothing. Although there is a vast literature on contemporary and historical Inuit art in Canada, very little of that considers the work of Nunatsiavummiut (Labrador Inuit) artists.

Furthermore, exhibitions, catalogues and public collections are also noticeably devoid of Nunatsiavummiut art. The National Gallery of Canada only acquired its first Nunatsiavummiut artwork, the exquisite *Unit-tea* (2000) teapot by Michael Massie (b. 1964), in 2004; it purchased a second work by emerging artist Billy Gauthier in 2013. The Canadian Museum of Civilization has performed marginally better in regards to representing the Labrador Inuit over the last sixty years, having a few small contemporary stone sculptures and some items of clothing. Yet neither national institution has made any real effort to rectify the gross disparity between their collections from Nunatsiavut and their collections of thousands of works of contemporary Inuit art from across the Northwest Territories, Nunavut and Nunavik.¹ The Winnipeg Art

¹ The National Gallery of Canada has approximately 1400 works of contemporary (post 1949) Inuit art, almost exclusively in the media of sculpture, prints and drawings. These have been acquired through purchase and donation (“Inuit Art in the Collection of Indigenous Art”). It is a little harder to determine the number of contemporary Inuit artworks in the Canadian Museum of Civilization collection, as its collections are organized by region rather than by temporal period. A search of the term “Inuit” through their online database turns up 14,268 results, but this also includes archaeological findings and items of material culture such as clothing, tools and hunting equipment. A search of the terms “Inuit” and “art” together turn up 5116 results, mostly comprised of prints, drawings and sculptures, but also including a number of wall-hangings, dolls, models and other items. This included several hundred from the Nunatsiavut Territory, but only a handful of these are from after 1949. To view these records, visit collections.civilization.ca.

Gallery, holding Canada's largest (and arguably most significant) collection of Inuit art from the 1940s onward, has no contemporary Nunatsiavummiut art at all.²

While many individual artists and craftspeople from our territory have had their talent and skills recognized, on the whole Labrador Inuit artists have not yet gained recognition or acknowledgment of their work outside of Labrador. And the outside world has not yet had the opportunity or privilege to learn about Nunatsiavummiut art. It is my sincerest hope that this dissertation facilitates the introduction of Nunatsiavummiut arts and visual culture into the critical conversation and global interest in contemporary and historical Inuit art.

² The Winnipeg Art Gallery has about 11,000 works in the Inuit Art collection, yet no contemporary Inuit art from Labrador. However the WAG, like the CMC, has a small but significant collection of Labrador ivory miniatures from the era of early trade and contact. These ivories are discussed in Chapter Four.

We, the Inuit of Labrador:

Recognize that we are part of the divine creation;

Acknowledge that we are one with all humanity;

Honour our ancestors and elders for having given us our unique language, customs, and culture;

Treasure the land, sea, waters, resources, plants, animals, birds and fish of our ancestral territory for they have nourished and sustained us in body and in spirit since time immemorial; and

Assert our inherent right of self-government and the right to continue, as we have always done, to determine our own political, social, cultural and economic institutions and our relationships with other peoples and their governments.

We therefore freely adopt the Labrador Inuit Constitution for the governance of the Inuit of Labrador, our ancestral territory and our communities so as to:

Reaffirm our relationship to our ancestral territory;

Re-commit ourselves to a Labrador Inuit society based on Labrador Inuit culture, customs and traditions, Labrador Inuit democratic values, social justice for Labrador Inuit and the inherent human and aboriginal rights of the Inuit of Labrador;

Halt and reverse the erosion of Inuititut, our society, our culture and our dignity;

Heal the wounds of the dispossession and discrimination we have been subjected to through our history of colonization;

Improve the quality of life and well being of the Inuit of Labrador and free the potential of each Labrador Inuk; and

Secure our rightful place as a distinct, self-sustaining and self-governing aboriginal people within Canada.

-- Preamble to the Labrador Inuit Constitution

Introduction: A Social History of Labrador Inuit Visual Culture

This dissertation provides a timely and critical assessment of Nunatsiavummiut [Labrador Inuit] visual arts, both historical and contemporary.¹ While encounters with Nunatsiavummiut have been well documented for over four centuries, and a number of excellent studies from archeology, anthropology, ethnohistory and sociology exist, the art historical literature is scant. Aside from the occasional mention in *Inuit Art Quarterly* and some discussion regarding “Historic” era ivories or pre-contact material culture, exhibitions and scholarly publications on Inuit art and visual culture have been noticeably devoid of Nunatsiavut content. Least represented of all is the history of the arts that have been created over the last six and a half decades since Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949 . . . the same year, coincidentally, that Inuit art elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic was first “discovered.” Since the early years of the collaboration between the federal government, Hudson Bay Company and Canadian Guild of Crafts to support the arts industry in the North, modern and contemporary Inuit art in Nunavut, Nunavik and the Western Arctic has become a critical and commercial success. Today many of those participating communities benefit from having cooperatives, a global market for the work, internationally recognized artists, and significant representation in Canada’s major art collections. In light of the dramatic advances the field has made in a little over half a century, the near-complete absence of Nunatsiavummiut visual culture from exhibitions and collections as well as from art historical texts is highly conspicuous.

¹ Regarding cultural designations, I use the terms “Labrador Inuit,” “Labradorimiut,” and “Nunatsiavummiut” interchangeably throughout my dissertation to refer to the Inuit of the Nunatsiavut Territory of Labrador. I only use the outdated - and considered derogatory - term “Eskimo” when it appears in quotations. Nunatsiavummiut is the most recent term, adopted during the political transition of the Labrador Inuit Association (1973-2005) into the self-governing Nunatsiavut Territory (2005-). “Sikumiut” meaning “people of the sea ice” is an additional older term for Labrador Inuit.

Yet in spite of the lack of an enduring arts industry, a cooperative system, institutional support or scholarly interest, the Nunatsiavut Territory continues to produce such exceptional artists as metal smith Michael Massie, stone sculptor John Terriak, and textile artist Shirley Moorhouse.

On one level, then, this dissertation aims to fill a critical gap in Inuit art scholarship by providing an overview of Nunatsiavummiut artistic productions over time and across a variety of practices including sewing, basketry, sculpture, and now also drawing, painting, and photography. On another level, I examine the way in which these arts have played a fundamental role in ensuring that the Nunatsiavummiut have supported and preserved cultural continuities while navigating and adapting to several centuries of increasing contact with explorers, whalers, privateers, missionaries, traders, and anthropologists in relation to artistic and cultural developments. I also investigate the roles that individuals, local craft centres, regional initiatives, artist associations, government agencies and national arts organizations have played (or not played) in supporting, fostering and developing the arts in the Nunatsiavut Territory. This work is grounded in extensive archival research in Labrador and in museum collections, as well as substantial fieldwork conducted to gather interviews, images and documentation from artists and informants throughout Nunatsiavut and in urban Inuit centres.

As this dissertation represents the first attempt to create a narrative history of the visual arts in the Nunatsiavut Territory, my thesis is necessarily wide-ranging in issues and subject matter and does not endeavor to be exhaustive in any one area. Rather, it is intended both to make visible and to map a significant yet largely unrecognized gap in the field of Inuit art. In order to undertake this work I have divided my dissertation into

two major sections: First, I outline the social history of Nunatsiavummiut art by examining Inuit visual arts in relation to the long history of contact and exchange on the Labrador coast, considering how family, trade, religion, gender, settlement, culture, politics and other factors have influenced the production of art in Labrador. Secondly, I examine Labrador Inuit visual culture through specific artistic practices – highlighting notable works of art and remarkable artists – in order to illuminate the distinct practices in the region in terms of both continuities and innovations over several centuries of production.

Theorizing Inuit Art History and Mapping Inuit Visual Culture

In the essay “Hard Inclusion” from *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, Lynda Jessup writes that the field of visual culture has aided art historians to discuss Aboriginal arts and material culture in ways that resist the limits of Western discourse:

Traditional aesthetics has also led many to argue that the solution to the resulting problem of exclusion lies simply in “elevating” previously excluded cultural forms to the status of ‘art,’ leaving intact (even legitimating) the hierarchies of race, gender, and class - the social relations – upon which such evaluations are based in the first place. The fact that traditional aesthetics has maintained its hegemony, despite increasing recognition of its restrictive ideology, has also fuelled recent critiques of the categories of cultural production, and has quickened the shift among art historians from the study of art to the more broadly defined field of visual culture. (Jessup 2002: xvii)

Drawing on visual culture’s interdisciplinary theoretical toolkit as well as critical Indigenous research methodologies, I situate several centuries of Labrador Inuit visual culture within broader discourses of contemporary art history, circumpolar Inuit ethnohistory and global Indigenous art. I examine Nunatsiavummiut arts and crafts in relation to theorizations of contact and transculturation; souvenir art and commoditization; and the decolonization of knowledge and representation of Native

peoples by the West. I draw on recent Indigenous art scholarship by historians and theorists as well as the critical theorization of Inuit cultural knowledge in relation to Nunatsiavummiut visual arts. My thesis is that art-making has played an integral role in fostering and safeguarding Inuit culture throughout our long history of contact and exchange. I further argue that the arts evidence the continuity and resilience of the Nunatsiavummiut despite centuries of colonization. With our recent return to self-governance, art production holds the potential for asserting our sovereignty and securing our unique cultural identity.

There has been a dynamic refiguring in our understanding of objecthood and agency since the 1980s, at the intersections of art historical, anthropological, and material and visual culture studies. These “visual” and “material” turns (see Dikovitskaya 2005, Bennett 2010) have precipitated a shift towards the study of object “biographies” and a critical understanding of the social lives of things (Appadurai 1986, Kopytoff 1986).

The field of visual culture, which emerged as an academic inter-discipline in the 1990s, has provided an expanded field of theoretical and methodological inquiry within which this diverse body of research can be aggregated. As Nicholas Mirzoeff explained in *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (1999), “visual culture” is interdisciplinary in nature, thus allowing its practitioners to connect to a variety of academic disciplines under an interpretive framework that does not function as a form of any one discipline – art history, archeology, anthropology, etc. – but rather is informed by and intersects with many. Mirzoeff explains that it is a decisively interdisciplinary subject, in the sense given to the term by Roland Barthes:

“In order to do interdisciplinary work, it is not enough to take a ‘subject’ (a theme) and to arrange two or three sciences around it. Interdisciplinary study consists in creating a new object, which belongs to no one” (Barthes 1972: 72).

My study necessarily involves investigations in such fields as: anthropology, visual anthropology and the anthropology of art; the archeology of the Arctic; critical museology and exhibitionary practice; visual culture and cultural studies; and ethnography and ethnohistory, among others. By framing my dissertation within the broadly defined discursive formation of “visual culture,” I am able to perform the multidisciplinary investigations essential to this project, drawing on the work of key theorists to create a constellation of relevant theory and scholarship in which to ground my original field and archival research.

A number of texts by the key theorists of visual culture studies guide and inform this project. W.J.T. Mitchell has provided foundational work in visual culture studies in *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (1986), examining the visual in relation to the systems of power and canons of taste that have created ideologies of worth and value. Also useful to the construction of this theoretical framework is the overview by Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture*, which outlines the history and development of visual culture. He demonstrates how the crisis in art history (and other disciplinary crises) precipitated the development of the meta-field. The edited volume *The Visual Culture Reader* (1998) brings together the writings of key authors and includes essays that are particularly relevant to this study on polycentric aesthetics, visual colonization, modernity, diaspora, ethnicity, and globalization. Margaret Dikovitskaya’s more recent overview *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn* (2006) provides further methodological tools that give shape and parameters to my project, useful in

focusing the seemingly boundless scope of the field of visual studies. Like Mirzoeff, Dikovitskaya provides a historical overview of the development of visual culture, discussing how the “cultural turn” affected traditional art history and gave rise to visual studies. Following this analysis, Dikovitskaya has also mapped the future of visual culture programs for academia, in the process providing a guideline for how visual culture studies can be applied to various fields, despite the staggering diversity of its theoretical positions and practices. Inuit art scholarship has tended to be stratified according to fairly strict chronological periods of production which separate the “prehistoric” (before European contact) from the “historic” period (up to the 1940/beginning of WWII); “historic” from the “modern” (initiated by the 1949 exhibition at the Canadian Guild of Crafts in Montreal); and “modern” from “contemporary” (which grew through the 70s, 80s and 90s as the modern era transformed, but definitively ended when Annie Pootoogook’s 2006 Sobey award catapulted Inuit art into the mainstream of contemporary Canadian art). One of the significant advantages to working within visual culture as outlined by Mitchell, Mirzoeff and Dikovitskaya is that it encourages a more holistic approach that integrates knowledge from across disciplinary boundaries. Visual studies supports the integration of archeological findings on the prehistoric era with anthropological, ethnographic, and material culture studies of the historic period. It also facilitates the addition and critique of modern and contemporary art historical approaches to the study of Inuit art and material culture through time. Theorist Irit Rogoff provides the impetus for situating this project within visual culture:

In today’s world meanings circulate visually, in addition to orally and textually. Images convey information, afford pleasure and displeasure, influence style, determine consumption, and mediate power relations. Who we see and who we do not see; who is privileged within the regime of specularly; which aspects of the

historical past actually have circulating visual representations and which do not; whose fantasies of what are fed by which visual images? [...] Much of the practice of intellectual work within the framework of cultural problematics has to do with being able to ask new and alternative questions, rather than reproducing old knowledge by asking the old questions. (Rogoff 1998: 25)

Following Rogoff, visual culture studies enables me to ask “new questions” about the creation and circulation of Inuit art and the exclusion and perceived absence of Nunatsiavummiut artistic productions by un-framing the discussion of Inuit art from the limited traditional Western art historical dialectics of high/applied, art/craft, and modern/primitive. My hope is that, in addition to bringing recognition to Labrador Inuit art, this study will contribute to the denaturalization of the prescribed boundaries of Inuit art in general, opening it up, as Mitchell suggests in “Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture,” so that we can lift the “veil of familiarity and self-evidence” that surrounds the viewing of ‘Inuit art’ as an approved set of media and subjects and that to date have been very slow to change (Mitchell 2002: 231). By examining the little-known history of the Nunatsiavummiut in the expanded field of inquiry that visual culture studies provides, I question how Western aesthetic preferences and classification systems have articulated the ways through which we can know and discuss Inuit art, and suggest an alternative view of Inuit art as more holistic and less narrowly defined. Visual culture encourages attention to what has been invisible and overlooked (Mitchell 2002: 231).

A Constellation of Theory and Methodology

In order to undertake this interdisciplinary visual culture study, I have assembled a body of critical theory, methodology and historiographical critique. In tandem with the rise of visual culture, a global corpus of postcolonial theory and criticism has emerged on

the history and legacies of colonization, cultural imperialism and transcultural contact. This has enabled a radical rethinking of the history of the world authored by colonialism and the West (Fanon 1961, Said 1979, Spivak 1988, Ashcroft 1990, McEvelley 1992, McClintock, Mufti and Shohat 1997, Pratt 2003).

In recent years Indigenous scholars worldwide have advanced a critical body of decolonizing theory and method (Vizenor 1994, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, Denzin, Lincoln and Tuhiwai Smith 2008, Kovach 2009). Native North American art historians have drawn on these sources to reframe arts and culture from a decolonizing Indigenous perspective in ways significant to this dissertation (Doxtator 1993, Rickard 2002, Farrell Racette and Robertson 2009).

Drawing on this critical constellation of theory and methodology, this study examines the interrelation of the anthropology of art, the social construction of meaning, the aestheticization of culture and the creation of canons of taste and value within Inuit art history. Two important foundational texts relevant to this project are Nelson Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (1976) and James Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture* (1988). In *The Predicament of Culture* Clifford reflects on how systems of value have been created and maintained by cultural institutions such as museums beginning in the nineteenth century, particularly through their division and classification of objects produced in the West and by Indigenous and other non-Western peoples. His essays demonstrated that the classifications of "art," "artifact" and "handicraft" are social constructions generated in specific historical, geographical and cultural contexts. Graburn's foundational study was the first major publication to consider those art objects made specifically for trade and exchange, and to

examine how those souvenir art commodities circulated in the art market and participated in systems of value.

Building on these key texts are studies by Christopher Steiner, Fred Myers and Ruth Phillips, which expand and complicate our understanding of the creation and circulation of arts and crafts productions meant for the tourist and souvenir markets, particularly in terms of the agency of the producers and the understanding of how objects circulate and accrue meaning in the transnational marketplace as well as within the community. Of central importance to this study is the model set forth by Phillips in *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (1998), in which she critically reexamines the production of crafts intended for a souvenir audience by rethinking the Western disciplinary systems of classification of ‘high’ and ‘low’ arts, to recognize souvenir arts as a sign of cultural florescence and an expression of Indigenous agency. The essays in Fred Myers’ edited volume *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (2001), and his important introduction of the same name, are also significant to this study, as Myers demonstrates that as objects circulate throughout “regimes of value” meanings can shift and fluctuate, exposing the transience of an object’s meaning depending on its cultural context. Christopher Steiner’s *African Art in Transit* (1994) provides a critical study of the mechanisms of exchange that enable the movement of art objects from spheres of art production to consumption. His study examines the role of cultural brokers in the circulation of these artistic productions through the art world, demonstrating how their mediation impacts both local and global markets. Arjun Appadurai theorizes the circulation of objects through systems of exchange. His edited volume *The Social Life of Things* (1986) contains influential

essays contributed by social anthropologists and historians on the subject of how objects and their identities accrue meaning while circulating through a diversity of contexts. His *Modernity at Large* (1996) provides a framework for the study of the processes of transculturation in global perspective and discusses how culture and art ‘flows’ relate to those of technology and capital in a transnational system.

Drawing on this constellation of theory and methodology, this dissertation approaches the writing of Nunatsiavummiut art history from the perspective of a social history of art, which attends to how social and historical conditions shape art production and art historical practice (Hauser 1951, Clark 1982, Wolff 1992). As T.J. Clark wrote in *Modern Art and Modernism* (ed. 1982), "there can be no art history apart from other kinds of history" (257). In this dissertation I have therefore undertaken an examination of the breadth and depth of the histories of contact, politics, economics, bureaucratic and organizational structures as they developed on the Labrador coast, because I believe that the social, cultural and political histories of Labrador are deeply imbricated with the history and production of Nunatsiavut visual culture. Finally, I examine Labrador Inuit arts practices by situating this social history in tension with individual Inuit artists’ creative output over generations and the cultural resilience that those arts express.

Modern Impositions / Postcolonial Critiques: Primitivism, Authenticity, and Western Art Historical Dichotomies

Understanding the role of modernism in relation to the arts of so-called primitive peoples in the mid-century is also central to this study. Throughout the nineteenth- and twentieth- centuries, the discourse on non-Western “primitive” peoples dictated that

Indigenous culture held the greatest value when it showed no trace of contact with the West. Objects of ethnography were most esteemed when they reflected the Western perception of Indigenous people as timeless, ahistorical, and traditional. Through the Western lens of primitivism informed by European colonialism and patriarchy, early explorers frequently viewed “New World” Indigenous peoples as primitives and savages who could be manipulated, displayed, ignored or exploited, and understood them primarily in relation to European exploration, religious conversion and cultural imperialism.

Any suggestion of European contact in Native North American culture was viewed as evidence of a cultural decline, which, seen everywhere and misrecognized at every turn, sparked a voracious desire to collect and amass the “remnants” of these dying cultures. The sad irony was that the signs of this so-called decline were most often the result of aggressive colonial, imperial and assimilative practices undertaken by other Europeans and Euro-Canadians. The early modern anthropological belief that Indigenous peoples were vanishing, coupled with the salvage ethnography of the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, instigated the rapacious amassing of Indigenous material culture while hastening the removal of those cultural objects from communities.² In Labrador many of the first Europeans who encountered the Nunatsiavummiut throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed their disappearance was imminent. In Labrador and elsewhere, when it became evident in the twentieth century that Indigenous people were not simply vanishing from the earth, the colonial narrative of Native North

² Anthropologist Franz Boas was the most famous and influential proponent of salvage ethnography in anthropology; photographer Edward S. Curtis practiced a kind of documentary salvage ethnography with his photographs in his twenty-volume series *The North American Indian* (1907-1930).

Americans shifted from predestined extinction to inevitable assimilation.³ Recent postcolonial scholarship on mid-twentieth century primitivism has investigated how Indigenous art objects circulated and acquired value in modern art-culture systems. In the twentieth century, arts from the peripheries of the West began to enter into the discourse of “modern art” on modernism’s terms, as material for Western artists to mine rather than as great art in its own right. At the same time, the West imposed ideological constructs on Indigenous art such as the divisions between of high and low, fine and folk, art and craft, modern and primitive, and through the discourse of “authenticity” (Clifford 1988, Price 1989, Torgovnick 1990, Errington 1998).

“Authenticity” is a term that has been dredged up and disputed during each new phase of contemporary Inuit art since 1949. Early in the development of the field, anthropologist Edward Carpenter publicly debated art historian George Swinton about whether stone sculptures could really be considered “authentic.” Whereas in *The Sculpture of the Eskimo* (1972) and elsewhere Swinton argued that the new works were an authentic expression of “Eskimeness,” and as such a continuation of the prehistoric tradition, Carpenter contended in *Eskimo Realities* (1973) that because pre-contact Inuit carvings were in ivory, and did not serve an economic purpose, contemporary stone

³ For example, in 1962 one of Memorial University’s Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) first research fellows, Shmuel Ben-Dor, conducted fieldwork on Inuit-settler relations in Makkovik. Less than ten years earlier, Inuit from Hebron and Nutak, where the Moravians had closed mission stations, were relocated to that settler community, and Ben-Dor found that their “two cultures co-exist with very little interaction except for that caused by an overarching administrative structure” (1966: 3). Seemingly agreeing with Diamond Jenness and others who have suggested that Labrador Inuit culture owed its survival to the preservation practices of the Moravian church, which it was without in the Makkovik settler community, Ben-Dor concluded that the although he could not predict when, “there is little doubt that the settler mode will eventually triumph in Northern Labrador” causing the Inuit to assimilate completely (Ibid. 192). However, two decades later, another ISER fellow, John Kennedy, published the findings from his own fieldwork in Makkovik. Kennedy’s study showed that, in contrast to Ben-Dor’s prognostication, Inuit in Makkovik had maintained a distinct culture and had resisted assimilation (1981: 133-134).

sculptures did not “constitute an indigenous art” (Carpenter 1973: 192). At each successive stage, critics of the art form have questioned the authenticity of every minute development, and in response, supporters of the art and artists (such as cultural mediators like Houston) had to challenge those ideas, sometimes through the invention of traditions that satisfied Western desires for authentic “Eskimoness.”

Additionally, postcolonial theorists of agency endeavoured to reexamine histories of the Indigenous and the dispossessed subaltern in order to critique the conventional historiography written by those in positions of power. These “histories from below” often involve investigations into acts of resistance (see for example Guha and Spivak 1988, Spivak 1988, O’Hanlon 1988).

Central to the decolonizing research emphasizing Indigenous agency during the contact era is the work of Mary Louise Pratt. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (2007) she introduced the idea of the contact zone as the “space of imperial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (Pratt 2003: 8). Understanding how cultural contact has affected cultural and artistic development in the contact zone of the Labrador coast is of great importance to this study. As William Fitzhugh observed in his edited volume, *Cultures in Contact* (1985), the cultural havoc wreaked upon Native North Americans by Europeans over several centuries of contact is generally attributed to the “merciless and unconscionable economic, military, political, and spiritual exploitation of Native American groups by European explorers and colonists competing for nationalistic and mercantile dominance in the New World.” While this is

certainly true in many instances – the genocide of the Beothuk in Newfoundland, for example – this narrative in some ways denies those Aboriginal people the agency to act on their own behalf and make decisions for their own good (Fitzhugh 1985: 9). This dissertation relies on the invaluable contributions of postcolonial theorists and cultural anthropologists such as Clifford, Fitzhugh, Barrett Richling, Susan Kaplan and Jim Woollett who interrogate the idea that the Nunatsiavummiut were creating “acculturated,” or “inauthentic” art, or that, as a result of contact, the people were themselves inauthentic Inuit. Their research has revealed that despite vastly unequal power relations, Indigenous people were not without the agency or power to make decisions regarding their own self-interest and survival.

The idea that Inuit in Labrador somehow gave up their “Inuitness” when they converted to the Moravian religion is a regrettable but oft-repeated sentiment in Inuit literature across the humanities and social sciences. In *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (2001), Renée Fossett published a carefully written history of the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic drawing from cultural groups across the North. In an ambitious analysis of over four hundred years, and utilizing an impressive range of archival, archeological, anthropological, material and oral sources, Fossett makes keen observations about the social organization of Inuit society and advances several theses about Inuit survival and adaptation in response to both environmental and socio-cultural changes in Canada that challenge outmoded ways of thinking about the Inuit. Unfortunately, Fossett is only interested in Inuit societies until they come into prolonged contact with Euro-Canadian or European culture. The Labradorimiut did not fare well by Fossett’s estimate:

The freedom of the Labrador Inuit to make both collective and individual decisions about place of residence, economic activity, family relationships, and religious practice was subject to constant and deliberate erosion after 1771, as a result of a government-guaranteed missionary monopoly on trade. The Inuit of Labrador are, therefore, considered in this study only until the beginning of the 1770s. (Fossett 2001: xvi)

This perspective effectively dismisses the ‘authenticity’ of the Nunatsiavummiut by stating that Labrador Inuit society began to ‘erode’ immediately upon the establishment of the first missions, under the totalitarian evangelization and economic assimilation of the Moravians. Fossett then seems to subscribe to the idea put forth by Robert Paine in his 1977 *The White Arctic*, and also by others, that in Nunatsiavut, the Inuit ceased to be Labrador Inuit and became instead “Moravian Inuit.” In the first chapter, “Tutelage and Ethnicity, A Variable Relationship,” Paine writes, “Inuit ethnicity was, during one period, a creation of the Moravian missionaries rather than of the Inuit themselves,” remarking that while the Moravians went to great lengths to keep certain aspects of pre-contact Inuit culture “alive,” they were very selective in what they “allowed to remain” (251-252). Paine writes that the Moravian missionaries prevented the Inuit from making contact with other Europeans and aboriginal groups, chose what aspects of the pre-contact culture could remain, and what aspects could be replaced by other traditions. “In short, a new ethnicity emerged in which these wards of the Mission became Moravian Eskimos” (Ibid). Paine notes that there were rewards for conformity and punishments for deviation, and thus the “tutelage” system eventually exerted control over most of the neighbouring non-native settler populations as well. Fossett concurs:

From the time of their fourteenth-century migration from Baffin Island to the 1720s, Labrador Inuit had tempered the effects of deteriorating climate and changes in the availability of resources by relocating communities, expanding their harvest range, and by raiding and trading. Between 1730 and 1770, in a period when fairly stable environmental conditions relieved them of serious

threats to survival, they had made decisions and used strategies that enabled them to deal with broad changes in their social environment, with notable success. Their population continued to rise, their homes were filled with large quantities of luxury, as well as utilitarian, goods of European origin, and Inuit entrepreneurs were operating a trade network capable of distributing goods as far west as Hudson Bay and north to Baffin Island. With the imposition of British-supported missionary government, they entered a period of nearly two centuries during which they lost control of their social, political, and economic lives (2001: 252).

What Paine describes as didactic ‘tutelage’ and marks as a loss of control, Barrett Richling has contested in “‘Very Serious Reflections’: Inuit Dreams about Salvation and Loss in Eighteenth-Century Labrador” (1989) as a deliberate act by the Inuit to participate in the social and economic benefits of conversion. In his essay, Richling examines the written accounts that missionaries made of Inuit dreams, recorded during a period when the Moravians “simultaneously introduced the Inuit to Christianity and to stable, peaceful trade in the closing decades of the eighteenth century” (48). He considers the dreams not in isolation and as related to conversion, but within the greater context of the social and economic conditions prevailing at the time of evangelization. While his work benefits from the extensive record-keeping of the missionaries, he is quick to note the potential for “bias in mission (as well as other ethnohistorical) records” and calls attention to areas of uncertainty in the sources that might have influenced his conclusions (Ibid. 148). Richling notes that missionary practices fostered a strong connection between religious conversion and material wealth, the “satisfaction of material desires,” and also that the attraction of material goods was also coupled with a repulsion from other extenuating negative circumstances, both of which led the Inuit to act in their own best interests (Ibid. 155). Christianity ultimately provided the opportunity to achieve material wealth and prestige through Europeans via missions, rather than chance the dangerous and unpredictable ports of southern Labrador.

Using newly available paleo-environmental, ethnohistorical, and archaeological data, Susan Kaplan and Jim Woollett have also critically reexamined the role of Moravian missionaries in Inuit “salvation” and assumptions about the impact of the environment and weather conditions on late eighteenth-century Labrador Inuit. Their co-authored article, “Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast” (2000), tackled the twenty-five year-old discussions between archaeologists and ethnohistorians on the state of the lives of the coastal Labrador Inuit upon the arrival of Moravian missionaries. The authors contend that contrary to some past reports, climatic conditions during the time of Moravian arrival on the coast were stable and reliable, and natural resources were available in relative abundance. Furthermore, it was this good weather and plentitude that drew various Europeans there with the purpose of exploiting resources, followed by the Moravian missionaries to the coast. Kaplan and Woollett assert that despite welcoming the economic opportunities, the Inuit knew that the Europeans presented significant social and spiritual threats, and so responded by amplifying and elaborating some of their cultural practices both to secure economic advantages and create a new form of social resistance. Support for this theory of agency was previously discovered through the archaeological research of Richard H. Jordan and Susan Kaplan, “An archaeological view of the Inuit/European contact period in Central Labrador” (1980). Their research investigates historic period Inuit sites along the coast of Labrador, where objects of European origin excavated from former Inuit settlements have begun to be regarded not merely as the products of a unidirectional stream of European goods to Inuit hands, but rather as the material evidence of a complex and dynamic “set of relationships and

internal organizational changes between two alien, and sometimes competing, cultures” (1980: 36). The authors hypothesize that one of the main reasons that the pre-Moravian contact-historical Inuit cultural tradition was able to remain so stable was possibly due to the fortunate coincidence that new cultural factors (such as trading baleen whale oil with Europeans) happened to reinforce old cultural patterns of behavior (such as bartering baleen whale oil in pre-contact exchange networks for localized Inuit stone materials such as slate and soapstone, as well as maintaining ancient Thule patterns of open-water whaling) (Ibid: 45).

This new critical current of scholarship has established a precedent for challenging the notion of the “Moravian Inuit” and the Moravian Church as the sole defining cultural institution in northern Labrador, providing a long overdue counter-narrative that acknowledges Inuit agency in cultural interactions with the European interlopers, even while experiencing profound cultural stress. Nevertheless, discourses of authenticity and primitivism continue, I would argue, to have a deep impact on the arts and culture of Labrador Inuit today. Researching this history has caused me to question whether government agencies, arts organizations, trading companies and individuals who could have included Nunatsiavummiut in the burgeoning arts industry of the latter half of the twentieth century excluded them because they believed them to be too acculturated – as perhaps Moravian first, and Inuit second – to be worthy of inclusion in this development. As Inuit art historian Ingo Hessel recalled,

I began working at the Inuit Art Section at the then-named Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) in 1983; for the first few years my main responsibility was the maintenance of the Section's artist files and the revision of the Inuit Artist Biographies. Perhaps around 1985 or so, I remember wondering why the Section had no files on Inuit artists from Labrador. I asked the then Head of the Section, Helga Goetz, why this was the case, and she told me it

was because there were no Inuit in Labrador. When I asked her to explain, she said that there had been so much intermarriage with the "settler" population in Labrador that there essentially remained no more distinct Inuit culture, and consequently no Inuit art, in the region [personal communication, 22 May 2013].

That Goetz, who was probably as informed about Canadian Inuit arts and culture as anyone in the 1960s, 70s and 80s could hold this belief about the contemporary Labrador Inuit, indicates the persistence and proliferation of the idea that they had been long wholly assimilated into *Kallunât*⁴ culture, if they were thought of at all. For Labradorimiut artists, whose wish is to be recognized as being Inuit artists as worthy of interest and attention as their peers elsewhere in the Arctic, the perception of a separation between the “authentic” Inuit of 1950s NWT (as they were imagined) and the “inauthentic” Inuit of Labrador in the same time period has been an almost insurmountable barrier to their success.

I believe the Western aesthetic division of “high” and “low” art has further impeded the acceptance of Labrador Inuit art by the modern art market and the development of the Nunatsiavut arts industry as part of the history of Canadian Inuit art. I argue that because Labrador Inuit artists have always worked in grass, wood, skins, and other materials not associated with high modern Inuit art, and had so eagerly and proficiently incorporated European materials into their arts over several centuries of contact, Nunatsiavummiut productions lacked the appeal of the “primitive modern” art that was believed to have been discovered elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic.

⁴ In the introduction to the catalogue *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset* (1995), Minnie Aodla Freeman explains that *Kallunât* is the Inuit name given to Europeans and later to Euro-Canadians and other non-Inuit that came to the Arctic. Interestingly, the word does not translate to “light-skinned people” or “strangers” as one might expect, but rather, it could mean either “people with beautiful eyebrows” or “people with beautiful manufactured material” (15-16).

As art historian M. Anna Fariello argues, the division between fine arts as “conceptual” and “aesthetic” and craft as applied arts or “technical knowledge,” was first imposed upon artists during the High Renaissance, and has permeated our understanding of objects ever since (Fariello 2005). This demarcation was later firmly entrenched and perpetuated by the modern disciplines of art history, anthropology, and museology. Kant’s *Critique of Judgment* ([1790] 1951), philosophically institutionalized the hierarchy between the supposed aesthetically - and culturally - autonomous ‘fine arts’ and those “lesser” arts bearing a utilitarian purpose, or produced within a culturally constructed framework.

I began to examine the imposition of these Western aesthetic hierarchies of art/craft, contemporary/ traditional, and modern/primitive on Inuit art in my M.A. thesis, “Influence and Instruction: James Houston, *Sunuyuksuk: Eskimo Handicrafts*, and the Formative Years of Contemporary Inuit Art” (2006). This dissertation builds on that research which investigated how the promotion and development of Inuit art as fine art after the first few years of its circulation led to the entrenchment of certain elements of Inuit art that persist to the present day. My thesis provided a close reading of the arts instructional booklet written and illustrated by James Houston, *Eskimo Handicrafts* (1951). The booklet contained images of skin and fur products, ivory and stone carvings, grass baskets, cribbage boards and other souvenir goods intended to appeal to the southern craft and “curio” market. I argue in my thesis that it was the failure of the booklet, and of these smaller scale carvings and “applied” arts, that prompted Houston, as one of the key cultural brokers between the North and South, to – perhaps unintentionally – impose a Western dichotomy between the “fine” arts of stone sculpture (and later

drawing and print making) and “lower” arts such as sewing, basketry and woodcarving when he became the lead arts instructor for the federal government in the early 1950s. This classification has resulted in the longstanding institutionalization of an art historical hierarchy within the field of Inuit art which has almost completely excluded of other modes of production from consideration as “art,” relegating these works to local craft shops and souvenir displays.

In the early 1950s when James Houston was still shaping the malleable handicrafts and carvings industry into a modern fine art form, he strategically replaced the terms “craftsperson” and “carver” with “artist” and “sculptor” in his promotional writing in order to emphasize the connection between Inuit artistic productions and the modern art world (Graburn 1987, Potter 1999, Igloliorte 2006). In light of these efforts to lend credibility and “authenticity” to contemporary Inuit art, it may seem counterintuitive now to use the term *craftsperson* interchangeably with *artist*. However, I believe that in Nunatsiavut, to endeavour to “elevate” the *craftsperson* to the status of *artist* by eliminating the use of the term *craftsperson*, would only serve to underscore a false hierarchy between various practices. Deborah Doxtator has argued,

The relatively recent categorization of art forms such as basket, bead and quill as art objects within an hierarchical Euro-North American art aesthetic side-steps the recognition of Native aesthetics and conceptual systems as viable ways of understanding art. As Howard Murphy points out the solution advocated by James Clifford and others that 'one of the best ways to give cross-cultural value... to a cultural production is to treat it as art' merely subordinates the object and the ideas they contain to western values and hierarchical structures. It also leads to the splintering western idea that there are different 'levels' of art, 'craft', 'naive', or 'traditional' and contemporary. Although very different visually, the continuities that these forms share, whether they are always so apparent or not, are more important than the varied individual differences that divide them. (1996: 18)

In this dissertation I intend for the terms craftsperson, artist, sculptor, carver, grass

worker and other designations to be read as equivalent, just as the terms “crafts,” “handicrafts,” “artworks,” “baskets,” “carvings” and “sculptures” are coequal. I base this decision on a belief that in Nunatsiavut there is a deep and merited respect accorded to the skills, knowledge and expertise inherent in the designation of “craft,” and “craftsperson” is a title already on par with “artist.”

In Labrador, where artists have had little or no instruction from mediators or support from the arts industry or government programs, Nunatsiavummiut artists were never told to prioritize sculpture over crafts, or printmaking over clothing. Labrador Inuit artists have always succeeded in spite of the arts industry, not because of it. But while Labrador Inuit artists have never benefitted from the marketing, promotion and instruction elsewhere in the North, they have also not been limited in their arts by a prescribed market. As mentioned above, further research in the critical theorization of craft in Labrador Inuit art is warranted in the future. But for now -- following studies such as Rozsika Parker’s pivotal *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (1984), which examined the relationship between women’s social history and embroidery practices in Europe-- in this dissertation I believe it is important to underline the significance of democratizing or deconstructing Western art historical hierarchies through the implementation of a visual culture framework.

An Overview of the Ethnohistorical Literature on the Labradorimiut

The current literature on the Labrador Inuit falls short of addressing the gap in our understanding of Inuit arts production and visual culture. There have been a few general cultural histories, none focusing specifically on the Labradorimiut, but rather taking a

regional perspective and usually including or focusing on settler histories. In broad brushstrokes, a general field of study on the early contact history of the Labrador Inuit has been defined by key researchers, including anthropologists, archaeologists, ethnologists, sociologists and geographers, beginning with the earliest contributions to Labrador ethnological history such as those made by the Smithsonian Institution's Lucien Turner and Geological Survey of Canada anthropologist E.W. Hawkes. Yet even these major records and collections remain largely unexplored in the present day. The earliest writers - explorers, cartographers and ship captains who visited Labrador over the last several centuries – have provided glimpses of Inuit life on the Nunatsiavut coast, yet these accounts must be viewed with a reasonable degree of skepticism. As Brice-Bennett (1990), Barrett Richling (1989), and others have noted, the early writers' motivations for documenting their encounters with the Inuit in the first place lay in their intentions to exploit, colonize or evangelize the Labrador coast, where Inuit people and culture presented a challenge to these endeavours. The critical and scholarly attention that these works have received has enabled these sources to be unpacked and mined for useful evidence. Marianne P. Stopp's critical reconsideration of the Papers of Captain Cartwright is an important example and is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter (Stopp 2008).

To begin with, historians of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador have rarely dealt explicitly with the history of the people who have lived there for centuries, and studies of Labrador history usually concentrate primarily on the significance of the region's forestry, mining, or offshore industries to Newfoundland's economy. The quest to obtain Labrador's vast resources – once marine-based, now mineral-centered – has

been the principal cause behind nearly every contact between Indigenous people and outsiders in Labrador for a millennium. Yet the pivotal role that Native groups have played in developing trade networks, establishing settlements, and defining and maintaining the Labrador boundaries, are still decentered in the written histories of Labrador's place in Canada or within the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.⁵ The Inuit and other Native people have often been only peripherally considered in the historical works.⁶ Commenting on this omission by both government and academic historians, Ken Coates has written:

This wavering between neglect and enthusiasm, between southerners either anxious to develop northern resources or content to ignore the region, is a central theme of this study. But this ambivalence is not the most important strain in the history of the Provincial Norths. Southern images of the uninhabited wastelands, of rich forests, and mineral-bearing ground are in conflict with another reality, that of the aboriginal people. These lands are neither uninhabited or abandoned-although some have been almost orphaned as a result of the contact between indigenous peoples and Europeans. (Coates 1992: 2)

Over the last four decades, a great deal of research has also been undertaken on issues of Inuit and other Native peoples land-use and occupancy in Labrador. Of primary importance to the Labradorimiut is the groundbreaking survey edited by Carol Brice-Bennett, *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy in Labrador*

⁵ As Bill Rompkey has written in *The Story of Labrador* (2003), the debate over Labrador, in terms of governing bodies and land settlement disputes, were largely based on political rights to fisheries and had little regard for Inuit or Innu. "The underlying assumption was that Labrador's resources must be developed for someone else, whether that someone was the island of Newfoundland, the province of Quebec, or the market of Wall Street" (2003: 83).

⁶ For example, Frederick Rowe devotes only one chapter of *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1980) to Labrador. Likewise, Judge Daniel W. Prowse accords only one chapter to Labrador in his *A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records* by Daniel W. Prowse (1895 rpt. 1979), although he does detail some relations between Europeans and indigenous peoples, Moravian missions, and especially the fishery. Another instance can be found in Joseph R. Smallwood's volumes of *The Book of Newfoundland* (1937-75). When the first two volumes were published in 1937, Smallwood included little detailed information on Labrador. But, when he produced volumes three and four for publication in 1967, Labrador was much better represented in the text, reflecting the new awareness of the "industrial colonization" of Labrador, begun after Confederation in 1949. Thus, the later volumes contain articles on the Eskimos (Inuit), Moravian missionaries, Sir Wilfred Grenfell, and the Labrador Boundary Dispute - as well as articles on Labrador's potential for hydro-electric and mineral development.

(1977) on behalf of the Labrador Inuit Association. This publication brought *Kallunât* and Inuit scholarship together with archeological evidence to create a substantial record of indigenous land use and occupancy for the purposes of asserting Inuit rights to sovereignty in the Nunatsiavut Territory.⁷ The volume *Settlement, Subsistence and Change Among the Labrador Inuit: The Nunatsiavummiut Experience* (2012) has recently brought our knowledge of Inuit occupation in the territory up to date by considering the the current social economy, beneficiary enrollment, urban development, Inuit governance and other contemporary issues in light of the ratification of our land claims and the advent of self-government.

There have been numerous archaeological discoveries that cover the general pre-contact history of Labrador, and important archeological work continues to be carried out inland and along the coast. These studies illuminate more than five thousand years of known occupation by the Palaeo-Indians, Palaeo-Eskimos, and Pre- to Late Dorset Eskimos, who migrated as far south as the shores of Newfoundland before disappearing altogether sometime shortly after the Thule arrived in 1400 A.D.

An early work on Thule culture by Therkel Mathiassen (1927) laid much of the groundwork for James Tuck's survey *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory* (1976) on

⁷ This work was the first attempt to demarcate a Labrador Inuit territory based on aboriginal land use, for the purpose of establishing land claims in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The study set out to prove that native peoples had a "Claim to Certain Rights in Land and Sea-Ice in Northern Labrador," and the submission eventually established that Labrador Inuit have an un-extinguished and un-surrendered aboriginal interest in their lands and resources. Among the most significant contributions of this edition are the lengthy excerpts from taped interviews with Inuit and other community informants. In many cases, these interviews took the form of "map biographies," in which the details of an individual hunter's experiences and travel in pursuit of game around a specific region were recorded on a house-by-house basis and given equal weight in the report as empirical evidence and field research. Not only do these reports represent a breakthrough in community involvement, but they also make a significant contribution to the ongoing documentation of Labrador Inuit oral history on land-based cultural knowledge. The narratives of the hunter's provide a valuable emic perspective in period characterized by etic cultural studies conducted by non-indigenous researchers. In the book, the oral histories are given equal weight with the scholarly articles and descriptive field reports providing an excellent methodological framework for community-based collaborative research projects.

the archeological findings of the last century, while archeologist Junius Brian Bird is credited with pioneering systematic research on five semi-subterranean sod houses in the area around Hopedale, Labrador (1945). Initiating studies on the area around the Strait of Belle Isle, Elmer Harp Jr. published an archeological survey in 1951, and William E. Taylor published *La Prehistoire de la Peninsule du Labrador* in 1964, but it wasn't until the 1970's and 80s that the fieldwork from the 60s onward on Labrador Thule Inuit culture began to be published en masse. In those decades, major works by Peter Schledermann (1971), William Fitzhugh (1972), J. Garth Taylor (1974, 1984) Richard Jordan (1978), Selma Barkham (1980), Susan Kaplan (1983, 1985) and several others noted elsewhere made great strides towards a more complete picture of Labrador Thule migration, settlement and the cultural contact. From the 1970s to the present, archeological investigations have been carried out throughout Labrador, and the findings have deepened and broadened our understanding of Inuit life from the time of our earliest ancestors to the recent past, as will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Throughout the twentieth century, anthropologists and ethnologists have been interested in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. The diversity and long history of Indigenous cultures, combined with a northern climate suited to the preservation of (some forms of) architecture and material culture, made Labrador an exciting and rewarding ground for fieldwork and research. In ethnology, there are a number of useful surveys that may be combined with collections formed by national museums such as the National Museum of Man (today, the Canadian Museum of Civilization) and the Smithsonian. A.P. Low visited the Labrador coast during the late nineteenth century, keeping a detailed journal and purchasing souvenir arts such as ivory carvings, which are now in the collections of

the Canadian Museum of Civilization. One of the earliest ethnological studies of Inuit in the Eastern Canadian Arctic and Subarctic regions is Lucien Turner's *Indians and Eskimos in the Quebec/Labrador Peninsula* ([1894] 1979), and traces of this foundational research can be seen in the work of more contemporary scholarship, as will also be examined in subsequent chapters.

Source Material and Scholarship on the Moravian Church

This dissertation necessarily engages frequently and deeply with two major sources of historical knowledge on the Nunatsiavummiut: the records, photographs, and scholarship on the Moravian Church in Labrador and the collections, correspondence, and texts Ernest W. Hawkes assembled on behalf of the National Museum of Man, especially his monograph, *The Labrador Eskimo* (1916).

As a cultural institution, the Moravian mission can fairly be viewed as a major defining force of the social, spiritual, economic, and political lives of the Labrador Inuit during the period between 1771 and 1949, and it has therefore been the subject of much ethnohistorical research.⁸ Fortunately, the Moravians were avid diarists, letter-writers, and chroniclers of daily activities, and left a wealth of primary archival material to mine

⁸ The Moravian Church is a small protestant communion that traces its origins to the fifteenth century Hussite Unitas Fratrum (Unity of Brethren) in Bohemia and Moravia. The original Brethren almost suffered extinction during the following centuries of religious persecution. The modern church derives chiefly from a group of the Brethren, under the leadership of Kristian David (1690-1751), which in 1722 obtained asylum on the estate in Saxony of the Lutheran Pietist Nikolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). There they established the present centre of their communion at Herrnhut, from which they derive their popular appellation of Herrnhuters. The emphasis of the Moravians on mission work among 'primitive' peoples first brought the Brethren to North America in 1734. Their earliest settlement was at Savannah, Georgia, followed in 1740 by the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, mission, which became the centre of their present Northern Province. In 1752, they extended their efforts to Northern Labrador. The pioneer expedition, led by John Christian Ehrhardt, disappeared soon after landing, but soon after the first of several successful missions was established at Nain in 1771. Others followed at Okak in 1776 and at Hopedale in 1782. Later missions were opened at Nelson, 1828; Hebron, 1829; Zoar, 1864; Ramah, 1871; Makkovik, 1896; and Killinek, 1905. Although most of the missionaries were German, finances and supplies were provided by the English Brethren through the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

(Taylor 1977: 49).

Of course, there are challenges inherent in relying on archival material, notably, the consistent bias of the Moravians in presenting themselves as the saviors of the Inuit souls. The information that can be accessed from diverse sources – archival, archeological, anthropological, and testimonial – has led to the development of two major streams of thought on the study of Inuit/Moravian relations. While early scholarly writing on the Moravian influence in Labrador tended to take the Moravians at their word regarding the benefits they brought to Labrador, recent academic works take a more critical view of the authority the Moravians exercised on the Labrador coast and the predisposition against “heathen” Inuit evident in their written accounts (see Baker and Cuff 1993). In the 1960s cultural anthropologist Diamond Jenness studied the Labrador Inuit, and divided their ‘administration’ into three periods: (1771-1914) Moravian rule; (1914-1949) the shift from that governance to that of the Newfoundland and the Hudson’s Bay Company; and post 1949 and Confederation, the governments of Newfoundland and Canada. What comes across most clearly from this overview is Jenness’s sympathetic treatment of the Moravian “ruling” period and his support of their efforts to “protect” Inuit culture from the evils and excesses of the European or Euro-Canadian society (Jenness 1933). Allan McMillian, author of the survey *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada*, concurred with Jenness in 1988 that, “although many elements of their culture were lost under Moravian influence, [the Labrador Inuit] enjoyed a lengthy period of near-isolation from outsider influences” (1998: 283). And in another survey text of northern history, Keith J. Crowe subscribed to the aforementioned notion of the ‘vanishing’ Inuit or salvage (or salvation) paradigm, stating, “Without the

Moravians there is little doubt that the Inuit of Labrador would have been destroyed within a generation or two” (1974: 140).

Recent ethnohistorians tend to advocate a more critical consideration of Moravian authority and the influence that missionaries had over Inuit cultural practices and the degradation of the “traditional” way of life that followed their arrival. For example, in “Missionaries as Traders: Moravians and the Inuit, 1771-1860” (1990), Carol Brice-Bennett utilizes the extensive Moravian archives to write a careful consideration of the ethical crisis that confronted the Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not only because of the way they brought Inuit trading under their control via Christian conversion, but also because in their role as middleman they introduced the credit system that can be said to have been a significant factor in the degradation of the “traditional” Inuit way of life. An examination into the role that Moravians played in introducing Inuit to the global economic system has been the subject of many recent works of Labrador ethnohistorians as well. In “A Set of Very Fair Cups and Saucers: Stamped Ceramics as an Example of Inuit Incorporation” (2000) Melanie Ann Cabak and Stephen Loring use an example of nineteenth century material culture – some stamped earthenware discovered in Nain - to examine the influence of trade, wage labour and production via the Moravian missionaries (2000). In ““Very Serious Reflections” Richling is quick to note the potential for “bias in mission (as well as other ethnohistorical) records” and also calls attention to areas of uncertainty in the sources (149). Like Brice-Bennett, Richling argues that missionary practices fostered a strong, longstanding and problematic connection between religious conversion and material

wealth.⁹ “In large part, however, the ‘Great Awakening’ constituted the mission’s triumph over the conflicting tensions that had built up in Inuit society under the weight of more than a century of internally and externally derived sources” (155). And in their aforementioned co-authored article, Kaplan and Woollett found that the Inuit were not passive recipients of religious salvation, but in fact adapted to the situation by amplifying Indigenous cultural practices, displays of prosperity and political power, and expressions of “Inuitness” (2000: 359). What Kaplan and Woollett call “social resistance” could also be described as cultural resilience.

Ernest W. Hawkes and the Canadian Museum of Civilization Collections

As noted earlier, one of the most significant contributions to the existing scholarship on Labrador Inuit arts and cultural history, and central to this dissertation, has been made by Ernest W. Hawkes. Hawkes’ comprehensive text on Nunatsiavummiut material culture and Indigenous knowledge, *The Labrador Inuit* (1916), and the vast array of objects and information Hawkes amassed during his fieldwork on the Labrador coast, was created under the direction of Edward Sapir at the National Museum of Man and the Geological Survey of Canada. The Hawkes collection comprises what is probably the world’s largest and most significant existing collection of knowledge and objects from the Nunatsiavummiut. Hawkes was a prolific collector of both “art” objects and material culture, and he purchased large numbers of items from the communities along the coast

⁹ Richling lists how the mission exploited outbreaks of disease to expose the weakness of shaman powers; how they sheltered women from male competition for wives, thus diminishing the ability of men to express stature through women; and how they deliberately usurped the stature of successful hunters who would have gained status through providing food for the rest of the group. However, Richling also fairly acknowledges that there were other negative external forces that contributed to the Moravian’s successful and all-encompassing conversion, essentially driving the Inuit into their congregation (1989: 155).

that he visited in 1914. Yet this material has received little concerted scholarly attention to date, and the collections have rarely been exhibited.

There are more than 750 works in the Labrador Inuit collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC), and these pieces come to the collection from a variety of sources including museum-sponsored collecting and private donations, but more than half of these were collected by Hawkes. Hawkes visited the Labrador coast in the summer 1914 on behalf of the Geological Survey of Canada and *The Labrador Eskimo* was published in 1916. That book, along with his personal correspondence and the large number of artifacts and artworks he shipped back from the Labrador coast, provide the material locus for an examination of Nunatsiavummiut artistic productions from the early twentieth century. His book covers all areas of potential ethnographic interest, including not only material culture but also transcriptions of songs, stories and ceremonies, drawings of tattoos, accounts of seasonal activities and other useful information on early twentieth-century life.

Little is known about Hawkes outside of his anthropological work on Alaskan Eskimos and later Labrador Inuit. He was born 1881 or 1883 and died in 1954 or 1957. In the introduction to his publication *The Inviting In Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo* (1913) he notes that his previous employment brought him to anthropological work, briefly explaining, “In the winter of 1911-12, I was located in St. Michael, Alaska, as government teacher in charge of the Unaligmiut Eskimo of that vicinity” (1). He would later also publish *The Dance Festivals of the Alaskan Eskimo* (1914) based on his three years residence in St. Michael in the Bering Strait district and on the Diomed Islands. Between his work in Alaska and his trip to Labrador, he was a Fellow at Columbia

University (1913-14). In his personal correspondence with Sapir from this time he notes that he has been taking classes with Franz Boas, noting, “Dr. Boas is giving me special instruction in the language, and later I am to work over some texts from the vicinity of Bering Strait [...] Besides this work I am taking American Languages, Social Organization and Religion with Dr. Goldenweiser, and Science of Language with Dr. Jackson,” adding that the work with Boas had been of inestimable value “putting my somewhat disorganized knowledge on a scientific basis,” (App. A: “Hawkes to Sapir,” Oct. 16 1914).¹⁰

In 1910, the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada was established and Boas's student Edward Sapir was appointed division chief. Influenced by Boas' work, Sapir introduced a new classifying system for ethnographic objects based on the idea of a culture area – a geographical/ cultural region where people share cultural traits such as languages and social structures – rather than organizing objects sequentially by collector, as had been the previous system.¹¹

Sapir hired Hawkes to complete ethnographic research along the Labrador coast in the summer of 1914.¹² In June of 1914 Hawkes set out to travel through Newfoundland

¹⁰ Presumably Hawkes means Russian-born American anthropologist Dr. Alexander Alexandrovich Goldenweiser (January 29, 1880-July 6, 1940) who also studied under Boas and who lectured at Columbia between 1910 and 1919; it is possible that the Dr. Jackson he is referring to is Dr. A.V. Williams Jackson (February 9, 1862-August 8, 1937) whose specialization was Indo-Iranian languages.

¹¹ Canada was divided into five major culture areas and each subdivision within assigned a letter; for example, the Arctic is section IV and Labrador's subsection is B, so all classified objects from the Nunatsiavut region are labeled IV-B followed by a numerical digit. Sapir's system not only made it possible to easily identify what cultural group an object belonged to, but to also determine where there were strengths and weaknesses in the existing collection.

¹² In a handwritten letter dated March 18 of 1913, Hawkes suggests to Sapir that he might travel with the Grenfell Mission supply ship in June; Sapir responds that while Hawkes' request is too late in the museum's fiscal year for 1913, it would be possible for Hawkes to undertake the work among the Labrador and Hudson Bay Eskimo between 1914 and 1915. In their ensuing correspondence the details of Hawkes' trip is worked out in detail, although once departing, his travel plans were thwarted by bad weather, sea ice and other poor sailing conditions on the Labrador coast. This delay resulted in his amassing of a disproportionate amount of cultural material from the Hamilton Inlet / Rigolet region of Labrador.

and from there up the Labrador coast. Between his arrival on the coast on June 10th and the mid-point of his voyage, Hawkes covered nearly 1300 miles of coastal territory, touring, “the entire East Coast from Battle Harbour to Cape Chidley, visiting all the principle inlets – Sandwich Bay, Hamilton Inlet, Makkovik Bay, Hopedale, Davis Inlet, Saglek Bay, Nachuk Bay, Luklasuk Bay (Ryan’s Harbour), Lauguyok and Jokaur. The first trip was from Battle Harbour to Indian Harbour and Koltun; the second into Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay; and the third (first leg of present voyage) from Grady to Cape Chidley” (App A: Hawkes to Sapir, 20 Aug. 1914).

While Hawkes was primarily tasked with studying the religion and social organization of the Inuit, and Sapir noted that in addition, “I should like you to get an all-around ethnological collection for our museum. We have some very good Labrador Eskimo costumes that were collected for us by Dr. Low, but are not particularly strong on other types of specimens from this region” (App. A: Sapir to Hawkes, 31 Oct. 1913). Under the advice of Sapir, who noted that the Inuit in Labrador were not yet involved in the monetary system, Hawkes procured his extensive ethnographic collection by bartering with supplies he purchased from the Hudson’s Bay Posts, the Moravians, and the Captain of the *Cluett* in which he sailed. His trade goods included, “a supply of flour, guns, ammunition, dry goods, cutlery, tobacco, and cheap jewelry” (App. A: Sapir to Hawkes, 13 Oct. 1913). Although little else is known about his scholarship or previous academic experience, Hawkes’ correspondence with Sapir during his preparations for the trip to Labrador reveals his scholarly approach to anthropology:

I am making a special study just now of Northwest Coast influences on Eskimo culture, which appears to throw some interesting sidelights on their social

For an account of how the agreement came to be please see App. A: Hawkes to Sapir, 18 Mar. 1913.

organization. We appear to have in Alaska evidence of a totemic organization connected with their ceremonials. I don't know just how far this will work out.

I imagine that it will be rather difficult to obtain information as to religion and social organization in Labrador from present conditions, but, by digging back into the past through good informants, and comparing our information with other parts of the Eskimo world, we may arrive at a definitive system. I have made a careful study of these subjects as we find them in Alaska, which should be interesting for comparison. If I have an opportunity of witnessing the winter ceremonies as they are performed in Labrador, could the term of my service be lengthened? I think that much information could be obtained in a year at a comparatively small increase in expense. The big expense in such latitude is getting into the country (App. A: Sapir to Hawkes, 19 Nov. 1913).

This letter reveals two significant and interrelated issues to bear in mind when drawing on Hawkes' ethnography: first, there are some problems with the reliability of Hawkes' research, because he appears to base a considerable amount of his work on gaining knowledge through comparison with the Inuit he studied in Alaska. Given the many cultural differences between Alaskan Eskimo groups and the Labradorimiut in the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, the number of instances where Hawkes appears to be filling in missing information with Alaskan sources, or including the work of others without citation, throws the reliability of some of the material in the book into doubt.

In his letters to Sapir before his trip, it is clear that he expected that there would be a great deal of correspondence between Alaskan and Labrador Inuit. In one letter composed many months before his trip he suggested that while he believed there was some evidence that neighbouring Northwest Coast groups had influenced Alaskan Eskimo society, he still thought that by finding Labrador Inuit informants and comparing that information with what he had studied in Alaska, they could develop a "definitive system" for the whole north. He frequently discloses his intention to understand the Labradorimiut in comparison to the Northwestern Unalaklit [Unalakleet] based upon his

previous research in Alaska, drawing comparisons across language, culture, customs, spirituality and other aspects of society. In planning his trip, for example, he presumed that the Labradorimiut would follow the same ceremonial year: “The winter is the best season to visit the Eskimos as we find them then under natural conditions and have an opportunity of witnessing their ceremonial dances &c” (App. A: Hawkes to Sapir, 20 Oct. 1913). Even after his time on the Labrador coast, Hawkes appears to have relied somewhat heavily on sources from Lucien Turner’s *Indians and Eskimos in the Quebec/Labrador Peninsula* ([1894] 1979). Yet Turner’s (perhaps deceptively titled) text provides only cursory information on the Labradorimiut, and instead is a detailed ethnography of the Innu of Labrador and the Inuit of the east coast of Hudson’s Bay in northern Quebec, who had lived in relative isolation from the Nunatsiavummiut on the other side of mountainous tundra and taiga in the interior of northern Labrador and Quebec. While there were some cultural similarities at the end of the nineteenth century, many practices would have been considerably impacted by the Labradorimiut’s prolonged history of contact. This is most problematic because it is impossible to tell from Hawke’s text when he is drawing on his primary research, and when he is relying on Turner or others to fill the gaps in the “definitive system” he sought to create, because he rarely cites his sources.

The second precaution against relying on Hawkes’s material is that he set out not to learn about the Nunatsiavummiut as they were in 1914, but rather to “obtain information as to religion and social organization” from an imagined pre-contact era, which, he believed, would be difficult “in Labrador from present conditions” (ibid.) This and numerous other instances in his writing both before the trip to Labrador and in *The*

Labrador Eskimo reveal that Hawkes believed in the salvage ethnography paradigm of the “vanishing” or acculturated Labradorimiut.

As discussed above, nineteenth century salvage ethnography assumed that, due to global colonial expansion, Indigenous people were vanishing, and therefore it was the responsibility of anthropologists to salvage as much material and cultural knowledge of “pure” and “primitive” races before their psychical extinction or cultural contamination (based on contact with European society). German anthropologist Adolf Bastian, under whom Boas had trained at the Royal Ethnographic Museum in Berlin, declared in *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier* (1881),

Even now, material perishes in front of our eyes through our inconsiderate neglect; we could have salvaged so much more than we have through our contact with living native societies. Indeed, each year, each day, each hour, things disappear from this earth; and we look on without moving so much as a little finger [...] Our guiding principle, therefore, in anthropology, prehistory or ethnology should be to collect everything (qtd. in Bunzl 1996: 72).

Like Bastian, in North America Boas’ purpose was to rapaciously gather and compile empirical data on myths, religious practices, beliefs, and political and social systems, as well as to amass physical collections of artifacts, in order to accumulate knowledge of Native North American cultures before they disappeared. As the “father of American anthropology,” Boas’ passion for salvage ethnography is visible in the work of his many students, including both Sapir and Hawkes. In his previous work on Alaska, Hawkes had displayed the bias held by anthropologists at the time towards an idealized cultural purity:

The Eskimo village of St. Michael, or Táteek, where the celebration was to take place, is situated on an island near the mouth of the Yukon river. On account of its convenient position at the mouth of the river, it is the chief port for the Yukon trade, and was selected as such by the Russian-American Fur Company. As a result of long occupation the Unalit became mixed with the Russian traders, so that at the present time a majority bear Russian names, and belong to the Russian

church, although still practising their ancient religion. The Unalaklit, on the contrary, *have kept their blood and customs pure*. They are counted as a model Eskimo tribe, and look down on their unfortunate neighbours, who have been unable to resist the encroachment of the white man, and it's inevitable result – native deterioration. The Unalaklit are the southernmost branch of the Malemuit; the largest and most warlike tribe of the Alaskan Eskimo (Hawkes 1913: 2-3) [my emphasis].

And at one point during his trip, he lamented to Sapir:

We do not find any settlements of Eskimo living in the old style on the East Coast. They are much modernized, particularly those gathered at Moravian stations, as to dress and dwellings, but still retain many of the old implements and weapons. We should have to reconstruct the old life from archeological work and the information of the older informants. Under such conditions specimens illustrating strictly native life are rather scarce. I have collected 337 to date, most of which I have sent you. I expect to find them in greater abundance on the northern coast and Hudson Bay. (Letter: Hawkes to Sapir, Sept. 14 1914)

At several points in *The Labrador Eskimo* Hawkes mentions “authentic Eskimo” in Labrador he repeatedly favours and highlights what he believes to be the less acculturated aspects of Labrador Inuit life.

And yet despite these concerns, Hawkes' publication and collected writings – including the correspondence with Sapir and the many careful drawings and patterns he created – cover many areas of potential ethnographic interest in great detail, including not only observations on the material culture but also the transcriptions of songs, stories and ceremonies drawings of tattoos, records of wildlife and resources, and descriptions of daily life, customs and practices. This dissertation thus owes a great debt to Hawkes, who amassed one of the most comprehensive portraits of Labradorimiut life at the turn of the twentieth century, a time when many others were writing that the Labrador Inuit were already too “Moravian Inuit,” and thus too inauthentic, to warrant study. Without Hawkes there would be no rich resource to mine and critique.

Furthermore, it should also be noted that Hawkes, like Boas, believed that a broader range of artistic productions should be considered under the rubric of “art” at a time when the modern art world still dismissed the expressive productions of “primitive” peoples as ethnographic specimens. Boas rejected the hegemony of Western aesthetics over popular or traditional arts and the isolation of western art historiography from economic and social history (Jonaitis 1995: xi). In *The Labrador Eskimo*, Hawkes argued that Inuit material and visual culture should also be considered within this expansive view of art:

A discussion of Eskimo art is usually confined to a description of their etchings on ivory or an illustration of the little figures carved from ivory. But Eskimo art is something larger than this. It concerns itself not only with designs on ivory, but characteristic motifs in the decoration of clothing, in tattooing, in fur and leather applique work, and in basketry. The Eskimo also reveal in the manufacture of tools and weapons an appreciation of form and outline which will compare favourably with that of any of their Indian neighbours. (Hawkes 1916: 100)

Reflecting Boas's work in the anthropology of art, Hawkes' comments prefigure the interdisciplinary field of visual culture as a project that brings together the broader scope of the anthropology of art with the aesthetic discourse of art history.

I conclude this overview of Nunatsiavummiut ethnohistorical writing by noting that these sources have proven vital to my dissertation because, in the area of art history and visual culture studies, the field remains wide open, and few texts have engaged with Labrador work seriously. Most references to Nunatsiavummiut art and artists are scattered through the literature as journal articles or book chapters, although a few significant texts brought groups of scholars together to investigate the Labrador Inuit.

Only a handful of exhibition catalogues and articles mention Labrador Inuit art in any depth or breadth. Even general survey texts largely ignore the arts of the Labrador

Inuit. In Ingo Hessel's comprehensive *Inuit Art: An Introduction*, the author shows no contemporary Labrador art, saying only, "Ironically Labrador, which produced the first Inuit export ivories for Moravian missionaries in the late eighteenth century and which was considered the foremost art producing region in the Historic Period, was sadly neglected; it has only recently attempted a carving revival" (Hessel [1998] 2003: 78). This remark effectively omits and dismisses the many other contemporary art productions being made in the same period that were not carvings (or drawings, or prints), as well as many works that did fit within the widely accepted definition of fine art, but that were largely ignored by the art world. This view echoes that of George Swinton *Sculpture of the Inuit* ([1972] 1999), in which he mentions in passing that the Inuit art situation was much more bleak in Labrador than the rest of the north, and that of Charles Martijin in his 1967 essay "A Retrospective Glance at Eskimo Carving" that "these once so warmly praised Labrador Eskimos appear for some reason to have been completely ignored by those instrumental in fostering the contemporary Canadian Eskimo carving development" (10). In overviews and surveys of Canadian Inuit art history and visual culture, Labrador Inuit art is at best mentioned in passing or overlooked, and at worst dismissed out of hand. Not surprisingly, Labradorimiut have also been overlooked by major "national" Inuit art exhibitions and are still largely absent from public and corporate collections.¹³

¹³ The examples of the lack are too numerous to mention. Virtually no Labrador Inuit art has been included in any major national or international exhibitions until very recently. There was no Nunatsiavummiut work in *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art From Canada*, which visited the Musée de l'Homme Paris (1969) and the National Gallery of Canada (1969 -1970). Likewise, in the catalogue for the exhibition *Sculpture/Inuit* (1971), an exhibition conceived and organized by the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, there is only a fleeting reference to Inuit on the Labrador coast in William E. Taylor's brief chapter, "Taisumanialuk – Prehistoric Canadian Eskimo Art," and no identified artists from Labrador are included, although two small ivory figures, a model kayak (number 96) and a standing woman (92) are marked "East Coast of Labrador? Before 1914"; and one tiny work is definitively identified as "100. Model Saw, Hebron (Labrador). Before 1912." The National Gallery of Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization have only a handful of works post-1949 between them: for years the NGC only had one tea pot, *Unit-tea* [2000,

The gap is made clear when we survey the writings of the most popular and prolific writers on Inuit art. The list of presenters for the 1982 the *Conference for Curators and Specialists who work with Inuit Art* comprises a veritable “Who’s Who” of the Inuit art world from the 1970s to the present, including Jean Blodgett, Dorothy Eber, Pat Feheley, Helga Goetz, Marion (Mame) Jackson, Marybelle Myers, Maria Muehlen, Zebedee Nungak, Bob Patterson, Marie Routledge, Patricia Ryan, David Sutherland, George Swinton, Virginia Watt, Darlene Wight, and many other gallerists, curators, dealers, museum staff, and government officials. The conference was held in Ottawa, sponsored by the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council¹⁴ and organized through the Inuit Art Section of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. It featured representatives of every major institution and organization, such as the National Museum of Man and the Canadian Guild of Crafts. The paper topics were wide ranging and presented a broad cross-section of concerns from this burgeoning scene, from practical and logistical concerns to theoretical approaches and historiography. The conference proceedings were published in their entirety, including the entire transcript of papers and presentations as well as introductions, responses and questions from the audience. Only

acquired 2006] by Michael Massie, but in 2012-2013 it finally acquired an additional work by Billy Gauthier. The CMC has a few small sculptures as well as some handmade clothing items, although they do also have the Hawkes collection and some other works that comprise a very significant historical collection from the turn of the twentieth century. The exceptions to this museological absence of modern or contemporary Nunatsiavut art are The Rooms in Newfoundland and the collection of Indian and Inuit Art Centre of AANDC, both of which boast a number of contemporary works from a variety of Nunatsiavummiut artists collected over the past approximately twenty years.

¹⁴ The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council was founded in 1961 at the request of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative. It was established by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada in order to advise the Kinngait (Cape Dorset) arts community on the production and circulation of prints (and to a lesser extent, sculpture) for the southern market, from technical advice to recommending which designs should be included in the annual print collections. It was a highly contentious organization that from the very beginning was criticised for imposing notions of “quality” on Inuit printmaking and other ‘fine’ art forms. As former chairperson Virginia Watt has noted, “The council made a lot of mistakes, but I won’t deny the good it did. It gave the prints credibility and protected the printmakers in a way that sculptors are not protected” (1993: 51).

once in the entire 193-page report is Labrador mentioned, when Jean Blodgett was discussing the problems of studying Inuit art from the Historic Period, making mention of several national collections which include a few Labrador works from the Historic Period, and showing a slide of one small ivory bird from Labrador (143-4). This lack of information or attention to Nunatsiavummiut art over the last six decades, throughout the vast literature, exhibitions, and collections of Inuit art in Canada, demonstrates the need for an interdisciplinary study to fill in this critical gap in Inuit visual culture scholarship.

Gathering Sources: Archives and Collections

In order to begin to fill the existing gap in the literature on the arts of the Labrador Inuit, I have undertaken primary research in several national and international museums, art galleries, and archival collections, including the major archives of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Inuit Art Foundation, Library and Archives Canada and the Indian and Inuit Art Centre in the Ottawa region. Piecing together the art history of the Labradorimiut has, however, largely depended on smaller local and regional centres whose dedicated archivists, either as academics, professionals or volunteers, have made an invaluable contribution to this study. This includes the Labrador Institute holdings at Memorial University in Newfoundland and in their offices and archives in Happy Valley-Goose Bay; The Rooms Provincial Archives in St. John's; *Them Days* magazine archives in Happy Valley-Goose Bay; and craft centres, museums and archives on the coast such as the Torngâsok Cultural Centre, the OKâlaKatiget (OK) Society, the Labrador Interpretation Centre, the Rigolet craft centre and the White Elephant Moravian heritage museum in Makkovik.

Towards an Inuit Methodology for Community-Based Field Research: The Oral History and Visual Culture Archive

Recent material culture and craft scholarship has foregrounded the importance of engaging with communities as a means for creating, expanding, modifying, and making visible the histories of objects and cultures in Canada and worldwide. In my research project, this consultation and community collaboration has been paramount, as the success of this project in many ways has depended on the contributions of artists, elders, and other informed community members, whose knowledge of family and community practices, materials and techniques, and art historical traditions and have filled critical voids in the existing literature on Nunatsiavut art history. The most critical resource for this dissertation, and one of the most significant contributions that this dissertation makes, is the Nunatsiavut art and artist oral history and image archive developed in collaboration with artists (2011-). This research and documentation was primarily gathered throughout Nunatsiavut over the course of a six-week research trip undertaken late in the summer of 2011. I traveled to all of the Inuit communities, where I conducted more than forty informal interviews with artists and documented several hundred artworks with nearly two thousand photographs. I later conducted subsequent telephone and online interviews with other Labradorimiut artists living across Canada (also included in the oral history archive in Appendix B).

Just as the practice of consultation changes with the each new context and must evolve on a project-by-project basis; there is no universal formula for developing an Indigenous methodology. However, as Cree scholar Margaret Kovach has proposed in *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, there are

commonalities that can be used as a point of departure, which are based on the shared concern of Indigenous researchers over a number of broad ethical considerations, especially accountability and responsibility to the community, the desire to do no harm, and the intention to work in a way which benefits the community (2010). In the recent *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith agree that, “The researcher must consider how his or her research benefits, as well as promotes, self-determination for research participants” (2008: 2). They state that any critical inquiry must begin with the concerns of the Indigenous community in question, and that the value of the project must be assessed in terms of the benefits it creates for the Indigenous subjects of the work.

The research must therefore be developed in consultation with the stake-holding communities, and it must foreground the community’s system of values and honour its knowledge and collective experiences. It is not enough to see a gap in knowledge and to fill it – it must also be defined, through dialogue with the community, as a gap worth filling, and it should participate in a process that enhances the sovereignty and self-determination of that community.

Fortunately, many Indigenous communities have already developed their own standards, frameworks and protocols for conducting ethical research. The Nunatsiavut Territory has just such a process, which was critically important to me at the onset of this project in that it compelled me to detail exactly what my research would entail, in what ways it would benefit the individual Labrador Inuit artists and the culture as a whole, and how I would share the results in ways which were beneficial to the community. Following the appropriate protocol, my interviews took place after completing and

receiving approval on my application to the Nunatsiavut Interim Research Committee.¹⁵ I then coordinated my trip in collaboration with Nunatsiavut's Community Liaison Officers (CLO's) and Community Development Officers (CDO's), who assisted me in developing lists of artists and contact information. In every community the CLO or CDO who assisted me consistently went out of his or her way to facilitate the interview process, and their knowledge and assistance was crucial to the success of the endeavor. Through them, I had an opportunity to contact most of the artists and other knowledgeable people who were interested and available to participate in this project.¹⁶ In Appendix B of this dissertation, the oral histories I recorded in collaboration with the Inuit artistic community have been compiled and arranged according to artist.¹⁷

In acknowledgement of the great contributions this Inuit knowledge makes to this dissertation and the respect I accord to the words and work of Nunatsiavummiut artists and others, I have gone beyond even the rigorous demands of my university's guidelines for ethical research and tried to build accountability into all my interactions with artists.

¹⁵ In Nunatsiavut, anyone wishing to conduct research in the territory must now present a proposal based on the guidelines laid out in the *Nunatsiavut Government Research Process* document. Applicants must lay out their research agenda responding to the fourteen points of the document, including such required data as: "the benefit of the project to Nunatsiavut, and/or specific communities within Nunatsiavut"; "how the community or NG will be involved in the planning/conduct of the research"; "how the results will be shared with the individual participants, community, and NG"; and "how Labrador Inuit traditional knowledge will be considered and/or incorporated into the research."¹⁵ This new and rigorous research requirement has helped to end the removal of Inuit cultural material from Labrador without Inuit permission (such as the mid-twentieth century removal of grave sites contents by the Smithsonian and other archeological/ anthropological institutions) while ensuring that, going forward, Nunatsiavummiut are stakeholders and beneficiaries of research into their lives, lands or resources.

¹⁶ Even with collaborative efforts and months of planning, weather, seasonal hunting and fishing activities, and other scheduling conflicts prevented me from meeting every artists in every community. In the future I aim to complete the project begun in my field research compendium, by creating oral histories, and documenting artworks, for all of artists who wish to be included in each community. Work in Labrador demands flexibility and patience.

¹⁷ It should be noted that the images I have documented present just a selection of those artworks that were available while I was in Labrador; many Nunatsiavummiut artists are not yet in the habit of documenting their own work before selling it. Indeed several of the artists I interviewed had no images available; their records will be built upon as this project grows beyond the dissertation stage.

Although all of the people I interviewed signed university-approved permission forms granting the use of all or part of their interviews and images in my dissertation writing and other research products, I made a written commitment to all those contributors that I would provide them with a further opportunity to edit, change, build on or even remove all or parts of their interviews after the transcripts were created. This was designed to ensure that they know exactly what would be published and understand that they have control over their own representation. I further committed myself to making every effort to notify them in advance of any new publication of their approved words or art.

Finally, in inviting artists to participate in my thesis research, I have followed a respectful methodology that acknowledges that Indigenous societal membership is complex and fraught with complications in contemporary Canadian society. I stated my criteria for participation simply as “any self-identified artist of Inuit ancestry over the age of 18,” and I did not differentiate between Nunatsiavut Inuit beneficiaries, NunatuKavut or others of Inuit descent unless specified by the artist.

The contemporary Aboriginal population of Labrador includes the Nunatsiavummiut, Innu Nation and NunatuKavummiut. As in many other Indigenous territories of settler-colonial Canada, the naming of people and places in Labrador has historically been contentious, contingent, and inherently political. In the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, descendants of the European men who came to work on the Labrador coast and the Inuit women they married were known as “Settlers.” In the 1970s when the Labrador Inuit Association was formed, the LIA granted full membership to those Settlers who had lived for generations in northern Inuit communities, while excluding those who lived in southern Labrador. John C. Kennedy wrote in “Our

Heritage, Our Identity: The Case of the Labrador Metis Association” (1996) that this division left many Settlers living in the south, or *Kablunagajuit* (“partly white” people), feeling disenfranchised, leading to the formation of a third Aboriginal organization in the 1980s, the Labrador Metis Association (LMA) (28).¹⁸ Following a jointly sponsored 2006 research initiative with Memorial University of Newfoundland to understand their past, the LMA changed its name to NunatuKavut, which means “Our Ancient Land” in Inutittut. Future projects undertaken with the Nunatsiavut Government will likely require that only beneficiaries of the Labrador Inuit land claims agreement benefit from NG arts development activities, but I decided to begin from a place of inclusion for anyone who self-identifies as being of Inuit ancestry.

In engaging Labradorimiut artists and others in a dialogue about the history and production of art in Labrador at the beginning of my project, my key methodology has been to ensure that their perspectives have taken precedence in my work and that their insights inform the scope and direction of my research. Their invaluable contributions have helped to illuminate the common threads of experience shared by the artists across generational and geographical divides. They have pointed to the gaps in recognition and support of Inuit art in territory and province.

¹⁸ The first, most accurate and best-known meaning of the term *Métis* describes the descendants of European (often French) males and aboriginal (usually Indian) females. Historically, these metis people worked in the fur trade in eastern and central Canada, and later in the plains buffalo trade. These metis became known as the Red River Métis. Over generations, Métis people frequently married other Métis people, creating a unique cultural lineage and heritage in Canada. However, the term has also been generically applied to refer to people of mixed European and Aboriginal descent. Labrador Métis used this term in the second manner, before ultimately changing their name to become the NunatuKavut people, or NunatuKavummut.

Parameters of the Dissertation

I have identified some areas of research that, due to space and time limitations or the breadth of available research at the time of writing, are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Although I benefitted greatly from the assistance of knowledgeable community members who assisted me in contacting numerous artists both within and outside of the Nunatsiavut Territory, I could not get to see every artist whose work merits further attention. I regret that space does not allow me to profile at length all those artists whom I did interview. Future developments of this research will provide an opportunity for me to rectify this situation, and it is my hope that this dissertation will also interest others in the study and research of Nunatsiavut art. Additionally, not every artist featured here or in my field research appendix could be illustrated with images of their artwork. As mentioned above, many artists in Labrador work outside the gallery structure and sell their work immediately upon completion, without having it documented photographically, leaving no record of their work or knowledge of its location. Further research in collections is also warranted. In the future, opportunities for more hands-on research in museums and other international institutions with holdings of Labradorimuit material will make it possible to complete art historical analysis in the absence of other documentation.

One area of critical scholarship beyond the scope of this dissertation, discussions of which are also limited across the field of Inuit art, is a critical theorization of gender in Inuit art. Currently, the literature falls short of addressing how gender functions in the creation of Inuit art, or how it impacts the production or sale of art. Before prolonged contact with Europeans, complicated processes such as the production of clothing, for

example, would have been a family or communal undertaking, with men and women playing equally important roles in hunting, tanning and sewing. In the early days of the arts industry elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic, husbands would often create the carving while wives would complete the important steps of finishing and polishing artworks, even though they were usually not credited with this work. As Marybelle Mitchell explained in an *IAQ* editorial,

Even when they did produce work of their own, it was not unusual to attribute it to the male — not as an expression of chauvinism, but rather as a practical arrangement. The making of objects for trade was just another instance of family labour, the objective being survival, not artistic reputation, and nobody cared too much who got the credit (Mitchell 2011: 47).

Rather, an attitude of collaboration and mutual respect from the pre-contact era continued to prevail in the mid-twentieth century. Unfortunately, these issues of gender have yet to be thoroughly analyzed in the production of Inuit art. Instead, to date, the majority of studies on gender in Inuit art are those that have taken Inuit women's art as their subject, for example, in the work of Janet Berlo, Marion Jackson and others. As such, the remarks I make on the subject throughout this text are still preliminary. In the absence of focused research which was beyond the scope of this dissertation, I have instead provided throughout this text some initial thoughts on the function of gender in the arts practices examined in this text, indicating areas for expansion in the future.

Another gap in the art historical writing on contemporary Inuit art that has posed a challenge to this research is in the theorization of contemporary Inuit craft practices. The overarching emphasis on the aforementioned “fine arts” of sculpture, printmaking and drawing have resulted in few texts that focus on Inuit craft. Again, while a number of catalogue essays and publications are devoted to craft practices – many of the best of

these contributed by anthropologists and ethnologists rather than art historians – little exists in the art historical literature. This lack is not unique to the field of Inuit art. In her essay in *Extra/Ordinary* Lacey Jane Roberts writes,

The lack of critical theory within the field of craft has contributed to its second-class status in the world of visual and material culture,” arguing that a progressive and critical body of theory must be developed in order for craft to “assert itself as a vital and rich part of visual and material culture and simultaneously to challenge the stereotypes that position craft at the bottom of the aesthetic and conceptual food chain. (Roberts 2011: 244)

With the exception of groundbreaking texts such as Roszika Parker’s *The Subversive Stitch* and M. Anna Fariello and Paula Owen’s anthology *Objects and Meaning* (2005), critical craft theory is still in the early stages of its development. I have found useful to this study a number of works by Indigenous scholars who examine craft practices within Aboriginal-specific contexts, particularly Sherry Farrell Racette, Carmen Robertson, and Deborah Doxtator.

Asserting Our Sovereignty Through Cultural Continuity

In recent decades, the articulation of Inuit self-determination and sovereignty have led the Canadian North to undergo a remarkable social, political, and cultural transformation. Inuit across the Arctic have taken control of their own representation, responding to the legacies of colonization in the North while asserting their rights and responsibilities as custodians of the land and its peoples. In northern Canada the four Inuit regions have been actively devising their own forms of governance for several decades. As Frances Abele and her co-authors indicated in *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Power and Prospects in Canada’s North* (2009), the vast array of governing styles across the North alone reveals how ingeniously Canadian Aboriginal groups have managed to

work within Canada's democratic system, sharing power with the colonial state while still protecting their constitutional rights and maintaining sovereignty and custodianship over the people, land and natural resources (3). Nonetheless, as the authors are quick to point out, these arrangements are not yet entirely satisfactory or complete. Rather, I would argue, they need to be viewed as necessary first steps in the processes of decolonizing and asserting our sovereignty. Since ratifying our land claims agreement in 2005, Nunatsiavut has begun to regain its autonomy; we've devised our own forms of self-governance and we've made significant strides towards our political and economic sovereignty. In "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty: Time to Take Yes For an Answer on the Northwest Passage" (2009), Franklyn Griffiths defines sovereignty as

The ability of the State to exercise recognized rights of exclusive jurisdiction within a territorially delimited space [...] It comes down to the capacity to do two things: to secure recognition of one's rights, and to act on or enact these rights. Recognition and enactment – the latter understood not as legislation but performance – are interconnected. (Griffiths 2009: 131)

Griffiths is discussing Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic and specifically the anticipated opening of the fabled North West Passage through the Arctic Archipelago when it – seemingly inevitably – becomes a viable intercontinental shipping route. The same definition can usefully be applied to Inuit nations within Arctic Canada. Elsewhere in the same essay Griffiths quotes Paul Okalik, the Premier of Nunavut, in 2006: "Sovereignty is not just about military presence, surveillance and enforcement. From a Nunavut perspective, sovereignty would be enhanced by fulfilling the opportunities to build capacity in the North and to create a vision of Arctic stewardship in which Nunavummiut play a significant role for Canada" (Ibid. 131). Further, Violet Ford reminds us that, "the Inuit are, and expect to remain, the permanent majority population

of the Arctic. Inuit are centrally placed in the region. They are the key players, and they are most affected by the Arctic sovereignty processes and by the outcomes” (Ford 2009: 109).

In advance of the 2005 ratification of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, a 2003 summary for *Understanding the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement*, was released that laid out what the land claims agreement would mean for the Labrador Inuit.¹⁹ Self-government has been an issue for Inuit not just in Labrador but in all the Arctic regions of North America. In a 1987 issue of *Inuktitut* magazine, Inuk political activist and author Zebedee Nungak explained the Inuit position on land claims, that resonates across the Arctic.

[The Northwest Territories] are the ancestral lands of the Inuit and, in fact, the Ungava Peninsula of Quebec belonged to the NWT until 1912. And because we are aboriginal to those lands, we consider them ours – the lands of the Inuit. Our problems arose when White Men came and established forms of government over those lands. We still lived here, being just normal Eskimos, when they started dividing up the land and putting borders on them without asking our permission, without even involving us or consulting us. So the Inuit homeland we find today is divided into three jurisdictions: The Territories, Arctic Quebec, and Northern Labrador. None of those did we ever, as a people, choose. We did not choose to be Newfoundlanders. We did not choose to be Quebecers. We didn’t have anything to do with setting up the boundaries. (Nungak 1987: 73)

Nungak had been involved in the creation of Nunavut more than a decade before Labrador Inuit settled their own land claims. Yet within Canada, our Inuit land claims agreement in Nunatsiavut is unique; although we were the last to settle our land claims, we were the first to gain “self-governing” status.

¹⁹ The Nunatsiavut Government is a regional Inuit government representing all beneficiaries of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement and exercising law making powers and functions under the agreement on behalf of Inuit. The Inuit Community Governments are local Inuit governments that exercise municipal functions at the community level. In community governance, there are rules governing participation by beneficiaries and others, such as the “community leader,” the *AngajukKât*, must be an Inuk, but also provides for the guaranteed participation by non-beneficiaries in the Inuit Community Governments. Approximately half the beneficiaries also live outside the settlement region, and they therefore require special provisions as well (*Understanding the Labrador* (2003): 59).

The opening pages of *Understanding the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement* introduce the concept of “certainty.” It states what certainty means for the Labradorimiut – who for so long have had no real political standing within the Dominion of Canada or the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, and no recognition of their inherent and unceded rights in their territory – and for the federal and provincial governments, for whom certainty would guarantee that no successive treaties would have to be brokered nor would future claims arise. Historically, the federal government achieved its “certainty” through land claims agreements that required Aboriginal people to first “surrender” their rights, thus “extinguishing” them, before granting back to the Aboriginal group a land claims agreement along with the treaty rights they negotiated. But the Labrador Inuit Association did not accept this approach.

The idea of “surrender” suggests defeat, and “extinguishment” suggests extinction. These are suggestions that contradict the idea of a negotiated agreement intended to secure the future of the Inuit. LIA takes the position that legal certainty can be achieved without a surrender of Inuit aboriginal rights through an agreement that sets out, clearly and comprehensively, what the aboriginal rights of the Inuit are. The challenge in the negotiations was to agree on an approach that does not involve extinguishment or surrender, but that still gives the parties the necessary confidence that the agreement provides certainty of rights. (*Understanding the Labrador* 2003: 3-4)

The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement (LILCA) has granted the newly formed Nunatsiavut Government considerable power and influence in many areas regarding our culture and society, education, health and well-being, political autonomy, resources management, tourism and other forms of economic development for the Nunatsiavummiut.

Sovereignty in Our Territory, Sovereignty in Our Arts

Ratified in 2002, the Labrador Inuit Constitution describes the fundamental principles that express the will of the Nunatsiavummiut people, outlining the values that should guide the Nunatsiavut Government in the decision-making process. Relevant to this study are the following sections under “1.1.3: The Founding Principles of the Labrador Inuit Constitution,” which states that,

The Labrador Inuit Constitution and Labrador Inuit political, social, cultural and economic institutions under the Labrador Inuit Constitution are founded on the following principles:

- (a) The existence of the Inuit of Labrador as a distinct people whose identity is based on ties of kinship, a shared language, common customs, traditions, observances, practices and beliefs, a special relationship to and control over our ancestral territory, a common history, and our own political, social, cultural and economic institutions;
- (b) The need to protect and advance Labrador Inuit aboriginal and treaty rights, including rights to language, culture, land and resources, and rights of self-government;
- (r) The conviction that Labrador Inuit political, social, cultural and economic institutions exist to consider and provide for Labrador Inuit culture, Labrador Inuit distinctiveness and the aspirations of Labrador Inuit by making policies and laws that meet Labrador Inuit needs, reflect Labrador Inuit culture, customs, traditions, observances, practices and beliefs, and strengthen the relationship between Labrador Inuit and Nunatsiavut;
- (x) The recognition that the Inuit of Labrador have experienced change, new ideas and new technologies which we have integrated into our culture and way of life and, therefore, Labrador Inuit political, social, cultural and economic institutions must maintain and develop policies and ideas that address innovation and the adaptation of new ideas and technologies in ways that are appropriate to Labrador Inuit needs, values and aspirations.

Taking inspiration from these guiding principles, a Nunatsiavummiut history of our visual culture should: emphasize our cultural distinctiveness, unique history, and relationship to our ancestral territories; advance our culture, language and sovereignty;

consider and reflect on the holism and continuity of our culture, traditions, practices and beliefs; and highlight our adaptability, our creative technologies, and innovations as appropriate to Nunatsiavummiut needs, values and aspirations.

Following the guiding principles of our constitution, we must turn our attention to addressing the underlying issues of cultural sovereignty to support the health and well-being of our communities and the preservation of our languages and traditions. As Nunatsiavummiut scholar and Iqaluit-based Director of Social and Cultural Development for Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, Natan Obed, has argued that while we have made great strides in terms of resource development and public government across the North, that is only a part of the journey for Inuit.

To fulfill the vision behind the land claims process, to implement this dream, the collective must be empowered. We must leverage our political and economic assets to strengthen our language and culture, make our communities healthy and strong, and provide a better foundation for success to our young people. (Obed 2009: 511)

As Obed observes, even though we have collectively regained some significant control over our natural resources and industries and have earned many other entitlements and authorities, in reality, complete sovereignty eludes us, because the social realities for many Inuit has not kept pace with our other advances, and neither has the health and well being of our communities significantly improved. If we are going to achieve Nunatsiavummiut sovereignty, we must regain our *cultural* sovereignty. We need to preserve and fortify our Inuit languages, traditions, and cultural practices in order to strengthen our communities and cultivate cultural resilience from within. Tuscarora scholar Jolene Rickard argues in “Sovereignty: A Line in the Sand” (1995), that,

The work of Indigenous artists needs to be understood through the clarifying lens of sovereignty and self-determination, not just in terms of assimilation,

colonization, and identity politics...Sovereignty is the border that shifts Indigenous experience from a victimized stance to a strategic one. (207)

In this dissertation I argue that we have to understand and appreciate the role that Inuit artists play in asserting our cultural sovereignty, because our arts and cultural practices are an integral part of securing this vision of the future. The arts can play a central role in affirming the continuity of our cultures and the resilience and well-being of our communities. I contend that the production of art has played an integral role in fostering and safeguarding Inuit cultural resilience from within against numerous affronts to Inuit Indigenous sovereignty. My purpose is to assess and enhance our understanding of what has been successful in the past so that we can build on these successes for the future. I thus aim to advance new strategies for the fortification of Inuit culture through the recognition of, and support for, Nunatsiavummiut-specific methodologies for the creation of Labrador Inuit art and the writing of Inuit art history.

While current scholarship on Indigenous art in Canada focuses on *resistance*, the research I have conducted with Inuit artists and the arts practices I have observed in Nunatsiavummiut have convinced me that, in complement to that Indigenous resistance, these arts should be viewed as expressions of cultural *resilience*. “Resistance” often implies a struggle against an oppressor – an outside force – while resilience focuses on the fortification of culture from within. The Labradorimiut have been struggling against colonialism and its ongoing legacies for many generations. Viewing their artworks as forms of resilience that have strengthened the culture from within, rather than reacting primarily to outside opposition, is more in line with the communal Inuit worldview which prioritizes the well-being of the collective. A major principle of Inuit traditional society and governance is the focus on maintaining societal harmony and collective well being,

and this practice has been a defining characteristic of the Inuit way of life for centuries. The importance of consensus and the focus on the group over the individual was necessary in the pre-contact era to ensure the group's well-being in the face of numerous threats to survival. This value, deeply embedded in Inuit knowledge, does not only refer back to the pre-colonial period. It has recently been re-incorporated into contemporary forms of governance for the territory, as seen in an article of the Labrador Inuit Constitution which affirms “the belief that decision making by Labrador Inuit political, social, cultural and economic institutions should promote participation by Labrador Inuit individuals and organizations, seek cooperation and consensus” (1.1.3 q).

Inuit knowledge is not usually discussed in relation to artistic practices, and neither has the theory of resilience been fully extrapolated to the arts. I have therefore drawn on the research of scholars working across such fields as health and trauma studies. Resilience, as defined by Aboriginal health specialists Madeleine Dion Stout and Gregory Kipling, is the capacity of communities, families and individuals to spring back from adversity in better fortified and more resourceful states despite decades of cultural stressors (2003: iii-iv). Resilience is cultivated through the adoption of “mature defenses” – such as humour, altruism, and art-making – which can help individuals overcome a lifetime of adversity. On the societal level, cultural resilience can strengthen the collective capacity to withstand negative forces from within and without. As Stout and Kipling observe, “the resurgence of Aboriginal beliefs and practices, accompanied by traditional resilience promotion strategies, has given rise to promising interventions” (iii-iv). Métis scholar Sherry Farrell Racette, whose exhibition *Resilience / Resistance: Métis Art 1880 – 2011* created a model for examining resilience in relation to Indigenous art,

underscored some of these “promising interventions” in her catalogue essay, noting that the artists in the exhibition provide “visual testimony to the role of love, family, humour and innovation in creating and re-creating a culture founded on the dual power of resilience / resistance” (2011: 7). Similarly, I would argue that the recent emergence of many drum-dancing, throat singing, and other traditional cultural performance groups alongside the growing number of artists creating and maintaining visual arts practice across the Arctic and in Labrador supports the idea that resilience is building in Nunatsiavut and other northern Canadian communities and urban Inuit centres.

In Section One of this thesis, I first provide a broad overview of the social history of art in the Nunatsiavut Territory, considering the development of the arts and cultural history in Nunatsiavut in relation to the region’s economic, cultural, political history as well as the long history of contact and exchange. In Chapter One, I provide a chronological overview of the social, economic and political history of Nunatsiavummiut occupation on the Labrador coast beginning with the earliest archeological evidence and continuing through to the present day. This chapter looks critically at transcultural histories of contact and exchange with whalers, explorers, privateers, missionaries, ethnologists, traders and various governments in order to highlight how this long history of contact has influenced Inuit visual culture and the history of Nunatsiavummiut art. In Chapter Two, I present a critical analysis of how the arts industry has (and has not) developed in Labrador, who the main agents have been in the attempted establishment of that industry, and what challenges and successes have been met by artists over time along the Labrador coast.

In the four chapters of the second section, I use a similar methodology to examine a variety of distinct artistic practices. These chapters are informed by a shared purpose: to elucidate the history and development of those practices on the coast in terms of continuity and innovation over the last four centuries, and earlier where archeological or documentary records exist. In the third chapter I consider Inuit clothing and how it has been creatively adapted by ingenious Inuit seamstresses to meet the demands of the Arctic and fulfill artistic impulses. In Chapter Four I examine the practice of carving in a range of media indigenous to Labrador. The fifth chapter looks at *sanaajumajuk aggatigut*, “things made by hand” such as grass baskets, dolls, jewelry and knitted textiles – all handicraft productions that have deep continuities in Nunatsiavummiut culture and history. In Chapter Six I examine how contemporary artists are incorporating exciting and dynamic new practices into the corpus of Nunatsiavummiut art history, working in two-dimensional media such as drawing, painting and photography and other new media. These chapters are not meant to be definitive or exhaustive but, rather, to introduce the primary modes of visual culture in Nunatsiavut. In all the discussions, I rely on archival documentation, interviews and the documentation of current art productions on the coast to examine the continuities the artworks share with the past and to consider the dynamic interventions and inventions of the present. I distinguish my approach from cultural evolutionist narratives of material culture in the past. In the typological approach associated with evolutionist studies, objects are considered according to different creative technologies because of the assumption that “primitive” technologies imposed limitations on what ‘primitive’ peoples could achieve.²⁰ Rather than applying a system of analysis

²⁰ This approach is exemplified in the *Handbook of North American Indians North of Mexico* (1907) edited by Frederick W. Hodge. Following the creation of a dictionary and synonymy listing of Native North

that classifies visual culture according to technologies or medias, I focus on the intergenerational transmission of dynamic and continuous *practices*. I take the position that Inuit art should not be defined narrowly according to which materials are “appropriate” or native to the Arctic, such as sealskin or soapstone, as has often been the case in the past, but should, rather, be considered in terms of the skills and knowledge used by Inuit in the creation of art. This includes sewing and carving, and even ways of seeing. In my Conclusion, I reflect on the long history of Nunatsiavummiut visual culture that is explored by this dissertation and indicate a direction for the future of Labrador Inuit art in light of our burgeoning independence and self-governance. The desired outcome of this research is twofold: first, to bring recognition to the arts of a little-known region, and, second, to arrive at a better understanding of the history Labradorimiut art.

This is an opportune moment in which to undertake this project. Since the 2005 ratification of the Nunatsiavut Land Claims Agreement, the Labrador Inuit have returned to self-governance and have taken a major step in the direction of decolonization and the assertion of political, social, and cultural sovereignty. In light of the renewed interest in culture, arts and language preservation within the Nunatsiavut Territory, the existing lack of research and understanding of the history of Labrador Inuit art and the consequences of past neglect of contemporary artistic development by outside agencies poses a serious problem. As our ten-year anniversary approaches, we have an opportunity to examine and assess our history, and to transform the current arts industry in ways that will not

American tribes, the Smithsonian turned its attention first to classifying and categorizing Indigenous linguistics before, “The scope of the subject-matter was enlarged to include the relations between the aborigines and the Government; their archeology, manners, customs, arts, and industries; brief biographies of Indians of note; and words of aboriginal origin that have found their way into the English language. [...] moreover it was provided that the work should be illustrated as adequately as time and the illustrative material would admit,” the Handbook followed “The need for a comprehensive work on the subject has been felt ever since scientific interest in the Indians was first aroused” (5).

only benefit our economic future, but, more significantly, contribute to the health, well-being and *survivance*²¹ of our communities and our territory.

²¹ Survivance is a term coined by Indigenous literary theorist and cultural critic Gerald Vizenor which folds “survival, endurance, and the repudiation of dominance” into a singular action (1994).

Section I: The Social History of Nunatsiavummiut Art

Chapter 1: A History of Contact and Cultural Continuity

The history of the Inuit on the Labrador coast (in the territory called Nunatsiavut, “Our beautiful land”) has been one of continuity, contact and cultural exchange. Following the retreat of the Laurentide Ice Sheet over ten thousand years ago, the Inuit progenitors who migrated to the coastal territory encountered other first peoples, successive groups of Inuit, Norse explorers, Basque whalers, French and British fisherman and a plethora of others from all over the world who have sought to exploit Nunatsiavut’s rich land and sea resources. Because of this long history of contact, the study of Nunatsiavummiut visual culture must not only consider how the Inuit have maintained artistic continuities over many centuries of production, as the following chapters will detail, but also how these intercultural encounters have influenced cultural productions on the Labrador coast. Therefore, before a critical analysis of Labrador Inuit arts will be possible, it is first necessary to present this history in a manner which highlights our enduring culture while providing an overview of our long, transcultural and trans-Atlantic contact history. [Figure 1.1]

For purposes of clarity and brevity, this chapter proceeds chronologically from our knowledge of the first people in Labrador onward, focusing on both societal continuity and intercultural contact, and indicating some of the significant periods of artistic production. It provides a general overview of the economic, social, and political history of the Inuit people from the time before contact with Europeans, through subsequent periods of significant contact and cultural exchange, to the present-day cultural politics of a newly formed Nunatsiavummiut self-government in the Nunatsiavut Territory within the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. I survey the history of

creative and environmental adaptation on the coast, and examine how Inuit have maintained cultural continuities despite many centuries of internal change and the impacts of transculturation, colonization and other cultural stressors.

Artistic Productions After the Last Ice Age: Drawing on Archaeology, Anthropology, and Oral History

The first known ethno-historians of the Labrador coast were the Thule peoples, who documented stories and legends of the preceding culture, the *Tuniit* (known to archeologists as the Dorset, a term coined by Diamond Jenness), in their oral history or *unikkaatuat* – true stories or histories. Much later, Kallunât archeologists, anthropologists, and others would build upon this research and develop their own from excavations and explorations along the Labrador coast. As was demonstrated in the literature review of the previous chapter, the scholarship on Labrador Inuit art history has been scant, and of necessity draws on information about art found in these related fields to create a study of Labradorimiut visual culture.

The oldest known occupants of Labrador were the “Paleo-Indian” or “Early Maritime Archaic” peoples (see McGhee and Tuck 1975). The glacial ice that covered what is now eastern Canada retreated approximately twelve thousand years ago, but radiocarbon dating of the Maritime Archaic campsites discovered in the Strait of Belle Isle region of southern Labrador places human occupation at approximately eight thousand years ago. Archeologist William H. Fitzhugh surveyed Labrador in 1968 and 1969, and was the first to attempt a broad cultural overview of the region in a 1972 article entitled “Environmental Archeology and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador.”

Fitzhugh determined that the first inhabitants, the Maritime Archaic peoples, moved northward from Newfoundland across the Strait and up the coast of Labrador after the Laurentide ice sheet had receded (Fitzhugh 1972). They left behind sophisticated tools and decorated utilitarian objects such as stone arrowheads, knives and projectiles; engraved combs, pendants and figurines made of bone; and barbed harpoon heads and leisters, primarily made from local quartz and stone (Tuck 1977: 18). Campsites for the Maritime Archaic peoples have been discovered as far as Saglek (north of Hopedale) dating back over 6000 years.¹

The Arctic region from the Mackenzie Delta to Greenland has been inhabited for approximately four to five thousand years, and it is from here that first “Paleo-Eskimos” arrived on the Labrador coast via the High Arctic.² Archeological evidence tells us that the Paleo-Inuit lived in small tent-like houses in self-contained, family-oriented groups. The Late Maritime Archaic peoples appear to have retreated southward as the Paleo-Inuit began to occupy the northern coast, although the Paleo-Inuit also appear to have experienced a population loss at this time, perhaps due to their interaction. Spearheads made by the Maritime Archaic peoples have been discovered in Paleo-Inuit sites, which suggests some cultural contact between them. Prior to the late 1960s no Late Palaeo-Eskimo or “Pre-Dorset” sites had been uncovered in Labrador, but in 1969 about a dozen

¹ While no clothing, tents or other natural materials have been recovered, archeologist James A. Tuck has surmised in *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory* that these peoples primarily hunted the plentiful caribou inland, but also spent a period each year living along the shoreline to hunt sea mammals, migratory birds and fish. Tuck notes that the reason we have not discovered more campsites is likely because the shoreline of Labrador is now covered by 32 metres of seawater, so only inland camps would remain (Tuck 1977: 12-14).

² The Paleo-Eskimo culture can be further categorized into Pre-Dorset (ca. 3800-3500 BCE – Before Common Era), late Pre-Dorset (ca. 3500-3200 BCE), transitional Pre-Dorset (ca. 3200-2800 BCE) and Groswater Dorset (ca. 2800-2200 BCE). These sections are sequential and comprise a single trajectory of a technological tradition, sharing house forms, subsistence patterns, and settlement, etc., and therefore for the purposes of this study it is not necessary to distinguish between Palaeo-Eskimo cultures (Fitzhugh 1980: 23).

“Pre-Dorset” campsites were found by James A. Tuck and his team near Saglek Bay, around the same time that Fitzhugh was finding evidence of Pre-Tuniit sites around Thalia Point, about 30 miles north of Nain, dating between 3500 and 3000 years ago (Tuck 1977: 18). There have since been further discoveries of Pre-Tuniit campsites around Okak, Napatok and Hopedale, and other traces of Paleo-Inuit life as far south as Hamilton Inlet.

Although the soil in the northern Nunatsiavut territory is so acidic that it would have dissolved most bone tools or organic materials from this period, a number of stone tools and weapons have been recovered which fit within the “Arctic Small Tool Tradition” of objects found elsewhere within the Canadian Arctic.³ These include small knives and triangular blades or “bifaces”; scrapers, burins and other small cutting tools used for skins; and occasionally small chipped and ground adzes. From this and other archeological evidence, Tuck proposes in *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory* that it is likely that, in contrast to the inland Maritime Archaic people, the Paleo-Inuit preferred to camp year-long on the coastline and avail themselves of the readily available marine plant and animal life (Tuck 1977: 12). Besides the stone remnants and tiny, jewel-like tools that have been uncovered, there are few other remains of the Labrador Palaeo-Inuit. Despite the lack of archeological evidence, Tuck theorized that the Paleo-Inuit had finely tailored clothes, headgear and footwear, all of which were likely also waterproof, as the Labrador climate would have required. Unfortunately, few other details are known of

³ Traveling in small hunting groups, the “Paleo-Eskimos” or “Pre-Dorsets” moved east across the Arctic from the Mackenzie Delta to Greenland and brought with them a technological tradition that prevailed for about three thousand years. This is known as the “Arctic Small Tool Tradition,” so named for the small and well-crafted stone tools discovered throughout excavation sites. The oldest Paleo-Inuit culture, who lived between 2000 – 1700 B.C. in the High Arctic, were the ancestors of the Dorset Inuit who flourished in the Eastern Canadian Arctic nearly three millennia ago (Clark and Sproull Thomson 1981: 14).

Paleo-Inuit life; little evidence exists of their spiritual beliefs and customs, or of their arts or manner of ornamentation.

The next wave of Inuit occupation on the Labrador coast is known as the ‘Dorset’ or Tuniit, who were descendants of the Paleo-Inuit/ Pre-Dorset of the High Arctic and who lived on the Labrador coast from about 3200 years ago until early in the last millennium.⁴ Tuniit sites, marked by tent rings, sod houses, and meat caches, tend to be richer in artifacts than Paleo-Inuit sites. Besides yielding stone tools and arrowheads that display stylistic and technological continuities from the “Arctic Small Tool Tradition,” discoveries have been made of Tuniit effigies of people, mammals and birds carved of soapstone at four excavated sites in northern Labrador.⁵ This is significant because most early Tuniit artistic productions are found in the high Arctic, where organic materials such as ivory, wood and antler preferred by the Tuniit are more likely to be preserved than they are in the Subarctic and particularly Labrador, where the ground is so acidic. As

⁴ Dorset culture can be sub-divided into three units: Labrador Early Dorset (ca. 2500-2000 BCE, overlapping with the Groswater Dorset), Middle Dorset (ca. 2000-1400 BCE), and Late Dorset (ca. 1000-650 BCE). While mostly outside the scope of this brief overview, it should be noted that there have been many Dorset sites uncovered along the northern coast of Quebec and in Newfoundland – in fact, more than in Labrador. For example, the archeologically rich site at Port au Choix, studied by William Fitzhugh and Elmer Harp, Jr., among others, was also recently excavated by Memorial archaeologist, Priscilla Renouf. The site is quite large and demonstrates a long-term commitment to place. “Renouf has excavated huge amounts of harp seal bones at Port au Choix, indicating that this place was a prime location for the hunting of these animals. Their sophisticated hunting technology may be the reason why Dorset sites are so numerous on the island of Newfoundland - in fact, in terms of population, they may have been the most numerous Aboriginal people ever to occupy the island. Dorset culture disappeared from the island, however, by about 1200 years ago, and from northern Labrador a few hundred years later. Indeed, the Dorset people vanished entire from Greenland and the Canadian Arctic, the majority (at least those outside of the island of Newfoundland) perhaps displaced by the *Thule*, the ancestors of today's Inuit. It is possible that some of the Dorset people in the Arctic merged with the Thule, but there is little evidence that this happened. Dorset extinction in Newfoundland was probably due to other factors--likely a repeated failure in either the caribou or the harp seal hunt.”

⁵ Dorset peoples also used soapstone cooking vessels and *kullik* (oil lamps), which means they were not dependent on wood for fuel, and could use seal and whale oil instead. They also made whalebone-runner sleds – which may have been pulled by hand, as no evidence of dog harnesses, or toggles, have been discovered – and there is some evidence that they may also have had kayak-like boats. Even snowknife-like objects have been recovered, which suggests that the Dorset may have known how to construct snow houses.

archeologist Richard H. Jordan argued in his essay “Dorset Art from Labrador” in *Folk*, this differential preservation has “tended to skew the evaluation of Dorset artistic efflorescence in favor of central and high Arctic regions,” (Jordan 1979/80: 397). The study of Tuniit art from Labrador is, however, more challenging because of the uneven database and records, and the interpretation of that material is more subjective. While the use of soapstone may have been culturally significant in itself, the objects found at these four Labrador sites are especially fascinating because of the way in which each piece has been exquisitely carved and detailed. In “Prehistoric Eskimo Art in Labrador,” Jane Sproull Thomson and J. Callum Thomson proposed that these precious, tiny tools and weapons might indicate that the Dorset believed that “making things beautiful as well as functional was one way of controlling the uncertainty of existence” (Sproull Thomson and Thomson 1991: 14).

Based mainly on evidence from the central and high Arctic, in 1967 George Swinton posited in “Prehistoric Dorset Art: The Magico-Religious Basis,” that Tuniit arts were the specialized productions of artist-shamans who created effigies for rituals and ceremonies (Swinton 1967). Soon after Elmer Harp Jr. proposed in “Late Dorset Art from Newfoundland,” that figurines found in northern Newfoundland Tuniit sites functioned primarily as individual hunting amulets, arguing that the more isolated Newfoundland and Labrador Tuniit may have provincialized their art forms (Harp Jr. 1969). William Taylor also wrote in *The Arnapik and Tyara Sites* about evidence that he believed indicated that Tuniit art objects were created exclusively for burial purposes (Taylor Jr. 1968). As Jordan explains, these explanations are not necessarily contradictory, as a wealth of ethnographic evidence suggests that “[both] shamans and individual hunters

from the same local group produced and utilized items which generally fall under the rubric of art objects.” and burial objects were likely provided to serve the same needs in the afterlife (Jordan 1979/1980: 399).

Sproull Thomson and Thomson have suggested that ‘Late Dorset Eskimos’ - who were the last of the Tuniit to populate the Labrador coast – created “the most unusual expression of art in this culture found anywhere in the Arctic.” Works found in Late Tuniit sites of the Nunatsiavut Territory appear to have been influenced by the arts of the succeeding culture, the Thule Inuit (1991: 13). As characterized by Swinton in his seminal text, *Sculpture of the Eskimo*, “Male Dorset art seems power and death-oriented, female Thule art more oriented toward nature and life” (Swinton 1972: 118). Sproull Thomson and Thomson noted that the Tuniit works from the Shuldham Island site appeared to have both the qualities of solemn spiritual import characterized by Tuniit amulets, as well as the lively, natural quality of Thule carvings:

One small site on Shuldham Island in Saglek Bay, northern Labrador, though undeniably Dorset, yielded some very life-oriented carvings, all made of a fine grey or greenish soapstone. Human figures, standing, dancing and flying, hooded and high-collared, embracing and astride an unknown steed, full figure, skull and face-only are among the most frequent carvings found in the two sod houses that have been excavated at the site. Several polar bears and snowy owls, a duck and a seal are among the animal figures. Other pieces also suggest a playful spirit, such as a carving of a whelk shell (a spiral-shaped marine mollusk), an egg, and to borrow a phrase from Moreau Maxwell (1985: 239) a “couple vigorously coupling” [figure 1.2].

Among the most interesting of the Shuldham Island figurines is the crouching hunter. This figurine has been interpreted both as a rather buxom torso of a woman (Jordan 1979/80) and as a hunter with coat drawn over his knees waiting by a seal’s breathing hole. The latter was a habitual posture of the *Tunnit* (Dorset), according to Inuit myths which embroider the description by adding that tiny lamps were placed underneath the resulting ‘tent.’ The *Tunit*, in their excitement, burned their bellies when a seal finally surfaced. This *Tunit* custom was clearly considered a great joke by the Inuit. Maybe the carving was made by a Dorset artist for a Thule friend or spouse, to poke self-deprecating fun at the comic

aspects of this custom? (Sproull Thomson and Thomson 1991: 15-16), [Figure 1.3].

Jordan adds that these seemingly cross-cultural Tuniit -Thule Labrador soapstone figurines are unique within the Tuniit Arctic tradition, and might bear the closest relationship to ivory pieces from the Thule District of Greenland, while having only the most superficial similarities to wood or ivory pieces from other well known Tuniit sites such as the those found near Igloolik and Button Point (Jordan 1979/1980: 414). While the richness of the objects uncovered at Shuldham Island make it the most fascinating site of study, soapstone carvings were also found in Koliktalik (250 km south) and Komaktorvik (200 km north) where human figurines and were found, as well as on Rose Island (10 km west) where two non-functional, decorated harpoon heads were discovered. These sites and others also contained several ivory and stone amulets, pendants, harpoon and arrowheads, and in Avayalik an additional tiny wooden maskette measuring 113 mm by 61 mm was discovered. Jordan described the mask as having “furrowed brows, elongated nose and cheekbones strongly accentuated” with holes for eyes, nostrils and mouth. Noting that “the last has been rendered as if blowing or sucking – a commonly recorded method of exorcising disease-causing spirits by Eskimo shamans,” he argued that it may have been used in spiritual practice, (Jordan 1979/1980: 408). The Tuniit objects recovered from the Labrador sites span a range of possible functions and purposes: hunting amulets, spiritual talismans, burial inclusions, ritual objects, and seemingly, even amusements. Because most of the objects were recovered from household sites or refuse middens, both Jordan and McGhee have argued that artistic productions of the Tuniit must have had a function in daily life (Jordan 1979/1980, McGhee 1974/1975). The archeological context of these recoveries, however,

makes it impossible to determine if the carving was performed by hunters, family members or others for specific purposes, or if the carving was undertaken only by specialized artist-shamans, as Swinton postulated in his article “Prehistoric Dorset Art: The Magico-Religious Basis”(1967).

It is clear from both Inuit oral history and the archeological record that it is very possible that there was contact between the Tuniit and Thule peoples, not only in Labrador but also throughout the Central and Eastern Arctic, although this contact has yet to be decisively proven by archeologists (Fitzhugh 1994). The Thule were the immediate ancestors of the contemporary Inuit, and, like the Tuniit, were also descendants of the western Arctic tradition. The Thule migrated eastward from Alaska about one thousand years ago, and soon established themselves throughout the Central and Eastern Arctic, bringing with them new technologies from the western whale-hunting tradition, such as *umiaks* (large, open-water skin boats) and better *komatiks* (sleds with dog teams), advanced tool and harpoon crafting skills and – perhaps most significantly – co-operative hunting practices. It is still unknown what exactly happened between the Thule and the Tuniit – whether they evaded interaction or made contact, whether the Thule drove the Tuniit people from their territories, or whether the Tuniit intermarried and were absorbed into Thule culture.⁶ If their cultures overlapped around 1300 CE when the Thule entered Labrador, the larger bands of Thule would have had the upper hand in an encounter with the Tuniit, with their advanced hunting skills, superior weapons and more efficient

⁶ Sproull Thomson and Thomson have pointed out that there are some anomalies in the history of the assimilation or disappearance of the Dorset. “At Angmagssalik in southeastern Greenland, an isolated Inuit group exhibited many Dorset traits, and the Sadlermiut of Southampton Island may well have been a remnant Dorset band. It is, then, not farfetched to suggest that, at Shuldhham Island a Dorset family assimilated Thule people or, at least, some of their artistic traditions (Sproull Thomson and Thomson 1991: 17).

transportation. Yet finds such as the Shuldham Island material suggests a close association between the Tuniit and Thule. Certainly, the details and techniques of each artistic tradition appear to be present in some of the carvings: the religious/spiritual essence of Tuniit arts, the lighthearted and or environmental influences that characterize Thule artistic productions.⁷ Furthermore, one of the sod houses uncovered at the Shuldham Island site had both Late Tuniit and Thule traits, perhaps suggesting some form of co-habitation or familial contact, at least in this part of the Arctic.⁸

According to Thule and modern Inuit oral history, relations between the Thule and Tuniit likely began as friendly and became antagonistic over time. In *The Labrador Eskimo*, Inuit informants explained to anthropologist E.W. Hawkes, “until trouble arose between them, the Tuniit and the Eskimo used to intermarry, but after it was found that an alien wife would betray her husband to her people, no more were taken” (Hawkes 1916: 145). Similarly, an account collected by Franz Boas among the Baffin Island Inuit

⁷ Furthermore, the Thule are known to have adapted several technologies from their antecedents: the Thule adopted soapstone lamps which the Tuniit used for 2000 years prior - although the Thule’s large, crescent-shaped lamps varied greatly from the small oval lamps used by the Tuniit - and they also are known to have embraced the practice of building snow houses from the Tuniit. For more on Thule/ Tuniit shared technologies and visual culture, see Sproull Thomson and Thomson (1991).

⁸ It should be noted that there have been arguments that run contrary to the thesis of contact between Tuniit and Thule. Archeologist Robert W. Park has argued in “The Dorset-Thule Succession in Arctic North America: Assessing Claims for Culture Contact,” that these shared housing sites, creative technologies, and traits could all be the result of Thule Inuit salvaging former Tuniit campsites and housing structures. Park submits that carbon dating evidence does not conclusively prove contact, as harpoon heads and other Dorset objects could have been scavenged by the Thule a century or so later. Park proposes that the reason Thule Inuit have legends of the Tuniit, despite his thesis that they were never in contact, is because the Thule lived in their former homes and used their objects, so they were able to make up stories about the people. Park begins by stating that “the historical accuracy of some Inuit legends is not in doubt,” and cites an example of Inuit historical accuracy later ‘proven’ by archeology, but then goes on to say, “it should hardly be surprising that the Thule would have made up stories about the people who had lived in these structures, even if they never saw them. Given an interest in the Tuniit and a knowledge of their houses and artifacts from visits to abandoned sites, the Thule could easily have come up with the facts told centuries later to Meldgaard. [...] In any event, the Tuniit stories do not provide proof that contact ever happened.” With this, Park discounts oral history as lacking “proof,” despite the fact that there are numerous accounts of contact, cohabitation, and conflict in accounts from Inuit oral history across the Arctic (Park 1993: 220). For an example of oral histories of Tuniit/ Inuit interactions, see “Tuniit in Life and Legend” in the special issue of *Inuktitut* featuring oral histories from Igloolik, Gjoa Haven, and Rankin Inlet by Aipili Inuksuk, Simon Qirniq, Joe Patiq (1987).

describes early peaceable relations with the Tuniit that later turned to violence. In *The Labrador Inuit*, a volume in The Labrador Studies series by Tim Borlase, two different Inuit elders, Joshua Obed and Jacko Kaijuatsiak, tell the oral narrative of “the last of the Dorsets.” Illustrated with block print images contributed by Gilbert Hay, the two stories describe an encounter between the dull-witted but hulking *Sikuliak Suiyutuk*, the last of the Tuniit, an *inpanavualak*, or giant, who was too heavy to travel on thin ice [figure 1.4]. (*Sikuliak* means “thin ice” or “the first ice of fall”). The two different versions tell a remarkably similar story which begins with a confrontation at the *sina* (ice edge) between the smarter, smaller Thule and the larger Tuniit bullying figure, who steals the spoils of Inuit hunting until he is tricked into sleeping with his hands and feet bound, whereupon the group of Thule Inuit can defeat the sleeping giant (Borlase 1993: 60-76). In lasting accounts of the Tuniit from across Labrador, the Hudson Strait and southern Baffin Island, Inuit correspondingly portray the Tuniit as giants or hulking people of great (sometimes superhuman) strength but low intelligence, and bearing crude weaponry, whom the Thule eventually killed off or scared away because of community conflicts.

Despite these later conflicts, it appears that the Thule may have exchanged and adapted some hunting techniques and technologies with the Tuniit. As Renée Fossett suggested in *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550-1940* (2001), snow houses and soapstone lamps, which have not shown up in the Alaskan record, may have been adopted by the Thule during the period of their overlapping coexistence (18). Furthermore, according to the account given to Hawkes by another Inuit informant, an “old Nachvak Eskimo,” the Tuniit also built *inuksuit* for the purposes of hunting, erecting “long lines of stone ‘men’ in a valley through which deer passed [...] and the hunters

hidden behind them would lance them. Remains of these rocks may still be seen” (Hawkes 1916: 144). Today, inuksuit remain popular subject matter in Labradorimiut visual culture.

Inuit have also retained knowledge of Tuniit and early Thule camps, gravesites, and villages into recent times. The former have been studied by Fitzhugh, Harp, Tuck and others, while the latter were first noted by Junius Bird, of the American Museum of Natural History, who surveyed the archeological remains of some twenty Thule sod houses near Hopedale in 1934. These and other sites of Tuniit stone and sod houses throughout the coast were still well known to the eldest Inuit that E. W. Hawkes interviewed in 1914 (Hawkes 1916: 144). However, it wasn't until the summer of 1970 that Tuck and his team excavated two Thule archeological sites of great importance - “Ikkusik” and “Tuglavina” – in the area around Saglek Bay.⁹ This exploration produced the first material evidence of the earliest Thule culture in Labrador; the permanently frozen, near sterile ground fortunately yielded many objects of stone, antler, ivory, bone, wood, and even hide and other organic materials. Among the items recovered were harpoon heads, spearheaded lances, and bow and arrow fragments, demonstrating the height of hunting technology; men's long knives and women's *ulus* (hand-held semi-circular stone blades) for butchering and skin preparation; and household or camping items such as snow knives, wooden snow goggles, ptarmigan snares, soapstone vessels,

⁹ These sites were named after the Inuit boatmen who travelled with Tuck and several others along the coast. Tuck noted that, “the former, John Ikkusik, is a recent arrival from Baffin Island, but Jerry Tuglavina is descended from one of the first Inuit families to reach the Labrador. When the Moravian missionaries arrived in the late eighteenth century, there were a large number of Tuglavinas (in a variety of spellings) living on the coast, and they are frequently mentioned in the missionaries' journals and diaries” (Tuck 1977: 110).

and even fragments of basketry.¹⁰ Susan Kaplan has explained in her article “Neo-Eskimo Occupations of the Northern Labrador Coast” that during this period, in all likelihood metal would have been a scarce but sought after trade item for the Thule, as assemblages from sites at Nachvak Village, Akulialuk, Saglek, Hopedale and Eskimo Island provide evidence that the Thule had cold-hammered harpoon heads, *ulus* and other iron implements:

The only technological change was the replacement of slate by metal. This raw material substitution previously took place in the eastern High Arctic, when Thule groups became acquainted with meteoritic and Norse iron. Prior knowledge of the qualities of metal may have prompted Eskimos to seek contact situations. [...] Recognition of baleen and blubber as marketable items must have caused a shift in perception concerning the whale as a resource” (Kaplan 1980: 650).

Once a primarily subsistence resource, whaling could now also be viewed as an industry that yielded significant gains in rare or prestigious trade items.

Marine sources continued to figure highly in Inuit subsistence and economic life, yet throughout other parts of the Canadian Arctic during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Thule culture began to slowly make the transition from a primarily whaling society to the pattern of subsistence based on caribou, fish and jar seals that characterizes early Inuit life (sometimes referred to as the “Historic” period by ethnologists and art historians) (McGhee 1984: 374). This period of broad cultural change was likely necessitated by a decline in the whale population in much of Arctic Canada, which may have resulted from the onset of the “Little Ice Age,” which began between 1200 and 1350 AD and ended in various places across the high arctic between 1650 and 1850 AD (W.E.

¹⁰ These items were recovered from the painstaking excavation of houses at Ikkusik that revealed that homes in the Thule Pre-contact era were typically small and oval, similar to those Bird found in Hopedale, and had a raised sleeping platform and indoor cooking area, as well as a roof made of baleen (still strong and elastic today). Over a period of about 200 years these houses gave way to multi-family structures (Tuck 1977: 113).

Taylor 1965: 11; McGhee 1969 – 1970: 190; McCartney 1977: 27). In Labrador, however, where the Thule lived near the Atlantic Ocean and bordered on Subarctic territory, the environmental changes that caused a marked shift from late Thule to Inuit culture were more gradual.¹¹ Robert McGhee noted in “Thule Prehistory of Canada” that while the change was less sharply pronounced than in other Arctic territories, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Labrador Thule had transitioned into the “Historic” Inuit, and now differed from their biological ancestors in both culture and social systems. The slow decrease in former food sources and the generally deteriorating climate in Labrador also led to a gradual technological simplification and a marked decrease in the ornamentation applied to artifacts also found elsewhere across the north (McGhee 1984: 374).

The Inuit of this period who lived on the northern coast had both kinship and trade relations with the Inuit of northern Quebec (now Nunavik); travel between the two territories would have involved either lengthy voyages by water up and around the north coast in the summer or through the Torngat Mountains by dog sled in winter (Taylor 1984: 509). Inuit living along the central coastline and southern Labrador also had some contact with their Algonquin neighbours, the Montagnais- Naskapi (ancestors of the modern day Innu Nation), who lived primarily in the interior of Labrador.¹²

¹¹ From about the fifteenth century onward to the period of prolonged contact with Moravian missionaries, there was no great or sudden change in lifestyle on the Labrador coast as the cultures shifted from Thule to the modern Inuit. Rather, there was a gradual shift in lifestyle, and an expansion in their economy from whaling to other subsistence activities, that marked the last transitional period. The greatest change for the Labradorimiut may have been the move southward; by about 1500 AD the Thule had begun to migrate south from their initial settlements on the northern Labrador coast, as well as to travel – cyclically – through the inland tundra and taiga in search of caribou, fish and fur-bearing animals.

¹² While early accounts by Hawkes and others have characterized early relations between the Inuit and these First Nations as hostile (Hawkes 1916: 5), Garth Taylor has shown that the past arguments for warfare have been based on false or misleading evidence. (Taylor 1979a) Taylor has argued that the

A smattering of European ephemera from this transitional period has been discovered in their multi-family houses, such as coins, broken ceramics, and iron nails. However, in the subsequent century of increasing contact, many more objects of European manufacture began turning up in the subterranean multi-family or “communal” sod houses, which by this time could be quite large.¹³ Antler harpoons and knife handles have been discovered fitted with iron blades most likely obtained from whalers and traders. While traditional wooden ladles, soapstone lamps and pots, and other items were still abundant, French and English ceramics, pipe stems, bottle glass, files, brass and copper decorative items and scrap metal became frequent finds at archeological digs. The recovery of a few gunflints indicates that Inuit may have also had access to or knowledge of firearms, which has been further confirmed by a found carving of a small wooden rifle or musket. (See figure: MUSKET). Contact with the world outside was increasing dramatically for the small Inuit communities on the Labrador coast.

The Early Intercontinental Contact Era

It is now widely believed that Icelanders were the first foreign visitors to North America in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and there is a wealth of historical and archeological evidence that the Norse made contact with Indigenous peoples in the Canadian Arctic and Greenland.¹⁴ In 982 the Norse first arrived at Greenland, and built many houses, forts and churches at nearly a hundred archeological sites along the coast.

relationship between them was one of avoidance, not outward hostility, “with limited trade and social interaction becoming more common after the advent of European settlement” (Taylor 1984: 509).

¹³ One house was up to 15 meters long, and 9 meters across, with flat stone floors, multiple sleeping platforms, lamp platforms – with lamps still in place – and had several adjoining chambers and long, deep entrance tunnels. The floors and outside middens were rich in artifacts of all kinds (Tuck 1976: 114).

¹⁴ For an examination of the history of Norse and Native contact, see McGhee (1984) and Sutherland (2000).

In 986, Icelandic trader Bjarni Herjolfsson and his crew, diverted from their course by bad weather, traveled along the Labrador coast (to them, Markland) but did not go ashore. As D.W. Prowse writes in *A History of Newfoundland*, about a decade later Labrador must have narrowly missed becoming the first Norse settlement in North America, as Leif Eiriksson sailed down the coast to the northern peninsula of Newfoundland (Vinland) and settled Lefisbudir (Leif's Booth – the modern day L'Anse aux Meadows) around the turn of the century (Prowse 1979: 2). The Norsemen did not appear to have much contact with the Natives on the Labrador coast, as they did not usually go ashore while passing, although Norse accounts have recorded at least one violent encounter ending in the death of an Iclander by arrow.¹⁵ Instead, from 982 to approximately 1450, the Inuit would have most likely 'mined' the few Norse contact sites for left over or washed up materials such as metal, wood and cloth. These objects likely had little impact on the technological or social lives of the Inuit, but may have sparked an early interest in European trade items.

After the Norse, the first Europeans to journey to the Labrador coast came early in the sixteenth century, and from that point on there was a steady influx of visitors interested in harvesting the rich coastal resources. The first to encounter the Thule were likely the Spanish Basque whalers, who entered the Strait of Belle Isle sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century and who built stations and rendering ovens along the southern shoreline where they would stay from June to January.¹⁶ The records of San

¹⁵ In Greenland, however, Thule people obtained metals through trade with the Norse colonies, or scavenged it from abandoned Norse sites, as early as 1200 AD (Fossett 2001: 26).

¹⁶ However, it is believed that the English may have been the first Europeans to "discover" Labrador. On a Spanish Basque map made by cosmographer Diego Ribero from 1529, it reads "Tierra de Labrador: esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses, no hay en ella cosa de provecho", -- "Labrador – this land was discovered by the English, nothing in it of any value" and in another map it is labeled "the English from the town of Bristol." D.W. Prowse suggests in his book that it is likely that John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) "discovered"

Sebastien indicate that Biscayans began voyaging to Newfoundland and Labrador between 1525 and 1541 (Prowse [1895]1979: 589). Sir Wilfred Grenfell, commenting in the twentieth century on the proliferation of whale bones and other remnants from the sixteenth century, noted, “relics of ancient whaling establishments, possibly early Basque, are found in plenty at one village” (Grenfell 1919: 157, qtd. in Kaplan 1985: 159). As a result of the pivotal work of Selma Barkham in her studies of Basque insurance documents, equipment lists and court records, we now know that the whalers stayed offshore in small boats but built oil rendering stations on shore; the stations were built with their own cargo, including nails, ovens, and roofing tiles (Barkham 1973: 93). After the seasonal work the whalers would cache their ovens, seal up shelters, and store their boats on shore with the intention of returning the following year. It is believed that while there was little contact early on between the Inuit and Basque, Inuit would make forays on the sites and even occasionally burn their abandoned stations to the ground just to obtain the precious metal nails within (Auger 1991b). Kaplan has recently explained in her chapter in *Settlement, Subsistence and Change Among the Labrador Inuit* (2102) that the found or scavenged Basque objects were readily adapted by the Inuit, who quickly recognized the usefulness of these new materials by either adopting the technology as intended or modifying it to fit their purposes. Barrels for whale oil were made of wooden planks and metal hoops; buildings were constructed of boards, roofing tiles, and nails; and tools and materials to repair and maintain ships and whaling gear could also be found. Inuit used the “Western-made metal fishhooks and lead sinkers, leaving them unmodified, [whereas] they cold hammered large spikes into harpoon heads, fashioned

southern Labrador as early as 1497, based on “recorded unimpeachable testimony” that Cabot spoke of “white bears” (Prowse [1895] 1979: 589).

fragments of roofing tiles into whetstones, and cut and sharpened thin pieces of iron [into] end blades, knife blades, and scrapers” (Kaplan 2012: 18). Readymade wooden boats would have been an invaluable commodity to the Inuit, whose kayaks and umiaks were painstakingly made of whalebone and stretched skin; later trade records reflect that boats continued to be the most sought after products of European manufacture. Even with the raids on their stations by Inuit, Basque whaling operations remained profitable until the 1580s, when, as Kaplan has explained, a combination of Spanish royal embargos, a war economy, and increased competition from Dutch and English whalers caused the collapse of the Basque whaling monopoly (Kaplan 1983).

While Basque whalers made contact along the southern shores of Labrador, encouraging Inuit to venture to their locations from the north, on the northern coast the Inuit encountered the first Englishmen to voyage to the Eastern Canadian Arctic. Martin Frobisher (1576-78) and John Davis (1585-87) each visited Labrador during their northern expeditions, and fastidiously documented their encounters with the Inuit around northern Labrador and southern Baffin Island.¹⁷ Frobisher created remarkably detailed diaries of his encounters with the Inuit, particularly in the area once known as Frobisher Bay in the Labrador Sea, near Iqaluit in the Qikiqtaaluk Region. Ten years later, Davis likewise created a careful record of his observations of the Inuit in the same regions, documenting clothing, tools, customs and behavior (Quinn 1979). As Fitzhugh has summarized,

Like Frobisher, Davis found people using copper and iron tipped weapons. In the summer, the Inuit economy was based on whaling, fishing and seal hunting, for the success of which numerous charms were carried. Davis described religious

¹⁷ Frobisher made three voyages, the first in search of the fabled “Northwest Passage,” the second and third as commercial ventures. For a detailed account of the Arctic voyages of Martin Frobisher, see Vilhjalmur (1938).

observances and handed out iron knives and other goods which he had brought expressly as friendship gifts. (Fitzhugh 2012: 35)

Although the most detailed of Davis' descriptions came from the Cumberland Sound region north of Iqaluit where Davis' ship was – astonishingly - met by a hundred men in kayaks, both he and Frobisher have provided some useful accounts of the Labradorimiut centuries before the Moravians arrived on the coast. Both Frobisher and Davis noted that in most cases, although relations between the Englishmen and Inuit began as friendly trading, increasing cases of Inuit pilfering from the ships and raiding supply caches ashore, caused the relationships between crews and Inuit groups to turn hostile. The theme of Inuit 'hostility' comes up repeatedly in early descriptions of encounters with the Inuit – not just in Labrador but throughout the Canadian Arctic – and have been accepted and repeated in numerous ethno-historical and anthropological sources, yet surprisingly few have considered the Inuit perspective under the circumstances of this early transcultural encounter. An exception can be found in Renée Fossett's *In Order to Live Untroubled* (2001), where the author proposes that not only was hostility or aggression justified as an Inuit technique for the protection of resources, but when it was against Europeans it was regarded as a relatively prudent decision. "The explanation that best fits eastern arctic conditions in the period from 1576 to 1670, is that [...] the newcomers might turn out to be competitors for already scarce resources; and the newcomers apparently had an abundance of the precious materials that would increase hunting efficiency, such as knives, other metals, and wood" (55). Compared to the costs and rewards of migration or of raiding neighbouring communities, "raids on unknown visitors were an inexpensive means of accomplishing economic goals, at least initially" (Ibid). Anthropologist John C. Kennedy adds in *People of the Bay and Highlands* (1995)

that conflicts and misconceptions between Europeans and Inuit were “rooted in contradictory notions of property and exchange” (20). Also contributing to the acrimonious relationship, European traders must have recognized the disproportionately high value that Inuit placed on their trade goods, and some would have sought to abuse this imbalance. In Captain George Cartwright’s famous *A Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador* published in 1792, Cartwright writes that by then the Labrador Inuit groups he met could distinguish fair traders from those with whom they did not enjoy trading. From his writing it is evident that Cartwright respected the Inuit he encountered a great deal more than many of his contemporaries:

They know nothing of the Eskimeau character who assert that they have great stupidity and deficiency of intellect, for they have strong natural sense and are quick at learning any thing; they possess great invention, and execute every thing neatly, as clearly appears by all they make; no part of the world producing things better contrived for their several purposes, or better made. I have examined them all with the greatest attention, and scarce ever able to discover a fault. They are the most amiable, ingenious, tractable and well-disposed race of mortals, and would improve greatly and rapidly by proper management and cultivation. (Stopp 2008: 178)

Yet Kennedy’s close study of Cartwright’s journals uncovers much evidence that even Cartwright – a self-proclaimed Inuit intermediary on the coast - exploited the Inuit on numerous occasions: “once, for example, he describes bartering ‘a stick of whale bone (baleen) and two ranger (seal) skins for a few beads (1: 231). Similarly, in 1773, he purchased Tweegock, a fourteen-year-old Inuk girl, for one bait skiff (small wooden boat)” (Kennedy 1995: 43). Archeologist Reginald Auger concurs that there is little in the material evidence to support the theory that Inuit were the aggressors. He reexamined some of the archeological evidence used in debates surrounding the “clash” of Inuit with

Europeans and the “hostile” reputation that the Labrador Inuit garnered. In the 1991 publication *Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: from the Written Sources to the Archaeological Evidence*, as well as in a similar article that appeared in *Études Inuit Studies* XV, Auger studies the archeological findings in context with primary written sources from the same time period, in an attempt to achieve a better understanding of the contact period and the extent of Inuit acculturation.¹⁸ Auger writes that although there are many references to the Labrador Inuit clashing with Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle during the sixteenth century, there is little archaeological evidence to support a year-round occupancy of the Inuit there before the eighteenth century. The excavated material culture shows a remarkable amount of European goods, from which Auger infers that there was regular trade and intercultural transmission between the Inuit and Europeans (Auger 1991a).

The arrival of Dutch whalers along the Labrador coast via the Davis Strait has also been documented, both through the existence of two Dutch maps depicting the coast, and a written account of their trading with some “altogether heathens and wild cannibals,” from early in the seventeenth century until nearly the beginning of the eighteenth (Kupp and Hart 1976: 9). In their article on Dutch maritime activities, Jan Kupp and Simon Hart note, “there is, however, an indication that whaling and perhaps even more, that trading with natives by Dutch ships in the regions adjoining New France was of importance to the Dutch” (Ibid. 10). Records of cargo and inventories show that Dutch ships must have been engaged in some trading with the Inuit, as the Europeans had acquired ivory, baleen and furs on their trips west of Greenland, most likely in exchange for European foodstuffs, bits of metal and glass, hardwood, and knickknacks. However,

¹⁸ For more information on the material evidence, see Auger (1991b).

more hostile encounters were also well documented; Kupp and Hart point out that the Dutch took care not to sell firearms to “aggressive” natives (Ibid. 12).

Before the mid-seventeenth century most of the French colonization of North America was in the territory of Quebec, but by the 1660s the French had begun expanding east to the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Kennedy 1995: 20). Extending their seigniorial system into the Strait of Belle Isle region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, they developing a cod fishing operation throughout both northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador, but they were hesitant to explore fishing opportunities on the northern coast, again because of fear of the “hostile” Inuit (Trudel 1978: 102). In 1632 Samuel de Champlain described the Inuit at Eskimo Island in Hamilton Inlet as “impossible to make peace with,” although he goes on to explain that the warring between Inuit and sailors actually began when the wife of one of the “chiefs” was killed by one of the St. Malo sailors (Champlain [1632] 1933: 168). Other Inuit family groups who frequented the Belle Island region were known to be more peaceful traders; it is believed that some Inuit must have even acted as middlemen in the trade between southern fishermen and northern Inuit, as “Inuit far distant from Hamilton Inlet were acquiring astonishing amounts of European goods” (Fossett 2001: 59). The French fishermen had established a trade relationship with the Innu in southern Labrador, with whom the Inuit frequently competed for access to the limited European trade goods, and this caused some tension and conflict between the two groups. It wasn’t until war broke out with the British near the end of the century that fishing operations were halted. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht ended the battle, and in the new agreement France lost its rights to the Newfoundland fisheries but retained “ownership” of Labrador, including

some fishing rights in the Strait of Belle Isle, as well as the island of Cape Breton. This caused the French to rethink their previous policy of avoiding Labrador, and they began allocating land along the coast to Frenchmen for an annual fee (Innis 1940: 138).

During the French colonial period, French fishermen who worked seasonally or became permanent residents of the Labrador coast were awarded exclusive sealing rights and first pick of fishing grounds, and were encouraged to establish trade relations with the Labradorimiut, who had oil, baleen and skins, all highly valued in the European trade market (Trudel 1978: 103-4). Augustin LeGardeur Courtemanche played a decisive role in establishing this tentative trade with the Inuit, who did not welcome the attempted colonization on their northern coastline. In “The Inuit of Southern Labrador and the Development of French Sedentary Fisheries (1700-1760)” (1977), François Trudel stated the relationship was, “as far as the fishermen were concerned, one of reducing the Inuit to slavery and massacring them, and from the Inuit point of view, one of looting, plundering and attacking the White Man’s posts and fishing stations” (106). Early in the eighteenth century Courtemanche built a fort at the west end of the Strait of Belle Isle, with the intention of fostering good trading relations and ending the mutual hostilities between the French and Inuit by providing a neutral site for trade.¹⁹ Courtemanche’s stepson, François Martel De Brouage, who took over the command of the Labrador coast upon Courtmanche’s death in 1717, even applied himself to learning the Inuit language (albeit from a female captive) in order to ease relations with the Inuit, who were reported to trade amicably in the day but then raid the French settlements at night (Auger 1991b: 9).

¹⁹ From Courtemanche’s reports on the “Eskimo coast,” the Inuit who traveled to trade in the Strait of Belle Isle were from the region now known as Hamilton Inlet and further up the coast. There are no reports of Inuit wintering in the Strait or on the Quebec north shore until 1716, when François Martel de Brouague granted a group of Inuit “permission” to camp 15 leagues from his post at Baye de Phelypeaux. (qtd. in Taylor 1984: 211-3).

While relations between the French and Inuit were reported to have been frequently hostile in the beginning, Fossett has noted that by 1730 Inuit were known to travel hundreds of kilometres from the northern coast to the Strait of Belle Isle to trade at the French fishing station, sometimes in flotillas of up to a hundred boats (2001: 90). In 1743 Louis Fornel, the Chateau Bay fishery manager, led an expedition aimed at northward expansion along the ‘coste de Esquimaux’ (Eskimo Coast) that resulted in peaceable trade relations with three different groups of Inuit. In Kevin Major’s *As Near to Heaven as by Sea*, Major explains that Fornel may have warned others of the Inuit, but his actions suggested he believed differently:

Fornel had warned the two Frenchmen [Pilote and his son] ‘not to expose themselves on the sea-shore for fear of the Eskimaux,’ though he himself had no such apprehension. On his way home he traded with several groups of them at what he concluded was ‘a meeting place, from whence they intended to go plundering along the coast.’ Not surprisingly, his journal is rife with opinions about how to reform the Inuit, and turn them from their practice of pilfering the vacated premises of the seasonal fishermen. (Ibid.)

Certainly, the presence of European goods in Inuit homes from Cape Chidley south to Hamilton Inlet in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests that despite continuing to resist the colonization of the coast, Inuit had learned that contact with the French and other settler Europeans could be beneficial as well – metal was an invaluable import that could be used and shaped to many purposes, and that made it worth the risks inherent in trading with hostile nations. As Susan Kaplan has reported, in a discussion of several eighteenth-century sod house excavations, “One house produced five French clasp knives, over eight thousand trade beads, hundreds of spikes and nails, musket balls, gunflints, gun parts, kaolin pipe fragments, spoons, buttons, glass and ceramic shards” (Kaplan 1985: 59). Kaplan deduces that this indicates that the Inuit who traded in the

south may have also been in the practice of amassing European goods to trade with other, more northerly Inuit. While the Inuit chiefly bartered with baleen and oil, they also traded with small carvings and miniatures made primarily of walrus ivory, which would have had curio value for the European traders, such as the ones from this era found in the collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Newfoundland Museum (now housed at The Rooms Provincial Museum).²⁰ In addition to the abundance of European goods, the Inuit population of coastal Labrador increased five- or six-fold between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Renée Fossett has pointed out that this is in sharp contrast to the complete disappearance of some Inuit societies from Somerset Island, Amundsen Gulf and Coronation Gulf during the same time period, and suggests that Labrador Inuit enjoyed comparative wealth in terms of both foreign goods and subsistence resources during a tumultuous period elsewhere in the Arctic (2001: 88).

Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, foreign control of Labrador was passed from the French to the British – again, without Inuit or other Labradorian knowledge or consent. The British governor of Newfoundland, Commodore Hugh Palliser, took responsibility over the Labrador coast with the goal of ending French and Inuit interaction and founding an English fishery. Palliser had been appalled to discover the treatment of the Inuit by the European whalers and privateers who had staked out the coast, calling them murderers and thieves and describing them as “a Banditti Lawless People resorting thither from the Plantations, particularly those from New England and the winter inhabitants from Newfoundland” (Palliser 1765-67, file no. 178).

²⁰ (INSERT images, bird and bear figurines c. early 1700s, CMC collection / Rooms collection)

Seeking to broker a peace between the foreign fisheries and Inuit resisters, Governor Palliser prohibited the year-round European occupation of the coast and further banned all European attacks on Natives. He also created a formal policy for trading with the Inuit, which included seal and whale products as well as the beginnings of a profitable fur industry (Klevian 1996: 25). Captain George Cartwright, an English merchant, arrived on the Labrador coast in 1770 to assist in accomplishing Palliser's goals of establishing a peaceful and successful British trade and fishery. Cartwright also kept a detailed account of his many years as a trader on the coast – his celebrated *Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador* - and, as noted earlier, he recorded that he found the Inuit to be generally happy, kind and cooperative. Reverend F.W. Peacock, who served as superintendent of the Moravian Mission in Nain for twenty-three years, stated in his 1947 thesis, *Some Psychological Aspects of the Impact of the White Man upon the Labrador Eskimo*, that the fact that Cartwright enjoyed a comfortable relationship with the Inuit may have reflected that it was the British and not the Inuit, who had been the most 'hostile' partners in previous trade. From his understanding of written and oral accounts given by both missionaries and Inuit, Peacock believed Inuit actions on the coast were largely retaliatory in nature.

The depredations of the New Englanders did not work for good relations between the Whites and the Eskimos; it must be laid to Cartwright's credit that the Eskimos did not take reprisals against him for the ill usage they received at the hands of these New England privateers. (Peacock 1947: 61)

Eager to end conflicts between the British and Inuit resisters, Palliser had been negotiating with the Moravian Church to establish missions in northern Labrador for several years, so that trade could be carried out among the Inuit. In 1769 Palliser gave permission to Jens Haven and the Unitas Fratrum Moravian Brethren, Moravian

missionaries from Greenland, to visit Labrador and attempt to establish missions amongst the Inuit (this was a second trip, the first exploratory visit having been undertaken in 1752). Haven shrewdly requested sizeable tracts of land along the coast on which to build churches and associated trading posts, knowing that a post and mission together would enable the missionaries to preach to the Inuit who came to trade, and trade with the Inuit who were converted (Hiller 1971). Haven's knowledge of the Greenlandic Inuit dialect further enabled him to communicate with the Inuit leaders directly on behalf of the British and to broker an agreement for peace in exchange for regular access to European trade goods.²¹

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, the British were able to begin establishing additional trading posts and fishing companies. The first was just south of Hopedale; it supplied Inuit travelers from the north with trade goods and food in exchange for Inuit products such as baleen and blubber. In the coming decades some of these first British trappers and post managers married Inuit women and became the first ancestors of many generations of NunatuKavut (Labrador Métis) on the Labrador coast. While this trade/mission arrangement created an ethical dilemma for the Moravians, who regretted – and were criticized – for associating church and commerce, the Labrador missionaries had little choice but to set up shop, as there was no other means to support their existence on the coast. Peacock has suggested that, similarly, “it is undoubtedly true that some Eskimos sought baptism in the hope that they would receive presents from the missionaries” (Peacock 1947: 62). In “Missionaries as Traders: Moravians and the Inuit,

²¹ In his memoirs, Haven recounts the episode of September 4, 1764, when first made successful contact with the Inuit. “I ran to meet him, and called to him in the most friendly manner, addressing him in the Greenland language, which, to my inexpressible joy, he understood. [...] I dressed in my Greenland habit, and met them on the beach, inviting them to come to shore. They cried, ‘Here is an Innuit (or countryman of ours).’ I answered, ‘I am your countryman and friend’” (Haven 2006: 66).

1771-1860,” Carol Brice-Bennett uses the extensive Moravian archives to write a careful consideration of this ethical crisis confronting the Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, noting that it arose not only because trading brought Inuit under their control via Christian conversion, but also because in their role as middleman the Moravians introduced the credit system that played a significant role in the degradation of the ‘traditional’ Inuit way of life (Brice-Bennett 1990). As Brice-Bennett has noted, however, following the establishment of mission stations with churches and shops along the coast, the Moravians never experienced violence, attacks or outward hostility from the Inuit. These peaceful relations are interestingly highlighted in a conversation between Jens Haven and Mikak in 1770, upon their return to Labrador from London, and prior to the establishment of the first mission. As summarized by J. Garth Taylor in “The Two Worlds of Mikak,” when Haven suggested to Mikak that missionaries would not be safe among the Inuit, Mikak took great offence. Haven then explained further that “there are thieves and murderers among you” (Taylor 1983: 11), likely referring to either reports by Palliser or the first Moravian attempt to settle in Labrador eighteen years prior, when seven people had been killed by the Inuit.

Mikak hit back with spirit by answering that ‘In England, there are also thieves and murderers.’ Haven replied that in England, such people were hanged, but the missionaries refused to do such a thing and would simply go home if they could not live in peace with the Inuit. Mikak, who had recently lived in the strange *kablunat* world, where public hangings were a common form of recreation, decided to close their heated exchange on a conciliatory note. She repeated her invitation for the missionaries to come and stay, adding ‘You will see, we shall make it nice for you.’ (Ibid.)

As Carol Brice-Bennett concluded,

The Inuit's reputation for being hostile and ferocious must be viewed as a result of the "civilized" performance of the whalers, fishermen, and traders they had encountered before. [...] [Haven] saw a solution in the combination of

Christianity and trade: "civilize" and "humanize" the Inuit, set up a barter trade in European manufactured goods in exchange for fish, whale and seal oil, he suggested. The British government approved the strategy. (Brice-Bennett 1990: 233)

Significantly, the momentous agreement brokered by the British would also lead to the beginning of the Moravian era on the Labrador coast, and initiate a way of life that lasted for almost two centuries in the Nunatsiavut Territory.

“Substitute” Governance: The Moravian Missionaries, The Hudson Bay Company, and The Grenfell Mission, 1771 - 1949

From the late eighteenth century onward the Labrador coast, like Newfoundland, was officially under British rule, yet the administration of Labrador fell to a series of non-government organizations that pursued their own interests, and promoted the interests of Labradorians through a century and a half of government inattention and parsimony. Although Newfoundland had had representative government from 1832-1855 and responsible government from 1855-1934, Labradorian settlers, Inuit, Innu and NunatuKavut had no representation of their own throughout this entire period. It wasn't until 1934 that the first government presence, in the form of the Newfoundland Ranger Force, arrived in each community. The Rangers stationed an officer at every settlement to enforce game laws and report on communities, although as Brice-Bennett has remarked, they rarely had to deal with criminal activity because public violations seldom occurred, and when they did, they were dealt with by the community council of Elders (Brice-Bennett 2003: 99). Even with the novel appearance of government officials on the northern coast, Labrador was still considered little more than a resource cradle to Newfoundland; Labradorians didn't even have the right to vote until 1946. As Bill

Rompkey summarized in *The Story of Labrador*, “The Labradorians were not people to be cared for in settled and growing communities. Such power as was exercised over them in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was by substitute patrons, non-governmental organizations, chiefly the Moravian Church, the Hudson’s Bay Company, and the Grenfell Mission” (Rompkey 2003: 37).

As a result of Palliser’s agreement, the Moravians were the first Europeans to settle north of Hamilton Inlet. After several years of negotiations with the British government they had agreed, in 1771, to land agreements totaling 100,000 acres, as well as agreements with the Inuit, from whom they ‘purchased’ settlement rights with gifts of European trade goods and the promise of continuing trade. These documents – signed by Inuit and Moravians – were the closest agreements to treaties ever made with any Inuit in North America. They successfully established the first missions at Nain in 1771, Okak in 1776, and Hopedale (Hoffenthal, or “Vale of Hope” to the Moravians) next to the Inuit winter camp of Arvertôk in 1782.²²

The Missionaries set out to convert the Inuit to Christianity and establish themselves as the primary middlemen between Inuit and other Europeans in trade relations in an attempt to restrict Inuit contact with other influences from the world outside the coast. To this end, they established a trade network of Moravian owned and operated stores and encouraged Inuit to trade their fur, seal and whale products with them, rather than make the long journey to the southern Strait of Belle Isle (Taylor 1984: 512). As Brice-Bennett has noted in her community-based ethnohistory, *Hopedale: Three Ages of a Community in Northern Labrador*, at first the conversion process was very

²² While the Nain and Hopedale stations are still active and thriving today, the Okak mission was permanently closed in 1918, when the Spanish Influenza decimated the community (Klevian 1966: 33).

slow to gain momentum; during the late 1700s the total number of Inuit at all three stations numbered less than one hundred (Brice-Bennett 2003: 38). The reluctance to convert may have sprung from the Moravians' strict prohibition of many aspects of pre-Moravian culture, particularly anything associated with what they called 'heathen' Inuit spirituality. Missionaries launched a systematic attack on traditional spirituality and customs by ridiculing taboos and belittling Inuit deities and animistic beliefs. They undermined the authority and power of the *Angakkuit* (shamans) by challenging their ability to heal those stricken with foreign disease and they eventually banned Inuit dances, ceremonies, songs and other "sinful" acts.²³ While resistance was initially widespread, during the late 1790s, foreign-born epidemics and other hardships drove Inuit back to the missions in search of medicine, sustenance and salvation. The first significant change in settlement pattern followed the establishment of a mission and trading post in Okak, when Inuit some began to abandon their autumn-winter sod houses sites in order to settle around the mission and trade store in 1778.

By the early 1800s newly converted Inuit began to camp regularly in the winter months on the huge land grants around the northern missions.²⁴ In 1807, only three decades later, the population of Okak suddenly doubled, a fact attributed to the aforementioned Christian "awakening" leading to the baptism and conversion of many Inuit to the Moravian faith in a short time (Taylor and Taylor 1977: 61). Brice-Bennett

²³ Writing much later, Moravian Reverend Bill Peacock of Nain wrote in his memoir *Reflections from a Snowhouse* that he believed the Church sometimes practiced well meaning but misguided paternalism, and noted that until 1942 the Church prohibited *all* forms of dancing – a rule that Peacock himself thought wrong, as he had "always felt dancing was a way of expressing joy" (Peacock 1986: 144).

²⁴ Religious devotion intensified rapidly in the nineteenth century as the Moravian Inuit population grew, following the "Great Awakening" of 1805. That year, two formerly troubled young men so impressed their communities with their conversion and conviction that by the end of that year there was a widespread movement throughout all three communities. For example, Hoffenthal grew from 77 to 125 inhabitants in 1805. By 1855, the congregation had doubled. For more on the "Great Awakening," see Brice-Bennett (2003: 40-41).

and Barrett Richling have both discussed the manner in which the mission gained influence amongst the Inuit, noting both positive and negative factors. The missionaries advocated for marriage and monogamy and against past practices of abduction, polygamy and other forms of male competition for wives. This made the Mission a haven for some females while diminishing the ability of men to express status through women. They exploited outbreaks of disease to expose the weaknesses of *angakok* powers and similarly usurped the stature of successful hunters who would have previously gained status through providing food for the rest of the group, by allowing the *faithful* to distribute what the *successful* had previously done (Brice-Bennett 1989, Richling 1989). Richling has noted that these practices fostered a strong connection between religious conversion and material wealth - the “satisfaction of material desires” (Richling 1989: 149).

The Inuit were prohibited not only from contact with other Europeans, but also with the unconverted Inuit “heathens,” so that, as Helge Klevian has explained, “the individual was no longer free to select whom he wanted as a neighbour and partner in economic activities” (Klevian 1966: 29). This exclusive trade relationship benefitted both the spiritual and economic objectives of the mission. On the one hand, it was feared that the British competition would cheat or “debauch” the Inuit with alcohol and useless trifles, on the other, the Moravians were almost entirely dependent on the profits from trade with the Inuit to maintain their stations (Jenness 1965: 12). Even under these circumstances, the Inuit must have found the Moravians to be considerably more desirable economic partners than previous European groups; at the very least, the Moravians had no violent animosity towards the Inuit, knew some of the Labradorimiut dialect, encouraged the Inuit to camp around their stations, and supplied European goods,

even eventually – if reluctantly – providing through trade the firearms which were in great demand among the hunters. Although their intentions lay in the conversion and salvation of Inuit souls, from the beginning their relationship with the Inuit was one of mutual economic benefit and at times, co-dependence.

Within decades, the Moravians expanded their operations to include several other stations along the coast in order to reach more Inuit regularly, as the Labradorimiut continued to hunt seasonally and cyclically throughout the territory. The missionaries once again made agreements with both the government and the Inuit for the land.²⁵ They erected stations at Hebron in 1830, Zoar in 1865, Ramah in 1871, and Makkovik in 1895, establishing their last station at Killinek, near Cape Chidley at the northern precipice of Labrador, in 1904.

While the Moravians endeavored to permanently alter Inuit spiritual, social and economic life through the establishment of settled communities and the adoption of Christianity, they also believed that the Inuit should preserve certain aspects of their traditional life and maintain their ability to live on the land. In a letter dated June 1847, a missionary in Hebron wrote, “If we educate the Esquimaux youth after our fashion, we are sure to deprive them of the ability to procure their livelihood, in the only way that seems appointed for the dwellers on this coast” (qtd. in Klevian 1966: 82). Maintaining diet and subsistence patterns, clothing, footwear, and personal adornment, hunting technologies and Inuktitut were all encouraged by the missions, in the hopes that the Inuit

²⁵ These new agreements were supported by the avid campaigning of Mikak, the famous Inuit woman who was taken captive by English sailors following a raid on an whaling post in the late 1760s, but so impressed Governor Palliser with her poise and intelligence that she was sent with five other Inuit to England for a winter to act as ambassadors for their culture. There, she and Jens Haven promoted the Moravian cause together, and petitioned the government to grant the Moravians more land upon which to build. For more on the fascinating story of Mikak, see Taylor (1983), Stopp (2009).

would remain independent from other European influences. Certainly, while new materials and technologies were introduced to Inuit culture, they continued to produce their clothing and other domestic items in ways that maintained continuities with past practices, for example skillfully adopting duffel, canvas, embroidery thread and beads to the creation of beautiful *silipaks* – colloquially known as “dickies” – lightweight pullover-style traditional jackets.

During the height of their involvement with the Moravians, Inuit were encouraged to maintain their craft productions and to adopt new practices. Inuit children began seasonally attending school taught by the missionaries, and in class or in the evenings school-age girls received extra instruction provided by the missionaries’ wives in the art of knitting, sewing, and other European handicrafts (Brice-Bennett 2003: 47). [Figure 1.5] Despite the emphasis on maintaining traditional crafts and arts practices, and the significant holdings of visual culture from the Moravian era in provincial, national and global museum collections, trade in ivory carvings, basketry and sewing does not appear to have been a major economic boon to the Moravian Church during the nineteenth century. Rather, it appears that Inuit continued to produce these items mainly for personal and domestic use, while earning a living in the trapping and sealing industries.

While the sealing industry was profitable until about the mid-nineteenth century, in almost every year following 1848 the mission reports detailed increasing shortages of game and sealing; many Inuit families experienced major hardships and hunger. In her research, Brice-Bennett found that the Moravians were not always sympathetic to the plight of their employees and congregation, and “they were especially impatient with people whom they saw as being indifferent, negligent, and improvident in not fishing

enough to support themselves during winter,” even though Inuit were starving and cold, reportedly eating lengths of rope, “flour soup,” and their old skin tents to survive (Brice-Bennett 1990: 240-1).²⁶ Because of the association between religious devotion and material wealth that the missions had used to their advantage during the conversion, in times of hardship when the mission couldn’t or wouldn’t provide, the Inuit began to lose faith and faithfulness to the missionaries. When fishing vessels came to the northern coast in 1860 to trade with the Inuit for cod, salmon and char, the mission was forced to expand its own trade to include fisheries just to keep their near-monopoly intact. Relations between Inuit and Moravians continued to be tense until a shrewd assessment of the mission was delivered by visiting Moravian Bishop Levin Reichel, who denounced the profit-oriented model the mission was unwittingly moving towards in the 1860s.

His evaluation of the mission was timely; widespread reforms were needed if the Moravians were to regain the confidence and respect that they had had from Inuit in the early 1800s but then had lost mainly as a result of their repressive trade practices. Missionaries had seriously misunderstood the Inuit economy and culture and had been blind to their own dependence on Inuit production and services for the operation of Moravian communities. In attempting to teach European values of thrift and good management of resources, they had disturbed the ecological rhythm of social and economic exchanges traditional to the Inuit way of life. Moreover their internal contradiction between religious ideals and commercial practices had created confusion and conflict between themselves and Inuit converts. The net result of all this was a slow disintegration of Inuit social cohesion, resource production, and self-sufficiency to such an extent that over a period of about 100 years Inuit declined from being an independent people to one plagued by ill health, moral confusion, and dependency (Ibid. 245-6).

Subsistence patterns began to shift during the nineteenth century as Inuit moved from a hunting society to a trapping economy in the new communities. At the Moravian

²⁶ In 1851-52 families at Okak were so short of sealskins – having eaten or bartered them away - that only one or two family members had enough warm clothes to go outside at a time; 1845-46 the mission distributed seal oil as a nutritional supplement to prevent starvation; in 1855-56 during a serious famine, starving families received rations of dried codfish, bread, gruel, flour soup, and three-foot lengths of rope. Many people died from scurvy and malnutrition in 1856.

mission store, a “store brother” would buy and sell goods for the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, keeping track of debts and credits through in-store ledgers and through the individual pocketbooks kept by the Inuit who traded at the store. Earning this credit became a greater and greater priority as the needs and wants of the Inuit grew. As Inuit finally began settling permanently around the missions and trading posts, they required lumber, tools and nails to build their homes. Convenient foodstuffs, European fabric, sewing supplies, and readymade clothing also became highly desirable to the settled Inuit. The trade value of sealing, fishing, trapping and big game hunting demanded Inuit obtain rifles, snares and nets in order to hunt and trap more efficiently. At the same time, the lucrative market for codfish and small fur-bearing animals – like the marten, mink and otter - disrupted traditional seasonal activities as well, as these had not previously been a major part of the Inuit year. By the early twentieth century, Inuit had become highly dependent on the cod fishery for their independence. A drop in cod prices dropped in the 1930s had a debilitating effect on their livelihood. During the poor hunting seasons and general economic downturn that was to come, European goods that had previously been desirable would become the necessities of life.

Even with limited contact with the outside world throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Inuit population was greatly impacted by the processes of globalization. Foreign fluctuations in the market for fur and other commodities traded overseas profoundly impacted life on the Labrador coast. Brice-Bennett has written, “International market prices for natural resources exported from northern Labrador, and for merchandise imported to the region, determined the prosperity or poverty of Inuit households, as well as the financial status of the Moravian trade operation” (Ibid. 94).

Annual incomes oscillated with the abundance of wildlife in a given year, while prices offered for pelts, oil and fish also fluctuated depending on prices overseas. The annual cost of operating, maintaining and staffing the missions, including the considerable sums spent on charity and advances made to impoverished Inuit, outpaced the profits of the stores. By 1900 the trade operations were crippled by an immense debt (Ibid.). This debt weighed heavily on the Inuit and missions alike, yet the Newfoundland government did little to provide relief or assistance, leaving the administration of the Inuit largely to the Moravians throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Despite efforts to better manage resources and cut spending in Labrador, the onset of the First World War had a devastating effect on the trade in furs and other resources, and although trade resumed upon the war's end, the amount of accumulated debt prevented the Moravian trade industry from recovering.

In 1926, facing bankruptcy, the Moravians negotiated an agreement for the Hudson's Bay Company to take over their stores and trading operations on the coast, including the supply ship the *Harmony V*. The Company also agreed to administer a credit system for the Inuit similar to that which the Moravians had previously developed and controlled. With these events, Moravian authority over the Inuit was also diminished, as Canadian traders with no previous relationship with the Inuit began to manage the local economy and became partners in economic development.

Although it did not engage in much communication or trade with the Inuit until the 1920s, the Hudson's Bay Company had had a presence in Labrador since 1831. The HBC began its work in the territory by investigating possible overland supply routes through Labrador to the interior and Quebec. The terrain proved too difficult to be

practical and yet during this attempt, the Company developed an interest in establishing trading posts in southern Labrador (Kaplan 1983: 177). At the time, their trading business was chiefly conducted with members of the Innu Nation and south shore settlers from Newfoundland. After the HBC opened more northern posts such as Saglek and Nachvak in the 1860s, it entered into direct competition with the Moravians for Inuit trade products. Later, posts were set up around North West River to compete with other traders in the area, such as Reveillon Frères of Paris, which had been trading in southern Labrador since 1901. However, it wasn't until the transfer of the Moravian stores in 1926 that the Company gained significant economic control over the north.

Since the 1830s, when it arrived in southern Labrador, the Hudson's Bay Company had enjoyed a near monopoly on trade for the next sixty years. The Company's employees, mostly from Scotland or England, stayed on for five-year contracts, and then either left for home, extended their duration, or stayed on as independent settlers. The Company's emphasis on furs led many Inuit and settlers to devote their time to trapping small game like fox and rabbit, and so trappers set their traplines further and further into the mainland. This meant that time spent on the fur-lines was extended to three full months in order to yield the greatest returns.

In 1854, a progressive Company trader, Scottish-born Donald A. Smith, who would later become 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, established policies to expand the number of posts under his command, which included Rigolet and North West River (Zimmerly 1973: xiii). In 1854 Smith visited the Moravians on the north coast to try and convince them to establish a mission in Hamilton Inlet, and although the situation was examined, the mission was not established. In 1901 the Revillon Frères Trading

Company established a post in North West River, briefly breaking the monopoly that the Company held on trapping and assisting trappers to achieve more competitive prices for their furs, but only briefly. Labrador south of Moravian territory belonged to the Company.

When the Hudson's Bay Company took over trade in northern Labrador from the Moravians, they expected complete loyalty from the Nunatsiavummiut, sometimes refusing to deal with any Inuk who attempted to trade elsewhere. This worked out well enough for both parties in the "Roaring 20s" while the market for fur products flourished in North America and Europe, particularly as the Company managers were also often responsible for distributing Newfoundland government rations to the Inuit; the Inuit were glad to give their loyalty when so much appeared to come from one benevolent source, and the HBC profited from their fur trade monopoly in Labrador.

When the booming fur market collapsed during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the HBC was not so eager to reciprocate the loyalty they had previously demanded from the Inuit, and Inuit trappers became more and more indebted to the Company store. In a report of the 1930 Moravian Field Conference, the author (likely Richard Paul Hettasch, who was superintendent of the Moravian Mission from 1928-1941) reported that not only was the HBC unwilling to help the Inuit by "Buying everything the Eskimos have to sell," and "selling them what they need at the lowest possible price," the HBC was also unsupportive of Inuit attempts to generate other forms of income through the Company posts – even though, because they had for so long demanded loyalty from the Inuit and had achieved a near monopoly on trade, it was now virtually impossible for the Inuit to sell their products elsewhere (Moravian Mission

Board document). In *Remembering the Years of my Life: Journeys of a Labrador Inuit Hunter* (1999) Paulus Maggo concurred that Inuit never knew if they were getting a fair deal from traders and prices varied greatly. “We had no way of knowing [the] real value at the time. [...] There were no licenses and no price lists. Inuit took whatever they were given, even when they felt they should have gotten more for their best pelts and furs” (93).

Upon assuming the Moravian stores throughout the Nunatsiavut Territory, the Hudson’s Bay Company made an agreement with the Moravians to also undertake responsibility for administering public relief in exchange for an exclusive trade relationship with the Inuit in the north. In the 1928 *Periodical Accounts* of the Moravian Church, the 1926- 27 Annual Report from Hopedale reads:

The year under review has brought about one of the biggest changes that has ever taken place in the history of the Labrador Mission, viz., the handing over of the trade to the Hudson’s Bay Company. Since the commencement of the Mission in the year 1771 the Mission, or perhaps more correctly the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, has carried on trade with the Eskimos, not so much for sake of gain as for the help and protection of the Eskimos. Through the stores the Mission has carried on Philanthropical and industrial work, providing markets for products of the country brought in by the Eskimos, supplying them with the necessaries of life and their calling, and attending to the wants of the needy [...] Through the transfer of trade to other hands the Mission relinquishes the responsibility for the bodily welfare of its members and confines itself to the spiritual oversight of the flock. (qtd. in Klevian 1966: 129)

At first the HBC managers seemed to fulfill this responsibility and they were regarded as generally helpful and supportive of the communities they set up in – one example cited by Klevian tells of the post manager in Nain in the late 1920s arranging for new boats to be brought in to the community, which were turned over to the Inuit “on easy terms” (Ibid. 133). Rather than making significant material advances to seasonally unemployed Inuit, the HBC post managers made it their policy to encourage Inuit to trap

instead, so that debt was not accumulated throughout the year if it could be avoided. In practice, however, the productive hunters began to receive better credit than others, creating an unbalanced relief system for those who could not hunt because of infirmity or other reasons (Ibid. 130). Good hunters were also kept in debt to the HBC, and were not paid in cash, but rather in credit, so that they had to both sell and buy from the Company exclusively. In an essay entitled “Born Trappers” in the 1976 edition of Labrador’s historical journal, *Them Days*, John Montague reflected, “The Hudson’s Bay Company always said ‘you was just about square.’ There was no cash them days. H.B.C. made a lot of money off us fellers. They never let you starve, you know. [...] Of course they had to keep us alive because if we was finished, they was finished” (Montague 1976: 9). And Dr. Wilfred Grenfell, who administered health and other social services throughout Labrador for the Company’s entire tenure on the coast, decried the situation:

It was incredible to me that even large concerns like the Hudson Bay Company would not pay in cash for valuable furs, and that so many dealers in the necessities of life should be still able to hold free men in economic bondage. It seemed a veritable chapter from “Through the Looking Glass,” to hear the “grocer” and “haberdasher” talking of “my people,” meaning their patrons, and holding over them the whip of refusal to sell them necessities in their hour of need if at any time they dealt with outsiders, however much to their advantage such a course might be. (Grenfell 1919: 133)

Around the same time elsewhere in Canada, Henry Toke Munn, F.R.G.S., a retired explorer and independent Baffin Island trader with eleven years experience in the Arctic, criticized the practices of the Hudson’s Bay Company that created a system of permanent indebtedness among Inuit trappers. Through editorials in southern newspapers and magazines, Munn campaigned to coerce the federal government to intercede on behalf of the Inuit, explaining in *National Life*, for example, that:

[...] To induce the Eskimo to trap, the Trading Companies adopt the device known as “creating new wants” for these simple living people. Kerosene takes the place of the old stone blubber lamp, where a trading station is near enough to guarantee a supply. New, expensive and often unsuitable high power rifles, such as a high power .22 rifle, are imported and urged on the hunter, ever keen for a novelty in firearms [...] This is used as a level to hold the native to the Trading Company he may be dealing with, and its effect is demoralizing. (Munn 1924: 7)

Furthermore, the increased emphasis on commercial trapping for the Company over sealing and caribou hunting was also leading to difficulties. While seal and caribou provided the most for the Inuit in terms of clothing and food for families and dog teams, small fur game paid the highest dividends, and so Inuit began to hunt fox and other small game, and used the money to buy equipment and outfits required by this particular trade, as well as European food stuffs, rather than buying sealing nets and hunting for their own food. In a report entitled, “The Influence of Government Trading Operations on the Economic Base of Northern Labrador Inuit Communities, 1942-1975,” Kenneth Murrice wrote that the Hudson’s Bay Company had no interest in, “anything other than obtaining as many fox and other furs as possible. As the price of furs rose in the twenties, the Company pushed the population into abandoning the autumn and winter sealing and gave very little encouragement to the fisheries,” which was leading Inuit to abandon their subsistence activities in favour of increasing trade dependence (Murrice 1977: 4). After more than a decade of the Company on the northern coast, the Moravian Mission Board addressed this issue in the 1930 report of a Moravian Field Conference. Under the subheading “The Hudson’s Bay Company and their dealings with the Eskimo,” the Moravian missionaries stated at length their concerns about the HBC operations:

this section of the report is divided into several parts in order to give an explanation of the points raised by the Missionaries at the Field Conference and of the complaints made by the Eskimos, and to add some observations about the policy of the Company. [...] Under the circumstances that Company’s policy of

strict economy seems to be the only one possible from a commercial point of view, for the Company is not a philanthropic organization but a business concern. Mr. Parsons [of the HBC] said it would ease things considerably for him if more philanthropy and less business could be put into operation on the coast. Commercial selfishness does not consider how the Eskimos are to live under the working out of this policy, but owing to the war and the uncertainty of markets, 'debt' at the trading posts had to be cut down to a minimum. Those who live on the Coast will know that this policy will involve terrible hardships for the Eskimos in winter (Moravian Mission Board document).

The Moravians voiced fears that the strict economic policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was creating a catastrophic financial situation for the Inuit. As Klevian has explained, the decisive difference between the Mission stores and the Company stores was that the Hudson's Bay Company ran not only the fur industry but also their stores as for-profit businesses, so that every item sold in the stores yielded high gains – and consumer goods were already very costly on the coast; whereas when the stores were run by missionaries, necessary items were – to some extent – sold at a lower cost, and luxury items priced higher to compensate, so as to assist impoverished Inuit to acquire necessities and encourage others to purchase only what they needed and to supplement their income with other forms of subsistence. The Company was also responsible for distributing such relief as the Newfoundland government had finally begun providing late in the nineteenth century. This amounted to little more than some tea and biscuits monthly – just enough to keep people from starving – and perhaps a little more credit at the discretion of the individual manager (Jenness 1965: 60). During the Great Depression of the 1930s fur prices slumped internationally, but costs at the stores did not match the downturn. Tanner, Brody, and others have stated that the resulting situation amounted to an "economic serfdom," in which the Inuit became hopelessly indebted to the Company even while their impoverishment grew (Tanner 1944: 538; Brody 1975: 23). Only then

did the Company begin to encourage the Inuit to return to the more diversified economy of the past, advising them to go back to large-scale sealing to subsidize their food needs, but by then it was too late. The Inuit had neglected to purchase or maintain their enormous and expensive rawhide sealing nets for too long. Many had fallen into disrepair and rot and the Inuit lacked the funds or credit to purchase new ones, as previously it was the Moravians who provided the nets and the Inuit who maintained them. The Moravians began fundraising for new nets in England, but each net cost about one hundred dollars, and the mission raised only enough for half a dozen new nets for the coast (Jenness 1965: 61). Inuit could still stalk the seals on the ice in the spring, or hunt by boat in the summer, but this method produced only a fraction of seals that the nets did, which could haul two or three hundred seals in a good year and feed a whole community. On the last page of the report of the Moravian Field Conference, the author reported on a conversation held with Ralph Parsons, who had been a long time Post Manager in Labrador, and who would be appointed Fur Trade Commissioner in 1931:

Mr. Parsons agreed that the economic status of the Eskimos had deteriorated. The underlying causes are:

- (a) The low price for cod fish - \$2.50 a quintal
- (b) The scarcity of fur
- (c) The lack of gear for sealing and fishing; few guns, nets, and boats.
- (d) The low price for what Eskimos have to sell and the high price of the things they want to buy. [...]

Certain questions concerning the policy of the Company were put to Mr. Parsons.

1. Could not a big trading concern like the Company afford to run a few posts at a loss? The reply indicated that the policy of the Company was to endeavour to run each post at its merits. If it did not pay over a period of five years then it might be closed.
2. Is the Company prepared to increase its debt to help the people through hard times? The answer was 'no.'
3. Was there a prospect of the Company continuing the tenancy after 1947 when the present lease terminates? The answer was 'yes.' The erection of

substantial buildings at the posts was proof of that desire. (Moravian Mission Field Conference Report c.1930: 16)

Under the governance of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Labradorimiut were ancillary figures in the economy – the profits of the Company were the first priority. The scarcity of furs on the Labrador coast coupled with the global economic downturn of the 1930s had a deep impact on the Company. Although the Hudson's Bay Company's lease did not expire until 1947, in 1942, facing rising debt and trade deficits, the Company closed all its operations in Labrador. In a letter from Ralph Parsons to John Puddester, then Commissioner for Public Health and Welfare for Newfoundland dated March 9, 1942, Parsons acknowledges that the Company was aware of the negative effect that the sudden withdrawal would have, primarily on the Inuit population of the most northerly stations in Labrador:

Hon. Sir John C. Puddester,
Commissioner for Public Health and Welfare,
St. John's, Nfld.

Sir, As from 31st May, 1942, we regret having to advise you that this Company has decided to discontinue trading operations at the following posts on the Labrador coast held under lease from the Moravian Mission for the past 14 years: Hebron, Nain, Hopedale, Nutak (Okak) and also our own post at Davis Inlet [an Innu community].

As you are familiar with the conditions on the Labrador coast you will fully realize just what withdrawal from these posts will mean to the 1500 natives who will be affected, and you will no doubt take such action as you may consider necessary for their protection and assistance. Should you desire to have the results of our trading and native welfare operations at these points for the past 14 years, we will gladly supply them as well as any further information you may desire. You can depend upon our utmost cooperation and assistance in any action you may decide upon in dealing with this problem and in this connection we would suggest that as the season for making preparation for the fisheries is already well advanced a decision should be reached at the earliest date possible.

Yours faithfully,

For HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, Ralph Parson (Letter: Ralph Parsons to John C. Puddester, 1942)

While Parsons may have sympathized with the plight of the Native population – at least enough to formally warn Puddester of their plans to shut down operations with three weeks notice – the economic downturn in the global trade of furs was such that there was not enough incentive in Labrador to keep the posts open. A request from Newfoundland's Commission of Government to stay open for one more year to aid in the transition of responsibilities was flatly rejected; by August the HBC had completely withdrawn, leaving the Newfoundland government to take over.

Not only were the Labradorimiut deeply affected by fluctuations in the international commodities and natural resource markets, they were also profoundly transformed by exposure to European diseases. Complicating the unstable economy, the Inuit had also suffered greatly for over a century from epidemics that swept Europe and left deep scars on the small coastal communities. In an extensive timeline developed directly from the Moravian missions' *Periodical Accounts, 1790-1958*, Helge Klevian chronicled the history of contact between Inuit and Moravians, noting that from 1774 onward, epidemics frequently struck the remote communities causing illness, and often death (Klevian 1966: 145-95). Following the beginnings of settlement around the mission stations was a century of numerous plagues and malignant epidemics of influenza, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, rheumatism and venereal diseases, either brought over with the supply ship the *Harmony* and foreign fishermen, or introduced by Inuit who returned to their own communities after traveling abroad to exhibitions and World's Fairs in the

U.S. and Europe.²⁷ Epidemics killed great numbers each year, crippled many more, and left many women and children widows and orphans. Hardly a year on record does not mention the scourge of foreign disease in at least one community. The small Inuit population fluctuated greatly each decade, beginning with a population of approximately 1650 in the years immediately after the arrival of the Moravians, which soon dropped to about 1100 and stayed low until nearly the end of the nineteenth century, according to the Moravian census (Ibid.).

Since their arrival on the coast in the late eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century, the Moravians had been largely responsible for all the medical services to the Inuit on the coast, although the Newfoundland government did supply some minor aid annually in the form medicine and health care.²⁸ The missionaries were expected to serve as community doctors and nurses, and while many had some degree of medical training, others had no medical experience at all. Unfortunately, the medical supplies of the missions and the abilities of missionaries were not always sufficient to meet the needs of the infirm, although the missionaries were called upon to treat illnesses and even occasionally to perform surgery or other emergency medical procedures. Their

²⁷ The first epidemic of disease recorded by the Moravians was an outbreak of smallpox in 1774. The disease was brought home to Labrador by Caubvick, who contracted the disease while visiting England in 1772 with four other Inuit who had been brought to Europe by Captain George Cartwright. All of the other Inuit on the trip succumbed to the disease yet Caubvick recovered, only to return to Labrador and tragically pass the smallpox on to many people remaining in her community. The exact numbers of deceased was not recorded in this instance. The incident was recorded in the *Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany* for May 1774, in an excerpt from Cartwright's *Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador*, in an essay entitled "Account of the Behavior of the Esquimeaux Indians who Accompanied Mr. Cartwright to England," 1772: 327 – 332.

²⁸ Kennedy has explained that from the late 1870s to the 1890s the government, directed by Judge Pinsent, distributed medicine and drugs to the area between the Labrador Strait and Hopedale by the circuit court vessel, noting that a surgeon was also known to accompany the ship. Later government medical officers would visit the Strait and tend to hundreds of patients throughout the summer and fall, but likely no Inuit benefitted from these services (Kennedy 1995: 120). The Newfoundland Government rarely offered services north of Hamilton Inlet before Newfoundland joined Confederation, likely because the administration of the Inuit was more easily left to the Moravians.

philosophy towards Inuit health and well-being was preventative in nature, and they believed that the best course of action was to encourage the Inuit to eat hearty “country” foods such as seal, caribou, Arctic char, ptarmigan and berries. As we have seen, the Inuit had begun to rely more and more on the convenience and availability of European foodstuffs throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, which the Moravians believed contributed to their poor health. However, the reality was that in that first century of prolonged contact with Europeans, the Inuit had experienced unprecedented exposure to introduced viruses and bacteria, yet had had little opportunity to develop an immunity to such deadly and highly contagious diseases as tuberculosis, smallpox, and syphilis. Furthermore, maternal and infant mortality rates were very high. In 1903 the first Moravian hospital was built in Okak under the direction of Dr. S. K. Hutton, a talented medical missionary who brought professional care to the coast, but the hospital was only open for roughly five years, and closed when Dr. Hutton had to return to England due to illness of his own. For decades after, the primary healthcare on the northern coast continued to be administered through the missionaries, with their limited means, and was supplemented by visits from Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell and his staff. Grenfell’s medical ship sailed up the coast in the summertime but only stopped in each community for a brief period, providing what support its staff could from onboard the ship.

Dr. Grenfell had taken an interest in the welfare of Newfoundland fishermen in southern Labrador late in the nineteenth century. In 1891 Mr. F.S. Hopwood of the Board of Trade in England had visited Newfoundland on his way back to England and had observed that Newfoundland’s British fishermen spent many months out of the year

fishing on the southern Labrador coast without medical or mission services to attend them. Upon arrival in England Hopwood reported back on the exigencies of the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1892, Grenfell was appointed to outfit and then sail the hospital ship the *Albert* from England to St. John's and on to southern Labrador. Grenfell, a trained mariner and religious devotee who had joined the National Mission to Deep-Sea Fishermen in 1887, had recently spent five years serving as a medical missionary around Iceland and the Bay of Biscay, and so it seemed he would be well prepared to administer to people on the Labrador coast. When he arrived, Grenfell was appalled by the pitiable living conditions he witnessed in Labrador; particularly the poverty, ignorance, and deprivation of the Newfoundland fishing colonies (Grenfell 1919: 150-2). With the support of the Royal National Mission to Deep-Sea Fishermen, Grenfell soon created an organization aimed at ameliorating poor health and living conditions on the coast and improving the quality of life, both physical and spiritual, for the Labrador fishermen and their families. By 1893 he had established the first mission hospital at Battle Harbour on the southern shore of Labrador. Over the next four decades under his leadership, the Labrador Medical Mission expanded. Incorporated as the International Grenfell Association in 1914, the IGA was created to fund the charitable work of his mission in Labrador and northern Newfoundland. The health care facilities would eventually grow to include six hospitals, four hospital ships, and seven smaller nursing stations, primarily located on either side of the Strait of Belle Isle. Most of this was the direct result of Grenfell's impassioned fundraising; the doctor lectured throughout Canada and internationally, and wrote several books on Labrador. His campaigning both inspired many physicians, nurses and volunteers to congregate in Labrador as well as sparked an

interest in “the lure of the Labrador wild” and the first inklings of a tourism industry. Not everyone enjoyed the spotlight Grenfell shone on Labrador’s poor settlers, however. As Kennedy has noted, Newfoundland’s gentry and mercantile class believed Grenfell exaggerated the deprivations of the fisher folk in order to raise funds elsewhere in Canada and abroad, and the publicity he brought the Colony highlighted the uncomfortable class divisions that existed, as well as the inattention or inability of Newfoundlanders to tend to their own peoples (Kennedy 1995: 150).

Perhaps due in some part to the efforts of the Grenfell Mission’s annual visits up the coast and Dr. Hutton’s hospital in the north, the Inuit population had begun to rise again early in the twentieth century (Klevian 1966: 145-95). The health of the Inuit remained perilous, however. Dr. Harry Paddon, who joined the mission in 1912, had established a Grenfell Mission hospital in Mud Lake, but later moved to North West River, a major Hudson’s Bay Company post, in 1915. The addition of the hospital contributed to North West River’s reputation as the new administrative center of Labrador, yet the Grenfell mission hospital in southern Labrador and the Moravian missions on the coast combined were unable to combat the 1918 influenza epidemic. The Spanish influenza – which caused the deaths of over twenty million people worldwide – killed many in southern Labrador and nearly decimated the northerly communities of Okak and Hebron, which lost 207 of 266 and 150 of 220 people, respectively (*1790-1958: Periodical Accounts*, qtd. in Klevian 1966). Almost one third of the population of northern Labrador died of the epidemic within the first five weeks of the arrival of the blight. Many children were orphaned by the flu as a result (Cadigan 2009: 191). The Newfoundland government, for its part, did very little to alleviate the strain of the

epidemic and offered next to no support to any of the medical stations or doctors, aside from sending some light aid and several thousand boards for coffins after the fact.²⁹

Although some thought that these events signaled the coming extinction of the Inuit, later the Labradorimiut would prove to be much more resilient than imagined. The orphaned children left behind by the influenza provided the impetus for Grenfell to create the first boarding school at Muddy Bay, south of Hamilton Inlet, and this new situation ushered in yet another change to Labrador life. Boarding schools were soon opened at Mary's Harbour and Cartwright, and students -- and thus their families, dispersed along the coast -- were recruited from the surrounding areas, further centralizing communities in the region. The Inuit orphans from the north coast were also sent to the southern boarding schools and began to be educated alongside their settler peers by teachers employed by the Grenfell Mission.

The Grenfell Mission opened several more orphanages in the south and many schools, including residential schools, in Labrador south of Hamilton Inlet and in northern Newfoundland. The Moravians were then still the primary administrators of religion, health care and education on the north coast, and until then had operated the only schools in Labrador, primarily north of Hopedale. Northern communities did not benefit as much from the presence of the Grenfell Mission or from government support as the more southern communities. Grenfell and its missionary workers visited northern

²⁹ Harry Gordon, the Anglican Priest in Cartwright and Grenfell Missionary, recorded in his journal that, when Labrador sent word about the Influenza and requested medical aid and food, "The Government had not only refused to send a ship, but one of its leading ministers deliberately remarked, "Let them starve, the Government will be saved the trouble of feeding them." [...] The attitude of the Newfoundland Government towards Labrador has always been a scandal, but this is adding insult to an already long list of injuries. Labrador pays at least \$10,000 a year in taxes to the Newfoundland Government; she has not one single representative in the House of Assembly, she has no resident Magistrates, Police, Relieving Officers, no roads, no winter wire or wireless communications, no railway, nothing that any people need for the advantages of life (qtd. in Bill Rompkey (2003): 66).

communities beyond the Hamilton Inlet area in the summer by way of the medical ship the *Strathcona*, and Grenfell visited at other times in the year in his position as circuit court judge. Even without prolonged service on the coast, the Grenfell Mission would eventually benefit many more Labradorians, including the significant numbers of Inuit, Innu and NunatuKavut, who gravitated towards the larger centers in the south, including North West River and later Happy Valley-Goose Bay, in the mid-twentieth century.

As the medical organization grew, it added more social, educational and religious services (“Introduction,” The International Grenfell Association). The International Grenfell Association soon turned its attention to alleviating poverty and creating better living conditions in southern Labrador as well. Early on, Grenfell had observed how the trade stores and merchant-controlled credit system (referred to as the “truck” system) greatly contributed to trapper and fisherman destitution and encouraged indebtedness in the south, similar to the situation between the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Inuit in the north, because merchants set the prices for both the selling and purchasing of essential goods for trade (Rompkey 2003: 60). In his memoir *A Labrador Doctor*, Grenfell recounted several incidents that highlighted the injustice of the truck system, denouncing this ubiquitous barter system because it “impoverishes and enslaves the victims, and then makes them love their chains.”

In those days the people felt that they had the best part of the bargain if they were always a little in debt. The tendency to thrift was thus annihilated. The fishermen simply turned in all their catch to the merchant, and took what was coming to them as a matter of course. [...] Naturally the whole system horrified us, as being the nearest possible approach to English slavery, for the poor man was in constant fear that the merchant “will turn me off.” On the other hand, the traders took precautions that their “dealers” should not be able to leave them, such as not selling them traps outright for furring, or nets for fishing, but only loaning them, and having them periodically returned. This method insured their securing all the fur caught, because legally a share of the catch belonged to them in return for the

loan of the trap. They thus completely minimized the chance for competition, which is “the life of trade.” (Grenfell 1919: 217)

In reaction, Grenfell challenged the exploitative merchant credit system by founding the first (though short lived) cooperative movement in Labrador and establishing stores and industries – often aggravating the local traders, and particularly the Hudson’s Bay Company, in the process (Kennedy 1995: 157). Grenfell encouraged the development of industrial work and training opportunities through such initiatives as the creation of a cooperative lumber mill, fourteen industrial centers for trades, twelve clothing distribution depots, and a seaman’s institute in St. John’s. Most significantly for this study, Grenfell also developed programs and services to support and supply cottage industries amongst women, students, and the infirm, particularly in handicraft production, which will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

While the contributions of the IGA are undeniable, critics have noted that during a time when the only medical, social and legal services were dispensed from a singular source, the mission and its staff wielded considerable power and authority in the early part of the twentieth century. In his ethnohistory of the southern coast, *People of the Bay and Highlands* (1995), Kennedy refers to the “essentially colonial or interventionist” character of a well-meaning but somewhat paternalistic organization, noting that despite the generally appreciated efforts of the organization, there were some mission personnel who were known for being inflexible, authoritarian, condescending, or eccentric (152-3).

Like the Moravian Church, Grenfell is given a great deal of credit by historians for his impact on the human condition in Labrador. While the praise is fully deserved – this was a campaign of monumental good will with extraordinary results – the Labradorians themselves are less apt to attribute their salvation to outsiders, even a man

of Grenfell's stature and popularity. The reasons are complex but include the fact that they did not share his view that they led impoverished lives or required outside intervention. They had their own internal heroes and social safety nets, and they were proud of their homely medical accomplishments. More to the point, as long as the people were widely dispersed and seasonally migratory, IGA and other cursory external services would remain inaccessible to a majority of residents when assistance was most needed (Fitzhugh 1999: 49). Despite this, it must be acknowledged that during the height of the Grenfell Mission's involvement in Labrador, the impassioned Grenfell, Paddon and other mission personnel were among the only advocates for Labradorian rights and social justice outside of the territory. And members of the Grenfell Mission often had good reason to be critical of the Newfoundland government. The government continued to largely neglect both its Settler and Aboriginal inhabitants well in to the first half of the twentieth century.³⁰ Throughout the late nineteenth and in to the twentieth century, Newfoundland and Quebec had squabbled over rights to Labrador's rich coastal fisheries, wildlife resources and potential development opportunities in minerals, timber and electricity, yet during these territorial disputes neither the British nor French ever much considered the Settler or Indigenous inhabitants throughout Labrador. The last boundary lines were drawn for Labrador on March 1st, 1927, in an act by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England to settle a dispute (and possible sale) between then Prime

³⁰ For Paddon, the impetus to social activism sprung from events surrounding Labradorian participation in the First World War. Although many Labrador men fought bravely overseas for Newfoundland, upon their return the veterans were dropped off in Battle Harbour and left to find their own way home, some of whom lived in communities 300 miles away. In *The Story of Labrador*, Rompkey writes, "indeed, the people of North West River did not know the war was over until the vetrans walked into the community in January 1919" (2003: 65).

Minister of Newfoundland, Walter Monroe, and the premier of Quebec, Louis-Alexandre Taschereau. The Privy Council declared that the line be,

drawn due north from the eastern boundary of the bay or harbour of the Anse au Sablon as far as the fifty-second degree of north latitude, and from thence westward ... until it reaches the Romaine River, and then northward along the left or east bank of that river and its head waters to the source and from thence due northward to the crest of the watershed or height of land there, and from thence westward and northward along the crest of the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean until it reaches Cape Chidley. (Rompkey 2003: 77-81)

There is no evidence that the people of Labrador were ever consulted in the creation of the boundary line or on the potential sale of Labrador to Quebec. Rompkey has written that the debate over Labrador, in terms of governing bodies and land settlement disputes, was largely based on political rights to fisheries and had little regard for Inuit or Innu: “The underlying assumption was that Labrador’s resources must be developed for someone else, whether that someone was the island of Newfoundland, the province of Quebec, or the market of Wall Street” (Rompkey 2003: 83).

Labrador was far removed from the centre of political activity at St. John's and providing services to its small, scattered population was not a priority for the Newfoundland Government. Instead, as we've seen, for over a century officials of the British colony delegated the day-to-day administration of Labrador affairs to a number of surrogate organizations. Newfoundland provided for neither healthcare nor education, leaving those responsibilities to the Moravians in the north and later the Grenfell Mission in the south. Native welfare and relief was also passed off to commercial trading companies in the area, the most prominent of which, over time, were the Moravian missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company. However, after the Company withdrew operations from northern Labrador in 1942, the government assumed control of all

company trading posts, placing it in closer contact with the Inuit people than ever before. In the decades following the closure of the Hudson's Bay Company posts throughout Labrador, an increasing government, military and commercial presence would precipitate, once again, great changes to the Inuit way of life on the coast based on their encounters with others.

Encounters with Newfoundland: From Confederation to Self-Determination

More than a century after Newfoundland had first gained representative government in 1832, the people of Labrador still did not have the right to vote. The Newfoundland Government did, however, finally deem it necessary to take over certain roles and responsibilities previously managed by the Moravian Mission in Labrador, and more administrators and officials began arriving on the coast. The missionaries, in turn, relinquished the monopoly they had held over Inuit commerce, society and religion since the late 1770s. The reaction of the missionaries was recorded in a report from Nain for the year 1937-38:

In years past the authority in, and administration of, the Eskimo settlements was in the hands of the missionaries, and with the passing of authority and administration into the hands of government officials, an entirely new situation has been created [...] here on the Coast we have to realize and understand the new position. We can no longer count on the momentum of an old tradition, for much of the old authority vested in the missionary is gone, and we are faced with people who are openly indifferent or even hostile to our work. This is no exaggeration – we face it constantly. (*1790-1958: Periodical Accounts* 1939: 132-4, qtd. in Klevian 1966: 87)

By the early 1940s the social and economic administration of northern Labrador was in a state of upheaval, and the Dominion of Newfoundland reluctantly found itself in a paternalistic position to the people of the northern coast. In the wake of the Hudson's

Bay Company closing throughout the northern territory, Newfoundland assumed responsibility for trade operations and other public services, and a police presence was installed in every community, in the form of the Newfoundland Rangers.

Newfoundland had also been experiencing its own financial troubles, having faced bankruptcy in the mid 1930s, partially as a result of debt incurred during World War I. In 1933 Newfoundland had requested assistance from the British government, which established the Newfoundland Royal Commission, headed by Lord Amulree, to investigate the social and economic status of the dominion. Amulree recommended the unprecedented action of removing the responsible government and appointing a Governor and six-member "Commission of Government," to manage Newfoundland's affairs. The Commission governed between 1934 and 1949 and during that time had a positive impact on the lives of people in Labrador. Somewhat ironically, as Rompkey has observed, "by giving up responsible government, Newfoundland gave Labrador the first government it ever had" (Rompkey: 2003: 84). Rompkey is referring to the newfound interest in Labrador's peoples by the newly appointed Commissioner Sir John Hope Simpson, who became a great champion of Labrador after a visit there brought him in contact with Grenfell and Paddon. Simpson was a severe critic of the small elite that ruled the country, and his policies were aimed at breaking the control of the powerful merchants and bringing rights and freedoms to those on the coast who worked for those merchants and traders. Under the Commission of Government and particularly Hope Simpson, surveys of forestry and iron ore mining opportunities were undertaken, government assistance was organized for the fisheries, and loans were granted to establish the Labrador Development Company (Ibid. 85-6). The Newfoundland Rangers were also an initiative

of the Commission of Government, and with an officer installed in each community, the Rangers became the first regular liaisons between the people and the government. This was a momentous step forward for the Labrador communities, who had never before had representation in the Newfoundland parliament.

The beginning of World War II also had a considerable impact on Inuit on the northern coast. At the head of Lake Melville, at a site later called Goose Bay, a military base was planned in to provide a critical refueling station at the eastern edge of North America. By the spring of 1941 word had spread throughout coastal Labrador that Labradorians would be paid good wages to help build an air base for Allied Forces in the flat, forested region between Goose Bay and the mouth of the Grand River. As Lynn Fitzhugh explained *The Labradorians*, the construction of Goose Air Base provided more than another occasion for Labradorians to express their patriotism in the wake of World War I; it meant an opportunity for Labrador to emerge from the prolonged Depression (Fitzhugh 1999: 51). The young men from all over the coast responding in great numbers:

They came on dog teams, they walked on snowshoes. They came from the new town of Postville which the Pentecostal Church had just established on the old HBC site in Kaipokok Bay. They came from Island Harbour, Makkovik, and Aillik, from Jack Lane's Bay and Webbek Harbour, from Rigolet, and Sandwich Bay, from Mary's Harbour and Port Hope Simpson, North West River, Mulligan, Sebaskachu and Mud Lake. These Labradorians who had never seen a car, let alone an airplane, built an air base, then a town. Once the base was operating it needed labourers. Those willing to give up the freedom of their traplines for the financial security of a regular workday stayed on. Families came and the village grew. (Ibid.)

On the base, for the first time in Labrador's history, Inuit (and all Labradorians) were given the opportunity to participate in the wage economy, rather than having to rely on the uncertain and fluctuating fur, fish, and sealing markets along the coast. Many

families, particularly those from Makkovik and Hopedale, flocked to the new site and formed a community nearby that would become Happy Valley (Brice-Bennett 2003: 103).

As the HBC was withdrawing from northern Labrador, the Newfoundland government had also begun to move into Inuit territory with its own plan to create the Northern Labrador Trade Organization (NLTO) to run the trading operations in Labrador, as well as to carry out a program of economic rehabilitation. By 1942, the NLTO had assumed control of the stores in Hebron, Nutak, Nain, Hopedale, and Davis Inlet, and soon after opened a store in Makkovik (Murrice 1977: 5). In his report, Murrice notes, “as late as 1959, it was estimated that 90% of the income generated in northern Labrador by the population found its way back to the stores run by the Northern Labrador Affairs Division, thus it was maintained that the sales at the depots were a good reflection of the economic prosperity of the area,” and indeed, based on information provided in the Annual Reports of the Department of Public Welfare, Government of Newfoundland, it shows that the amount of total sales grew from \$105,993 in 1943-44, to \$226,641 in 1951-52, more than doubling annual sales in under a decade (Ibid. 6). While this is partially accounted for by the growth in welfare payments, it also reflects the growth in the trade market for furs, seal oil, sealskins, trout and char. By all accounts, and particularly that of the Moravians, the decade after the Hudson’s Bay Company withdrew from Northern Labrador and the NLTO moved in was fortuitous for the Inuit and others in the North, due to the NLTO encouragement of the diversification of the economy. A closer examination shows that some communities fared much better than others, and although the NLTO advocated the hiring of Labradorians, many of the staff and most of its managers were former Hudson’s Bay Company workers and Rangers; nonetheless, the

fisheries under the NLTO were so successful that the need for relief from Newfoundland decreased dramatically in the years between the HBC control and before Confederation (Rompkey 2003: 91).

In 1949, after fifteen years of governance by the Commission, Newfoundland finally agreed to join Confederation, and the consequences of this decision were far-reaching for the Inuit and other Native people of Labrador. In contrast to the rest of Canada, when Newfoundland joined Confederation, the government did not have any special agencies to deal with Aboriginal affairs, nor had it developed a system of reserves or made treaties with the Inuit, Innu, Mi'kmaw, or NunatuKavut people. In Canada, the existing Indian Act made the federal government financially responsible for the delivery of health, education, and other social services to much of its Aboriginal population. Yet when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, the two governments could not reach an agreement on who was responsible for the Indian and Inuit populations. In 1946 and 1947 during initial discussions of the terms of entry, provisions for the implementation of the Indian Act were clearly outlined by a sub-committee set up to negotiate the administration of Aboriginal peoples should Newfoundland join Confederation. The proceedings of the *Meetings between Delegates from the National Convention of Newfoundland and Representatives of the Government of Canada* (October 10, 1947) stated that in the event of Newfoundland becoming a province, the “Indians and Eskimos of Newfoundland” would be the sole responsibility of the federal government, who would provide for free education, medical services, family allowances equal to those of other Canadians, and land reserves for settlements and all the tax

exemptions that would come with the establishment of reserves.³¹ In the end, both the Newfoundland and the Canadian governments decided against extending the Indian Act to the new province's Aboriginal population (Brantenberg and Brantenberg 1984: 689). Moreover, the Terms of Union did not even mention Aboriginal peoples, despite recommendations that the Canadian government accept full responsibility for the provision of social services to Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples, as it did for similar groups across the country. As First Nations lawyer Jerry Wetzel has explained, in 1947 the *Indian Act* was supposed to be included in the Terms of Union as Appendix XI, but subsequently in 1948 Canadian officials noted that no Term describing the roles and responsibilities of the government with regard to Aboriginal peoples was included in the Terms, and therefore the Indian Act could not be implemented. This omission caused Wetzel to dub Appendix XI “the Hidden Term” (Wetzel 1999: 24). Even so, by virtue of Term 3 of the Terms of Union, Aboriginal people in the province were in the same constitutional position as other Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. Term 3 of the Terms of Union stated that the British North America Acts from 1867 to 1946 applied to the new Province of Newfoundland equally as with the other provinces, as if Newfoundland had been “one of the provinces originally united.” It thus came under the same legislation within the Constitution of Canada, subject to a few exceptions that were provided for, “except insofar as varied by these Terms and except such provisions as are in terms made or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to or only to affect one or more and not all of the provinces originally united” (Newfoundland Act, 12 & 13 Geo. VI c.22). As explained in the province’s 2003 main report of the

³¹ For a full transcription and analysis of the original documents please see Tanner (1998: 244-5).

“Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada,” the legal effect of Term 3 was to permit the federal government's legislative jurisdiction in respect of “Indians, and Lands reserved for Indians” under section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867.

However, after speaking with many Aboriginal groups and reviewing relevant submissions and articles, the Commission has come to understand that the absence of any specific mention of Aboriginal peoples in the Terms of Union was intentional. While the Terms of Union passed jurisdiction in respect of Aboriginal peoples to the federal government, the question left unresolved was how the federal government would exercise that jurisdiction. The parties decided to remain silent on this issue in the Terms of Union in favour of future discussions between the federal and new provincial government. The place of Aboriginal peoples, both in Newfoundland and Labrador and in Canada, was ultimately left up to the federal government to decide as a matter of policy. (Davis, Igoliorte and Young 2003: 76)

The reasons for this decision are unclear, although it appears there were three main justifications for overlooking Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal peoples. Publicly, federal and provincial politicians argued that extending the Indian Act to the new province would disenfranchise its Aboriginal population. Prior to Confederation, Newfoundland granted equal status to all its residents, while under the Indian Act, Aboriginal peoples would lose their right to vote – a right, it should be noted, that the Aboriginal peoples of Labrador had not yet actually enjoyed from Newfoundland. At the time of Confederation, however, other Inuit people across Canada were able to vote, and negotiators could have simply created a special clause granting Inuit, Innu, Mi'kmaw, and NunatuKavut people the right to vote. Additionally, these politicians considered the numbers of Aboriginal peoples in the province to be small, and soon to be absorbed into the dominant population.³² Further, the Indian Act was based on the existence of reserves,

³² The fact that Newfoundland's newly formed Mi'kmaq Qalipu First Nation, formed in 2012, had over 20,000 applications within its first year, and by 2013 was estimated at over 100,000 in total, is just one

which had never been created in Newfoundland and Labrador. Finally, it is speculated that the high costs of providing services in Labrador may have proved unattractive to politicians in Ottawa, while the Newfoundland and Labrador government may have worried that Aboriginals under federal care would receive a higher level of service than their non-Aboriginal neighbours, sparking tensions within the province by highlighting the substandard services the province currently provided to non-Native fishermen and others living in Labrador. Whatever the reason, when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, no provisions were made that would compel the federal government to provide services for Indigenous communities in the province at the same level as it did for similar communities elsewhere in the country. While the Newfoundland provincial government maintained and enlarged some of the existing services it had already been providing to the Innu Nation and Inuit in previous years under the guidance of the Commission of Government, and the federal government began contributing various grants to help pay for services in Labrador, the level of funding was not comparable to other Aboriginal communities in Canada that fell under federal jurisdiction (Tanner 1998: 239).

In 1951 responsibility for Aboriginal administration and services was transferred to the Department of Public Welfare, which formed the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs (later renamed the Labrador Service Division) to administer to the Native population of Labrador (Brantenberg and Brantenberg 1984: 689). The responsibility for Inuit education was also transferred from the Moravians to the Department of Education in St. John's, causing Inuit education to shift from its focus on religions-based instruction

indication that this prediction was far from accurate. In fact, the extremely high number of applications has caused the First Nation to revise its application process entirely in order deal with the number of people applying for enrolment (Mi'kmaq Qalipu First Nation, "News and Events").

to a more secular program. This change, however, also had a devastating impact on the use of Inuktitut in Labrador; the Moravians had previously taught Inuit children in their Native language and settler or NunatuKavut children in English, whereas the new teachers brought up to the coast from St. John's taught only in English. By 1983 all schools in Labrador were monolingual (Ibid. 692). Furthermore, classes on the coast only went to the eighth grade, and so to pursue higher education students had to travel to the residential school in North West River. For the most part, until that time the Nunatsiavummiut dialect, Inuttitut, had been the most commonly spoken language, and most of the written material was in Inuttitut because the Moravians wrote sermons and transcribed hymns and prayers into the language for the purposes of religious instruction.

All these and other momentous changes followed the introduction of the air base, wage labour, a new educational system, and Confederation. In the decades to come, Inuit faced many new challenges as they adapted to life as a part of the province of Newfoundland. Basic public services, such as paved roads, running water, waste management and adequate housing were slow to arrive in many communities.

The Nunatsiavummiut have experienced many struggles over four centuries of increasing contact, but no period so acutely as the decades between Confederation and the formation of the Labrador Inuit Association and then the Nunatsiavut Government. In a 1986 article in *Atlantic Insight*, "Labrador: The Worst Problems in the Canadian North", Cathy White pointed out that while the suicide rate for Native northern communities across Canada was six times that of southern Canada, the suicide rate for Inuit and Innu youth in Labrador was triple that of other Native northern communities. The 1986 study by Dr. Kay Wotton that White cites posits, "Much of the unhappiness is

rooted in lack of native control over the institutions that run their lives. In the western Arctic, where housing and health are better and where the mortality rate is lower, many hospitals are staffed mostly by Inuit nurses and, increasingly, teachers and other professionals are native people” (White 1986: 26). White goes on to express the frustration that social workers and justice officials feel, often “singling out the very institutions they represent as being part of the problem,” particularly the justice system but certainly also through education, health, and social services (Ibid. 27).

Under Moravian direction Inuit were encouraged to settle in communities around the missions, but many families still often lived on their own or travelled seasonally, and there were more than a dozen smaller settlements along the coast. In these settlements, Inuit were governed by councils of Elders, respected for their wisdom, knowledge and experience, who governed collectively according to an inherently Inuit societal system.

In 1956 and 1959 the communities of Okak Bay and Hebron, respectively, were forced to relocate to more southern communities when the NLTO decided it was too costly to maintain those northern retail stores and the Moravian Church chose to abandon the communities at the same time.³³ Not only did these relocated people experience tremendous cultural stress, but so did the small communities accepting these new residents, as their towns expanded beyond capacity seemingly overnight. The relocation disrupted the traditional distribution of Inuit along the coast and put a strain on local resources, particularly of subsistence hunting. The dispossessed Inuit had been promised homes, jobs, and opportunities to relocate without protest. Instead, many were moved into what amounted to “shanty towns” on the outskirts of the communities for years.

³³ Sixty families from Hopedale and forty-four from Okak Bay – over four hundred people in all – were split up and relocated to Hopedale, Makkovik and Nain; some later moved to North West River and Happy Valley-Goose Bay as well (Brice-Bennett 2000: 13).

Poverty, demoralization and neglect many of these Inuit experienced long-term negative impacts from the relocations. It would be forty years before any efforts to right this grievous wrong were taken.³⁴

Economic conditions fluctuated according to local industries and opportunities throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s. For example, the United States Air Force (USAF) chose Hopedale as the site of radar base in 1951, and so from 1952 to 1957 many Inuit made good wages there working as labourers in construction of houses and buildings for the expanding American and Canadian military presence.³⁵ The Canadian Department of Transportation built radio stations along the coast in the early 1960s, creating a few high-paying jobs, and the prices for seal pelts and codfish rose enough to make harvesting these animals lucrative in some of the communities as well, until cod stocks decreased rapidly in 1968, the same year the American military pulled out of northern Labrador (Brice-Bennett 2003: 111-8).

In the meantime, the role of the Moravian Church in Labrador society declined and thus, the authority of the church elders' councils were also undermined. Instead, even while social, educational, and medical services improved, Inuit were increasingly presided over and administered to by non-Native government officials from Newfoundland who maintained a paternalistic attitude towards Native Labradorians. Soon, however, things would change dramatically for the Nunatsiavummiut.

³⁴ In 1994 Carol Brice-Bennett published a report of the relocations commissioned by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). In 1996 the Labrador Inuit Association, Labrador Inuit Health Commission and the Torngasok Cultural Centre organized a reunion at Hebron for all the remaining living relocated Inuit. For a detailed historical analysis of the Labrador relocations and the documentation of the reunion event, Brice-Bennett (2000).

³⁵ What this meant for local craftspeople has yet to be discovered; further investigation into the production of tourist and souvenir arts for the military in Hopedale and Goose Bay will be necessary in the future.

A Changing Era: From the 1970s to the Present

Following the 1969 creation of the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) in the Western Arctic, community councils were formed and Inuit political organizations proliferated (Mitchell 1993: 347). The 1970s also saw a number of other Aboriginal political organizations formed across Canada to protect and promote Indigenous concerns and cultural traditions, partly in response to a 1969 federal report (*The Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* – infamously known as “The White Paper”) that suggested abolishing the Indian Act. The report generated much protest from Aboriginal peoples, who felt their treaty and other rights were under attack, and the federal government withdrew the document in 1971. Although the Indian Act, and therefore the White Paper, did not directly affect Newfoundland and Labrador's population, publicity surrounding it encouraged local Aboriginal people to form similar groups to better protect their rights and cultural traditions from outside forces.

The Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) introduced the Inuit of Labrador to their first major opportunity to form a political organization. In 1971 a national Inuit Association, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami, or ITK) was established to provide a collective voice for Inuit from across the far-ranging Arctic on issues that concerned them such as health care, education and game laws. In 1973 an organization called the “IA” or IA of HV, the Happy Valley Inuit Association), campaigned with the Company of Young Canadians to establish the first Friendship Centre in the Happy Valley-Mud Lake-Hamilton River area, modeled after Native Friendship Centres elsewhere in Canada.³⁶ The Friendship Centre was intended to assist

³⁶ A Friendship Centre is a non-political, non-sectarian, non-profit and autonomous social service agency existing to administer and implement programs to meet the needs of Native people in urban centres.

Aboriginal people in the transition from small communities to the larger center of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, because it was felt that in the more urban centres of Labrador Inuit faced particular challenges such as language, housing, transportation, alcohol and legal concerns (“History,” Labrador Friendship Centre (2009)). Funding for the creation of the Friendship Centre came from the federal government Secretary of State (Native Citizens Directorate), which also provided core operating funds for a time (Letter: Bob Lyall to Mrs. Goudey, c. 1973). By 1978 each community in the north had established a council which made it possible for communities to have a say in local politics, to advocate for services, and to access provincial and federal funding (Brantenberg and Brantenberg 1984: 695).

Following these meetings, the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) was proposed in 1973 in Nain, and founded in May of 1975 (Andersen 1987: 12). At the time the LIA represented 4500 Inuit in the communities of Nain, Postville, Makkovik, Hopedale, Rigolet and Happy Valley-Goose Bay (today, Happy Valley-Goose Bay is outside of the Nunatsiavut Territory but many members still reside there) (Ibid. 12). The LIA’s primary goals were to strengthen Inuit culture through the establishment of land claims on the basis on unextinguished Inuit rights and “to preserve, protect and enhance the culture, language and social well-being of the Labrador Inuit” (Ibid.). Other Indigenous organizations also began to emerge at the same time.³⁷

³⁷ Spurred on by political movements sweeping across Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the first Indigenous organization to form in the province was the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (NANL), which formed in February 1973 to represent the interests of (in descending order of membership population) the Newfoundland Mi’kmaq, northern Labrador Settlers (later the Labrador Metis, today’s NunatuKavut), Labrador Innu, and some Labrador Inuit (Kennedy 1996: 28). Later that same year the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) was formed, and even though it was against the advice of the LIA’s national organization, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, ITK), by mid-1974 the LIA had offered all the Labrador Metis living in the northern part of Labrador full membership as well. By 1975 the Labrador Innu separated from NANL to form the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association (NMIA), so

In 1977 after just two short years as an official organization, the LIA filed a land claim with the provincial and federal governments for 116, 000 square kilometers of land and sea in northern Labrador. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs claimed it couldn't begin negotiating until it convened a task force to review the claims policy. In the meantime, the LIA prepared itself for the negotiations. Its President, William Andersen III, explained that the stakes were high – the Labrador Inuit Association was fighting for the rights to self-determination and sovereignty over their own lands, resources, health and education. Writing in a 1987 Labrador-themed special issue of *Inuktitut*, Andersen decried the paternalistic manner in which the government had been meting out funding:

The association has been concerned for some years about the Newfoundland/ Canada Native Peoples of Labrador Agreement, the largest funding agreement affecting the Labrador communities. Although both federal and provincial governments agree that native people should be “involved” in deciding how money is spent, requests from the LIA to become party to the agreement have been flatly refused. The provincial government acts as the administrator of the agreement, which is intended to cover cultural, community and economic development, and it often overrules the communities or LIA. For example, when a Nain radio station applied for funds to deliver Inuktitut programs, the province unilaterally turned down the request, claiming the criteria of the agreement hadn't been met. (Andersen 1987: 14)

Along with the administration of cultural funding such as the Inuktitut-language radio station, Andersen highlighted other ways that the province and Canada governed the Nunatsiavummiut without consultation. This included deciding who was eligible for funding under the agreement (at one time, only people living in the designated communities of Nain, Hopedale, Postville, Makkovik, and Rigolet, excluding those living

that most Native people in Labrador now belonged to either the LIA or the NMIA, excluding those Metis-Inuit who lived in southern Labrador, who then formed a third Aboriginal organization in Labrador, the Labrador Metis Association (LMA).

outside), who was entitled to post-secondary education support and training and what non-insured health services would be available to the Inuit in Labrador. Within fifteen years of its formation, and without waiting for the land claims to be settled, the association expanded to include the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation, which focused on economic development for the Inuit, the Okalakatiget Society, which began providing broadcasting services in Inuttitut and English for Inuit audiences, and the Labrador Inuit Health Commission, which began negotiating with the government to raise health standards to levels comparable to elsewhere in Canada. The LIA continued with its land claims as well, knowing that sovereignty would only come from self-government.

Supporting its claim was the groundbreaking 1977 Indigenous land use and occupancy survey edited by Carol Brice-Bennett, *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy in Labrador*. Commissioned by the LIA, this volume provided the first attempt to demarcate a Labrador Inuit territory based on aboriginal land use, for the purpose of establishing land claims in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The study set out to prove that native peoples had a “Claim to Certain Rights in Land and Sea-Ice in Northern Labrador,” and the submission irrefutably established that Labrador Inuit have an un-extinguished and un-surrendered Indigenous interest in their lands and resources in the area including the island of Killinek at the most northerly point and the land between the George River in northern Quebec and the southern boundary at 55°. While at first the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador rejected the claim to Aboriginal title and “customary” rights in Labrador, the federal government formally accepted the claim in 1978, and by 1980 preliminary discussions had begun

between all levels of government and the LIA (Ibid. 12). Acknowledging that land-fast sea ice represents a vital aspect of their environment as well, the easterly boundary of the land claim includes the seaward extension of the land-fast sea-ice, from approximately 54° north all the way to Killinek. Using the meticulously researched and extensive report – which gave equal weight to empirical evidence, field research and oral history and testimony – negotiations began in 1988. It was not until the late 1990s when the Voisey’s Bay nickel mine development was proposed that the negotiations between the Inuit and the federal and provincial governments were fast tracked. As Andrea Procter, Lawrence Felt and David C. Natcher have recently explained in the introduction to *Settlement, Subsistence and Change Among the Labrador Inuit, The Nunatsiavummiut Experience*, “the final version of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was therefore hammered out in the shadow of the multi-billion-dollar mining project, but it solidified the rights of Labrador Inuit to govern their own homeland” (Procter, Felt and Natcher 2012: 2). The negotiations successfully ended on December 6th, 2004, when the provincial government passed the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act.

As a result of the act, Inuit in Labrador became a self-governing people and formed the Nunatsiavut Government on the first of December in 2005. The territory of Nunatsiavut consists of 72,520 square kilometers of land in northern Labrador and 48,690 square kilometers of sea. Of this, the Inuit people own 15,800 square kilometers of land outright and have special mineral, marine, and land rights in the remaining areas. The agreement also provided for the establishment of the Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve within the settlement area. While the Inuit of the Nunatsiavut Territory were the last in Canada to settle their land claims, they are now the first self-governing Inuit

territory. Nunatsiavummiut are finally poised to take full control over their sovereignty, cultural representation and self-definition.

Reflecting on 400 Years of Contact and Exchange

In Labrador many of the first Europeans who encountered the Nunatsiavummiut throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth- centuries believed their disappearance was imminent. Yet rather than revealing evidence of a cultural decline or vanishing peoples, this chapter has demonstrated that Inuit expressed agency in all of their interactions with outsiders over four-hundred years of contact, conflict and exchange with those who sought to exploit Nunatsiavut's resources. Inuit developed trade networks, negotiated for precious European goods, and were as savvy, clever or ferocious as they needed to be in the often-volatile contact zone of the early-contact period Labrador coast.

In the early-twentieth century, when it became apparent that Indigenous people were not simply vanishing from the earth, the colonial narrative of Native North Americans shifted once again from one of inevitable extinction to expected assimilation. And yet, even though Nunatsiavummiut adapted to the Moravian faith and adopted many practices from the dominant European and Euro-Canadian society that occupied their territory, they continued to act in the self-interest of their communities, maintaining centuries old-practices while developing skills in new yet familiar industries, such as sealing with nets or processing blubber for commerce. As cultural anthropologists Fitzhugh, Richling, Kaplan and Woollett have revealed, despite vastly unequal power

relations, Nunatsiavummiut were not without the agency or power to make decisions regarding their own self-interest and survival during the era of Moravian governance.

While the Inuit of the mid-twentieth century were largely neglected by the state, Indigenous activism in the late-twentieth century led to a future where Nunatsiavummiut have regained a significant measure of sovereignty, particularly through the establishment of the self-governing territory and the negotiation of land claims and other entitlements.

Following a similar trajectory, Inuit artists have maintained deep cultural and artistic continuities throughout centuries of contact. Although they produced many handmade items for trade and exchange with whalers, missionaries and traders, by the twentieth century Labradorimiut artists were struggling under colonial governments, the formation of Canada, and developments during the decades that followed Confederation. Recognition for their arts was slow to build in the last decades of the twentieth century. The following chapter will examine art production in the twentieth century in light of the small strides taken and significant challenges faced by the development of a Nunatsiavut arts industry.

Chapter 2: The Arts Industry in Nunatsiavut:

A History of Absences, Missed Opportunities, and Great Resilience

The history of the Nunatsiavummiut arts industry is intrinsically linked to the political, economic and social, histories of the region. In this chapter I present a critical analysis of how the arts industry has developed over the last century of through periods of colonization, settlement and sovereignty; poverty and plentitude; and administration and independence. I investigate those individuals, communities and organizations that have sought to improve the lives of Labradorimiut through the arts, as well as those that overlooked Labrador for decades, and the motivations for each, in order to elucidate the challenges and successes that have been met by artists over time along the Labrador coast.

The informal trade and circulation of Labradorimiut visual culture has been occurring on a global scale for centuries, and Inuit continued to produce sewn and carved items for trade throughout the Moravian era and into the early twentieth century, creating handmade goods for sale to the Hudson's Bay Company. When the Company took over from the Moravian missions in 1926, the quantity and diversity of trade goods – including trade fabric, sewing and embroidery supplies, beads and readymade clothing – grew exponentially. Even so, the HBC store managers were not particularly involved in brokering the production and sale of handmade items in Labrador as the Company was elsewhere. The fact that HBC post managers were not actively purchasing everything Inuit had to sell, particularly during the off season, was a contentious matter between the Moravians and the HBC. In a report of the 1930 Moravian Field Conference, the Mission noted the concerns of Inuit craftspeople who were having difficulty selling their

handmade items or getting fair prices for the works they created to sell through the Hudson's Bay Company stores.³⁸ The problems brought up in the Field Conference Report do not appear to have been addressed seriously by the Hudson's Bay Company. For the most part, the Hudson's Bay Company district reports from Labrador speak mainly of trading with Inuit for fish and fur, and not of handicrafts, clothing or sculpture. Rather, by the early 1940s, the HBC was making plans to exit Labrador.

It is clear that while Inuit had carvings and skin clothing to sell, and much other work was in regular production, the market for these goods was local, small scale, and not supported greatly by either the Moravians or the Hudson's Bay Company. Even so, the fact that the market was limited does not appear to have diminished the quantity or quality of works produced in the early twentieth century. When E.W. Hawkes visited Labrador in 1914, he found an abundance of Inuit artistic productions available for purchase through trade. However, it was not until the 1930s that a formalized arts industry would first be explored, as an extension of the efforts of the International Grenfell Association.

³⁸ Those complaints seemed to be primarily about a lack of communication or consistency on the part of the post managers on what they would buy and when they would buy it, which had lead to confusion and disappointment on behalf of the Inuit producers. One major complaint was that the HBC was not willing to pay reasonable prices for handmade items (1.50\$ for a pair of handmade sealskin boots, which take about 16 hours to make), and that furthermore, that elders in Hopedale were complaining that some HBC employees were even setting the prices of goods that Inuit sold directly to tourists. "Mr. Cave gets to the ship as soon as he can to inform the passengers of the Company's prices for these goods so that the prices paid for them are kept down to Company's level. This prevents the Eskimos from getting a small addition to their income." The Company dismissed these complaints outright, responding that. "Mr. Cave was far too busy when the steamer came to trouble about telling visitors on it the prices of the various goods the Eskimos were trying to sell. If visitors entered the Company's Store they would be informed of the current prices to prevent them paying exorbitant sums of money for articles of which they had no idea of the value. (Moravian Mission Board c. 1940: 7)

Labrador Handicrafts and the Grenfell Industrial Division

The first commercial production of handicrafts developed out of the Grenfell Mission, imagined by the visionary and charitable doctor Sir Wilfred Grenfell. From his early days on the Labrador coast Grenfell had been impressed by the quality and craftsmanship of clothing, embroidery and hooked mats coming from northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador, and he began encouraging the wives of fishermen and other settler women to continue these practices as a means to supplement the meager family incomes earned through the fisheries in the Straits of Belle Isle. In order to assist in the making and marketing of handmade items Grenfell endeavored to create a new division of the mission devoted entirely to handicrafts. Under Grenfell's direction the handicrafts industry in southern Labrador was thus established to assist in supporting the mission's work, through a division that would later be known as the Grenfell Industrial Department or Labrador Grenfell Industries.

From the beginning of the Industrial and throughout its existence, women with specialized training in the arts and crafts were hired to manage the operation. The first woman to undertake the direction of the organization was artist Jessie Luther, whom Grenfell first had met in 1905 while on one of his lecture tours throughout America, promoting the plight of the working poor in Labrador.³⁹ At the time of their meeting, Luther has been in the process of establishing a therapeutic crafts program in

³⁹ The Grenfell Industrial Department attracted its leaders from both sides of the Atlantic. Luther was from America, Rhoda Dawson of England, Mae Alice Pressley-Smith of Scotland, and Kittie Keddie, who is discussed later in this chapter, was from Montreal. Rhoda Dawson (b. 1897) of Chiswick England was the daughter of two artists who followed the philosophies of John Ruskin and William Morris of the "Arts and Crafts" movement. Dawson studied art in Europe before she worked with the Grenfell Mission between 1930-1935 (Rudge 1992: 39). Before joining the Grenfell Mission, Mae Alice Pressley-Smith had worked for the Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association (NONIA). Miss Pressley, as she was known, inaugurated a significant period of the Industrial. Her recognition of the potential of silk stockings for mat hooking "revitalized the Industrial," and it was Pressley who organized the plea for women in Canada, America and Great Britain to "Save your old silk stockings!" (Laverty 2005: 27).

Massachusetts. Recognizing a common philanthropic ambition, Grenfell had immediately invited Luther to join the Mission in St. Anthony, Newfoundland. She arrived in the summer of 1906 and began working on developing the Industrial Division from St. Anthony and throughout the province. In St. Anthony, Luther taught loom weaving and encouraging the development of many other art forms, both local and introduced.

Soon after these initial steps towards the creation of an arts industry, Grenfell was invited to meet with the women of the newly founded Canadian Handcrafts Guild to discuss a possible collaboration.⁴⁰ The Guild proposed that it work with Luther to purchase Grenfell handicrafts that could be sold in their Montreal shop, for which the Guild would provide advances of craft materials and funding in exchange for completed handicrafts. As explained in Ellen McLeod's *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (1999), the joint venture began in 1907 when the Guild sent Luther over 200 pounds of wool for weaving, as well as rags for hooked rugs, hoping to receive in return pottery, leather coats, and embroidery work for sale in the shop, marked up by a slight margin to generate a small commission (156-157). The arrangement worked so well for both parties that by 1911 the Guild had become an official distribution center of Grenfell Crafts.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The Canadian Handicrafts Guild, now known as the Canadian Guild of Crafts, was founded in 1905. It began as a branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC). The Guild's original objectives were to encourage, preserve, improve and stimulate Canadian crafts throughout the Dominion; prevent the loss and degradation of crafts; encourage the practice of crafts by making it an honourable and lucrative profession; and help artists and artisans by maintaining a market for them throughout Canada and abroad. In 1933 the Guild first formed the Indian Committee – latter renamed the Indian and Eskimo Committee – whose mission it was to preserve Indigenous art practices throughout Canada, and to elevate the appreciation of Indigenous visual culture to the level of "Art." The Guild was the first institution to organize an exhibition of Inuit arts and crafts. This was held at the McCord Museum in 1930, and thus preceded by two decades the Guild's deep involvement in the development of the contemporary Inuit arts industry after the conclusion of World War II. For more information see McLeod (1999).

⁴¹ The arrangement worked out to the satisfaction of both parties, although from time to time the Guild gently admonished Luther to price the work she submitted more modestly. As McLeod suggests in *In Good Hands* (1990), Luther was only doing for Newfoundland and Labrador women what the Guild did for their

At this early stage, neither Luther through the Grenfell Mission nor the Guild was particularly focused on supporting art practices amongst Aboriginal peoples. Instead, their collective efforts centered on assisting the women and the infirm in St. Anthony, the northern Newfoundland fishing community that was the hub of all Grenfell operations. Even as the IGA expanded into Labrador, it primarily serviced the communities of the southern coast, because the Moravians were still managing most of the industry, health care, and ministry for Inuit communities in the North. It was only later through the work of Kate (Kitty) Keddie, that the handicrafts division expanded its operations further up the coast of Labrador through the Hamilton Inlet region, including Rigolet and Makkovik.

The main practice that Luther helped to stimulate in northern Labrador was the revival of hooked rugs.⁴² From the beginning, the most recognizable of all of the productions of the Grenfell Labrador Industries were the hooked rugs created on the south coast. By the late 1940s, at the height of their popularity, the rugs were being collected as artworks, “designed directly for visual contemplation rather than use as foot warmers and bath mats” (Grattan 1980: 21).

art “Workers” in Montreal, supporting craft work while trying to pay artists fairly for their time and labour. Modeling her practices on that of the Guild, Luther encouraged artists by holding public exhibitions and art competitions and offering prize money. At Luther’s encouragement, in 1909 Labrador artists participated in nation-wide craft exhibitions held at the Guild, who by then had agents like Luther throughout most of the eastern and western provinces, the District of Mackenzie, and the Yukon (McLeod 1999: 157).

⁴² Rug hooking was a pre-existing tradition in the Strait of Belle Isle, but Luther’s changes to the practice greatly increased their appeal in the market. Luther reputedly disliked the bright colours and designs traditionally used, so she introduced the use of natural vegetable dyes. Patricia Grattan, who curated the 1980 Art Gallery of Memorial University of Newfoundland exhibition *The Fabric of Their Lives: Hooked and Poked mats of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1980) explained that the more vibrantly colourful mats are still today characteristic of the stylistic divide between Newfoundland and Labrador mats and those made in New England: “the Grenfell product was bound for the New England market and the design elements were altered to conform to the New England aesthetic” (21).

Luther encouraged practices that would make the rugs appealing to the mid-century anti-modernist art market, by introducing the use of natural dyes and encouraging pastoral themes as subject matter such as fishing villages, sailing ships, and northern scenes which highlighted the pre-industrial, “folk” quality of the work. While some designs depicted Labrador landscapes or wildlife, the most popular by far were the images of Inuit people engaged in various traditional activities made by women living throughout the Strait of Belle Isle region [figure 2.1]. These women had little or no contact with or knowledge of actual Inuit culture in the north, but created what are today iconic representations of Labrador Inuit life. John C. Kennedy has explained,

Many northern Newfoundland and southeastern Labrador women, having little familiarity with Inuit culture, hooked rugs depicting brightly coloured Inuit kayaks or snow houses on pre-stenciled burlap provided by the mission. Readily identifiable Inuit idioms attracted the attention of southern buyers in Grenfell handicraft shops [...] The fact that the craft producers knew little more about Inuit than those buying the crafts made little difference (1995: 158).

These rugs were discussed in an undated report entitled *The Handicrafts of Labrador*, written “for the Canadian Handicrafts Guild by Mrs. Wakefield of the Grenfell Mission.” In the report the author writes that while the objects of Native manufacture throughout Labrador were “exquisite,” works made by the settler population were “decidedly inferior.”

Among the white population, which is of comparatively recent origin, one finds very little of artistic value. They imitate, in most cases very badly, the beadwork and embroidery of the Indians and Eskimos. They have brought with them the ubiquitous hooked mat. The patterns are very much the same as those found along the lower St. Lawrence in the days before the Canadian Handicrafts Guild had begun its work amongst the inhabitants of that part of Canada.

We come now to our second heading, i.e., crafts introduced by outside influence – in this case, the Labrador Medical Mission. This work was introduced with a view to raising the standard of living amongst the white population. Insufficient nourishment and bad housing conditions made it desirable that other means of

eking out a livelihood be found besides the fishing, which often proved uncertain. The quality of the existing handicrafts (embroidery and beadwork) was improved by making it worth the workers' while to produce good, well-finished articles which would be of some use. (*The Handicrafts of Labrador* n.p.)

The careless appropriation of Inuit imagery by the *Kallunât* handicrafts industry, and its reported inferior execution, is just one of the criticisms that have been leveled against the Grenfell mission practices of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries both by people who lived in the mission communities, and later by scholars and historians. Even so, and although the Industrial only extended its services to people beyond the south shore for little more than a decade, there were still many positive and lasting impacts of the Industrial for Inuit handicraft producers. These changes were brought about under the encouragement of another *Kallunât* artist, Kate "Kitty" Keddie, early in the 1930s.

Kitty Keddie and Handicrafts in Labrador

The Grenfell Mission handicrafts efforts were extended to more northern parts of Labrador in the 1930s and 40s when the Industrial hired Mrs. Kate Keddie (1887-1966) to manage operations in Labrador from Cartwright to Nain and elsewhere.⁴³ In Doris Saunder's profile of Keddie in *Them Days*, she explains that although as a young woman she had married and moved to Saskatchewan, her husband Phillip Keddie, like so many others in Canada and globally in 1918, caught the Spanish Influenza and died after just six months of marriage (Saunders 1994: 4). As a young widow in 1930 Keddie returned

⁴³ Keddie was the daughter James A. Wilson, who came to Labrador from Yorkshire, England in order to serve as Secretary to Sir Donald Smith; Once in Canada Wilson joined the Fur Trade Division of the Hudson's Bay Company and was eventually the chief Factor stationed in Rigolet, where he is believed to have amassed the 58 ivory miniatures that make up the Winnipeg Art Gallery's Cotter Collection, as discussed in Chapter Four Those ivories made to the the WAG through Wilson, who gave them to nephew George S. Cotter, who then donated the collection in 1963. Moving according to her father's employment, in her youth Kate Wilson moved around Northern Quebec and Labrador as well as Montreal ("Leaves Labrador Post" 1938: 7)

to Labrador and began work with the Grenfell mission, and soon set up permanent residence in Cartwright where she established the Handicraft Department of the Grenfell Mission there. As Industrial Director, Mrs. Keddie, (or “Mrs. Kitty,” as she was frequently called and is still known) was in charge of handicraft production throughout the north and south coast of Labrador, a job to which she appears to have been both devoted and well suited.

She travelled for weeks at a time by dog team in winter, and by boat in summer, visiting outlying settlements and individual homes, teaching different crafts, handing out work, making other trips to see how work was progressing and finally picking up the finished products. It was a prodigious task, travelling was very rugged, in all kinds of severe weather – twice she and her guide were lost for days between settlements and several times went through bad ice. When she was establishing this work she travelled approximately 2000 miles by dog team in one season, a record to this day on the coast. (Ibid.)

In a ten-page feature in the same issue, *Them Days* reproduces Keddie’s diary of a trip from Cartwright to Hopedale and back again, entirely by *komatik* and dog team [figure 2.2]. The journey, taking place between February 18 and March 22 of 1936 provides some insight into the level of commitment required for her position as well as a rarely seen snapshot of work being produced in the 1930s. Over the course of the thirty-six day excursion (1936 was a leap-year) and in inclement and below zero weather, Keddie made numerous stops in settlements, camps, and single-family frame homes to view handicraft work among those making it and promote the work amongst those who were not.⁴⁴ She did not distinguish among cultural groups in her encouragement of industrial work, but seems to have been particularly interested in that of Inuit and NunatuKavut women.

⁴⁴ It bears noting that the diary also clearly demonstrates how hospitable Labradorians are, and how well-liked Mrs. Keddie must have been, for everywhere she went she visited with many individuals and families, Native and Settler, and knew what was happening in their lives; and furthermore the people she encountered fed her, her traveling companions and even her dog team well, provided them with a place to sleep and to wait out the frequent bouts of poor weather, and usually sent her off with a full “grub box” as well.

During a February journey up the coast, Keddie examined a “fine family of Eskimo dolls,” from a Mrs. Jim Williams in North River; travelled by snowshoe to the home of Sam Wolfrey’s near Pease Cove to admire the work of his wife, “a very clever industrial worker, being particularly efficient in fancy knitting, dickie making and embroidery”; did “quite a bit” of industrial work in Rocky Cove in just a day (although what kind of work exactly, she does not say); and was exceedingly impressed by some women she met in Tilt Cove where she spent an afternoon. Keddie describes watching the young Nancy Lucy sew grass mats and baskets, while Keddie drew her designs. But most surprising to the handicrafts director was the elder also living in the home of whom Keddie wrote in her diary:

The old lady of the house (Julia Broomfield) is totally blind and has been for many years, but, undaunted she makes grass baskets. With amazement I watched her thread her needle. I could not thread a needle half so well with my two eyes. Often when her husband is away visiting his fur traps, and their adopted daughter is off to inspect rabbit snares, the old lady will spend the whole day alone and will attend to the fires and the supper, apparently not at all handicapped by her blindness. (Keddie 1994: 6-9)

By the end of the month she had made it as far as Makkovik, where she “spent the day calling at all the houses and talking industrial work with the inhabitants” (Ibid. 10). In addition to her other many duties as an employee of the International Grenfell Association and an active member of the Cartwright community, as director of the Handicrafts Department Keddie learned of and helped to disseminate widely the local practices of grasswork, doll making, and sealskin and deerskin sewing, embroidery and beadwork. She also taught woodwork and mat hooking, and helped to introduce the use of “Grenfell cloth” and “Canadian Mist” fabric.⁴⁵ From the tone of her diary this trip was

⁴⁵ Many of these latter arts were likely focused on the southern shore of Labrador where wood, cloth and silk stocking material for mat hooking would have been in ready supply.

more focused on learning what was being done along the northern coast and encouraging more women to practice. In the first week of March when she visited Aillik, Island Harbour, and Tikkerasuk she admired the work of the Native and non-Native women she encountered, noting in particular, “Mrs. McNeill is one of the most industrious women I have ever met, and does some extra fine work” (Keddie 1994: 10). And when she arrived at Hopedale she reported spending time in every home, to offer assistance and encouragement, even when she didn’t speak much “Eskimo.”

In his report of the *Activities of the Grenfell Mission During 1941*, Dr. Charles S. Curtis noted that during her tenure, handicrafts were being produced in both the north and south for the Industrial division:

Mrs. Keddie is in charge of the industrial work in Labrador, and supplies our sales department with unique and beautiful skin work, and baskets made from native grass. She brings industrial work into the homes of many needy people in this northern area of the Mission field. [...] We are very thankful to be able to give to the women in this district, who hook such beautiful mats, a larger amount of work than formerly. (Curtis 1941: 2-3)

At the time, Curtis recorded that there were active Industrial Departments in Harrington, Cartwright, North West River and Flowers Cove, with the main headquarters still situated in St. Anthony with Luther (where it remains today).

Curtis detailed the activities of the Industrial throughout 1940-41, explaining that they had experienced an increased demand for their products not only in St. Anthony but also throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. He recorded that fifteen thousand dollars worth of handicrafts were shipped to shops throughout Canada and the US in that fiscal year. “These figures may seem small in comparison to the vast sums paid out in labour at the defense bases but these local industries, though they appear small, are of a permanent nature and will be of great value to the people on this coast when the unsettled times

come after the war” (Curtis 1941: 7). The Grenfell Handicrafts Division and other cottage industry products grew in success and popularity as Grenfell actively promoted the Labrador Industries outside of Labrador at Grenfell Handicraft shops throughout Canada and the United States.⁴⁶ In *The Handicrafts of Labrador* report, Mrs. Wakefield lauds the work of the Native population, the “Eskimos and of the Nascopie and Mountaineer Indians,” while disparaging the “decidedly inferior products, obviously copies, of the white population” (*Handicrafts of Labrador*: 1).

Unfortunately, like many of the other branches of the Grenfell Mission, the work of the Industrial Department began to decline during the First World War and disintegrated rapidly in the first decades after Confederation. Over the next two decades the organized production of crafts for sale to outside markets, which had flourished in both north and southeastern Labrador – where Keddie was located – was almost completely halted. Dori Zerbe Cornelsen wrote that in Nain, for example, the economic potential of craftwork was all but overlooked.

Historically, these items were produced for use by families, and when a small sewing group was organized in Nain, the crafts it made were simply given away. Only occasionally did individuals turn their work into income. It wasn’t until the early 1970s that the income producing potential of crafts was considered seriously. [...] The Crafts Council began encouraging people to produce items by giving them materials and paying them for the time it took them to make crafts. (Cornelson 1987: 27-9)

Older artists, some of whom could be considered Mrs. Keddie’s protégés from the Grenfell Industrial era, continued with their hooked rugs or their sewing, grasswork, and carving, but there was no organized industry to speak of for decades following Confederation. The neglectful and parsimonious policies of Newfoundland towards

⁴⁶ Today the southeastern commercial handicraft industry, however small, is the only enduring cottage industry of the mission’s many endeavours.

Labrador carried over into the arts and local economies just as it persisted in nearly all concerns regarding Labrador people.

Newfoundland and Labrador Prior to Confederation: Interest Without Action

As we have seen in Chapter One, the Newfoundland government was reluctant to take over responsibility for the Inuit from the church, traders or mission, and concern for the well-being of Native people, or even Labradorians in general, was slow to develop.⁴⁷

During the takeover of trade operations from the Hudson's Bay Company at the four Moravian posts on the Labrador coast in 1942, an assessment of current circumstances titled the *Report on the Conditions in Northern Labrador* (1942) was created that clearly reflects the paternalistic approach the Newfoundland government would take towards the Inuit:

It is necessary to remember that the Eskimos are still a primitive race, and that their code of morals and standard of living are entirely different from that of the white man. Their wooden shacks and tents are certainly a step forward from the primitive igloo, but they leave much to be desired in matters of cleanliness and sanitation. The possibility of improving existing conditions depends upon education and in creating a desire for better conditions among the people themselves. [...] The simple character of the Eskimos has laid them open to exploitation as they lack the ability of calculation, and are unable to think ahead. These facts must be remembered in connection with any schemes that may be

⁴⁷ This did not prevent the state from criticizing those organizations for their work amongst the Inuit. A 1936 article by David Garnett in the *New Statesman and Nation* had claimed that in Newfoundland, "the government has never shown the slightest interest in protecting the native population which is rapidly decreasing [...] something could be done immediately to save the Eskimo and something would be done if we were as decent a people as the Danes." (Garnett 1936 n.p.). In response, the Commissioner of Natural Resources placed the responsibility for the fate of the Inuit squarely on the shoulder of the missionaries, writing in an internal memorandum, "The facts are that over one hundred years ago the Newfoundland Government gave the Moravian Mission a very large tract of country in return for care by that body of the Eskimo population on the Labrador. In fact the Moravians have looked after the Eskimos, if anything, too well. The Eskimos have become lazy and have lost their former facility for supporting themselves by hunting and trapping. They have also become accustomed to western diet, and I understand, to some extent, to western dress" (*Memorandum Submitted by the Commissioner* 1936: n.p.)

devised to assist them, as they need constant guidance for both present and future welfare. (Report on the Conditions 1942: 7-8)

The report repeats this language frequently even while contradicting itself, stating at one point, “Much has been said of the so-called ‘Idleness’ of the Eskimo. I would suggest that much of their ‘idleness’ has been fostered in the past by a lack of Government assistance, and natural unwillingness on the part of traders to provide outfits and markets for goods in which they have no interest” (Ibid. 10).

The report does mention that there are a variety of home industries already present on the coast and that there is potential there for exploration and development, despite the fact that there was no market for these goods outside of Labrador at the time. It noted that articles made by First Nations and Inuit included “deerskin short coats, cushions, slippers, gloves and rollable toilet containers, as well as tea cloths embroidered with Eskimo scenes, and models carved in ivory and soapstone, also rush table mats and baskets” (Ibid. 39-40). The author of the report suggests three steps needed to develop this industry in Nain and elsewhere. First, the new manager of the trading post should be empowered to advance materials to home workers who produce handicrafts; secondly the Store Manager could also purchase completed goods for resale; and third, exhibition and sale of these purchased works could take place in St. John’s as a exploratory sale to gauge public interest (Ibid. 40). While these were excellent ideas for the stimulation of a handicrafts industry, whether or not these recommendations were carried out is not evident in subsequent reports. For example, in a table detailing the disbursements of the Northern Labrador Services Division of the NLTO between 1953-54 and 1964-65 in Kenneth Murrice’s report “The Influence of Government Trading Operations on the Economic Base of Northern Labrador Inuit Communities, 1942-1975,” expenditures on

handicrafts were only listed for the fiscal years 1955-56 (\$750), and 56-57 (\$1632) and are minor expenses compared to the respective total budgets of \$321,903 and \$249,622 (Murrice 1977: 20).

In 1944 and 1945 Oscar A. Beriau wrote a detailed initial report and a subsequent attached supplement on Handicrafts in Newfoundland for the Commissioner of Natural Resources. The report makes recommendations for the creation of an arts industry to make an economic, cultural and educational contribution to “the development of a national culture” in Newfoundland (n.p.). Over the fourteen pages, neither Labrador nor Aboriginal people are mentioned specifically, while Labradorite is mentioned several times as a possible material for exploitation. Beriau, who had been employed by the Quebec government as Director of Handicrafts in previous years, produced the report with recommendations for salaries and purchases totaling approximately \$48,400.00 and was subsequently hired in 1945 to act as a advisor on handicrafts with a view to implementing his plan “throughout Newfoundland,” again with no apparent concern for that work in Labrador, even though it was noted elsewhere that there was a desire to develop cultural industries in Labrador eventually (Telegram: Governor of Newfoundland to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, January 6 1945).

State Involvement in the Arts Following Confederation

When Newfoundland joined Confederation, plans to have its Indigenous peoples included under the applicable federal jurisdictions were negotiated but ultimately never implemented. As discussed in the previous chapter, during the proceedings of the *Meetings between Delegates from the National Convention of Newfoundland and*

Representatives of the Government of Canada (October 10, 1947) it was stated that should Newfoundland become a province, the “Indians and Eskimos of Newfoundland” would be the sole responsibility of the federal government, and these Native groups would receive the same treatment and services as their peers elsewhere in Canada.⁴⁸ One of those provisions would have been, “5. Free conservation projects, fishing projects, *handicrafts* and other aids undertaken in their behalf,” as well as “6. The federal government sets up trading posts, where there are no satisfactory arrangements for trading by private interests. This is done to help Indians *eventually buy and market co-operatively themselves*” (my emphasis) (Ibid. 245). We can only speculate on what the inclusion of these terms in the final agreement could have meant for the Nunatsiavummiut arts industry or the development of co-operatives. In the end, it was decided that Newfoundland and Labrador would not come under the Indian Act and the Labrador Inuit would not become, as other Inuit in Canada already were, the responsibility of the Department of Mines and Resources Northern Development Branch (which would merge with Indian Affairs in 1966 to become the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, or DIAND).

Instead, the newly formed province continued and even expanded some funding programs specifically for Native groups in the province, yet this increase was still small when compared with the level of support other First Nations and Inuit communities across the country received (Ibid. 239). While the federal government contributed various grants to help pay for services in Labrador, the level of funding was not up to the level of other Aboriginal communities in Canada that fell under federal jurisdiction. As Adrian

⁴⁸ For a full transcription and analysis of the original documents please, see Tanner (1998: 244-5).

Tanner has explained, “Rather than avoiding past Canadian mistakes, the policy suffered from the same underlying flaws of paternalism and assimilation as did the Indian Act, but without the same variety of programs, the formal recognition of aboriginal peoples and the enhanced level of fiscal support that direct federal administration would have provided” (Ibid. 239). Given the timing of Confederation – coinciding as it did with an explosion of contemporary Inuit art elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic, largely supported by the federal government -- it seems that this was a missed opportunity which could have had a major impact on Indigenous art producers province-wide. Perhaps if the Nunatsiavummiut had been included under federal jurisdiction at the time of Confederation, and placed under the authority of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources with the Inuit of the Northwest Territories and Quebec in the early 1950s, they would have been considered in the concurrent strategic development of an Inuit arts and crafts cottage industry elsewhere in the Eastern Arctic in the critical period of formation between 1948 and 1953, and included in the subsequent decades of concerted funding, instruction and marketing. Instead, federal arts program officers completely and consistently overlooked the Nunatsiavummiut while Inuit art from other parts of the Canadian Arctic rapidly gained momentum and recognition as a new, primitive and modern Canadian art form. Certainly at least one federal government arts program administrator, James Houston – the first intrepid arts instructor and passionate Inuit arts advocate who was arguably the driving force behind the entire contemporary Inuit arts industry – should have been aware of the presence of Inuit in Labrador and the potential for expansion there, as he trained in Labrador in the military prior to his deployment overseas for the Second World War. Whatever the level of awareness, there

can be no doubt that being left out of the Terms of Union had far-reaching negative impacts on the Aboriginal people of Newfoundland and Labrador. One major problem identified by Maura Hanrahan, for example, was the fact that until very recently the federal government divided the country into the service regions of Territorial, Pacific, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, and Atlantic. Newfoundland and Labrador became a part of Atlantic Canada, so Aboriginal people in the province are considered “covered off” by funding allotted to the Atlantic provinces. For decades, in consequence, projects or funding intended for the entire Atlantic region went to Indigenous people in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia to the exclusion of Newfoundland and Labrador (Hanrahan 2003: 240). Problems created by this seemingly deliberate oversight have had far-reaching consequences over half a century.

In 1952 a non-profit organization called the Labrador Community and Cultural Association was incorporated; its volunteer Board of Directors boasted a prestigious list of Trustees, including Revered F. W. Peacock.⁴⁹ The organization's stated purpose was to assist coastal Labradorians in joining the rapidly industrializing Post WWII economy based largely around the military base of Goose Bay. It was the first, albeit short-lived, organization to include Native people and to focus on Labradorians' needs pertaining to arts and culture.

Along the coast, most of our people are without modern skills, community, cultural or educational opportunity of any kind and many children grow up without recreational facilities. They do not have access to good books, nor the means of seeing live plays or concerts. In short, they have not had any of the occupational, cultural or recreational pursuits which most people in other parts of the Dominion take for granted. [...] Among these people is the vast potential of talent for skilled trade, the arts and crafts, some being expert artisans already. [...]

⁴⁹ The 1952 list of Trustees included: Sir Leonard Outerbridge, Sir Brian Dunfield, Mr. Darroch MacGillivray, Mr. Gordon Pushie, Mr. Albert Perlin, Mr. Anthony Ayre, Rev. Peacock, Mr. D.G. McRae, Mrs. A. A. Edwards, Mr. John O'Dea, Hon. B. J. Abbott, and Mr W. G. Adams (Honourary Solicitor).

The Association, recognizing and being particularly aware of the need to provide training and opportunity for the citizens of Labrador determined something must be done and that something is an aggressive program to provide, encourage, organize and assist in the vocational development of basic trades, arts, crafts, music, drama, physical culture and all other recreational and cultural activities in Labrador. ("Facts about the Labrador" 1953: 1-2)

The Association proposed achieving these objectives through cooperation with teachers, schools and educational facilities; opening local libraries; encouraging Native arts and crafts; creating recreational programs throughout the region; and through fundraising efforts to accomplish all these goals (Ibid. 2-3). Unfortunately, little documentation of this mid-twentieth century Association exists beyond some correspondence and a few memos written between the mid-1950s and early 1960s. The organization appears to have dissolved in less than a decade. Again, we are left wondering how different circumstances could have been if this group had been able to reach out to the state for the same kind of federal funding and expertise that was provided to communities elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic during the same period, and with the same intention.

Concurrently in the Canadian Arctic: Cooperatives and State-Funded Arts Programs in the Mid-Century

Throughout the 1950s, while elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic the federal and territorial governments were a flurry of arts activity, Labrador experienced little support for its arts. By the 1940's the production of carvings had already begun to take on new significance for the Inuit of the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec. During these years the two primary parties involved in the development of Eskimo cottage industries were the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. Although James Houston was initially hired by the Guild, he was soon sponsored by the Canadian

government, although the Guild was still responsible for the purchase and resale of the works Houston collected. The government grant allowed him the freedom to travel to more communities, and covered the cost of supplies and shipping from the Arctic (“Esimate of Expenses” 1949). Houston also fulfilled another aspect of the agreement between the Guild and the government to “educate people as instructors to carry on after his departure” (Letter: H.L. Keenleyside to Mrs. G.S. Currie, November 17 1949). He made arrangements for other *Kallunât* in the North to continue purchasing handicrafts with credit she left at the Hudson’s Bay Company posts in each community.⁵⁰ While assistance from these other handicrafts instructors was a key factor in the sustainability of the program, it was Houston's initial efforts to foster development, and the arrangements he made for its continuation in his absence, that guaranteed the success of the program in the North and the South. Houston provided direction and encouragement to the Inuit, trained Kallunât instructors, allotted funds for ongoing purchase, and selected the works for exhibition in the South. In October of 1950, based on the favorable outcome of these ventures. Houston was again granted government funds for work to be carried out during the following year. By that time many communities were actively participating in the handicrafts industry, and sales in the south were brisk.

By 1953, when Houston, working as Arctic Representative of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, was brokering the purchase of “Eskimo Handicrafts” by the Hudson’s Bay Company, the HBC had long since pulled out of Labrador, and so once again

⁵⁰ Helga Goetz has championed the contributions of a number of these teachers, welfare administrators, and other agents of the government, for aiding in the development of the crafts industry after Houston departed. Among these volunteers was Margery Hinds, a teacher/welfare administrator who encouraged the use of natural dyes and developed new ways of tanning skin; and Douglas Lord, the first government teacher in Coppermine, who used the pictures of tools and implements from Diamond Jenness’ *Report on the Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo* to persuade the Inuit to try making models from objects of the past. (Goetz 1986: 19).

Labrador Inuit missed out on an opportunity to develop their crafts and carvings industry. In his 1953 publication, *Eskimo Handicrafts: A Private Guide for the Hudson's Bay Company Manager*, Houston explained that the joint venture between the Guild and the HBC worked out because, "the Federal Government saw an opportunity to have the Eskimos directly aid their own economy" (Houston 1953: 1). As we have seen, the federal government was not responsible for the Nunatsiavummiut, and so it appears that they were never even considered for such initiatives. As Charles Martijn reflected in "A Retrospective Glance at Canadian Eskimo Carving,"

Ironically enough, these once so warmly praised Labrador Eskimos appear for some reason to have been completely ignored by those instrumental in fostering contemporary Canadian Eskimo carving development. It is only since the success of art ventures within the Hudson Bay area that, on a modest scale, new interest has been stirred up in Labrador by local missionaries. (1967: 10).

Labrador was completely overlooked by other initiatives elsewhere in the Arctic as well. In the late 1950s "Eskimo" Councils were being set up in order to inform Kallunât of their concerns. On February 26, 1957, the first Eskimo Council meeting was held in Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) in the Kivalliq region (formerly Central Keewatin district). Within five years similar councils were established throughout the territories now known as Nunatvut and Nunavik, in (Rankin Inlet), (Great Whale River), (Port Harrison), Povungnituk, (Fort Chimo) and Sugluk (Mitchell 1996). The fourteen person council in Qamani'tuaq began as a forum to allow Inuit to acquaint themselves with local RCMP, teachers, northern service officers and other *Kallunât* in the north, and to inform them of their concerns; within a year the group would begin meeting by themselves to deal with local issues and problems internally with minimal input or interference from outsiders. As Richard Diubaldo wrote in his report *The Government of Canada and the*

Inuit 1900 – 1967, even senior civil servants were pleased with this new direction and independence (Diubaldo 1985: 159). Soon a parallel group, the Baker Lake Residents Association – which included both Inuit and non-Inuit - was formed to deal with community concerns such as educational facilities, fire fighting capacity, waste disposal, and the water supply. Not long after, with the help of the Federal Government, the Inuit of not only Qamani'tuaq but other communities across the Northwest Territories and Northern Quebec were consolidating themselves (Ibid. 160). Before the end of 1957 another significant Central and Eastern Arctic development had begun to emerge – the co-operative. The first meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Co-operatives was held in December of that year to discuss the possibility of forming and encouraging the cooperative system throughout the north.

Initially, the Northwest Territories Council, with the guidance and support of the Department of Indian Affairs and Natural Resources, assisted the Inuit of three communities – George River in Quebec, (Port Russell) and Kinngait (Cape Dorset) – to establish co-operative organizations as a way to create jobs and develop the economy of the North, particularly during the decline of the fur trade. By 1963 there were sixteen cooperatives in the North; by 1966, there were twenty-two. While most co-operatives today support and manage a number of local businesses, such as retail stores, hotels, construction companies, tourism and especially the distribution of petroleum products, the most successful co-ops have been those based on the arts industry, including stone sculpture and print-making co-operatives. The West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, for example, has been in existence for over fifty years now, and in addition to lithography and stonecut printmaking studios in Kinngait (Cape Dorset), it operates a local grocery

store and a supply store and administers government community service contracts, making it one of the largest employers in the region. The arts industry has grown so huge in the area that as of 2006, a government-funded study found that as many as one in every four people in Kinngait make at least part of their income from it (“Cape Dorset named most” 2006). In Nunavut and Nunavik co-ops are still the largest non-government employers of Inuit, and co-operatives across these territories generate tens of millions of dollars annually, with only minor government involvement. In “What Has Been Learned Should be Studied and Passed On: Why the Northern Co-operative Experience Needs to be Considered More Seriously” (2009), Ian MacPherson describes co-ops as, “concrete manifestations of communal engagement and of a discourse between northern and southern co-operators stretching over some three generations [...] they represent the mobilization of local resources, in the beginning often associated arts and crafts, but also, and ultimately more importantly, a wide range of economic and associated social activity” (59-60). As such, many co-ops have been instrumental in raising the standard of living in communities and have even been responsible for political movements in recent decades. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources provided financial assistance to southern art promoters such as James and Alma Houston and George Swinton as well as the Canadian Guild of Crafts; it also helped to identify potential sales outlets, facilitated the storage and transportation of objects when necessary, and encouraged other government departments to give Inuit art as gifts to foreign dignitaries and at embassies worldwide.⁵¹ Inuit in Labrador, however, have never benefited from the co-operative system, as the federal government never attempted to establish a co-op in

⁵¹ Perhaps its most famous initiative was the snowy owl doll known as the “ookpik,” which was created by the co-op at Fort Chimo in the 1960s; it became a national icon when it was sold en masse in Montreal during Expo ‘67 (2009: 64).

the Nunatsiavut Territory.⁵² In fact, Donald Snowden, who was one of the government officials who was instrumental in enthusiastically providing federal support from the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources when he served as chief of the department's industrial division in 1964-1965, would later become a senior administrator in Labrador, and yet it does not appear that he made efforts to carry on this work for the coastal Inuit (MacPherson 2009: 63). In the announcement of his appointment to the Memorial Extension all of his qualifications in this area were highlighted, which underscores how well-suited he would have been to undertake the development of Labrador Inuit arts, and thus how unusual it is that he did not:

Until his arrival in Newfoundland last year Mr. Snowden has been Chief of the Industrial Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of the Federal Government. Although he was based in Ottawa, Mr. Snowden traveled extensively throughout the Canadian Arctic during the past ten years. The Industrial Division as an organization which Mr. Snowden headed from its beginning in 1959. It developed the first comprehensive program of area economic studies ever to be carried out in the Northwest Territories. From these studies came coordinated programs of economic development through the introduction of commercial Arctic char, trout and salmon fisheries, specialty food production and arts and handicraft development. Under Mr. Snowden's direction the Division developed the first organized marketing program for northern handicrafts. [...] He organized the first exhibitions of Eskimo graphic art, which, since its introduction to southern Canada in 1959, has become internationally acclaimed. In 1961, Mr. Snowden arranged for the use of Canadian Eskimo graphics in UNICEF card form, the first time any Canadian artists had been so honoured. He was instrumental in arranging the first major exhibition of Eskimo art and artifacts at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival of 1960. (Press Release, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

The success of the co-operative movement was largely predicated on initial support from the government and other southern organizations for the Inuit arts industry in the early years of development. Outside of this system, Labrador Inuit were virtually non-existent. In a presentation entitled "Problems of Cross-Cultural Interpretation," given

⁵² For a detailed history of the co-operative movement, see Mitchell (1996).

during the historic *Conference for Curators and Specialists who work with Inuit Art* in 1982 by the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council and the Inuit Art Section of DIAND, Helga Goetz discussed the “flowering” of Inuit art as a result of the interface of two cultures, where she claimed “the impetus to carve, draw or sew is created to a very large extent by catalysts from outside the producing culture.” Citing government support as a primary catalyst, Goetz stated

There is little doubt that without the Federal Government’s involvement from the early 1950s the present art form would not exist. In retrospect it seems naïve that a cottage industry of arts and crafts production should be the economic base for development. The fact that it worked is a tribute to the enthusiasm and energy of dedicated individuals as much as to the extensive funding provided. [...] Jim Houston is of course a key to the development of both carving and printmaking. Terry Ryan is the rock on which Cape Dorset is founded. Gabe Gély keeps popping up everywhere, as does Bob Paterson. Jack Butler set his mark on Baker Lake prints. Marybelle Myers was unflagging in her efforts in Arctic Quebec and so on. This group energized the actual making of art, and others, and I am thinking of primarily George [Swinton] here, galvanized the consumer society into taking a serious look at this art product. Passionate collectors of Inuit art stimulated the art market. Organizations too played a key role. The Canadian Handicraft Guild in Montreal, as Virginia mentioned this morning, orchestrated the beginnings and continues as important support. The Winnipeg Art Gallery has consistently exhibited and published its major collection. The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council has doggedly pursued the maintenance of standards of quality. (Goetz 1982: 186)

Without a network of enthusiastic supporters with the means and desire to help foster and support the co-operative system, it seems unlikely that Inuit art could have flourished as it has. And in turn, many northern communities flourished by participating in the local co-op. In each locale Inuit had the opportunity to take part in community governance and collective decision-making and also to participate on Boards of Directors and to work in some senior management positions (although probably not as many as possible). Inuit could receive training and professional development through the co-operative system that would enable them to seek employment at the co-operatives, and to apply that training to

other employment in the future. MacPherson argues that, “co-operatives have served as significant incubators for northern enterprise within themselves or by providing places where people can learn the essentials of operating enterprises, and, in particular, the complexities of using community-based ways of doing so” (MacPherson 2009: 69). Perhaps most significantly, as sociologist and Inuit Art Foundation founder Marybelle Mitchell observed in *From Talking Chiefs to A Native Corporate Elite* (1996), the co-operative movement begat the first Inuit political movements in the Arctic and encouraged economic independence and self-reliance. As famous Nunavik artist Johnny POV has said of the co-ops, “Carvings rescued all the people from the wretched situation they were in. If they had to rely only on the trading of fox skins, they would undoubtedly still be poor today” (qtd. in Mitchell 1996: 173).

Because of the dominance of this system most stone sculptures entered the Canadian south via the major wholesalers or distributors, the first being the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) in the early twentieth century, followed by the Inuit owned cooperatives: Arctic Cooperatives Ltd., its subsidiary Canadian Arctic Producers (CAP), and La Federation des Cooperatives du Nouveau-Quebec (FCNQ) (Mitchell 1996).

In a 1981 report for the Inuit Art Section of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs entitled *Some Economic Aspects of Inuit Stone Carvings*, geologist Walter Gibbins highlighted the economic contributions that the federal government made in supporting stone carving as well as the benefits that support brought to both the Inuit and the northern economy. That year, sales were estimated at over 750,000 dollars for carvings alone, demonstrating that it was in fact a viable industry in the North. Gibbins argued that this made the Canadian government’s subsidization of the collection and

distribution of raw stone as well as art exhibitions, research reports, publications and marketing organizations worthwhile (Gibbins 1981: n.p.) He estimated that in 1981 carving employed approximately 2500 artists on at least a part-time basis (adding that approximately twenty carvers were prolific and successful enough to be making over \$30,000 dollars a year selling their stone sculptures) (Ibid.).

Major government reports from this time are silent on Labrador, although given Labrador's history with the provincial and federal government this is hardly surprising. Helga Goetz's very thorough research report for the Inuit Art Section, "The Development of Inuit Art," never mentions Labrador, although it covers the period up to 1984, decades after Labrador had joined Confederation and should have been considered by the federal Inuit Art Section. Her equally comprehensive "Listing of individual documents selected from federal government files pertaining to Inuit arts and crafts between 1958 – 1970" contains no mention of Labrador either, although there are several files that allude to the formation of specific regional arts organizations in the Northwest Territories and Quebec, as well as suggestions for many community centres and initiatives throughout what is today the NWT, Nunavut and Nunavik (Goetz 1985). In Richard Diubaldo's "The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900 – 1967" the author only mentions Labrador in the introduction and postscript, citing early contact with Norse and later French and British fisheries as a part of his historical overview in the former, and the formation of the Labrador Inuit Association as one of many Inuit social and political developments in recent history in the latter (Diubaldo 1985).

As mentioned in the introductory chapter to this dissertation, throughout the 1980s Inuit in Labrador remained invisible to the government and other key players in the

Inuit art industry. Ingo Hessel stated that when he was an employee of the Inuit Art Section at DIAND in 1983, the general belief from Goetz and others was that “there were no Inuit in Labrador” [personal communication, 22 May 2013]. In a one-page feature in *Inuit Art Quarterly’s* special 1990/91 issue *Inuit Art World*, artist Gilbert Hay and other Labradorimiut were interviewed about the plight of artists in Labrador.

Some Labrador Inuit are more than a little cynical about the fact that governments have taken so long to recognize and register them as Inuit producers, one of the benefits of which is permission to use the Eskimo art tags issued by the Canadian government as assurance that the art is genuine. Labrador artist Gilbert Hay voices the general sentiment: “After 20 years of struggling on my own to make it as an artist, the Government of Canada finally recognizes me as a genuine Inuk artist.” (*IAQ* 1990/1991: 43).

It was only in the late 80s that efforts were finally undertaken to reach out to Nunatsiavummiut artists. Hessel explained that years after the above incident, he was finally given the opportunity to attend a consultation meeting of Inuit art specialists in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, organized by Labrador MP Bill Rompkey, in order to examine the potential of an arts industry in Nunatsiavut. At the meeting Hessel volunteered the Inuit Art Section to sponsor a survey of Labrador Inuit artists, and to this end they hired Dinah Andersen in the late 1980s to travel to each Inuit community along the Labrador coast and interview Inuit artists and craftspeople. Andersen completed approximately 140 interviews with artists and craftspeople who self-identified as Inuit during this trip.⁵³ The survey revealed that the major problem facing Labrador Inuit artists was low earning levels resulting, in part, from a limited market. The survey also revealed shortages of both necessary materials and adequate facilities in which artists could work. Houses on

⁵³ Hessel explained, “The Inuit Art Section eventually published biographies on these people in 1993. Most of these biographies were somewhat scant compared to many Inuit artist biographies, but I felt it was important to publish them all in to make up in some way for the previous absence of any artist biographies from the region.” [personal communication, 22 May 2013].

the coast tend to be too small to allow carving space, and many lack basements and running water. As Dinah Andersen stated, “For a young person interested in pursuing the arts on their own, it is next to impossible, not to mention discouraging” (Ibid.).

Labrador Inuit did not begin receiving any substantial support for artistic development from the state until the 1970s and 80s (Cornelson 1987: 27). The government of Newfoundland and Labrador, a perpetual have-not province, began funding some small exhibitions and other minimally successful initiatives, but funding to foster the Aboriginal arts in Labrador has always been sporadic and shortsighted at best. Without external federal support such as that received by the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec Inuit, and with no exposure to what the other Inuit artists across Canada were producing, furthermore, their development lagged behind (Ibid. 29).

Taking into account this long history of development, and the critical role played by a complex network of cultural brokers, arts instructors, government and non-profit organizations, promoters, dealers, academics, curators and others involved in making Inuit art a success, it seems unimaginable that Labrador Inuit artists (or any other Inuit group in the mid-twentieth century) could have been expected to create these opportunities for themselves. Still, without state funding, institutional support, or even recognition as Inuit artists, in the 1970s and 80s, Nunatsiavummiut began to find ways to assert their cultural self-determination and resilience.

Labrador Cultural Institutions in an Age of Newfound Independence

While neither the federal or provincial government did much to support or stimulate arts and culture throughout the twentieth century, Labradorians did make efforts to do preserve their heritage and culture for themselves. *Them Days* magazine and its

archives, founded by its long-time editor Doris Saunders, are among the most important resources for the history of Inuit arts and culture in Labrador. Since 1975, *Them Days* has documented Labrador history by publishing local oral histories, archival photographs, and other historical accounts of Labrador.⁵⁴

The articles in *Them Days* typically begin with the storyteller's account of his or her individual and family's identity and then recount memories of a community, a person, or an event. The stories told could be of great historical importance or just a mundane (yet never dull) afternoon. In articles transcribed verbatim, the speakers would frequently detail instructions or describe ways of doing many traditional tasks and practices, from setting trap lines to making home remedies, skinning seals and making boots. As such, *Them Days* provides an invaluable record of many traditions shared by Inuit, Innu, NunatuKavut and *Kallunât* in Labrador.⁵⁵ Beyond the magazine, *Them Days* has also published or assisted in the publication of several historical texts (many, notably, by female authors) as well as colouring books, calendars, and exhibition catalogues. The collected oral histories and photographic archive of *Them Days* has made a lasting

⁵⁴ The publication was begun under the auspices of the Labrador Heritage Society. Its members had been compiling a list of books written about Labrador when they realized that most of those books were written by people who didn't live there. The Society began a massive oral history project to make audio recordings of elders and to publish those stories in a book. "Isaac (Ike) Rich, an elder resident and excellent storyteller, began by tape recording some of the elder trappers and fishermen in Happy Valley, North West River and Rigolet. John Broomfield, one of the founding fathers of Happy Valley, began collecting stories from the north coast of Labrador. An Old Timer's League was formed and the New Horizon Program supplied funding to publish a book. [...] Before the book was finished, it became obvious that there was enough material to publish dozens of books and, even after the initial funding ran out after three months, it was decided that publishing should continue [...] The interviewing for the book set the format for what was to become *Them Days Magazine*" (Brown 1987: 53).

⁵⁵ The first editor of *Them Days* was its tireless and long-time champion, Doris Saunders. In 1975 Saunders, a woman of Inuit, Innu and Settler descent, undertook the responsibility for overseeing the publication. Saunders was also responsible for the creation of the extensive *Them Days* archives, which contains wide-ranging materials on Labrador history, people and culture. Furthermore, *Them Days* was involved in the creation of some of the only exhibitions of Labrador art in the 1970s and 80s. The dedicated *Them Days* staff both assisted in the creation of the exhibitions and the publications, while sharing knowledge of the exhibition process in their quarterly magazines. Exhibitions such as *Grasswork of Labrador* (1979) are discussed in subsequent chapters in greater detail. Today the Archives remain an invaluable resource for Labradorians.

contribution to cultural history and continuity in Labrador. *Them Days* has provided a site for the creation and maintenance of cultural heritage that filled a critical gap in post-Confederation Labrador society, and it continues to be a treasured publication today.

An Independent Arts Organization with an Impact: 20 Years of the Labrador Craft Producers Association

Another major arts organization, which is unfortunately no longer in existence, is The Labrador Craft Producers Association (LCPA). The LCPA formed in the mid-1970s, and was an organization by and for Labradorian artists. Their purpose was to “preserve traditional crafts of Labrador and to create awareness and appreciation of our crafts” (*Doll Makers of Labrador* 1978: 1). The organization was formed in December of 1975. While it was only operational for two decades, it provided many services and opportunities for Labradorian artists and craftspeople.

In the years before the formation of the LCPA, there had been a number of craft centres, artist associations and other organized initiatives in Labrador, primarily led by concerned local citizens. According to the *History of the Labrador Craft Producers Association* (1979), Makkovik resident and Company of Young Canadians (CYC) worker Fiona Andersen led the first focused effort at organizing locally controlled craft councils in Labrador communities in 1972 (*History of the Labrador Craft* 1979: 1). Enid McNeill of Makkovik explained that Andersen was dedicated to the local arts industry,

[Fiona] could see that there was crafts to market and no way of doing it, so she used to put them in a suitcase and brought them out to the boat. So, she got this grant from the Company of Young Canadians, and she tried to improve things. I was bringing up children at the time so I don’t really know how she – how much she pushed, but in the end, the government came up with money to put a Craft

Center in every one of the five named: Hopedale, Makkovik, Rigolet, and I'm not sure if Postville had one. I think they did (App. B: Interview with E. McNeill)

Throughout the next decade, all of the communities in Northern Labrador, as well as Cartwright in Southern Labrador, also organized their own craft councils or other craft groups.⁵⁶ Those groups were instrumental in encouraging local craft development and, when possible, assisting artists to obtain raw materials to sell their work. However, as the 1979 LCPA *History* report explains, while the local craft councils did a good job working independently, there was desire for the community councils to come together and work on shared goals and especially to lobby for regional, provincial and federal support with a single voice. In 1974, a proposal was sent to the Department of Rural Development that was successful in obtaining two thousand dollars start-up grant, enabling an initial meeting of all the Labrador coast craft councils. At that meeting, held in Happy Valley in May of 1975, the Labrador Craft Producers Association emerged. The creation of the LCPA was the most concerted effort to date to create a support system for Labrador art and artists⁵⁷.

One of the first steps of the organization was to hire a professional consultant to assist with the setup of the organization, and to assess and recommend a clear direction

⁵⁶ For instance, in the early 1970s there was an organization called the Labrador East Arts and Crafts Association, but information on the organization is scant – I was only able to turn up a few single-page documents on the group. One page of minutes from a meeting in 1974 were discovered in the Them Days Archives which mentions that the meeting was held in Happy Valley; that it was the 14th meeting and nine members were present; and that an Arts and Crafts exhibition held contained 450 exhibits and that 365 people signed the guest book, with sales totaling \$774.61. It also appears that the group organized art classes in the vocational schools and that a Labrador Arts and Crafts Conference had been held on June 6th and 7th of 1974 (“Minutes of Meeting” 1974).

⁵⁷ United under the guidance of a group of skilled paid employees and dedicated volunteer workers, the LCPA began solidifying plans, applying for grants and formulating the policies and strategies that would guide the organization. By February of 1976, even before creating a mandate and objectives, the group was awarded Federal/Provincial Committee funding of \$21,500 and the LCPA's second Annual Meeting discussed how it would be allocated. It was collectively decided that the majority of the funding would provide rotating seed money to the individual craft councils, and pay for a consultant, Joanne Brook, to continue in the organizational startup and to assess and recommend the LCPA's future direction.

for the future. In her nine-part report on the state of the art, “A Survey of Labrador Crafts,” Joanne Brook estimated that there were over 125 craftspeople spread out over nine communities (seven of which she visited), who, on average, worked on their art for six months out of every year. Furthermore, she suggested, another three hundred people could potentially find seasonal success in craft industry should the Association be successful in its efforts (Brook 1976: 1).

Brook’s sound art-making advice to the LCPA was that craft producers should emphasize art that is unique or special to Labrador, including “dolls, embroidered mitts and slippers, baskets, labradorite and caribou bone items.” She added that duffel and skin parkas “should be produced for a limited market” and that the LCPA should hire a Native person to coordinate the activities for all the communities (Brook 1976: 1). Her observation was that the “best” crafts she saw were the functional arts. She had met master-artists in several of the communities who had stated they would be interested in teaching if asked, and she suggested they should be utilized (Ibid.) Some of her most significant recommendations focused on the need for a central regulatory body to set consistent pricing from one community to the next, to improve communication between communities and craft centres, and to look at areas where Labrador crafts would fill a niche market and be set apart for those crafts, such as dolls and Labradorite jewelry, that were distinctive of the Labrador coast (Ibid. 2). She also sourced better suppliers of duffel and stroud, and took a collection of works around to southern galleries and craft shops such as the Ontario Craft Council and the Innuitt Gallery / Isaacs Gallery to get reactions and advice. While her advice on best practices within Labrador were implemented, it is

not yet known to what extent the LCPA was successful in distributing art to southern fine art and craft galleries.

Although the Northern region and the South/Straits areas had always had different artistic constituencies and concerns, “for the first time it was possible for the LCPA to work towards the unification of the entire Coast of Labrador” (*History of the Labrador Craft* 1979: 2).⁵⁸ Continuing in this swift and positive direction, in 1979 the LCPA was successful in securing core funding through the Provincial Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE). In that application the LCPA included a survey called “Looking at the Needs of Craft Work in Your Community,” that asked its membership to consider how a potential five years of DREE core funding should be spent on the local and regional levels. The questionnaire raised issues still relevant today about the needs of the artistic community, including the adequacy of services provided by local craft centres, communication needs, how artists learn new crafts and the possible value of apprenticeship programs and classes, how much time artists and novices would devote to craft work if it became a viable industry, and what could be done to make people want to produce handicrafts for sale (“Looking at the Needs” 1978).

While completed responses to the survey were not filed in the *Them Days* archives, it appears that the answers to the questionnaire informed the grant application, which sought funds for communications, marketing, travel and training workshops for both the artistic and business development (“Introduction” to *Proposal: Department of*

⁵⁸ Funding was secured in 1977 for staffing, and again in 1979. Soon after hiring Brook, LCPA staffing was increased to include Valerie Hearder, who would serve as the central administration for the organization through an office in the Friendship Centre in Happy Valley. In 1978 Miriam Lyall was hired as Secretary, and Ellen McDonald as Southern Regional Coordinator. As the LCPA expanded its staffing and capacity, it increased its office size, moving from the Friendship Centre to a larger space in St. Andrew’s Parish. The North Coast also got its own Regional Coordinator, Kathi Thompson, who immediately began to improve communications for the north coast communities of Hopedale, Postville, Rigolet and Makkovik (later including the rest of the North Coast and the Lake Melville area).

Regional 1978). The core funding helped the LCPA to stimulate the involvement of craft producers in their local Craft Councils, by helping those local centres and councils to become viable sites for the creation and maintenance of local practices and markets, although the group still struggled to raise necessary additional funds for special projects and travel. In Labrador, where even today there are no roads connecting communities and airlines and planes are small, travel expenses needed for meetings of Boards of Directors and artists travel for career development can quickly escalate.

As Kennedy noted in *People of the Bays and Headlands* (1995), for a craft-oriented, primarily women's organization, the LCPA was politically active from the beginning, "preparing conventional position papers to making relatively radical pro-Labrador 'nationalist' resolutions" (224). For example, in the introduction to the aforementioned proposal to DREE for funding, the LCPA had pointed out that the only time that crafts had been discussed in the DREE's "Red Book" was in relation to Adult Education Craft Training, noting that while crafts were frequently referred to, craft production was not included in the economic development section. The organization challenged its potential funders to consider crafts as more than a hobbyist pursuit:

Adult Education plays an important part in developing personal home skills. [...] However, this is a very different level from long-term economic craft development. In the DREE agreement the basic frame of reference for crafts must be shifted from the recreational and "something to do for winter idleness" – (as suggested in the "Red Book") – to meaningful economic development of a vital resource. Crafts have always been an integral part of the economic base of the Labrador life style and will continue to be. What is needed is development appropriate to the level of each individual community so that crafts can come into their own. To ignore crafts as a vital part of this economic base is to ignore Labrador's culture. ("Introduction" to *Proposal: Department of Regional* 1978: 2)

In order to begin providing services to communities as outlined in their proposal, the LCPA first created its own organizational constitution so it would have an apparatus

in place that would define how members and the Board were responsible to each other. The plan devised, as outlined in the *History of the Labrador Craft Producers Association* (1979) was that each Craft Council would become a ‘Constituent member’ and elect a delegate to the LCPA Board of Directors, who would have direct input into the organization and be responsible for reporting back to their community (Ibid. 3). Individuals and craft groups, including those not yet organized as Craft Councils, could also gain representation on the Board of Directors, which would consist of representation from each geographic region of Labrador. Provisions were also made for the involvement of Labrador West, so that then the entire region of Labrador would then be represented⁵⁹.

Perhaps one of the most interesting and useful innovations of the LCPA was in setting up “Quality Committees” (as suggested by Brook) on the local level within each of the given Craft Councils. Rather than having the work assessed by government-employed craft officers, Hudson Bay managers, or even the Canadian Guild of Crafts experts, during the LCPA era Quality Committees were formed by, and comprised of, craft producers from the local communities, whose expertise and skills would be well known throughout each settlement and whose opinions would be respected. Having a Quality Committee ensured that artists would be critiqued according to high standards, but also encouraged according to Inuit value systems.

Historically, *TungavittalauKit Inutukavut* (Elders Councils) played a significant role in community governance in Nunatsiavut, and these councils had not only been

⁵⁹ “The Constitution is a very important mechanism that should further serve to make for a strong Board and Executive to further unify craft producers in Labrador” (Ibid.) Incorporated on November 22, 1979, the LCPA’s Articles and Memoranda of Association (dated three months earlier, on August 13, 1979) outline conditions of membership and other details, also listing the association’s objectives. Among others, their objectives included, “to promote and encourage the continuation, advancement, appreciation and use of traditional crafts among the people of Labrador.

encouraged but also formally institutionalized by the Moravian missionaries during the period of permanent settlement. *TungavittalauKit Inutukavut* were an important consultative and governing institution in communities like Nain and Hopedale. Today Inuit communities in Nunatsiavut all have their own Inuit Community Governments (ICGs) which, under the decentralized government policy of the NG, are responsible for such things as local economic development. Respect for councils of community members is built into previous society and formalized and continued in the present. Although not without some difficulty, collective decision making by elders or locally elected representatives has a basis in these longstanding communal practices. The LCPA built on this model by creating councils of respected artists in each community who could assist – and critique – artists so that high standards could be maintained.

In 1977 the Labrador Craft Producers videotaped a “skit” which highlighted quality control standards for handicrafts. In the video “The Quality Assessment Committee” is meeting to review various productions. The first craftsperson [entering stage left] is Miriam Lyall, who brings in a parka, saying she made it in a hurry because, “I want to make some money to go Bingo-ing.” The joke is that the parka is made in the worst way possible, enabling the Committee to critique all the different ways that a duffel coat can be made incorrectly. The Committee of three women comment, “You sure haven’t got your stitches that fine,” “the duffel is cut the wrong way – some is going up and some is going down,” “the zipper has been cut off,” “we don’t take anything in with raw edges,” and “try to do these seams a little better, you know, if you made them a little wider and sewed them down,” and finishing the session with the advice, “Now if you go back and take time to do a really good job you can get more money, so you can get more

money at Bingo” (“Labrador Craft Producers Association workshop and slide show”). The thirty-minute sketch continues with artists bringing in skin mitts, *silapaks*, *kamiks* and slippers all repeating the exercise, using humour to teach best practices for the commercial production of each item. Notably, in sections the conversations in the skit switch from English to Inuttitut, with both the “craft producer” and the “Committee member” conversing in their language.⁶⁰

In addition to taping this “skit,” the LCPA provided other valuable information and services to artists throughout Labrador. They began video-documenting other organizational workshops and events in order to share that content with their membership. They organized exhibitions, such as the “Permanent Collection Display” at the Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) Art Gallery in Goose Bay, held for nearly a month in February and March of 1980, which featured several Inuit-made items including a snowshoe threader by Anta Saksagiak of Nain, an *amautik* made by Susie Igloliorte from Hopedale, a necklace by Nellie Winters of Makkovik; and numerous baskets, dolls and items of clothing from all over the coast (Permanent Collection Display). They also published a few smaller texts, including a publication on a doll-making workshop held in 1979, a short history of the LCPA in 1980, and a quarterly newsletter between 1978/79 and 1991, which was printed in both English and Inuttitut (Labrador Inuit Roman Orthography). The newsletter contained information on its workshops, listed craft books that members could borrow, and suggested source for craft materials and patterns, among other things. It also provided candid information on its

⁶⁰ In other LCPA video-recorded meetings and workshop footage there is consistently an Inuttitut translator who is present at the meetings and live dubbed by a microphone on to the tape; many Inuit on the North coast even today speak primarily or exclusively Inuttitut.

own funding and featured information for artists on running a small business, marketing and selling crafts, and even doing taxes.

Professional development was a priority. In one videotaped workshop craft consultant Joanne Brook explains at length how pricing should work in the new organization, beginning with a lengthy discussion of how the LCPA should determine what to buy and what to pay craft producers, based on her experiences with other craft shops in Canada. Brook included a basic guide for artists and the LCPA to understand how pricing is typically standardized elsewhere in the craft industry. In her report she explained that for every dollar paid to the craftsperson, the markup should consistently follow:

Price paid to craftsperson	\$1.00
Price to retail store	\$1.20
Price to local tourists	\$1.50
Price at which retail store would probably sell	\$2.40

*all prices freight extra (Brooks 1976: 1)

It has been noted that these efforts by the LCPA to foster and support professional development had more of an impact on women artists than men, as the majority of the members of the LCPA, with a few notable exceptions, were women. Few men were ever elected to the LCPA executive or to the board of directors (Kennedy 1995: 227).

Consequently, the revival of the contemporary craft movement begun in the 1970s and 80s – and paralleling other concurrent political movements in Labrador discussed in the previous chapter – provided an opportunity for women to enter into leadership roles.

Kennedy argued that although no causal relationship between governing the LCPA and

participating in local politics could be proven, “during the 1980s increased numbers of women became involved in municipal councils and development associations.”⁶¹ Marika Morris added in her essay in *Inuit Art Quarterly*, “Pauktuutit Inuit Women’s Association,” that she believes Inuit women have been ahead of Canadian women in terms of political involvement, citing all the women in leadership positions in Inuit organizations such as the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (Morris 2002: 16).

In addition to these efforts to elevate the professionalism of the industry, the Labrador Crafts Producers Association also assisted local Craft Councils in organizing workshops to teach practices such as weaving, caribou hide smoke-tanning, and even silkscreen printing in the 70s and 80s. The LCPA tried to listen to the needs of communities and address them at a local level from the onset. At one filmed LCPA meeting in 1976 a young John Terriak spoke on behalf of the Northern coastal region about problems, particularly in Nain, discussing the both the immediate and fundamental operational challenges faced by craft centres in the North and the longer term planning required for those centres to be a sustained success.

The craft centres now in operation need more sewing machines, more shelves, tables, chairs. There’s not enough lights in some of the craft centres. The

⁶¹ It is not clear the degree to which this increased political activity impacted Inuit women in Labrador in the 1980s, as Kennedy suggests that Indigenous women’s participation in leadership roles in the organization decreased over that latter half of that decade. He notes that although Innu and Inuit continued to participate in the LCPA as craftspeople, their numbers became increasingly absent from the executive or board of directors in the last years of the organization, stating “even in northern Labrador, Settlers or outsiders are commonly elected as regional board members” (Kennedy 1995, 227). However they became involved, today Inuit women are very politically active in Labrador, and many Inuit women occupy senior governance and leadership roles in the territory. Our current president is Sarah Leo, former UN Peacekeeper and past Executive Director of the OKalaKatiget Society, and of the eighteen-person Nunatsiavut Assembly, seven members are women. Many of the Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) and other significant community governance positions are also held by women (“Nunatsiavut Assembly: Members”).

Makkovik and the Rigolet craft centre needs a porch, and Hopedale needs a washroom, and Nain needs an all-new building. Postville needs a new building. [...] In the winter the craft centres in the north have a problem getting oil, to find a good source. So the craft shops should have a komatik to get oil or to pick up material from the planes. The craft centres on the coast have a lot of heating problems. It would be a good idea to hire one person in each community to take care of the furnace. We need someone in each community to work out the actual craft outlines for the craft instruction in the schools. ("Labrador Craft Producers Association Workshop")

Terriak concluded by suggesting that it would be wise to learn how craft co-ops work in the Northwest Territories, and to look into more professional development for local craft shop staff, such as providing courses on bookkeeping and management.

The following year a new crafts centre that focused on sewing productions was built in Nain, and in 1977 the Crafts Council presented adult education courses in making kamiks and snowshoes, sewing moosehide and duffle, and various other local arts productions (Cornelsen 1987: 32). Requests poured in from Southern Canada for duffel goods and sealskin parkas, boots, and mittens (Ibid. 31). While the workshops themselves were successful, progress was sometimes hindered by a lack of funds to invest in bulk materials, or the means to purchase handmade goods for resale. The craft shop followed the practice of distributing raw materials and paying for labour while the work continued. However, Labrador handmade sewing goods were not prominently marketed, and reputation circulated only by word of mouth, so there was not enough business for the fledgling program to sustain itself (Ibid.). It seems that new programming was somewhat frequently introduced, but there was never paid staff or consistent funding to sustain these new developments. Projects that might have been successful were, instead, failures.

Lack of market research also caused Councils everywhere to struggle with decisions about what to produce and how to market it (Ibid. 32). In 1985, the provincial

government withdrew all financial support to the craft shops, leaving the Nain craft centre with no permanent staff. As staff member Dori Zerbe Cornelsen lamented in 1987, “as in its beginnings, the crafts centre now operates largely because of volunteers. Unfortunately, this is a difficult way to run a business,” going on to add that the future of the craft shop was uncertain, given the diverse local opinions about how to run it. “Skeptics say that the centre will survive only if it becomes a private venture. Others would like to see it remain as a community venture with profits benefitting producers directly. Should it remain a community business, it will need the support of not only the people of Nain, but also the help and support of Nain’s northern neighbours” (Ibid.).

While likely the most successful grassroots arts organization in Labrador’s history,⁶² the LCPA was not without its problems. Even though the LCPA secured core funding and significant grants course of its two decades of existence, like other organizations that would come before and after, it eventually had to close its doors. But prior to its demise, the LCPA demonstrated both the scope and the history of art and craft in Labrador by mounting a major exhibition (1991).

The LCPA shut down formally in September of 1995 after twenty years of operation, after requesting that the provincial arts organization, the Newfoundland and Labrador Crafts Development Association, provide a greater level of service to the craftspeople of Labrador. As a result, in 1996, the NLCDA --which has been operating since the 1970s but became the Craft Council of Newfoundland and Labrador (CCNL) in 1999 -- initiated the Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency (LCMA).

⁶² It was successful in earning grants from a variety of governmental organizations and other sources including the Canada/Newfoundland Rural Development Agreement. For example, in 1991 this body provided over \$1700 to fund an organizational workshop focused on coordinating activities and developing closer working relationships with craft specialists from other regional organizations, among other grants and funding (“Craft Producers Given” 1991: 4).

The Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency

The Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency is one of just a few currently operating organizations that supports the arts in Labrador and promotes them outside of Labrador. As a non-profit organization, the LCMA receives financial support from both federal and provincial sources to assist in its development and operations, while striving to reach economic autonomy as a service organization. The objective of the Agency is primarily to "foster the growth of the Labrador craft industry," by encouraging increased commercial production in the Labrador community; promoting a consistently high level of quality commercial craft production in Labrador; informing craftspeople about the avenues used to market Labrador crafts; providing both marketing services and business advice and assistance to crafts people wishing to market their products; and increasing market opportunities by acting as an intermediary to provide Labrador crafts to retail shops within Labrador and elsewhere (Garland "Labrador Crafts": n.p.). Like the LCPA, the Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency has a "Standards Committee" which reviews submissions in order to select products of the best quality to represent Labrador in retail shops as well as at craft fairs and trade shows like The Atlantic Craft Show in Halifax and the Toronto Gift Show. In 2013 the organization boasted a roster of over 60 artists, approximately 75% of whom are Aboriginal.

The Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency developed its own logo, like the igloo tag, to act as an identifier of quality Labrador products sold under the Agency. The LCMA, under direction of Agency Manager Jim Garland, distributes its arts and craft productions through retail and wholesale distribution channels. On the website for the organization it is explained that LCMA does not operate a retail outlet because it does not want to

intrude on established local businesses, but retails products at special shows and events, most outside of Labrador (Ibid.). This makes a great deal of sense, as within the already saturated arts and crafts market of Happy Valley-Goose Bay a non-profit arts retailer could be serious competition for small independent businesses, while outside of Labrador those same arts are almost completely unrepresented.

Birches Gallery

Like the LCMA, Birches Gallery, a commercial art gallery, also came into existence around the same time that the LCPA was closing down permanently. Birches Gallery thus filled a critical gap in the contemporary art market in Labrador. Its owner, Herb Brown, has also been responsible for helping some of Nunatsiavut's most exciting artists to gain recognition outside of the province. Brown began selling Inuit art from Labrador at small conferences and trade shows before he and Dorrie Brown built a new house in Happy Valley-Goose Bay in 1992 – 1993 and included a tiny exhibition area, thinking they might sell work out of their home.

When we moved in there was a small gallery up on top of the stairs where the computer is right now. Two shelves. And those two shelves, and the upstairs of an unfinished house, I mean the upstairs was pretty well finished, but people were coming in. We sold sixty thousand dollars worth. (App. B: Interview with H. Brown)

With such brisk business at home, Brown would probably not have had to travel to trade shows, festivals or exhibitions as he had in the past, yet he continued to take Labradorimiut art (and artists) to St. John's, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver and elsewhere throughout the 1990s. Organizing up to two outside exhibitions a year, he also happened to stop into The Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver on a 2002 trip, where –unusually –

the gallery was selling Michael Massie's work. He saw an opportunity to introduce the gallery to other artists from Labrador, explaining: ,

We have a very good, a fantastic working relationship with guys at Spirit Wrestler. They've been buying from me for their shows, at my retail prices, and with 100% mark up, on that and selling them like (snaps his fingers), except for the tea dolls and a few pieces of grass work, but all of the pieces, all of the caribou herds, Ross Flowers, Gilbert Flowers and Johnny Winters, from Makkovik, went just like that at the opening of the mini masterworks shows. (App. B: Interview with H. Brown)

The enthusiasm with which Nunatsiavummiut art is sold at Spirit Wrestler indicates that although the world is unfamiliar with Labrador Inuit art, it could be a critical and commercial success given the right opportunity. It has, however, been challenging for Brown to support artists on his own, and especially difficult to bring artworks and people south and to make their presence known in the broader Inuit art market because, as a commercial gallery, he has been largely unable to access public arts funding. It was only in 2009 – 2010 that he received some funding from the Innovation Trade and Rural Development program in Newfoundland to rebuild and revise the gallery's website, expanding the business in order to have the more significant online retail presence that Brown believes is the future of Inuit art.

I think the answer is, the answer lies somewhere in what I'm doing, hoping to do now. What Spirit Wrestler is doing well. It's in the Internet. And it is in doing very well, using social media, using all the media, using twitter, Facebook, BlogSpot, I don't know what else there is, but certainly having excellent interactive and user friendly websites. I'm going to prove that. I think Spirit Wrestler has stayed alive throughout the recession in a large measure with and because of their website. (App. B: Interview with H. Brown)

The Nain Craft Centre

Another vital institution that has played a major sustaining role in Inuit art over decades of government neglect is the Nain Craft Centre. The Nain Crafts Council was

formed in the early 1970s, and the first crafts centre, the Round House, was built and equipped with a few sewing machines and some jewelry-making equipment. [figure 2.3] The Crafts Council began encouraging people to produce items by giving them materials and paying them for the time it took them to make crafts (Cornelsen 1987: 27-9).

Even with the formation of the Nain Crafts Council, the Round House had a turbulent beginning. One of the main problems was that the building wasn't created to withstand Nain's cold winters, and so it could only be open during the summer months. Bill Ritchie has explained that the building, made of plywood, had a large rubber "nipple" on the top that cracked in the first winter of its use and thereafter caused the roundhouse to flood whenever it rained (App. B: interview with B. Ritchie). Moreover, there were problems from the very beginning related to the isolation of Labradorimiut artists from other artists, communities, and opportunities. Dori Zerbe Cornelsen remarked that the most serious problem for Inuit artists in Nunatsiavut was that, "Labrador artists had seen little of the Inuit art that was being sold widely across Canada. Labrador crafts committees lacked experience and needed advice. And, their organizations received little funding and thus much of the development of the crafts industry was accomplished by volunteers" (29).

The example Cornelsen then provides is that of Bill Ritchie, an artist and outdoorsman who first arrived in Nain in 1976 to work with local school children in the Roundhouse as a part of Memorial University's Artist-in-the-Community Program (Ibid. 29). Upon meeting local artists, and in particular befriending Gilbert Hay, he agreed to stay on for a year in Nain to help begin an arts and crafts development program, for nothing more than a place to stay and daily meals. Ritchie remained in Nain for nearly six

years, where he and Hay collaborated to make great contributions towards the development of an arts and crafts cottage industry.

Within his first year the crafts centre Ritchie had moved out of the Roundhouse and into an old Moravian building so that it could operate throughout the whole year, and Ritchie and Hay set about developing carving practices in Nain. Discovering that Labrador carvers seemed to know little about what had been happening elsewhere in the Arctic for more than two decades, in 1975 Hay and Ritchie brought ten Nunatsiavummiut carvers on a tour of galleries and museums in Ottawa and Toronto, “to show them that there *were* carvers among the Labradorimiut” (Brown’s emphasis) (Brown 2004: 2). This event also led to a marked increase in carving in Nain upon their return (Cornelsen 1987: 31). Terriak recalled,

There was a reawakening of the Inuit culture, largely because of the formation of the Labrador Inuit Association. Young artists of my generation began to wake up and to produce work that I think is unique to Labrador. There was a problem though. We were isolated from each other and from the rest of the Arctic. We didn’t know there was a larger art world out there. We weren’t producing art as seriously as we could because of our isolation. (Terriak 1996: 11)

In 1977 a new craft centre was built (although some vocal detractors in the community doubted whether the elected Craft Council could maintain and run it as a business). Until a manager was hired in 1978, volunteers managed most of the sales in the shop.

Again, a perpetual lack of funding held the craft centre back from prosperity and success; Cornelsen, stated that the centre “limped along” financially throughout the 70s and 80s without sustained funding, and that “because craft sales did not cover the costs of operation, government funds [had to be] sought each year” (Ibid. 32). There appears to have also been some infighting and internal organizational turmoil in the early years of

the craft centre. Disputes between the craft centre and the Town Council reached a peak in 1982; the Town Council called for a re-election of the Craft Council and, together with the Labrador Inuit Association, established new ground rules for the Centre's operation.

The Inuit Art Foundation, IAF Workshops, and the Impact of the IAF on Labrador

In the 1990s, support from the Inuit Art Foundation for Labrador Inuit artists helped many of those artists to foster and develop their careers in contexts within and beyond the Labrador coast. The most famous and successful of these was the three-week carving workshop held in Nain that brought Nunatsiavut artists together with instructors from Nunavut and Nunavik.

The workshop was run by a division of the Inuit Art Foundation, the Inuit Artist's College.⁶³ The workshop inaugurated a new carving studio set up in part of an old residential school renovated by the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation (LIDC). In "Coming into Their Own," an article on the event in *Inuit Art Quarterly* explains, "The workshop was organized around the theme of 'connecting Labrador artists with their past and helping them take steps into the future'" (IAQ 1991: 16).

While the experiences of the participants ranged from novice to professional, all of those in attendance expressed that they found it helpful to talk with Inuit elsewhere in Canada. The core group of participants in the workshop included Philip Hunter, William Nochasak, Mike Massie, Dave Terriak, Dinah Andersen, Gilbert Hay and John Terriak, although other carvers also frequently dropped in to observe sessions, discuss their work,

⁶³ The workshop was funded by the Inuit Art Foundation, the LIDC, Makivik Corporation, the Canada-Newfoundland Rural Development Cooperation Agreement and Canada Employment and Immigration.

or learn more about using power tools.⁶⁴ According to workshop leader Charlie Kogvik of Baker Lake, “They asked all kinds of questions. There’s really a lot of community interest in carving. Even the kids wanted to try it” (Mitchell 1991). The workshop wasn’t only about carving instruction but also included discussions on professional development, including a lesson in marketing by Jack McCarthy, a former NWT arts and crafts officer, and sessions with Marlene Creates, then Director of Eastern Edge Gallery, on portfolio development and photographing art work.

John Terriak has explained the significance of the workshop and the Inuit Art Foundation in general to art and artists in Labrador:

This workshop was a real eye-opener for most of the Labrador carvers. We were taught how to use power tools and we saw how other carvers worked. Using power tools makes the work of carving much easier, but we still need to finish with a file and polish by hand. [...] The Inuit Art Foundation sponsored quite a few Labrador carvers to attend carving workshops in Ottawa and Vermont. The carvers who went to these workshops seemed to have learned a lot and as far as I know are still carving. I myself went to Vermont for a three-week marble-carving course in May 1994. I learned a lot about carving hard stone and about the art world in general. I hope to be able to pass on the knowledge I gained to the other carvers here. The Labrador art world has come a long way in the last few years, but this wouldn’t have happened without the Inuit Art Foundation. (Terriak 1996: 12)

In another significant IAF workshop held from October 20th to November 2nd, 1998, seventeen female artists from all across the Arctic met together at the Ottawa School of Art in the national capitol to participate in an extensive workshop organized by the Inuit Art Foundation. The interdisciplinary group of artists covered a broad range of media including textiles, sewing, carving, printmaking, drawing, jewelry-making and other forms, and came from communities throughout Nunavik, Nunatsiavut and the

⁶⁴ Two women, Minnie Merkuratsuk and Eva Nochasak, were also set to participate, but at the last minute withdrew in order to gain temporary work with Canada Employment and Immigration in cleaning up the beaches as a part of an emergency response program (“Coming into Their Own” [year]: 16).

Northwest Territories (including contemporary Nunavut). The workshops included both art-making sessions and professional development seminars. In the article summarizing the event, “Women Helping Each Other,” it is noted that Nunatsiavut participant Shirley Moorhouse, building on her own experience running a business in Labrador, urged the other women to take steps such as attaching a personal tag to all their work – like a business card – to assist in the marketing and promotion of their art.⁶⁵ Other events included a roundtable on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge in arts practices and tours of the National Gallery of Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, where the groundbreaking exhibition *Between Two Worlds: Sculpture by David Ruben Piqtoukun* was on display, causing several artists to remark that they felt inspired to try experiment with new media and subject matter in their own work (Fox 1998: 7).

While the workshops had a deep impact on the arts industry, the organization played a significant role in providing ongoing support to Labradorimiut artists in other ways as well. Most notably, Inuit in Nunatsiavut gained representation on the IAF’s Board of Directors, and thus a voice in the national Inuit art world, from the late 1980s onward. In 1988 or 1989, Gilbert Hay was first nominated to the board of directors of the Inuit Art Foundation. Soon Terriak also joined the Board, and later Shirley Moorhouse would take an active position as a Board member as well.

Terriak’s involvement with the Inuit Art Foundation coincided with the increased efforts of the not-for-profit organization to provide services and opportunities for

⁶⁵ The only artist in the workshop from Nunatsiavut was textile artist Shirley Moorhouse, while the other territories, and even some communities such as Igloolik, had multiple participants. This disparity but it could be due to any number of factors, including limited funding and sponsorship from the provincial government (as all regional governments and many other organizations are listed as sponsors elsewhere in the article), or a lack of interest or availability of artists, or other factors; no explanation is given in the article (Fox 1998: 14).

Labradorimiut artists. After years of involvement, Terriak was unanimously elected president of the Board at the May 29 –June 3 1994 Annual General Meeting held in Ottawa (Mitchell 1995). Stating it was a surprise, but “it felt like an honour,” Terriak’s focus, as mentioned in the press release announcing his appointment, became to consult frequently with the other nine board members (including vice-president Theresie Tungilik, Oopik Pitseolak, Charlie Kogvik, Natar Ungalaq, Simata Pitsiulak, Jobie Iqaluk, and Kallunât board members Virginia Watt, Doris Shadbolt, and Jim Ellerton – the IAF wouldn’t adopt the all-Inuit BoD format until 1997). Terriak served as President until 1996 and remained an active member of the Board of Directors until 2011. Terriak feels that his fifteen years of service had a deep and positive impact on his personal development as well as his understanding of the place of Nunatsiavummiut art within Canadian Arctic art history.

Before the Foundation I felt like I was an Inuit artist, but I didn’t know any other Inuit artists in the country. I felt isolated. But the Foundation gave me chances to meet other artists. It made me expand my ideas about art, and it made me realize that Labrador art is unique compared to the rest of the Arctic. In other parts of the Arctic, one community got to use this kind of stone – that’s their stone - and another community got to use another kind of stone. But in Labrador we use all kinds of materials. (Fox 2011)

The Inuit Art Foundation provided some much-needed support and exposure to artists in Nunatsiavut throughout the 1990s and 2000s, at a time when arts organizations within the region had all but disappeared, and artists were largely on their own.

Today, while individual craft shops still operate in most communities, not every place has a store that provides materials, or a place to sell their work, and the galleries are not connected in any concrete sense anymore. Neither are services for artists provided through any central organization. Changes are coming, however. Today, Nain is the site

of two of the most successful organizations working on the current and future development of the arts. The first is Torngat Arts and Crafts, which buys and sells art both in Nain and, seasonally, at the base camp for the Torngat Mountains; the second is The Torngâsok Cultural Centre, the division of the Nunatsiavut Government responsible for cultivating and preserving Nunatsiavummiut arts and culture.

Torngat Arts and Crafts and The Torngâsok Cultural Centre

In the fall of 2008, the long-anticipated new craft shop in Nain, Torngat Arts and Crafts, was incorporated as a non-profit organization.⁶⁶ the need for a craft shop in Nain was identified as one of the most pressing requirements of the community. In a short background info sheet produced by Torngat Arts and Crafts, it is explained that the craft shop was created for two reasons: First, in the recognition that because of the absence of a local hub that could supply materials and purchase artworks, there has been an ongoing loss of traditional arts and craft skills. This is compounded by the fact that, “As the skilled population ages, traditional arts and crafts are not being passed on to the younger generations and the skills and knowledge are being lost” (“Background of Torngat” 2009) Secondly, the waning production and loss of knowledge has had an economic impact on Nain and other communities, because it contributes to the dearth of arts and crafts for visitors to purchase. As Nain is the primary coastal destination for tourists and other visitors to Nunatsiavut, the lack of a central craft shop for tourists to visit was resulting in the loss of potential sales, which could also be affecting future tourism. “The Workshop

⁶⁶ The craft shop was created after a meeting in May of 2008 at a Tourism Opportunities Workshop in Nain, when a group of representatives from Nunatsiavut communities as well as the Nunatsiavut Government, the tourism industry, and a number of provincial and federal representatives met to discuss what could be done for Labrador artists.

recognized that a vibrant culture enriches visitor experience, and tourists appreciate the opportunity to purchase arts and crafts to commemorate their visit and the cultural activities that they experienced” (Ibid.). The creation of Torngat Arts and Crafts was intended address the need for a craft shop in Nain that could supply raw materials to artists and craftspeople as well as market and sell arts and crafts from around Nunatsiavut through one centralized hub. Torngat Arts and Crafts was incorporated as a non-profit organization in Newfoundland and Labrador in October of 2008 and has been selling raw materials and offering introductory level craft workshops since November 2008. In the spring of 2009 the craft shop began purchasing stock with funding provided through Nunatsiavut Government’s Department of Economic Development, and the retail operations began early that summer in anticipation of the shipping season (Ibid.).

At the time of the background report’s creation in 2009, Torngat Arts and Crafts was in the start up phase of development; the Nain Inuit Community Government donated a space to house the shop and the shop was able to begin purchasing art and craft productions. A grant from the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Program covered the repairs required to revamp the space for retail use. There were also plans to hire a consultant for a website as well as a translator to translate all written materials produced by the shop.

Finally, one of the most significant cultural institutions in Labrador’s recent history is the Torngasôk Cultural Centre (TCC), which was established in 1979 as the “language and culture arm” of the Labrador Inuit Association. The Centre is located in Nain and serves the entire Nunatsiavut region. Now a part of the Nunatsiavut Government’s Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism (CRT), their mandate is “to promote, protect, preserve and enhance the culture, language and heritage of the

Labrador Inuit,” which is very similar to the original mandate of the Labrador Inuit Association, “to preserve, protect and enhance the culture, language and social well-being of the Labrador Inuit” (Andersen 1987: 12).

The organization has been involved since its inception in Inuttitut language preservation through education, immersion programs and literacy, as well as in publishing, such as the invaluable book of illustrations out of Labrador history, *Taipsumane* written and illustrated by elder Josephine Kalleo, as discussed in Chapter Six (Ibid. 7). In the past Torngasôk (which has previously also been spelled “Torngasuk,”) has hosted Inuit music festivals, prepared and implemented Inuttitut language curriculum projects, and organized annual Elder conferences, despite fluctuating financial support and government funding (Ibid. 7-9). In 1990 Gary Baikie, then Director of The Torngasôk Cultural Centre (TCC), gave a speech to the Canadian Archeological Association in St. John’s, NL, that was reprinted in the Fall 1993 issue of *Inuit Art Quarterly* in its entirety. Entitled, “What Do Labrador Inuit Want?” Baikie described the role that Torngasôk has played in the cultural life of the Inuit, but focused, as the title suggests, on what Inuit want to see in the future.

The ultimate goal of Torngâsok at the time, as Baikie carefully outlined, was the creation of an Inuit owned and operated museum on the coast. Baikie outlined the myriad issues with museums currently found in Labrador,⁶⁷ and also expressed his concern that

⁶⁷ Baikie described the state of museums in Labrador, outlining why it is so important that the Labrador Inuit get a new museum. “There are now two museums on the north coast of Labrador, which are owned and operated by the Moravian Church. Both museums have very small collections from the prehistoric period; the majority of their collections are from the Moravian period. Both collections also contain books dating back to the early 1700s and 1800s. One is signed by Jens Haven, who was one of the first Moravian missionaries in northern Labrador. These collections are housed in old wooden structures with old and unsafe electrical wiring and fixtures, and no heat or humidity control. There is also no security. If some artifacts were stolen, they probably wouldn’t be missed, because they aren’t catalogued. This situation causes numerous headaches for the people who run the museums, but they feel it is worth it, because they

the representation of Labrador Inuit in other institutions in the south does not reflect Inuit living history, giving an inaccurate perception of Inuit people as ahistorical. Furthermore, he pointed to the vast amount of archeological and cultural material, gravesite contents, and even human remains that had been surreptitiously removed for the Nunatsiavut Territory in the century before the region was able to establish research guidelines and ethical protocols for scientists and others. With a state-of-the-art museum, Baikie argued, this material could be returned home.

As important as this is, the most significant reason for building a new museum would be what it would mean to Nunatsiavummiut, as a step towards cultural sovereignty. “We also see the cultural museum as a step towards the self-determination being negotiated under Land Claims. With this in mind, we need to build the museum and have people trained to carry out the jobs that will be created before the land claims process is finished” (Ibid. 10).

In the years since the writing of this essay, while there are still many challenges yet to be met, the Nunatsiavummiut have taken great strides towards cultural sovereignty and self-determination over ancestral lands and cultural heritage. In 2003, in advance of the formation of the Nunatsiavut Government (NG), the Inuit Land Claims Agreement was installed, with provisions for the recovery and management of archeological and other cultural materials as well as objects from burial sites and human remains. In the September 2003 summary, *Understanding the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement*,

don't want to see the collection leave northern Labrador. Also they want to display the collections so that the younger generation will understand and be proud of their unique past. Just last year, the board of the Moravian Church passed a resolution saying that if The Torngasôk Cultural Centre were to build a museum, the collections would be permanently loaned to us.” Baikie also noted that the Moravian Church museums have excellent displays, but they still focus on the Moravian period to the exclusion of other times in Nunatsiavummiut history, presenting a limited view of Inuit history in Labrador (Baikie 1993:9).

the overview on the section on objects of Labradorimiut cultural significance declares that from that point onward, Nunatsiavut would be establishing its own standards that other governmental and research organizations would have to meet to ensure that knowledge would be safeguarded and shared with the Nunatsiavummiut. The Nunatsiavut Government began creating its own laws and policies around the protection of burial sites; the implementation of procedures to be followed for applying for and carrying out research in the territory; and the retention and maintenance of Inuit cultural materials and archival records related to the history, culture or affairs of the Inuit (*Understanding the Labrador* 2003: 55). While it is noted that, “the Inuit have no direct means to recover archeological and cultural materials that are held in private collections or in other countries,” steps were also initiated in order to prevent any further loss of material and cultural heritage and to regain objects held within Canada.

The federal government will return some of the archeological materials that it holds. The provincial government commits to maximizing the quantity of archeological and cultural materials that are held and displayed in the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area. The return and display of these objects will depend on the ability of the Nunatsiavut Government to meet standards for the safe-keeping and preservation of these materials. (Ibid.)

Additionally, in the summary of the new law-making powers of the NG and the areas under which new laws would be made were discussed; particularly relevant to this study is the section titled “Inuit Culture and Inuktitut” where it is stated that “The Nunatsiavut Government may make laws in relation to Inuit culture and Inuktitut in Labrador Inuit Lands and Labrador Inuit Communities including laws to preserve and develop Inuit cultural heritage and Inuit traditional knowledge,” highlighting the Nunatsiavut Government intent and means to act in order to foster and safeguard Inuit cultural material and cultural knowledge in ways that had not been previously possible (Ibid.).

Today Torngasôk is run by Director Dave Lough, who is also the Deputy Minister of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, and by Johannes Lampe, the Minister of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. His department governs the Centre and most other cultural activities for Nunatsiavummiut. Currently, preserving Inuttitut has been a major priority, and many positive strides have been taken since the creation of the Nunatsiavut Territory.⁶⁸ It also employs an archeologist, who is responsible for archeological site and data management and also provides consultation services, as well as the review of applications for others who wish to conduct investigations of an archeological nature in Nunatsiavut.⁶⁹ One of the more notable projects of the TCC of late has been the restoration of the Hebron Moravian Mission, now deemed a National Historic Site. Since the forcible and coerced removal of Inuit residents in 1959, the various buildings have fallen into disarray, and the sites have been plundered for remnants of the former Moravian settlement. With the stabilization of the Church complete, Torngasôk is now undertaking the restoration phase of the project.

Torngasôk has also produced a body of tourist-focused promotional material on the arts of the Labradorimiut, in a program funded by The Comprehensive Labrador

⁶⁸ The organization has four Interpreter/ Translators (I/T's) who are pivotal to the operation of the Nunatsiavut Government, in that they ensure that all public documents are transcribed and readily available in both Inuttitut and English (the two official languages of the Nunatsiavut Territory) (Chaulk 2010: 4). As of 2010, those Interpreter / Translators were Rita Andersen, John Jararuse, Louisa Kojak and Wilson Jararuse (Ibid.). Through the I/T's and the Language Program Coordinator, Torngasôk has developed and disseminated programming aimed at the revitalization of Inuttitut within the Territory, funded by the Tasiujatsoak Trust and the Department of Canadian Heritage. Some of their recent initiatives include the development of Rosetta Stone Inuttitut language software; *Asiujittailillugit UKausivut* – a comprehensive 50-year language revitalization strategy developed via consultation with Inuit in all Nunatsiavut communities and the Upper Lake Melville area; the Labrador Inuttitut Training Program (LTP) for school-age children, with both classroom and on the land training; and the Rigolet Dialect Documentation Project which was a partnership between Torngasôk, the Labrador Institute & MUN (with aid from the Labrador Interpretation Centre in North West River).

⁶⁹ All archaeological activity in the Territory is regulated through a permitting process that ensures that all applicants are qualified and comply with the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, the Historic Resources Act and the NG Research Process.

Cooperation Agreement, featuring Labrador Inuit sewers; Labradorite jewelry and carvings; stone, bone and wood carvings; and photography. Using photographs taken by artist Michelle Baikie, the flyers advertise works by a broad cross-section of carvers including Gilbert Hay, Adam Lidd, John Terriak, David Terriak, Gail Moss, George and Ross Flowers; textile and skin sewing artists Jane Gear, Louisa Lucy, Mary Voisey and Rose Lucy; and renowned Labradorite artist John Goudie. Goudie is praised in the flyer for his meticulously shaped earrings, bracelets, rings, brooches, and charms that, “depict the Inuit lifestyle. The hunter’s snowshoe, his spear and the woman’s ulu are just some of the many images imbedded in silver and gold” (Saunders 2012: n.p.).

Finally, Baikie’s (and Nunatsiavut’s) vision for a new museum in northern Labrador is about to be fulfilled. The new cultural and language centre will be located in Nain. The proposed 1800 m² space, called *Illusuak* (meaning, “sod house,” which is also reflected in the design of the building), includes cultural offices for the Nunatsiavut Government and the Torngat Mountains National Park, as well as a large exhibition area, auditorium, café, craft shop and an artist studio (Ibid.). It remains to be seen what impact this new cultural centre, located in the capital of Nunatsiavut and the epicenter of cultural activity, will have on the arts in the region. Given the state of the arts industry in Labrador, and its history of fits and starts, it should not be surprising that in their interviews, artists expressed a high degree of skepticism on museums, galleries, and artists associations. They have a myriad of concerns on the future of the arts industry. Whether or not a cooperative is the right direction, or if another path would be more appropriate for Nunatsiavut artists in the twenty-first century has yet to be determined. As Derrick Pottle of Rigolet said in his interview in 2011, “we have to start somewhere.”

A History of Inconsistency and Neglect and Can Still Produce a Hopeful Future

This chapter has contributed a long-overdue analysis of how politics, economics, colonialism, Confederation, bureaucracies, social organizations, community groups and contemporary museums have impacted the development of art production on the Labrador coast. I have outlined the major challenges, minor triumphs, and ongoing disappointments that have plagued the development of a thriving arts industry in Nunatsiavut. The lack of state support for Nunatsiavummiut art – particularly when compared to the massive efforts elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic during the same period – has revealed itself to be nothing short of reprehensible. For decades the belief that Labrador Inuit were too “Moravian,” “inauthentic” or wholly assimilated for inclusion produced tangible and severe consequences for the artists in our territory, who could not find support or recognition from either the state or the brisk southern Inuit art market.

And yet, despite numerous setbacks and long periods of isolation and neglect, Inuit artists in Nunatsiavut have maintained many distinct artistic practices over centuries of colonization, aggressive proselytization, and cultural change. The preservation and dynamic fluorescence of these practices in the present is a testament to the tenacity and resilience of Nunatsiavut arts and culture. In the following section I examine four broad Nunatsiavummiut artistic practices in terms of their long continuities and exciting innovations, layering the continuous histories of Labradorimiut visual culture onto this social history of art. The sewing, carving, handicrafts and contemporary arts practices examined reveal how these practices both reflect and foster Inuit cultural resilience.

Section II: Labrador Inuit Visual Culture

Chapter 3: Nunatsiavummiut Clothing

*“Labrador people are clever at makin’ things,
like it’s handed down through generations.”* - Caroline Jacque

While the archeological record for the Paleo-Eskimo and Dorset peoples contains mostly remnants in stone, bone, antler and ivory, many of those ancient tools — used for hunting, butchering, scraping, cutting and stitching — speak to a venerable Arctic clothing tradition. The ancient ancestors of the Inuit in northern Labrador must have had finely tailored clothes – including waterproof and weatherproof protection for the head, hands and feet – as the Arctic and Subarctic climate would have required many months out of the year. For centuries, the primary possessions of all Inuit people would have been their clothing, and so demonstrating skills in sewing garments must have been both culturally significant as well as necessary to survival.

Inuit skin garments have provided safety and comfort to the wearers in the extremes of the Subarctic and Arctic while displaying a complicated symbolism and accomplished artistry. Through clothing, Inuit seamstresses demonstrated their cleverness, expertise, dexterity, and talent; the tiny, meticulous stitching required in the creation of warm and waterproof clothing and footwear is a testament to their talent and expertise. Articles of clothing could also express individual, family, community or regional affiliations and make connections between the spiritual realm and the material world. In some circumstances, the right clothing and adornment could provide protection from supernatural powers or bestow those powers on the wearer. The significance of skin clothing and boots cannot be overstated and its meaningfulness is paramount in Inuit visual culture.

Yet because of the role that the Western hierarchies of art and craft have played in the development of contemporary Inuit art from the mid-twentieth century onward, the history of Inuit art has been largely focused on the “fine arts” practices of stone sculpture, prints and drawings. Clothing traditions, as a functional expression of creativity, have usually been relegated to the realm of ethnography rather than considered as an art form in and of themselves, even though the earliest expressions of skill, artistry and creativity by Inuit across the Arctic first took the forms of parkas, boots, mitts and other practical garments. While the modern art world may celebrate sculpture as the ultimate expression of Inuit artistry, clothing long held the most prominent position within Inuit culture and society.

Coastal clothing design from Labrador reveals a fascinating history of innovation and resourcefulness. While larger items of clothing such as parkas and trousers would have been primarily created for personal use, articles such as mitts, slippers and boots were also popular trade goods in the early years of contact and continue to hold great interest for the tourist market in the Nunatsiavut Territory. These clothing items evidence both the ingenious use of natural materials available throughout the Arctic and Subarctic regions of Labrador, and the enterprising incorporation of new European media and technologies as contact with outsiders increased over centuries of intercultural encounters with whalers, explorers, traders and missionaries. Nunatsiavummiut clothing demonstrates both the importance of exchange and communication between European and Inuit people and the significant continuities between early contact clothing arts and artistic traditions still practiced throughout the Arctic and Subarctic regions today.

Many aspects of Inuit life changed according to the influx of new technologies and resources resulting from contact with Basque, Dutch, British and French traders, whalers and explorers, Moravian missionaries, and Hudson Bay Company post managers and trappers. In exchange for furs and pelts, or for netting seals, Labrador Inuit received axes, knives, files, guns and ammunition, needles, thread, man-made dyes and glass beads, commercial embroidery fabrics and silk thread, lightweight cotton, wool cloth and warm duffel. While the skill sets required to hunt, trap and sew remained unchanged, the range of available tools shifted radically, and some of these introduced implements and materials had a profound impact on the production of items for trade, use, and personal adornment. In the early contact period “dress” clothing in particular flourished with the addition of colourful embroidery and beadwork. Because of the existing emphasis on skillful clothing creation and on decoration and embellishment from the pre-contact era, Inuit women welcomed the new tools and began to supplement indigenous materials with brightly colored accessories and fabrics acquired through trade. For example, compared to the painstaking process of extracting sinew for sewing, the sheer convenience of simple trade items such as metal needles and silk floss provided in an array of bright colours and at little expense encouraged the proliferation of silk thread embroidery and beadwork traditions that continue in their cultural fluorescence today.

In many cases the newly introduced European products were no match for existing indigenous technologies. For example, European winter clothing could not rival Inuit parka designs, which were specifically created to be wind and water-proof, and impervious to the cold. A photo of a young women named Hulda taken by Moravian missionaries in the early twentieth century, shows her wearing a blouse of European

manufacture under a beautiful and expertly constructed fur *amautik* (the women's pull-over parka with a large hood, or *amaut*) made with materials and methods that maximized functionality [figure 3.1]. Its construction of thick fur provides protection from the winter elements but it is also made with a complex design of contrasting white and brown fur featuring inserts at the neck and under the arms, as well as a fur lined *amaut* (hood). As revealed by examples of the oldest Labradorimiut garments in collections as the caribou skin *amautik* in the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau [figure 3.2], the history of artistic production throughout the Nunatsiavut Territory has always been inventive and traditional, dynamic and continuous.

Creating the Traditional Nunatsiavummiut Parka

Education in the skills and knowledge required to create Inuit clothing would begin in childhood, as boys and girls would learn how to hunt animals, prepare skins, and sew by observing their parents and playing with model versions of adult implements. While men and women would have worked on the preparation of skins together, it would have primarily been the woman's role to skin, stretch and tan a sealskin. To do so, an Inuit woman would have to be adept with an *ulu*, or semicircular woman's knife, the multi-purpose tool used not only in the preparation and cutting of skins but also in the butchering and preparing of food. An *ulu* would be used in clothing production first to remove the skin from the carcass and prepare the skin for stretching, and then a series of scrapers with different purposes would be used to remove the fascia and fat from the skins, as well as soften and help to prepare the skins for stretching. While scraped skins are drying they must be stretched in order to keep the skin from shrinking and to make

them more flexible and elastic. In the past, skins could be stretched by pegging them to the ground, and while that practice still exists, today wooden frames of different styles are frequently used across the Arctic to stretch sealskins; in Labrador, D-shaped or six-sided frames are built and the skin is lashed to the frame. A sealskin may be rinsed in salt water and washed with mild soapy water, and then is often again soaked in salt water overnight to bleach the inner side of the sealskin a beautiful bright white.

After the skin is tanned, the *ulu* is again used to cut out pattern pieces from caribou, seal, and other skins, producing durable and waterproof coats, pants, mittens and boots. In addition to clothing, skins would be prepared and sewn into tents for summer use, as well as into watertight vessels known as *kayaks*, or single person watercraft, and *umiaks*, multi-person boats. These skin vessels made invaluable contributions to the traditional hunting economy.

As soon as steel was readily available, the *ulu* began to be made of old saw blades, which could be recycled into several sharp new *ulus* apiece. Susannah (Susie) Igloliorte explained in 1977 how to care for and maintain this kinds of ulu:

Ulus are made out of old saw blades. Some of your ulus been so long that they are filed away 'til they're small. You sharpened your ulu with a steel by rubbing it on one side and then the other. The wire edge must come off so that the ulu stays nice and sharp. You take the wire edge off with a needle rubbing it like a steel. That's what you do when you're taking the hair off as skin if it's sandy or something. Ulus can also be sharpened on your skin boot. (*Labrador in Pictures*: 92)

Sewing in skins is often done with sinew or thick thread, or more recently artificial sinew made of waxed continuous filament nylon, a thick and waxy thread; in some instances even dental floss has been used when other materials are not available. In *Our Boots: An Inuit Women's Art* (1995), it is noted that even though artificial sinew is

the most common, sinew (dried animal tendon) has been the ideal material for sewing sealskin clothing and footwear and other waterproof garments, because sinew swells when it gets wet, preventing water from seeping through the tiny needle holes (Oakes and Riewe 1995: 29). Sinew can be harvested from a variety of animals but most commonly comes from the caribou tendon, which can be found on either side of the caribou's spinal column, and are about half a metre in length. Once removed and cleaned of meat, dry caribou sinew is easily split into many thin and strong threads for sewing. Before contact with Europeans Inuit needles were sourced differently across the Arctic but were usually made of bone, including walrus ivory or the metatarsal bone of the caribou leg, which could also provide the materials for a needle case and thimble.

Caribou and sealskin were at one the most commonly available and used materials – sealskin is still a favourite – and sealskin, coming in many colours, textures and patterns, was often used in the creation of practical and aesthetically pleasing clothing. The Ranger, or freshwater seal is highly sought after for the attractive clothing that it produces. It is the only seal that lives in freshwater around the inlets and bays or mouths of rivers. The Bearded seal, whose size nearly rivals that of the walrus, has a tough skin prized for use in boot soles or for the creation of utilitarian objects such as dog harnesses. The jar seal (*natsik*) – the seal with the beautiful and varied spotted skin – is the most common seal found along the Labrador coast; while its meat was once a cornerstone of the Nunatsiavummiut diet, its hide also provided for both shelter and footwear, as it is well suited to the creation of boots and tents. And the skin of the smaller Harp seal, harvested in spring, would have been the basis for a number of personal leather goods such as boots and bags, but could also be used for tents and kayaks.

Other animals whose hides were or are still used in the creation of clothing and footwear include: the walrus, narwhals, baleen whales and the caribou of the George River Herd; the feathers of some of the many birds found in abundance; Arctic hare and fox; rabbit and other small fur-producing game. Today, moosehide is also a popular material, particularly for the creation of slippers and mittens, as moosehide is more readily available and comes in a rainbow of colours. Moosehide and caribou hide is not as tough as sealskin, making it an ideal surface for beading as well, as beautifully illustrated by Sylvia Jacque's handmade mittens made of moosehide, caribou skin, rabbit fur and beads [figure 3.3].

In the Arctic, Inuit women turned the necessary creation of clothing into an art form that expresses both individual skill and creativity as well as the identity of the creator and the wearer. In particular, the woman's parka, the *amautik*, is an exceptional blend of form and function [figure 3.2]. One uniquely Inuit feature of an *amautik* is the *amaut*, the combination of a hood and a pouch used for carrying a baby on one's back and supported by a band at the waist, allowing for a close connection between mother and child and the ability to nurse and otherwise tend to a baby without ever exposing the child to the Arctic's subzero temperatures.

Some of the oldest existing examples of these beautiful *amautet* (plural of *amautik*) include exquisite detailing and design, with patterns often created by piecing together contrasting colours of the skins into bands that circle the sleeves and other edges of the garment. In the CMC's collections there is a superb example of a Labradorimiut caribou skin coat [figure 3.2]. The main body of the outer parka is primarily constructed of dark caribou fur, while both the front and back tail, shoulders, hood, arms and wrists

are highlighted with an outline or double line of the light fur from a caribou's underbelly. The bottom hem of this parka is fringed all around in more fur, and sweeping down across the chest are two curving double lines of contrasting white fur. As with this *amautik*, women's parkas usually have decorative bands on the forearms, referencing her work scraping skins or her fine sewing, whereas if men's parkas had decorative elements, they would typically have bands on the upper arms and shoulders, drawing attention to their strength (Issenman 1997: 182).

As Betty Kobayshi Issenman, Bernadette Driscoll-Englestad and others have indicated, the most obvious metaphoric references in Inuit clothing design are to Arctic animals. In the construction of an *amautik*, the coat has both a front apron, or *amautiup sivuganga* and a back tail, or *amautiup tunusua*. Both aesthetic and functional, it is believed that the front "apron" is a convenient place to lay a baby, while the draping back references the hindquarters and tail of a caribou (Driscoll-Englestad 1980: 14). The tail also symbolizes the correlation and affinity between humans and animals, and is a form of transformation iconography. "By donning fur and skin clothing, humans take on the form of animals and express their bond with the rest of the animal domain. They acquire the strength, knowledge, and powers of the animals' souls" (Issenman 1997: 181).

Representations of Early Nunatsiavummiut Clothing in Visual Culture

While there are a number of centuries-old garments in museum collections across Canada, some of the earliest sources on pre-and early-European contact clothing traditions come not from ethnographic collections but from European representations of the Labrador Inuit in both written accounts and the visual arts. Because of the long

history of contact in Labrador, Nunatsiavummiut, more frequently than any other Inuit group, were taken – through force, coercion, or genuine curiosity and compliance – to Europe and elsewhere to be exhibited as primitive curiosities.⁷⁰ One result of the early contact with the world outside Labrador, and of the European fascination with Inuit people, is that the Labradorimiut are unusually well documented in both written accounts and portraits. Hans Wolf Glaser created what is likely the first depiction of an Inuk drawn from life in Nuremberg in 1567, in a handbill advertising the exhibition of an Inuit woman and her child, who were captured by French/Breton sailors and brought to Nuremberg, Augsburg and Frankfurt [figure 3.4]. As Betty Kobayashi Issenman pointed out in *Sinews of Survival*, while no clothing from this time has survived for comparison, the clothing of the woman in the etching shares commonalities with the garments of the Kalaallit kidnapped from the Nuuk Fiord of Greenland in 1654, particularly the high, narrow and pointed hood. It is likely that the clothing depicted was representative of how Thule or early Inuit dressed in Labrador (Issenman 1997: 164). Other Inuit also made the journey across the Atlantic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1576 and 1577 Martin Frobisher brought several Labrador Inuit to London over two trips, all of whom died of European disease within weeks of their arrival. There are other records of Greenlandic Inuit being abducted in the seventeenth century, and even some astonishing accounts of Inuit crossing the north Atlantic unassisted by Europeans in personal watercraft.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Whether the Inuit welcomed the journey or not, these trips frequently ended in tragedy, as exposure to European diseases was often fatal for Inuit. To learn about the Nunatsiavummiut experience of being exhibited and participating in world's fairs, see Lutz (2005), Stopp (2009).

⁷¹ For a more detailed account of these events, see Stopp (2009).

In the late eighteenth century Inuit once again were brought to Europe for a variety of purposes, and these events were documented in both texts and portraiture. The first were of a young woman named Mikak and her son Tutauk, who, as described in the preceding chapter, was taken captive by English sailors following a raid on a whaling post in the late 1760s. Mikak so impressed Governor Palliser with her poise and intellect that she was sent with several other Inuit to England for a winter to act as ambassadors for the Inuit. There, she learned English and worked with Jens Haven to promote the Moravian cause, successfully petitioning the government to grant the Moravians more land upon which to build. Mikak is depicted in a painting by John Russell that was commissioned by botanist and zoologist Joseph Banks [figure 3.5]. In the portrait Mikak is shown next to the young Tutauk, against a dark backdrop of sky and (presumably) Labrador's boreal forest. Pictured from the waist up, Mikak wears a traditional *amautik* with large hood (now very different from the style depicted in the handbill from 1567). The contrasting skin underarm inserts, a v-shaped insert at the collar, and banded white skin stripes at the cuffs were probably all in caribou skin. She wears a bracelet of gold and pearls given to her by the Duke of Gloucester and holds up a gold coronation pin of George III, whom she is reported to have met (Stopp 2009: 49). In her hair she wears what appears to be a patterned headband made of brass, and from her ears hang two large brass pendants with long beaded lappets in black, red and white beads that has been confirmed as characteristic of the Labrador Inuit style (Hood 2008: 236). On her face some delicate lines of tattooing are suggested, including cheek and chin patterns. It is clear from this image that Mikak's trip had made her very successful in obtaining European goods such as beads and jewelry. This wealth, expressed through her European

clothing and jewelry, conveyed an elevated status and upon her return to Labrador Mikak was married to the powerful *angakok* (shaman and community leader) Tuglavina. The Moravians, who wanted her to help them foster their congregation on the Labrador coast, also pursued Mikak following the European trip. Braving the trip overseas had enabled Mikak to gain knowledge, status and wealth among her fellow Inuit, all conveyed through her clothing and personal adornment.

Soon after Mikak's journey to England and her safe return home, another young Labradorimiut woman was depicted in several paintings that provide some insight into the clothing and dress style of early contact Inuit. Caubvick was brought to England by Captain George Cartwright with her husband and his other wives and children in 1772-73. In six artworks definitely attributed to the 1772 trip with Cartwright, Caubvick is depicted either alone or with her husband, Attuiok. Most significant to this study are two full-length portraits of Caubvick and Attuiok, again commissioned by Joseph Banks but this time done by artist Nathaniel Dance [figure 3.6]. The pastel drawings are prized for their detailed representation of hairstyles, clothing, and ornamentation. Both are shown in skin clothing. Attuiok wears plain boots and trousers and a coat with a short hood and a nearly straight bottom hem. It's only decorative features include several vertical lines on the bottom half of the chest as well as a fringe of what may be ivory dingles (ivory beads used to trim clothing) at the bicep and bottom edge of the coat. Caubvick's boots appear to be made of both black and white sealskin, and her parka shows both a short front tail and a long back tail that nearly reaches the ground. Her *amautik* is adorned with complex beadwork that may also be in a fringe style, and she wears long beaded lappets and a headband similar to the one shown in Mikak's portrait. Her hair is twisted into two

braided knots on either side of her face.⁷² The style of beadwork shown may resemble a description by Bernadette Driscoll: “Along the coastal areas of south Baffin Island, Labrador and Arctic Quebec, beads were hung in long strands from a strip of scraped sealskin and then draped from shoulder to shoulder across the chest. The beads were strung in a sequence that created a series of horizontal color bars across the front of the parka” (Driscoll 1984: 41).

Smaller portraits of the head and shoulders were made from both drawings by another artist, a Mr. Hünneberg and sent to a friend of Banks, Blumenbach in 1792 [figure 3.7]. On the back of the portrait of Caubvick is a handwritten note that describes the work.

An Esquimaux woman brought from Cape Charles on the coast of Labrador by Cartwright a. 1773. Her name was Caubvick which in her language signified wolverine. This copy was made by Mr. Hünneberg 1792 from Nath. Dance's original drawings in the possession of Lady Banks. (Stopp 2009, 59)

A similar note is attached to the back of the other portrait of Attuiock. All these works are preserved in the Hunterian Collection at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, likely given by Joseph Banks to his colleague John Hunter, a famous surgeon who once hosted the Inuit group while in London. Another, considerably more amateurish painting probably also of Caubvick was later discovered among Cartwright's papers in a scrapbook belonging to his niece, Frances Dorothy Cartwright [figure 3.8]. It shows an Inuit woman wearing an elaborately beaded *amautik* adorned in the same looping fringe

⁷² INSERT IMAGE TOO On that trip, Cartwright brought Attuiock, his youngest wife and their daughter, his brother, and his brother's wife Caubvick. All but Caubvick died of smallpox just before leaving England in 1773. That didn't stop Cartwright from later attempting to bring other Inuit to England; in 1774 he tried to have a young Inuit boy inoculated against smallpox but the efforts failed, and the boy died three days later (Stopp 2009: 28-9).

of red, white, blue and black beads, with the same long earrings, headband and braids shown in the portrait of Caubvick.

A painting entitled *A Labrador Woman*, of considerable detail and beautiful execution (which I have taken to thinking of as the “Inuk Mona Lisa”), by an unknown artist, depicts a young woman in skin clothing, again with the contrasting bands of light and dark skin at the cuffs, the v-shaped insert at the neck and the inserts under the arms [figure 3.9]. Like Mikak and Caubvik, she wears beaded lappets and a headband through her hair. It is not known which of the women the painting depicts – it may also be Caubvick’s daughter, Ickongoque – and it is possible that the unbeaded *amautik* was part of a second set of clothing in Caubvick’s possession. Marianne Stopp, who has researched the lives of both women extensively, has argued that it is very likely that Caubvick brought more than one set of clothing to England, “since intricately beaded outfits would not have served well on board ship or as everyday wear” (Stopp 2009, 59). However Stopp goes on to note that during the conservation of the painting in 2003, it was revealed that there is a hint of facial tattooing in the form of some thin lines radiating from her lips to her chin, drawing comparisons to the early Mikak portrait. In the nineteenth century the painting was identified as Mikak, but in the current Hunterian collection catalogue the painting is identified as Caubvick. Whoever the painting depicts, the *amautik*, beadwork and headpiece are all consistent with the clothing traditions of the time.

Another eighteenth century painting that adds an interesting detail to our knowledge of traditional clothing is a work by Italian artist Angelica Kaufmann, *Woman in Eskimo Clothing from Labrador*, circa 1768-72 [figure 3.10]. This painting is believed

to have been based on the other paintings made in England at the time, rather than having been painted from life, and does not appear to be of a specific Inuk. In the foreground, the woman's *amautik* still has the contrasting trim and the long tail at the back, as well as the traditional Inuit *amaut*, the large hood used for carrying infants. What is fascinating about these works is that the Inuit woman in the foreground is shown with a child in her boot. It is likely that this image is inaccurate, for we know from the Moravian's "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire," transcribed by J. Garth Taylor in 1972, that women carried their children on their backs and only put them in their boots while sitting, while the painting shows the woman mid-stride (141). Yet the painting is still valuable as one of the rare depictions of this kind of footwear, which went out of use relatively early. To my knowledge, no examples of these boots appear in any ethnographic collections of early Labrador material. There is also no mention of this style in Hawkes' *The Labrador Eskimo* (1916), which states: "except that the woman's boot has a slight fullness at the top and more ornamentation, there does not appear to be any particular difference between the boots of men and women in Labrador, such as obtains in other sections" (41).

There is another fascinating garment described in that questionnaire, but unfortunately there are no surviving examples, just an eyewitness account. Labrador Inuit whalers are reputed to have developed a unique clothing technology rarely heard of anywhere else in the Canadian Arctic. Garth Taylor's transcription of the Moravian document "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire" provides particular insight into Inuit material technologies of the eighteenth century. As Taylor indicates, the information on hunting whales is most interesting.

They kill the Whales and Seals with Harpoons, which stick fast in the fat; to the end is a Long line made of Skin made of Bladder or Seal Skins blown full of air. This tires the Creature to draw through the water, and as he comes up they continue striking their Harpoons in him, till he's quite spent. Then they put on a dress of Skins so boiant that they are from the middle upwards above water, Thus they surround him as he Floats and cut and take away as much of the Whale as they think proper. (1972: 137)

Nunatsiavummiut whalers are thus described as having completely waterproof skin suits, sometimes referred to as “flensing suits” or “diving suits” that would be used for *flensing* a whale – removing the outer layer of blubber – while still in the water. This is particularly fascinating, as until the time of Taylor’s transcription of this questionnaire these buoyant suits had never been reported in Canada, while some similar examples had been described in Greenland (Birket-Smith 1959: 116) and in the Mackenzie delta region of Alaska (Stefansson 1914: 172). To consider how ingenious a suit of this manufacture could have been created to be both buoyant enough to support a person in the water, and so well made so as to prevent any seepage through the seams or hypothermia, is to begin to understand the skills of Inuit women seamstresses.

The garment would have a large neck opening that could be drawn together but would otherwise be completely whole and impervious to water, thereby insulating the wearer from the cold and water. To use the suit a dead whale would be towed near the shoreline or *sina* (ice edge) where the man in the flensing suit could maneuver around the whale in the water while remaining dry and warm. Other innovations of the Nunatsiavummiut for this purpose included waterproof items such as “special mittens and chest-high wading pants that combined shoes and trousers,” which were likely worn by those working on the receiving end of the *muktuk* (thick slices of whale skin) on the shores (Issenman 1997: 166). As the baleen whale population declined due to over-

hunting by foreign interests, this kind of clothing fell into disuse. There are no surviving examples from Nunatsiavut, just written accounts, although there are a few Alaskan examples that may indicate what the Labradorimiut suits might have looked like.

In a final work, the early nineteenth century a painting entitled *A Moravian Missionary Conversing with the Eskimos at Nain* (1807), a woman's *amautik* shows a great deal of elaborate beadwork and trim work around the tail and cuffs in contrasting skins, as well as what appears to be several bands of contrasting trim at the top of her *kamiks* (skin boots) [figure 3.11]. It also shows men in skin parkas, and the tail of the coats are notably absent, indicating that the loss of the tail in some parts of the Arctic occurred sometime in the late eighteenth century in Labrador, as accounts from explorers and others from the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries describe the men's coats as having tails similar to the women's coats. In a nineteenth century Moravian missionary account of his journey to the Labrador coast, *With the Harmony to Labrador: Notes Of A Visit To The Moravian Mission Stations On The North-East Coast Of Labrador*, Benjamin la Trobe's observed that the men's coats in church had shorter tails:

I was present at a marriage service last Sunday. The young bridegroom and bride sat together on two stools in the middle of the church. They were simply and plainly dressed in clean white "sillapaks," *i.e.*, light calico tunics edged with broad braid, mostly red. The woman's was rather more ornamental than the man's, and had a longer tail hanging over her skirts. (Trobe 1889: 8)

Elsewhere in the Arctic, such as among the Caribou Inuit, men's coats had tails well into the twentieth century (Birket-Smith 1929). It is likely that the style of men's parkas changed due to the extended contact of the Nunatsiavummiut on the coast and the influence of European clothing design.

European Clothing Influences, Moravian Trade and Values

Prior to the first permanent establishment of a mission in Labrador in 1771, Inuit had had considerable contact and trade with Europeans, but that trade was primarily characterized by uneasiness, distrust, misunderstanding and often violence by both sides. The arrival of Jens Haven, speaking Greenlandic Inuttitut, dressed in his “Greenlandic habit” of skin clothing and offering friendship must have been a surprising and welcome change for the Inuit. Haven’s unique skillset enabled him to create the first successful mission on the coast. Following the first mission at Nain, the Moravians built stations at Okak (1776) and Hopedale (1782), and also made frequent trips to visit Inuit at seasonal hunting settlements along the coast.

The introduction of the Moravian Mission to Labrador had a lasting impact on how Inuit dressed and on the clothing production on the Labrador coast. From the earliest records of contact made by Moravian missionaries, Inuit expressed keen interest in obtaining European trade goods used in the manufacture of clothing, as well as beading materials for decoration. For example, in 1765 Palliser requested that Moravian missionary Christian Drachard, companion of Haven and also fairly fluent in the Greenland dialect of Inuttitut, ask a series of questions to the Inuit. Palliser was vexed by the sustained conflict between the Inuit and foreign fishermen, and thought that if he could know them better, it might better equip him to deal with the most serious problems he faced as Governor. In “Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire,” J. Garth Taylor provides a rare glimpse into Inuit pre-Moravian subsistence practices, technologies, hunting methods, diet and clothing. Of note, the question “how are they clothed?” [sic] was met with the response that,

Their Cloathing [sic] is chiefly of Seal or Deer Skins. The men wear a Jacket (with) the hair side inwards and close before like a Shirt. He reaches down to the middle of the Thigh and has a Hood which in Bad weather they cover their Heads. They have Breeches of Dog or Bear Skin, the hair outward. They also have Boots. The Women dress differs from the men only in the largeness of their Hoods and Boots. The Womens Jacket has a long Flap or Tail which hangs down behind. Their Hoods are so large that they can put a young Child in it which is their method of carrying it. When they sit they thrust the Child in their Boot. (138-9)

Later, on a list of things the Inuit said would be the “most proper things” to barter for whalebone and the like, the responses included such necessary tools for sewing as, “Needles square and round; Thimbles (Talyers and Womens); Scissars, Hammers; Course thick White Woolen Cloth of the Wool very much rais’d;” and the note that “Their Women are fond of Beads of Different colours” (Ibid. 140). From this we can infer that even before the Moravian contact era Inuit had already developed a keen appreciation for the convenience that steel needles, silk thread and sharp scissors provided in clothing production.

As Moravian missionaries arrived at the first stations along the coast in the late eighteenth century, they endeavored to adapt to Inuit customs and dress rather than introduce their own, in order to ease the transition into settlement and religious conversion. Before the “great awakening” in the early nineteenth century, Inuit largely maintained their pre-contact lifestyle, traveling seasonally to optimize Labrador's rich resources.⁷³ The first significant change in settlement pattern followed the establishment of a mission and trading post in Okak, when some Inuit began to abandon their autumn-

⁷³ In autumn the Inuit made the most profitable use of the coastal territory, living in their large subterranean sod-and-stone houses and hunting harp seals by kayak as well as some whales along the northern coast. In winter when the sea ice formed Inuit hunted seals by breathing holes and went ice fishing, or hunted walrus out in the open water, supplementing this diet with duck and other birds, polar bear, mussels and cached caribou meat. In Spring Inuit returned to a plentiful seal hunt while also stalking caribou who came to the coast feed, and in Summer they often assembled in larger groups to trade before breaking off into smaller tent-camping groups who moved inland in search of freshwater fish, bears, and caribou (the latter being equally important for the production of winter clothing in the summer months) (Taylor 1977: 51-53).

winter sod house sites in order to settle around the mission and trade store in 1778. Inuit wanted to be in close proximity to the valuable goods the Moravians could supply. In 1807, nearly thirty years later, the population of the Inuit doubled suddenly, a fact attributed to the aforementioned Christian “awakening” leading to the baptism and conversion of many Inuit to the Moravian faith in a short time (Taylor and Taylor 1977: 61). No doubt the satisfaction of material desires and access to European tools, foodstuffs and other conveniences was also a factor.

By 1798 Captain A. Crofton was already reporting that the “Esquimeaux Indians” he encountered on a boat traveling to the “harbor of Bradore” were very fond of clothing of European manufacture:

They have been so provident as to bring with them some oil and whalebone to barter for English provisions and necessities, which they are now very partial to, preferring European clothing to the seal skin dresses the formerly appeared in; and are now so much civilized as to abhor raw meat, and always dress their victuals in a very decent manner, having several cooking utensils with them. They have likewise laid aside the bow and arrow for the musquets, and are excellent marksmen. (qtd. in Gosling 1910: 112)

The Harmony, the mission supply ship, brought trade goods to the Inuit in quantities never before imagined, but, as discussed in Chapter One, the mission encouraged the maintenance of traditional diet and subsistence patterns, clothing, footwear, and personal adornment, hunting technologies and Inuititut. This, it was hoped, would keep the Inuit socially and economically independent from other European influences. To this end, the mission stores at first stocked only what they considered to be the necessities of life and refused to advance credit, or sell things like alcohol or manufactured European clothing that might have had a corrupting influence. The Moravians in turn tried to maintain a way of life distinct from that of the Inuit, because

they considered themselves to be role models in religious devotion but not peers of the Inuit. They did not exchange gifts with the Inuit or share food (except in rare situations of necessity), maintaining the separation between Moravian and Inuit lifestyles. However, as we saw in Chapter Two, by the mid-eighteenth century the high cost of operating multiple missions on the Labrador coast had led to an increased dependence of the mission on store profits, and eventually other European goods were brought in to satisfy consumer demands for things like European foodstuffs, materials, tools and textiles.

The Moravians introduced Inuit women to wearing long dresses or skirts under their *silapak* (a pullover-style coat, often made of cotton or canvas, colloquially known as “dickies”) and *amautik* instead of the pre-settlement skin pants. With the influx of trade goods during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, local fashions and the traditional modes of clothing production were augmented as Inuit women began acquiring beads and embroidery to adorn their parkas with brightly coloured designs and decorative fringe. Mimicking the traditional practice of decorating clothing with borders of contrasting coloured hide, in the settlement era Inuit women began adding beautiful beaded or embroidered parka bands (decorative bands of cloth used to trim parka hoods, often with floral designs) to their clothing [Figure 3.12]. Women also adopted some new clothing customs relevant to the Church, for example wearing long cotton skirts, and crocheted wool “church bonnets,” [Figure 3.13] which signified marital status through their colour: the caps of unmarried women would have a pink ribbon, married women would wear a blue ribbon, and widows would have a white ribbon.

Robert McGhee has recently written that across the Arctic,

The Inuit’s increasing involvement in commercial contacts, and the adoption of a growing range of European technologies, seems to have lessened their interest in

the ornamentation of weapons and other tools that had once been the basis of their life. Clothing was an exception to this trend – probably because Inuit clothing has not yet been surpassed for Arctic winter use – and the addition of glass beadwork and needlepoint simply increased the range of ornamentation applied to skin and fur clothing over the past century or so. In contrast, aside from small ivory carvings produced for sale to visitors, and the occasional piece of scrimshaw in the style of American whalers, the Inuit traditions of sculpture and engraving were in abeyance. (2010: 17)

Although new materials and technologies were being introduced to Inuit culture, they continued to produce their clothing and other domestic items in ways that maintained continuities with past practices. For example they skillfully adopted duffel, canvas, embroidery thread and beads to the creation of beautiful *silapât* (plural of *silapak*) During the height of their involvement with the Moravians, Inuit were encouraged to maintain their craft productions and to adopt new practices. Inuit children began seasonally attending school taught by the missionaries, and in class or in the evenings school-age girls received extra instruction provided by the missionaries' wives in the art of knitting, sewing, and other European handicrafts (Brice- Bennett 2005: 47). [figure 1.4] Richling has noted that “In addition to skins and furs, mission exports included feathers, seal and walrus oils, basketwork and crafts, and seal skin boots” (1988: 30). Yet in spite of the emphasis on maintaining traditional crafts and arts practices and the presence of numerous examples of Inuit visual culture from the Moravian era in provincial, national and global museum collections, it appears that the trade in ivory carvings, basketry and sewing did not have much economic importance to the Moravian Church during the nineteenth century.

Rather, it appears that Inuit continued to produce these items primarily for personal and domestic use. In the summary record of the Moravian Church and Missionary Agency exports from Labrador for the years 1883, 1893, and 1903, sales of

“straw work and curios” totaled only \$200 out of \$28,142, \$60 out of \$22,024, and \$150 out of \$48,442 respectively (ctd. in Jenness 1965: 36). Men and women alike had been earning their living not through clothing and curio production but by trapping, fishing and sealing: men trapped and hunted, while women worked in complementary industries, such as in the blubber yards, processing blubber in to oil (Richling 1988: 30-31). During the profitable years of “Moravian rule” in the first half of the nineteenth-century the sealing industry was by far the most lucrative for the missions and Inuit alike [figure 3.15]. Yet as we’ve seen, by the beginning of the twentieth-century the mission trade industry was crippled by tremendous debt that threatened the future of the missions in Labrador (Brice-Bennett 2005: 94). By the early twentieth century, the mission was making arrangements for the Hudson’s Bay Company to take over the northern Labrador trade stores, effectively taking over trade with the Inuit and responsibility for the local economy as well.

As previously discussed, when the Hudson’s Bay Company took over from the Moravian missions in 1926, the quantity and diversity of trade goods – including trade fabric, sewing and embroidery supplies, beads and readymade clothing – grew exponentially. Even so, the HBC store managers were not involved in brokering the production and sale of handmade items in Labrador as it was elsewhere.⁷⁴ Even though the Hudson’s Bay Company was intimately involved in fostering and supporting the Inuit

⁷⁴ For the most part, the Hudson’s Bay Company district reports from Labrador speak mainly of fish and fur, and not of handicrafts, clothing or sculpture. With a few exceptions - noted elsewhere in this dissertation - little reference is made to Labradorimut art in the Hudson Bay Company Archive (HBCA) search files, and no mention of Labrador is included in the HBCA’s database “Inuit – Art,” where folders of information including articles, transcribed excerpts from records, correspondence and so on have been compiled by archives staff over the years (generally in response to specific inquiries). Furthermore, while the HBCA has a similar set of reference files that were maintained by the staff of *The Beaver* magazine, of the files labeled “Eskimo Art: Presentations by HBC”, “Eskimos: Basketry”, and “Eskimos – Labrador,” none of them contained any information relating specifically to arts, crafts or clothing production in Labrador. Personal correspondence with HBCA Archivist, Heather Beattie (June 25, 2012)..

arts industry – particularly in ivory and stone carvings – elsewhere in the Arctic, it appears that these practices were not considered seriously in Labrador.⁷⁵

Clothing in Transition: The Twentieth Century

In *The Labrador Eskimo*, Hawkes devotes considerable attention to clothing.

While by the time of Hawkes' arrival in Labrador, cotton, duffel and other textiles had been long introduced, skin clothing was still very common. Furthermore, although much clothing was sewn from fabric instead of fur, the new materials were often used to produce traditional garments. Most Inuit had already adopted the wearing of cloth trousers, yet Hawkes noted that some men still wore pants made of sealskin, dogskin or moleskin (depending on time of year and purpose), and, "for the women short trousers made of moleskin, just coming to the top of the boots and prettily embroidered at the bottom, are still in use" (Hawkes 1914: 40) [figure 3.16]. While it appears many women possessed these garments and the skills to make them, their wearing was mostly confined to special occasions (not unlike the wearing of traditional sealskin boots is today). Men's pants could be short and somewhat baggy, or long and fitted, so as to fit inside of *kamiks*.⁷⁶ [Figure 3.17]. The women's versions, as Hawkes noted, were a little more

⁷⁵ For example, in 1925 the Company established a short lived Development Department to examine and promote new areas of activity targeted at creating 'off season' employment in order to stimulate economic and physical well-being among the Indians and Inuit without interfering with trapping or hunting. As Arthur J. Ray has noted, "they stimulated native handicraft work and the company set aside space in its line posts and retail stores for the sales of these items; similarly, the Company encouraged Indians to work as guides for tourists in the summer time." I have yet to discover any reference to this initiative being extended to Labrador when the Company took over the coastal Labrador stores the following year. Perhaps this is due to the role that the Grenfell Mission Industrial Department was already having in Labrador (Ray 1990: 201).

⁷⁶ In his text Hawkes carefully noted the pattern for making the knee-length trouser, which, as shown in the diagram, is simply made of two pieces, one for each leg, with seams at the legs and joining in the front and back with a drawstring at the waist.

detailed, and often decorated with contrasting white caribou fur in bands at the knee similar to those found on the cuffs of the *amautik*.

When Hawkes was in Labrador he also observed that Labradorimiut women still occasionally wore highly complex caribou garments on occasion, but by that time the accessibility of European fabric and materials such as duffel, cotton, wool and stroud had opened up great possibilities in clothing manufacture. One of the most popular and enduring clothing introductions for both men and women was – and remains – the *silapak* or dickie [figure 3.18].

In the 1985 MUN Art Gallery exhibition catalogue, *Labrador Crafts: Past and Present*, Judy McGrath explains, “the tailed sealskin parka design was maintained in form but transferred to duffel and cotton with embroidery, beading and braid decoration and is currently undergoing creative adaptation, as in the tailed vest” (McGrath 1985: 7). McGrath discusses the representation of continuity and adaptation inherent in these productions, stating, “crafts represent a visual record which provides a vital link to the understanding and appreciation of the society from which they came. [...] Culture, by its nature, is in a constant state of change, a creative integration of the old and the new and Labrador, where cultures have been bumping into one another for 3800 years, is no exception” (Ibid. 4). This long history of interaction and contact on the coast has resulted in a rich and dynamic clothing history and practice.

For men, women and children, the cotton *silapak* is the most common “traditional” garment still made and worn today. Women’s *silapât* (plural form of *silapak*), like the earlier caribou versions, are still very decorative. The woman’s *silapak* retains the slightly shorter front apron and the longer tail at the back, and is distinguished

from other Arctic styles by its slightly squared bottom. Like the caribou skin *silapak* or *amautik*, the cuffs, collar and bottom edge are usually trimmed with lines or double lines, but instead of strips of fur, women use rickrack (zigzag trim) or strips of contrasting coloured fabric to achieve the same appearance [figure 3.19]. There is still a large amaut, but on the women's version of the parka and cotton *silapak*, a beaded or embroidered strip made of cotton or stroud is frequently added to the hood, called the *amameotaks* or parka band. These parka bands, commonly black with red trim, are decorated with beadwork or embroidery. Flowers, abstract designs, stars or other designs are spread across the length of the parka band. The hem, hood and sleeves can also be trimmed in fur. Hawkes notes, "The slips used by the women have handsomely embroidered hoods [...] and are trimmed with fur about the face" (1916: 39). As Sherry Farrell Racette has observed, Indigenous people are adept at incorporating new materials seamlessly with existing practices.

In much of what is now Canada, encounters between Europeans and First Nations involved an exchange of material goods for either economic or diplomatic purposes. The Hudson's Bay Company offered warm woolen blankets in exchange for soft, worn beaver robes. Gifts of beads, cloth, blankets and shawls were used to negotiate peaceful and mutually beneficial relationships. [...] Decorative, practical and symbolic functions shifted onto the new materials. Cloth also had several practical functions that caused it to be widely adopted. It could be washed and dried without warping. Wool wicked moistures away from the body, a critical attribute in an environment where hypothermia could be life-threatening. Colours also gave new goods appeal; particularly popular were deep blue, black and red. (Farrell Racette 2009: 25-26)

Hawkes notes that men would wear an unembellished version of the dickie "with a straight bottom, and smaller hood," corroborating the notion that by the early nineteenth century men were definitely not wearing the tailed garments as they were elsewhere in

the Canadian Arctic.[figure 3.20] For men, the *parkas* and suits made of sealskin were reported as having a practical dimension:

Sealskin dickys [sic] are not very often worn by women. They are used by the men when stalking seals in the spring, together with sealskin trousers. It is said that the sealskin slips over the ice and snow easier than deerskin, and also makes the seal think that one of his own kin is approaching. In connexion [sic] with this spring hunting costume, a hareskin cap is worn. [...] In Ungava a pad of polar bearskin, with a hole through which the thumb is thrust, is used to protect the elbow when crawling up on the seal. (Hawkes 1914: 38).

While styles and mediums have continued to adapt with the introduction of new fabrics and materials for decoration clothing and changing fashions, many garments have retained their original shape, function and method of construction. Today skin boots and cotton *silapaks* are as common as skidoo boots and Gore-Tex coats throughout Labrador, although the traditional clothing is more frequently worn on special occasions and to public events rather than as every day wear.

Modern Duffel Coats and Inukuluk Designs

In addition to the *silapak*, zip-up, rather than pullover style, duffel coats with embroidery became very popular in Labrador in the latter half of the twentieth century [figure 3.21]. While styles vary, embroidery is one of the defining features of these coats. In Nunatsiavut, silk, cotton and wool embroidery is often added as an embellishment on parka bands, cotton and duffel coats and duffel boot liners (called “vamps” in Labrador). Embroidery ranges from the realistic to the abstract and ornamental. A single line could be used to create minute details like the harness on a dog team or the fringe on a parka, while many overlapping stitches in similar colours can depict a subtle shift in colour gradation in a grassy field or sunset. Some of the most recognizable embroidery would be

of the whimsical Inuit *inukuluk* (little people) designs frequently found on cotton and duffel coats, with the pockets, trim and borders. These coats produced in Labrador as well as in other regions of the Arctic, were relatively popular in both North and South throughout the 60s, 70s and 80s, and have recently experienced a popular revival in southern Canada largely through the second-hand, thrift shop market and through online retailers like etsy and eBay.

In an essay on *inukuluk* designs included in *Land, Sea and Time: Book Two*, Susannah “Susie” Igloliorte explained that she was the first woman in Hopedale to work with *inukuluk* designs. In 1945 Igloliorte embroidered her daughter’s jacket with designs of embroidered Inuit people, Arctic animals and Labrador scenes, inspiring a lifelong practice [figure 3.22].

Judy McGrath claimed that Katie Hettasch introduced the use of *inukuluk* designs in handmade goods, stating that “‘Labrador’ Kate, as she is fondly called, is responsible for the playful *inukuluk* parka clad figure designs so often seen on parkas today,” which may have been inspired by children’s drawings of Inuit figures from when she was a school teacher in the 1930s. (McGrath 1985: 8). Igloliorte recalls that from as early as the 1930s, she remembers Katie Hettasch had been encouraging Inuit women to embroider *inukuluk* designs on tablecloths, place mats and other cotton goods. Igloliorte believes she may have first seen *inukuluk* figures while staying at the Grenfell mission hospital at Cartwright.

I was up to Cartwright, in the hospital, and while I was there I used to do sewing for Mrs. Keddie. That was in 1939. She was having embroidery done on cloth, not on duffel. Inukuluks we makes on duffel, that only came around 1956, and that was started by me in Hopedale. [...] When they saw I made them, everyone started making them. (21)

In her 1976 report for the Labrador Craft Produces Association (LCPA, as discussed in Chapter 4), “A Survey of Labrador Crafts,” crafts advisor Joanne Brook also discussed the production of Inuit duffel parkas. Brook felt that in order to compete with the considerably more organized, or commercialized, Inuit duffle coat production groups in the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec also producing embroidered coats, Labrador would have to move in to semi-mass production on a centralized basis (1976: 2). Instead she recommended for the time being that artists focus on the existing custom-order business within Newfoundland and Labrador, as she reported that artists could not keep up with the local demand as it was.

In 1978 the LCPA organized a workshop, documented on film, which was concerned with the production of duffel coats. The workshop was intended to provide guidelines for the creation of duffel coats including standards of finishing as well as various techniques and questions surrounding marketing and product standardization. It was explained by the workshop leaders, for example, that while the decision to add a lining or not was entirely up to the producer, those coats that had linings and finished seams were more likely to sell and to meet the standards of people “outside.” The demonstrators used examples of well-made coats, one for a child and one for an adult, to show the different kinds of seams used in a single coat, how seams should match up on the contemporary styled coats, and how to create and sew in a lining.

People have said the importance of using patterns. I think that these patterns that are being developed will be very useful because they are fully sized right from children’s up to Men’s large, 14, 16, 18, 22 or extra large, so there will be full sizing and someone will be able to order by standard size. How this got started was from people saying, “we need patterns, we need patterns.” So as Viola mentioned earlier, a pattern drafter created the sizes. Then the drafter sizes were taken over by Viola and Betty have done just an amazing amount of work, you wouldn’t believe. We at first thought it was going to be about six weeks work and here we are three months later still about

half way through. So it's just been a just a tremendously large undertaking, that we've learnt lessons all along the way. The wonderful thing about what Betty and Viola have done, is that they have check through each part of the pattern, like the sleeves and the shoulder lines, to make sure that they are the Labrador style and that they work. [...] They are only half way through approximately 700 patterns in all, something like that. (Brook "Labrador Craft Producers Association workshop and slide show")

For a range of sizes in children, women and men's coats, there are usually fifteen different patterns, so the numbers add up quickly when creating a range of coats. The craft council hoped that by having master patterns that could not be worn down or damaged, and then sharing those patterns widely, they could standardize the sizing for coats thereby making it easier to market them outside of Labrador, while providing the keys to the first contemporary clothing production industry in Nunatsiavut. The plan was to create a set of these patterns for each community, and then hold a workshop in each community with the local master seamstresses who created the standardized patterns, in order to have the women explain how to look after and use the patterns. Rather than sending the patterns out to a clothing manufacturer who might not have experience with duffel, the LCPA decided to hire locally in order to capitalize on the expertise of artists who were both experienced in pattern making and in sewing with duffel (Ibid.).

Despite their best efforts, however, the LCPA could not find a foothold in this limited market for Inuit-made duffel coats. Elsewhere in the Arctic, the more manufacturing-oriented production of these parkas edged Labrador out of the industry, even though coats continued to be made and sold within Labrador. It is unknown at this time what the long-term results were of the LCPA's pattern-making endeavor, and whether those patterns were ever produced and distributed as planned. The fact is, as with other craft practices (not just in Labrador, but everywhere in the Arctic and elsewhere),

the time and expense of producing the coats is usually not worth the price that can be had to make one. Elizabeth “Aunt Liz” Tooktoshina explained,

I used to make those long parkas. Parkas we did with the *inukuluks* on the outside. [I’d] sell my parkas, let’s see, \$75 for a parka. I got all my slips together and I added up what I was buying to make a parka, and I was making \$3 a parka! So I gave that up. A lot of work for three dollars. I was getting my money back but that’s what I spend to make a parka. (Appendix: Interview with Elizabeth Tooktoshina)

Now, Tooktoshina explained, she takes the same amount of material and produces socks, mitts, slippers, vamps, and all manner of smaller clothing items, knitted and sewn.

Today, large-scale and commercial clothing production is no longer a viable industry or even an aspiration on the coast. Instead, there has been a shift in priorities away from production and towards preservation. One of the significant undertakings of the new Torngat Arts and Crafts centres planned for the future – and of urgent importance – is the development of a “pattern library” for traditional clothing.

The pattern library will be a permanent collection of patterns from Nunatsiavut sewing experts. The pattern library arises from a concern that the knowledge of various ways to make mitts, boots, slippers, silapaks and other clothing is being lost. When elders stop making their traditional clothing, their patterns are not always passed on, and sometimes this valuable cultural heritage resource is simply thrown out with the garbage. We will be approaching known sewers and put out a public call as well, to request patterns for the permanent collection. The patterns will be preserved on template plastic, and the pattern “owners” will be given the option of making their patterns available to the public or simply archived, whichever is their preference. We will be recording who the patterns came from, how they were used, what materials would normally match the patterns, and any history behind them. [...] And we will be paying honouraria to “artists in residence”; these [skilled] craftspeople and artisans who will do demonstrations at the Craft Shop and answer questions from visitors and aspiring artists. (“Background of Torngat Arts and Crafts”)

Gilbert Hay, who was once called, “the best dressed Inuk” in Nain because he made his own sealskin clothing, was one of the few people still making whole skin outfits in the 1970s and 80s (Author Interview Hay).

When I got into skin clothes I went out and killed my own seals and cleaned the skins myself and actually sat down and made clothing out of this material. And on top of that, I had dogs, instead of sitting down and talking about doing carvings, it doesn't really mean anything to you if you sit down and carve a dog team while you had 'em, (laughs). And there'd be more of a value to what you were doing because you appreciated what you were doing more than a lot of the times today. (Edmunds 2002: 41)

While Labrador Inuit have continued to make skin clothing in the traditional fashion, the practice is very time consuming and requires great skill, and it is therefore rare to see the larger garments such as *amautiks* or skin pants. Instead, small-scale skin items are more likely to thrive while knowledge of larger clothing production slips away. It is therefore of the utmost importance that Torngat Arts and Crafts is successful in their endeavor, for the preservation of our unique traditional clothing design.

Contemporary Kamik: Carrying on Traditions

Labrador Inuit footwear ranges in style and appearance, and evidences longstanding Inuit practices while reflecting the influence of the great sewing traditions of the neighbouring Innu, as well as European contact. Inuit footwear frequently consists of outer and inner layers worn in different combinations depending on season and utility. Today usually Inuit wear Sorrels or other practical hard-soled snowmobile boots for going out on the land, but most also have *kamiks* for special occasions and handmade slippers at home in duffel, sealskin or moosehide, and usually trimmed with soft rabbit

fur and decorated with beadwork or embroidery. Judy McGrath has discussed the vast variety of productions that can result from a limited number of materials:

Using the same basic material, sealskin, the craftspeople of Labrador either leave the fur on and 1) use it in one piece, 2) piece the fur into decorative patterns, or 3) frost bleach the hide side to make it soft and white (and sometimes paint it with designs); or they take the fur off and 1) use it black for waterproof boots, 2) frost bleach the hide white for special decoration, or 3) bark the hide brown with alder or birch. All except the barking and frost bleached painted hide are Inuit in origin but have been adopted by all areas of Labrador. The barking process is a form of tanning which was used in the British Isles at the time early settlers came to Labrador. Without the land based animals to use for leather they turned to the sea and tanned sealskin. The basic construction of the different styles of boot varies both in intended use and geographically; the waterproof boot has carefully tailored, finely sewn double seams, and the difference in gathering on the barked boots from the Straits and the north coast boots are quite noticeable. (1985: 7)

As McGrath highlighted, there are several ways of making Labrador Inuit sealskin boots, or *kamiks*. Some features common to most kamiks are that they are usually knee high in length, are worn with duffel liners called vamps and are pieced together with at least three pieces comprising the sole, top of the foot (known as the vamp, tongue or instep), and the legging. Within these parameters much variety is possible, particularly because Nunatsiavummiut have always had ready access to a variety of land and sea mammals and can prepare skins in a number of different ways, resulting in numerous possibilities for innovation and creativity. Some possible variations on sealskin alone include choosing haired or shaved sealskin, bleached or black skin and fur, and having the seal fur face inside or outside the legging, with inside fur providing maximum warmth and comfort, while outside offering lightness and attractiveness. Different kinds of boots required different treatments.

Dad and grandfather wore skin boots all year round. Women had to know at a very young age how to make a pair of skin boots. One had to know how to clean sealskin depending on what type of boot was being made. For example, there were black bottomed boots for everyday wear. Hairy-leg boots would be inset with

diamond-shaped or geometric pieces of contrasting sealskin. These would be for special occasions, as well as the white-bottomed boots. One had to know how to cure and tan them. Today it is very difficult to find anyone who can clean a sealskin and make a pair of boots. [...] When I became old enough to help mom with the softening of the sealskin, I had to chew the different parts of the boot pieces, or trample the hard sealskin. I would have to do it after school. (Lyll 1997: 15)

To begin from the bottom up, *kamiks* can be made with either pleated soles or flat soles. For pleated soles, which are most common, the pleat curves over the toe of the boot and can be sewn inside out or with a “pinch pleat,” where the joiner between sole and vamp is created by making many minute pleats all around the “tongue” – giving the appearance of smocking - and sewing down to form the flat top of the boot (Nunatsiavummiut call what others may call the “vamp” the “tongue,” because in Labrador “vamp” is the word used to describe the duffel liner sock that is worn inside the *kamik*) [figure 3.23]. The tongue can be made in the same material but is often contrasting, or it may be the same material but tanned or prepared in a different way. The standard, utilitarian *kamik* is called a “black bottom” boot [figure 3.24], so called for the traditionally tanned black sealskin sole and upper. To prepare black bottom boots the seal fur is completely removed from the skin, as shown in the image and the leg section might also be similarly made of dehaired, or shaved sealskin, or have the fur left intact. Black bottom boots created with native tanning methods are by far the most practical, as the native tanning processes leaves the dehaired sealskin completely waterproof. Sarah Ittulak of Nain explained that in the native tanning process, “a jar skin [...] don’t take long to dry out in the summer when you make them for boot bottoms. Boot legs it takes a little longer to dry,” adding that to make a standard pair of boots it would take her about three days after the skins are stretched and dried (Chaulk and Ittulak 2010: 14-5).

Commercial tanning makes sealskin much softer and more flexible (and also much easier to adorn with beadwork than the stiffer native tanned sealskin), but the trade off is in water fastness.

Labrador Inuit used to wear boots with bleached sealskin soles, known as “white bottom boots” to church and other special events [figure 3.25]. As Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe explained in *Our Boots: An Inuit Women’s Art*, “today this style is occasionally made for family members but rarely for sale to other community members or outsiders. Boots with shaved soles are more common and preferred for wet weather” (Oakes and Riewe 1995: 109).

The stovepipe-shaped leg section of the boot is often made of ringed seal fur, prized for its beautiful colour and pattern. Nellie Winters explained that the direction that the fur is cut is in and placed on the boot is also gendered: while the fur on the legging of a man’s boot points vertically downward, women’s would go around the legging horizontally (App. B: Interview with N. Winters).⁷⁷ Besides this, and except that the Inuit women’s boot sometimes has slightly more fullness at the top, or ornamentation on the tongue, there is not much difference between the design of men’s and women’s *kamiks*.

While beautiful on their own, sometimes patterns are created by sewing in cutout shapes of contrasting sealskin to create diamonds, vertical lines down the front, or other geometric patterns in the fur [figures 3.26 & 3.27]. Most boots are trimmed in skin or fabric at the top and contain a drawstring made of coloured cotton, with the most popular

⁷⁷ Makkovik-based Winters is the matriarch of an extended family of art and craft producers not only residing in Makkovik but all over Labrador and outside of the Nunatsiavut Territory. Winters raised her family in Makkovik following the 1956 resettlement of Okak Bay. Winters has been making *kamiks*, duffel parkas, bonework jewelry, and mixed-media skin mitts and slippers for decades and is one of the most highly respected artists living in Labrador today.

colours of late being the evergreen, sky blue, and snow white of the Labrador and Nunatsiavut flags.

For sizing, Inuit women are known to have used hand, string and eye measurements to develop clothing and footwear patterns, often using a handspan, a $\frac{3}{4}$ handspan and a $\frac{1}{2}$ handspan to produce accurate patterns (Ibid. 51).⁷⁸ To begin sewing, the sealskin usually must be soaked for a few hours (especially if it has been stored for a while) and if it is particularly stiff, salt may be added to soften it up. Seams were carefully done by hand in the past and this is still more common than machine sewing today, as hand stitching can produce finer stitches and machine needles can break easily under the thickness of the skin.

Paulus Maggo recalled in *Remembering the Years of my Life* (1999) that women produced sealskin boots year-round, but the boots made in the summer were primarily for trading purposes. Those boots could be plain or fancy in style; fancy boots made from jar seal skins could be beaded and/or trimmed with fox or hare skins to make them attractive to the fishermen who bought them. “Decorated skin slippers fetched maybe \$1.50 a pair while sealskin boots sold for between \$3 and \$3.50. The Newfoundlanders liked using our sealskin boots, new or used.” (104) Maggo further explains the trade value of well-made boots to the islanders, noting that for between just two and five pairs of *kamiks* an Inuk could obtain a punt (a small, flat-bottomed boat with two sets of oars and oar-locks for rowing), or up to ten pairs of boots could buy a “brand-new rowing boat” (104).

⁷⁸ For more on this practice in Labrador and elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic, see Turner (1888); Driscoll and Swinton (*Amautikk*, 1980)..

Contemporary Sewing Practice: Mittens and Slippers

While the largest items of hide and skin clothing are rarely produced anymore, and sealskin *kamiks* are still produced but are not as ubiquitous as they once were, seamstresses in Nunatsiavut still use tanned skins and hides regularly in their work. Today, caribou hide, moosehide, and sealskin are all frequently used in the creation of the popular and practical mittens and slippers. While the patterns for both mittens and slippers are quite basic, artists have introduced a great variety of styles and forms of ornamentation into their work, and the variations in length, decoration, lining, materials and embellishment are anything but standard [figure 3.29]. While space does not allow for a thorough investigation of these works here, future developments of this research will example the proliferation and significance of these works to local markets of the sewing productions necessitates further research [figure 3.30].

In the 1976 LCPA report by Brook, the craft consultant suggested that both mitts and slippers would sell well in southern Canadian markets, and in fact already, “everyone [she showed them to] was universally enthusiastic about all the mitts,” and would feel the same about slippers except that slippers were “hard to get in large sizes” (Brook 1976: 3). With mittens in sealskin or caribou, Brook reported that embroidery and beadwork were appreciated by the gallerists and craft specialists she showed, and that work with fur trim could be expected to sell for even higher prices.

Brook was correct that mittens would continue to be a popular and mildly profitable industry. Even though the industry is still very much a cottage industry, artists have no trouble selling their work, and most artists I spoke to had a steady stream of orders for mittens and slippers that kept them busy year round. Elizabeth Tooktoshina

noted that this is particularly true of the months from early fall through to Christmas.

(App. B: author interview E. Tooktoshina)

Contemporary Concerns for Traditional Clothing Production

Most of the clothing discussed in this chapter has been designed using the complete fabrication or partial incorporation of Arctic animal skins and fur. It has always been a priority of the Inuit that the expertise required to create skin clothing be fostered and passed on intergenerationally to ensure the continuance of this most fundamental expression of Inuit culture. As curator Kathleen Ash-Milby explained in the Smithsonian Institution exhibition catalogue for *Hide: Skin as Material and Metaphor* (2010),

For Native people, skin encompasses an entire universe of meaning. Our own skin functions as a canvas that we can inscribe with messages about our identity, or use as a shield, protecting and hiding our secrets. Animal skin as a material, used for protection and artistic expression, also has a long history within Native culture. Whether considering hide or Native skin, skin is a deeply symbolic reminder of historical misrepresentation, exploitation, and racial politics. Native artists draw upon all of these sources to create compelling work that engages the intimate and communal. (15)

Because it is so culturally significant, using fur and skin products in clothing continues to be a major concern, yet access to the materials is an ongoing challenge for Inuit people in Nunatsiavut. During a 1976 LCPA workshop an unidentified participant from the Labrador Straits region requested that the organization try to address the problem, also offering the possible solution:

Project number one: We would like to see the curing of sealskins as it was traditionally done in the Straits. To do this, we feel that there is a need for seed money to get the sealskins so that we can cure them over the season. And of course we'd need wages to be paid to a person or persons if the project became big enough, to actually cure those sealskins the whole process would take the better part of a year because it takes such a long time to tan the skins. The objective of the project, of course, would be for us to be able to supply our local

area with raw materials and sealskin to work with for skin boots and mitts and what have you that we would like to produce in the Straits. And to see to outside markets once the needs of the area are met. (Labrador Craft Producers Association Workshop” c. 1976)

It is not known at this time if the LCPA was able to take steps in that direction, but a commercial hunt and tannery was planned elsewhere in Labrador, and experienced some moderate success, in the 1980s. In 1985 the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation (LIDC) began holding small-scale commercial hunts.⁷⁹ The hunt, which was successful in some ways but was limited by a lack of sufficient freezers or a processing plant for larger production, led to plans to construct a plant in Nain where skins might also be processed for use in sewing, crafts and other related projects in the cottage industries. Over the next few years the industry experienced some moderate success, but ultimately the dramatic decrease in the size of the George River Caribou herd would quash plans of a long term commercial hunt, and thus a local tannery (Hall 1990 n.p.) Instead, the LIDC now focuses on quarrying anorthosite and other mineral resources, fisheries and other industries largely unrelated to the arts. Artists today say that the lack of a commercial processing plant for caribou and sealskin means that they have to order their tanned hide from far away, limiting their options on what they can work with.

In the last few decades in Canada the fur market has collapsed, due to both economy and ideology. The boycott of seal products in particular by organizations such as PETA, IFAW and Sea Shepherd has had a great impact on the lives and livelihoods of many Inuit. The ban on sealskin exports has definitely had an impact on the arts industry;

⁷⁹ The LIDC was incorporated in 1982 as the business arm of the Labrador Inuit Association, and tasked with improving the economic and social well being of the Labradorimiut by creating employment, education and training opportunities, particularly through industries which made use of traditional Inuit skills and knowledge.

it is not economically viable to hunt seals and therefore considerably fewer skins are made available to work with. Sometimes it is more economically advantageous to purchase skins by mail order but at a very high cost to the seamstress. Common throughout the coast, many artists have discussed the problem of access to seal fur. Today artists have a difficult time working with skin for a number of reasons. Primarily, the cost and difficulty of obtaining and tanning skins does not result in fair wages, given the amount of work that goes into the process. It is becoming harder to find someone who can make a pair of *kamiks* from beginning to end. In *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Miriam Lyall adds that it is challenging to rely on elders to pass on knowledge, while they are also trying to meet the demands of the local market for traditional skin goods.

One of the obvious reasons is that our elderly women who are fine seamstresses and bootmakers are getting up in age. When these craftspeople are available, there are so few of them and they become overworked with orders and they never get fully paid for all the work that is involved in making a pair of boots. [...] When buyers see the finished product only, they often think it is overpriced. They do not take into consideration the work of the craftsperson from beginning to end. (1996: 15).

The practice of hunting, tanning and sewing skin clothing, boots and other complex designs will be need to be cultivated and maintained by men and women in order to maintain and the skills and knowledge of today to future generations of Inuit in the Nunatsiavut Territory.

Continuity and Tradition: The Inuit Women's Coat

The earliest illustrations of Inuit dress depicted by Europeans included in this chapter, drawn or painted long before contact began to influence clothing design, show

that patterns and garments were mutable even before contact with outsiders. The changing shape of *amautet* hoods or the legging of a boot, an insert at the sleeve or a fold under the arm, demonstrate the creativity and experimentalism of Inuit seamstresses in the pre- and early-contact era.

Through exchange first with whalers and other explorers, and later the Moravians, Hudson's Bay Company, and Grenfell Mission, the Inuit were able to trade the products of their rich marine resources for knives, axes, guns and ammunition, metal needles and silk thread, lightweight cotton and warm wool duffel, man-made dyes, glass beads, and strands of ribbon and trim. While the skill sets required to hunt, trap, cut a pattern or sew a pleat remained unchanged, the range of accessible equipment and materials presented a radical shift, and some of these introduced tools and textiles had a profound impact on the production of clothing. Before contact, Inuit clothing was made beautiful, strong and meaningful through the use of contrasting colours of fur and skin, often as bands around cuffs, collars and other seams. Meticulously sewn and elaborated patterned clothing offered both physical and spiritual protection while demonstrating the wearer's status and talent. Because of the existing emphasis on personal adornment and beautiful clothing Inuit women embraced the new materials and began to supplement and augment their clothing design to suit new purposes. Compared to the painstaking process of extracting and separating individual strands of sinew for sewing, for example, the convenience of metal needles and silk or cotton thread must have been extremely appealing. Colourful trims, combined with beads and the bright array of colours of silk thread embroidery have led to the fluorescence of the embroidery and beadwork traditions that proliferate today.

In many instances, European materials were no match for Inuit sewing technologies. For example, European winter clothing could not rival the established use of sinew-sewn, caribou fur coats or sealskin *kamiks*, which were specifically created to be weather and water-proof, and impervious to the cold. Yet in the summertime, cotton and canvas provided more lightweight protection. In some instances, European products replaced older materials or inspired fresh modes of production; in others, new technologies and techniques were adapted into existing traditions, where novel materials and practices were aligned with centuries-old Aboriginal methods. Today, Inuit continue to produce *amautet* and *silapât* in an endless number of combinations of materials and techniques and embellishments

The continuity of Inuit clothing is not about the specific adherence to a particular pattern, nor is it about using a specific kind of material or style of adornment. As this chapter has demonstrated, the continuity of Inuit clothing lies in the intent, purpose, and act of sewing. It is carried forward in the continuous engagement with the practice of making Inuit clothing, the knowledge of which is shared across generations, and the visual expression of skill, artistry and creativity

Chapter 4: Carving Practices in the Nunatsiavut Territory

Art in Labrador goes back thousands of years. Before the white man came, we lived in a different world. We lived with nature and saw the world with different eyes. Everything had a life of its own. We decorated our tools and implements (made mostly of ivory, bone and wood) with images of the animals and spirits we saw. The shamans created images to help them in their work.

Things changed. The European culture found us. Our old traditions and ways of life were transformed almost beyond recognition. We were decimated by diseases against which we had no defense, and by warfare against everybody. The Moravians established stations and tried to turn us into Christians. But our memories survived against all these odds. We used our art to pass our myths, legends and knowledge down through the ages: from parent to child. During the latter part of the last century, a lot of work in ivory was bought by the missionaries. This work mostly showed our way of life and the animals we saw. Many of these miniatures were beautifully carved. (John Terriak, 1996: 11-12)

While the earliest works of Labradorimiut visual culture were likely finely made waterproof caribou and sealskin clothing, in the acidic soil of the Labrador coast the oldest surviving objects are not coats or *kamiks* but rather tools and implements from the Arctic Small Tool Tradition and a few small carvings of stone, shale, bone, ivory, and occasionally wood and other organic materials. Scrapers, knives, harpoons and other implements were used for survival; these were utilitarian but finely crafted, aesthetically pleasing and spiritually significant.

Some of the most prominent and distinctive objects of Labradorimiut manufacture throughout history have been works made in ivory. Ivory miniatures can be found in collections both at home and abroad, scattered throughout institutions in North America and Europe by whalers, explorers, missionaries, archeologists, anthropologists and other collectors, who frequented the coast over several centuries of contact. Because the private collections of so many visitors to the Labrador coast have ended up in museums worldwide through the global networks created by trade and imperialism, examples of

early Nunatsiavummiut visual culture have been accessible for centuries in North American and European institutions.

Ivory is the primary medium representing the Nunatsiavummiut in most contemporary museums and arts institutions. Walrus was once one of our richest and most abundant resources, although they rarely seen in Labrador today.¹ Today work in ivory is mostly absent in Nunatsiavut, save the occasional appearance as an inlay in a carving. Walrus' provided Nunatsiavummiut food, fuel and hide, as well as valuable carving material for talismans, toys, tools and items of personal adornment, and was also used on hunting equipment such as the head and foreshaft of harpoons. As Jane Sproull Thomson and J. Callum Thomson wrote in "Prehistoric Eskimo Art in Labrador," archaeological research attests to the persistence of the Inuit ivory carver's excellence. For thousands of years the Inuit explored the particular qualities of walrus ivory. As needs changed, so did the types of artifacts made from this precious but common material. When European tools and weapons became available, it was no longer necessary to make these things from ivory, wood and stone. But the pleasure of working natural materials remained.

There are many unanswered questions about this period, a hiatus between the traditional world of the Inuit and the modern, and about the art, including the ivory carvings, made during those years. How many of these miniature collections exist? Were many or even all of them made by a single artist? Research is needed to unearth collections and documents in museums and attics, and perhaps this will be followed by an exhibition to reveal the tiny, perfect world envisioned by 19th century Inuit. (Sproull Thomson and Thomson 1991: 14)

¹ The average walrus weighs about 2000 pounds and the female about 1250, and adult tusks can range from approximately 30cm to 100cm in length, making each walrus a considerable resource of meat, blubber, hide and tusk. Walrus were formerly plentiful all the way down the coast and through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but as A.G. Loughrey reported in 1959, extensive hunting by foreign vessels during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to their extermination by around the mid-eighteenth century. Since that time, walrus have primarily been reported only around the most northern part of the Labrador coast and much further north in the Arctic (Loughrey 1959: 27).

In Chapter One I provided a brief overview of Dorset, Thule and pre-European contact Inuit ivory and stone carvings and tools discovered by archeologists and others in Labrador. Here I will discuss the carving practices on the Labrador coast that followed, examining in particular ivory miniatures. As a practice that began in the pre-contact era and continued well through the Moravian epoch, this little-studied yet abundant body of work represents one of the most significant post-contact Inuit art forms and commodities.

As we've seen, prior to contact with Europeans, carving had served four primary functions for the Inuit: as decoration of utilitarian objects; for magical, religious or shamanic purposes; for the creation of toys and games; or as personal amusement.² Anthropologist Charles A. Martijn has persuasively described these categories in a number of articles that examine the object record and the related historical accounts of the earliest white explorers of the Arctic (Martijn 1964; 1967). Like the Dorset and the Thule ancestors who populated the northern coast before them, prior to European contact Labrador Inuit carved the likenesses of the land and sea animals, birds, and people. Ivory could be used to decorate clothing in meaningful ways, or fashioned into amulets and pendants to be worn under clothing.

Scholars have long speculated that many of these carvings had a shamanic purpose. While some knowledge of the practices of the *angakuq* (shaman) has survived, the specific function of many of these ivory carvings is more difficult to uncover.³ As Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten wrote in *The Sea Woman: Sedna in Inuit*

² Even though Franz Boas wrote in 1927 that “it must be remembered that all the Eskimo tribes, east and west, are very fond of carving and that they produce many small animal figures that serve no practical purpose but which are made for the pleasure of artistic creation, and that many of their small implements are given animal forms,” this form of “personal amusement” is not to be confused with the purely Western notion of “art for art’s sake” (124).

³ Franz Boas has suggested that the Labradorimiut also made use of sealskin, fur and wood amulets prepared by shamans for various purposes (1974: 592)

Shamanism and Art in the Eastern Arctic, while ivory, bone and antler carvings from the Dorset and Thule traditions attest to the technical skills and artistry of Inuit carvers, their meanings can also be elusive and spiritually ambiguous.

They seem like innocent toys or ornaments, but in fact they can easily become effective weapons and have great transformative power. As toys they are instrumental in transforming children into adults; as ornaments, they may be amulets; as amulets they may be weapons in the spiritual world, and as weapons or offerings they may take life, or generate it. Inuit miniatures are thus always endowed with a transforming power and from objects they can turn into living beings (Laugrand and Oosten 2008: 6).

Inuit author and translator Minnie Aodla Freeman of Nunavut concurred in *Inuit Women Artists* that ivory amulets, miniature replicas, and even the practice of carving itself had great significance in Inuit culture:

Traditionally, Inuit made amulets, decorations for the body and for hunting equipment, and replicas of everyday objects to attach to their clothing. A lot of traditional art was made for burial purposes. These objects were taken seriously. [...] A lot of traditional art was used to “shoo” away bad spirits, to bring good luck when an event took place, to encourage a young person to bravery, and also to escort the dead to the good spirits rather than having their spirits floating around somewhere. (Freeman 1995: 15)

These ivory carvings may have also assisted in hunting, warding off sickness, guarding against evil and encouraging luck and protection. It is further believed that Inuit didn't only make miniatures to protect themselves but also to protect their precious belongings. For example, when making a pair of *kamiks* (skin boots) it would also be common to create a miniature pair of *kamiks* in either skin or ivory, and to carefully hide that item somewhere on the body, in the belief that as long as the miniature was safe, the large item would also be safe; the boots would remain warm and dry, the soles would never give out in the middle of a long journey.

While it may be possible to apply knowledge of Dorset and Thule spirituality broadly across the Arctic based on comparable archeological evidence, it is more difficult to draw comparisons between the spirituality of Labrador Inuit and that of even their closest neighbours, the Inuit of what is now Nunavik in Arctic Quebec, when relying on late nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnological sources. By the time ethnologists became interested in the Arctic, Inuit living along the Labrador northeastern coast had already been practicing Christians for nearly a century. Many pre-Confederation studies have coupled Labrador Inuit with the Inuit of Ungava and Hudson Bay Inuit, and sometimes even Baffin Island, and there are some strong similarities in clothing, footwear, language and other secular traits and traditions across the Arctic.⁴ There was probably a high degree of religious syncretism at work in the Nunatsiavummiut conversion to the Moravian faith, but it is hard to say exactly how, and in what ways, Inuit maintained existing belief systems or adopted the new (Richling 1989). Yet in the early ethnographic literature, some presumptive ethnological leaps seem to have been made that deserve to be treated with scholarly skepticism. As discussed in the introduction, ethnographers were interested in locating the Labradorimiut in a more “authentic” primitive past that did not take this religious syncretism into account. For example, two major early-twentieth century ethnological studies of Labrador by Turner and Hawkes describe ivory amulets and “fetishes” as having spiritual significance. Specifically, Hawkes suggests that the Labradorimiut believed in carrying a representation of their *Inua* – a physical embodiment of their spirit - worn in the form of a head or figure somewhere on the body (Hawkes 1916: 135-136).

⁴ This may be in part because well into the twentieth century anthropologists and ethnologists had to travel into the Arctic with medical or supply ships, which would take them up the coast of Labrador and on to Baffin Island or into the Hudson Bay.

In letters written to Sapir from the field, Hawkes mentioned that he had come across two small soapstone figures that he thought might be representations of *Inua*, and he suspected (or hoped) that they might hold some spiritual significance: a carving of a woman's head, and the armless bust of a man in a parka hood [figure 4.1].

In the book, Hawkes described the belief system that he thought had led to his acquisition of the "amulets." In the time between collecting the objects and writing his book, Hawkes substituted the term "guardian spirit," which he believed to be the more accurate than "familiar spirit," as he had concluded that the two terms were not synonymous. In close repetition of Turner's earlier words,⁵ Hawkes wrote,

There appears to be among the Labrador Eskimo the idea that not only the shaman, but every person, has his individual familiar spirit, whose assistance is sought in hunting and other ventures. This is embodied in the material form of a doll or doll's head, which is carried somewhere about the person, often around the neck. When an Eskimo has a long streak of bad luck, he attributes it to his fetish and tries to get rid of it by passing it along to someone else. This must be done without the knowledge of the recipient, else it will be of no avail. I procured two of these specimens, which were found by a trader concealed in a bundle of skins which he had bought from an Eskimo. [...] It should be noted here that the assistance of the individual spirit is given grudgingly, and often the owner has to chastise it by stripping the fetish of its garments, subjecting it to blows, and by other forceful means until it grants good fortune again. If it proves obstinate, it is given away, as noted above. It is said to lose its power when taken off the person,

⁵ Turner's passage on familiar spirits reads: "Each person is supposed to be attended by a special guardian who is malignant in character, ever ready to seize upon the least occasion to work harm upon the individual whom it accompanies. As this is an evil spirit its good offices and assistance can be obtained by propitiation only. The person strives to keep the good will of the evil spirit by offerings of food, water, and clothing. The spirit is often in a material form in the shape of a doll, carried somewhere about the person. If it is wanted to insure success in the chase, it is carried in the bag containing the ammunition. When an individual fails to overcome the obstacles in his path the misfortune is attributed to the evil wrought by his attending spirit, whose good will must be invoked. If the spirit proves stubborn and reluctant to grant the needed assistance the person sometimes becomes angry with it and inflicts chastisement upon it [...] It often happens that the person is unable to control the influence of the evil-disposed spirit and the only way to is to give it to some person without his knowledge. The latter becomes immediately under the control of the spirit, and the former, released from its baleful effects, is able to successfully prosecute the affairs of life. In the course of time the person generally relents and takes back the spirit he gave to another. The person to whom the spirit had been imposed should know nothing of it lest he should refuse to accept it. It is often given in the form of a bundle clothing." (Turner 1894 [1979]: 29-30).

and to regain it when put on, which may be due to the idea that it derives a certain vitality from the body of its owner (1916: 136).

Hawkes cites no literary sources or informants for this information in the text (not even Turner), yet his personal correspondence suggests that he acquired the objects first and then filled in his theory of the origin of these works based on prior knowledge of the Inuit of the neighbouring Ungava, explaining “Turner says that *the Labrador Eskimo* believe in a personal guardian spirit, and carry around a little image of it with them” [my emphasis] (App. A: Hawkes to Sapir 2 June 1914). Yet Turner’s study *Indians and Eskimos in the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula* ([1894] 1979) is based on the Naskapi Indians of Labrador and the “Koksoagmyut” Inuit of the Fort Chimo region of Arctic Quebec, not the Nunatsiavummiut. By the time Turner conducted his field research in what is today the territory of Nunavik, the Nunatsiavummiut were living very different lifestyles on the other side of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula as a result of their prolonged contact with outsiders, and in all likelihood Turner had little contact with the Nunatsiavummiut, nor did the Nunatsiavummiut have much contact with the Nunavik Inuit in this era. Instead of citing Turner as the source for his belief about the origin of the carving, Hawkes recounts an anecdote of an Eskimo hunter in Alaska who surreptitiously gave him a pendant of a whale’s tail because he had recently lost a whale and wanted to get his luck back by ridding himself of the “fetish.”⁶ In reality it is difficult to know what the purpose of the carvings may have been. It is entirely possible that the carving is the representation of an *Inua*, as the small hole in the hood of the male carving supports

⁶ Other amulets described by Hawkes include those worn to ward off illness – for example sealskin thongs worn around the wrist, or fur and wooden articles made by “some famous shaman,” worn on clothes or on the body – were used widely to treat or prevent sickness. Hawkes notes that peculiarly shaped objects, such as bird’s feet, are prized and common (Hawkes 1916: 136).

Hawkes' claim that it is an amulet, meant to be worn. Yet it could also have been just a carving made for trade; soapstone is not particularly precious material, and it seems more likely that strong, flexible, lightweight and highly valued ivory would have been better suited to the purposes of amulets than breakable and heavy soapstone. Furthermore, while there is nothing concrete to substantiate my hypothesis, I believe that either or both of the carvings -- the female head and shoulders and male the figure with a torso -- are also about the right size and shape to be used as the foundation for an Inuit doll. Carved wood and stone doll faces were common in the early twentieth century (several works in the CMC collections have carved, rather than sewn heads) and they remain so today.

Ivory Miniatures and the Beginning of Trade Carving

Labrador's vast coastal resources were what drew the first peoples to this Arctic and Subarctic territory followed by many successive waves of visitors from around the world. As stone carver Gilbert Hay has observed, it was a result of this long history of contact that the Inuit arts industry did not begin in the central and western Arctic in the 1950s as is often imagined, but rather originated in Labrador.

They claim that the Northwest Territories and Quebec had the first places that commercial Inuit art started, a lot of the times, it's wrong cause if you're talking about the old colonies in Labrador, where we were probably the first contacts with white society coming in. And at that time art was being introduced as souvenir items for people that were coming out fishing, or travellers, or ministers, or storekeepers. In those days, in the 1800's so when you look at that there was a big difference between the art that's being created today. We're using all kinds of different materials now in terms of the availability of raw material. (Edmunds 2002: 37)

As demonstrated in the overview provided in Chapter One, Inuit on the coast had a long history of contact, conflict and trade with a plethora of visitors over many centuries along

the resource-rich coastline. They must have quickly discovered that aside from raw materials, one of their primary bartering agents could be found in the ancient practice of ivory carving. As early as 1585 there are written accounts of contact and trade between the Inuit and John Davis and his crew (Fitzhugh, 1985: 35; Kaplan, 1985: 53). With the influx of outsiders including whalers, explorers, traders and others, along with oil, baleen and other marine products, ivory carvings soon became a significant currency throughout the Eastern Arctic and the Subarctic coastline of Labrador (Martijn 1964: 556; von Finkenstein 1999: 31). Rapidly, it appears, the functions that had stimulated prior carving practice were displaced by a new primary purpose. In order to barter for precious European supplies like metal, food and tobacco, Inuit eagerly began producing figurines and miniatures as souvenirs, and ivory carvings became primarily commodities of cultural exchange. Certain types of carvings and models of traditional tools, toys, and amulets, were in high demand, and in response the Inuit carvers produced these carvings in quantity for trade with Europeans. Agreeing with Gilbert Hay, George Swinton states in his foundational text *Sculpture of the Inuit* that it was in this period that Inuit commercial art production first began, long before the first stone sculpture was ever displayed in the Canadian Guild of Crafts' storefront window (Swinton 1999: 119).

Like the Dorset or Tuniiit who left behind tiny, jewel-like tools and miniature amulets of local fauna, and their Thule ancestors who carved human figures, whimsical animals and objects, Inuit in the Nunatsiavut Territory carved items inspired by their cultural, spiritual and material world. As A.P. Low noted in his 1906 report *The Cruise of the Neptune: Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands: 1903 – 1904*,

In the Arctic, where the seasonal movement from summer to winter camps and the need to range widely in search of game demanded that all possessions be kept small and portable, the making of miniatures evolved into a fine art. Inuit and their ancestors carved in ivory, bone, wood and stone, and evidence of their skill can be found in prehistoric and historic archaeological sites right across the Arctic (176).

Trading in carvings might have been an unintentional offshoot of other types of trade, but was probably taken up enthusiastically once they were discovered to be lucrative and popular commodities. Inuit would have travelled great distances along the coast to trade, and they would have shrewdly exploited the relatively low-effort production of small carvings to secure required goods. By the time Low visited Labrador, the practice of creating ivory miniatures for trade would have been long established.

Within a short time period, Inuit became eager to acquire all the goods from Europeans that they could, and were willing to travel great distances in order to procure these objects from traders such as Captain George Cartwright. An entrepreneur and early settler, Cartwright contributed significant ethnographic observations to the knowledge of the Labrador Inuit in memoirs based on his time developing trade on the coast. In *A Journal of Transactions and Events During a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador*, Cartwright provides an account of his time in Labrador between 1770 and 1786. He wrote about his trading experiences with the Inuit during his first major trip up the coast in 1771-1772, and described various kinds of housing, games, hunting and religious practices. Archeologist Marianne P. Stopp transcribed and edited his journals, observations, drawings and maps and published them as *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright* (2008). In his journals, Cartwright listed the numerous “Goods for the Eskimeau trade” traded by the British fisheries in the Straits of Belle Isle between 1770 and 1786, including,

Butcher's Bone-saws; Pit saws for bones, with a frame; Drills for bones; Hasps and Files for ditto; Guns with barrel 2 ft 8 in; 4 ½ weight, bore balls to the pound, pointed barrels, Patent locks & price from 5 to 5 ½ Guineas; Canaster Powder⁷; Patent Shot; Turn-screws, vices, etc for Guns; Flints; Wollen-cloth of warm quality; Milled Stockings; Barming-glasses;⁸ Brimstone; Whaling-guns; Harpoons for Guns; Combs, small & large; Hair-brushes; Salmon-rods with reels/lines, flies, bottom-links, gaff-hooks, etc. Trout rods with all necessities; Head-traps; Bear-traps, Pick-axes; Spades; Balls for guns; certain Carpenters, Smith's & Coopers tools; Powder-flasks; Shot-balls; Water-pails; Oil-cocks; Tin-funnels; Fox & Otter boards; Jackets of 3 sizes for Men and Women; broad bindings of various colors; Threads; Oak boxes, with locks, for clothes etc; Sail-needles, Palms and Twine; Planks, Boards; N.B. 1500 feet of Plank & 1500 feet of ½ inch board will build a Vat fifty feet long, ten feet wide & eight feet high, which will hold ninety Tuns of Oil. [...] Sheet-nets for [Grouse?] 45 x 12 feet; mesh 3 in sq; twin Herring/Duck nets 120 x 5 feet, mesh 4 insq. Twine, Herring and backed; Seal-nets & twine to mend with. The Gun should be in a Box, for which see page 107. Patent Swan-drops. Kaleidoscope of 5 (Stopp 2008: 178-179).

Cartwright added that in establishing this network with the Inuit, "trade always creates luxury; luxury, wants; and wants create industry" (Stopp 2008: 178). In agreement, Marybelle Mitchell has explained that it was the early trade with these whalers that stimulated a surfeit of new needs that could now only be satisfied by European goods, instigating a (perhaps uneasy) reciprocal relationship between Inuit and outsiders, and driving the production of ivory carvings (Mitchell 1993: 333).

In "Canadian Eskimo Carving in Historical Perspective," Martijn notes that men, women and children all participated in the creation and exchange of ivory miniatures, and lists model igloos, dogsleds, and kayaks as among the most popular subjects for the sculptures (Martijn 1964: 559). By the late eighteenth century ivory carvings had become both a popular commodity and a pastime at the permanent settlements established by Moravian missionaries along the Labrador coast and the small-scale industry in ivory carvings had begun.

⁷ Probably refers to Tobacco powder.

⁸ Barming is barley processing for beer brewing.

The most common ivory miniatures being made for trade depict figures, faces, animals and items related to hunting and living on the land such as *kayaks* and dog teams and *komatiks*, [figure 4.2] In the undated report entitled *The Handicrafts of Labrador* written for the Canadian Handicrafts Guild by “Mrs. Wakefield of the Grenfell Mission,” the author summarizes the arts of the Inuit by beginning with the work in ivory:

One of the principal handicrafts amongst the Eskimos is the carving of ivory. These wonderful people with, in the old days, no instrument but a small sharp stone, and even now with nothing but a pocket knife, carve out of the walrus tusks tiny models of dogs, komatiks (sleighs), kayaks (the native canoe), men and women in native costume, walruses, seals, and in fact all the objects familiar to their daily life. (*The Handicrafts of Labrador* 1)

Yet early Inuit encounters such as those with Cartwright and *Kallunât* whalers also stimulated the production of transcultural objects. The first trade items listed by Cartwright in the late-eighteenth century - including such practical goods as saw blades, rifles and ammunition pouches – made their way into the corpus of ivory miniatures collected by Hawkes early in the twentieth century [figures 4.3 & 4.4].

While Inuit still made many beautiful things for their own domestic and personal use, the clearest defining feature of the Historic Period in the visual arts is therefore the great numbers of objects made for trade. For the first time Inuit discovered the value their carvings held in exchanges with *Kallunât*. As Blodgett has written,

from the early 1800s on, there was a marked increase in the traffic north, and these visitors acquired virtually any and all objects that they could from the Inuit, stimulated by scientific investigation, simple curiosity, or the desire for souvenirs and mementoes. The presence of these outsiders and their modern equipment, as well as their acquisitiveness, influenced the culture they observed, and the Inuit began to produce objects which were of no use to themselves, but which were predestined for sale to the visitors. (1979: 20).

Even if the function of these productions changed significantly, many of these ivory carvings still retained the appearance and subject matter of the pre-trade objects, with

Arctic wildlife being represented most frequently extant collections in Canada and abroad.

Carved toys and amusements are examples of pre-contact carvings that made the transition from domestic use to trade good while maintaining their original form and purpose. Toys such as the Inuit version of the ball and cup game were made from a rabbit's skull or cone-shaped piece of ivory perforated with holes and an ivory peg attached to a leather thong with which the player attempts to insert into the holes while swinging the base. In the Hawkes collection, one standout version of this game from the early twentieth century is carved in the shape of a polar bear [figure 4.5]. The game is much like Euro-Canadian ball and cup games, ring and pin games, where the object is to toss the pin into one of the holes without using your hands to guide it.⁹ Other games carved of ivory or bone included dice-like games with figurines of birds or little people, and a game made of rectangular ivory pieces that is similar to – and inspired by – dominoes [figure 4.6] (Hawkes 1916: 121).

Situating Ivory Miniatures within Inuit Art History

While in other parts of the world carvings made on a miniature scale have been given serious consideration as fine arts, miniature works made in Labrador and elsewhere have often been dismissed as trivial and crudely made. While ivory miniatures were produced in Labrador during the “historic period” between the time of prolonged contact with Europeans and the contemporary era, it was not until late in the twentieth century

⁹ The rules of the game are as follows: “During the first ten throws, the player may pierce any hole on the abdomen or sides. Beginning at the hole in the front (of the head) he next must pierce the line from the head to the tail. If he misses more than once, he has to give place to another player. After successfully taking the holes in order, he may continue piercing any hole until he misses one” (Hawkes 1916: 121).

that these miniatures began to receive critical attention. Even then, they were little researched or written about. In 1979 Jean Blodgett wrote of ivory carvings, “it is hard to reconcile their overall variety, quality, originality, quantity and technique with many of the statements made by northern visitors of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In general, these travellers were not impressed with the artistic accomplishments of their hosts” (Blodgett 1979: 24). Blodgett is referring to remarks on the decline in carving production and expertise made by such famous explorers and anthropologists as Therkel Mathiassen, who stated that carving among the Iglulik Inuit “is in a state of rapid decline”; Franz Boas, who said, “the artistic value of the old work made before white contact is considerably greater than that of the recent work of the natives of this region [on the west coast of Hudson Bay]”; and Diamond Jenness, who stated, “carving in ivory has died out in many districts before the opening of this century,” (quoted in Blodgett 1979: 24-25).

These disparaging remarks made by explorers or early anthropologists have been oft repeated without critical assessment by scholars of contemporary Inuit art, resulting in the “historic period” being viewed as a period of artistic decline. In a parallel context Ruth Phillips examined the significance of Native-made miniatures to the Indigenous northeastern North America curio trade in light of the cognitive impact of miniaturization for focusing attention

During the *Conference for Curators and Specialists who work with Inuit Art*, (1982), Blodgett indicated that she was beginning research in European museums on the period she described as the “post-contact to pre-Houston, that great era which everybody skips over.” (Blodgett 1982: 76). As the main sculptural production created over

approximately two centuries, it is surprising how little scholarly and curatorial attention ivory carvings have received, particularly as they abound in many Canadian and foreign collections.¹⁰ In the 1980s these tiny Arctic works finally began to gain some recognition within the critical and curatorial Inuit art community. Most notably, in Jane Sproull Thomson's short but significant essay "A Tiny Arctic World" (1992) in *Inuit Art Quarterly*, which studied a series of similar works produced in late-nineteenth century Labrador found in a number of national and international collections.

Hawkes notes in *The Labrador Eskimo* that, "in the form and finish of their ivory carving, the Labrador Eskimo excel the other eastern tribes and more nearly approach the ambitious work of the Alaskan Eskimo. Perhaps this is due, as in Alaska, to the introduction of better material for tools, as a result of early contact with the whites." (100). In further comparisons, Hawkes notes that unlike Inuit elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic, Nunatsiavummiut do not make much use of geometric designs such as the concentric circle and dot patterns. Instead, in Labrador, little ornament is carved into figures. The most common embellishment, when there is one, is the addition of incised single or double lines, usually used to reference clothing design. One of the most common subjects of miniatures is the *komatik* and dog team, which, Hawkes notes, the artist carries out "with great fidelity of detail," usually including all manner of meticulously carved miniature accouterments such as tools, hunting implements and seals that form the komatik load. (1916: 100, also see figure 4.2). Another frequently found

¹⁰ The lack of writing on carvings from this period is probably due not only to misconceptions about the work but also to the poor accompanying documentation on dating, provenance or attribution. Traders, missionaries, government employees and Arctic tourists as souvenirs and curiosities amassed large numbers of these carvings during the early trade era, but were unlikely to document information about where the object was purchased or from whom.

subject is the hunter, on foot or in a kayak, complete with his equipment, which may included knives or a harpoon, gun and other hunting equipment [figure 4.7]. Women and children and scenes of camp life are also included in the carvings made for trade during this period, as are a Arctic animals such as the seal, whale, bear and walrus, caribou, fox and fish [Figures 4.8 & 4.9]. Amidst this wealth of ivory carving, a miniature stone sculpture of a fish Hawkes collected from Makkovik is quite unusual for its time, although he notes that stone was “also used for lamps and kettles ... on the east coast” (Ibid.: 101) [figure 4.10].

In Jane Sproull Thomson’s investigation into historical ivory carvings, “A Tiny Arctic World,” the author investigated a series of similar carved ivory figurines found in the Newfoundland Museum collections [figure 4.11], the Cotter Collection at the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG) [figure 4.12], the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) [figure 4.13] and the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology at Harvard University figure 4.14].

There are many similarities among the different collections, but the three collections most closely resembling each other are those in the Newfoundland Museum, the WAG and the Peabody.¹¹ While I have yet to have an opportunity to view these collections in person, it seems very likely that Sproull Thomson is correct in her hypothesis that,

¹¹ In the Canadian Museum of Civilization collection, while there are several ivory miniatures of people, only two appear similar enough to the other works to bear comparison. These two carvings of a man and woman both depict similar clothing styles and use both black and red colouring, but on both the black and red used is much more opaque than the previous examples and the faces are depicted differently. The male Inuk figure is shown with his hood up and hair can be seen covering his forehead, whereas the female’s face is almost featureless, with just dots to signify two eyes and a mouth. The female is represented as shorter than the male, because her parka lacks the large and distinctive hood of the amauti, this figure, described as “a woman” may depict a child.

[The] collections are similar enough to suggest not only the same provenance, but even the same creator. Alternatively, if more than one artist made these carvings, they may represent the first indigenous Inuit industry – if industry is defined as an activity employing a number of workers producing similar goods in quantity for use by other people. (Thomson 1992: 18-9)

For example, each contain dozens of individually carved pieces making up an entire scene of men, women and children, dogs, seals and sleds, igloos, kayaks, tools, and hunting equipment.¹² In terms of the individual carvings, there are stylistic commonalities across all the works as well: the use of incised single and double lines that mimic traditional clothing design; the use of red, black, brown and yellow colouring to fill in those lines, or to add colouring to boots, hair, and hands; the shapes of faces with their ovular heads and straight, tinted black lines for eyes and eyebrows; and the consistency of clothing shown across all the works. The Inuit men all wear the straight-bottomed “dickie,” with black boots and incised lines depicting trim, the women wear similarly styled *amautet* (the plural of *amautik*, the traditional Inuit women’s coat). The clear delineation of boots from the men’s leggings is a distinctive trait of coastal Labrador, as may be the more squared off front apron of the female *amautet*, although future research is warranted.

These collections are significant because they represent Inuit society in the processes of adaptation, depicting both continuity and change at the turn of the century while also evidencing the creative adaptation to a trade market for ivory carvings. It is therefore not surprising the collections include tiny representations of valuable European trade items such as rifles, knives, and powder kegs had been introduced to Inuit society on the Labrador coast many years before these carvings were made in the late-nineteenth

¹² Group images were not available for the WAG or the Newfoundland Museum collections, and detail images were not available online from the Peabody collection.

or early-twentieth century. These products of contact with Western civilization [such as the rifle in figure 4.4] were no more out of place in these miniature scenes than the full sized objects would have been in Inuit daily life on the coast. While the figures' clothing hints at western influences in some places, traditional Inuit clothing is still realistically dominant.

Contact along the coast continued to foster and support the ivory carvings trade through the Moravian era and into the early twentieth century. Around 1915, a drop in the curio market in Labrador combined with a decline in the walrus population caused the once thriving practice to wane considerably. By the end of the nineteenth century the most valuable carving material of the Inuit in Labrador had begun to grow scarce. S. K. Hutton noted in his 1912 account *Among the Eskimos of Labrador: a record of five years' close intercourse with the Eskimo tribes of Labrador* that ivory carving was on the decline:

The disappearance of the walrus deprived the Eskimos of their one home industry – if indeed we may call it an industry - the carving of ivory into attractive figurines of men and animals, boats and dog-sleds, cribbage boards and other objects, which in the early days sold without difficulty on the curio market. The missionaries advised the artists to substitute soapstone and even wood, but their counsel fell on deaf ears; for the curio market had weakened, and the few articles of ivory the natives still sold to the missionaries, and the missionaries sent to London, brought very low prices. The younger Eskimos, indeed, were no longer interested in working ivory or any other for their time had become too precious. So the art of carving vanished from the coast with the passing of the nineteenth century. (105)

Of course Hutton would be proved wrong; carving did not disappear from the coast with the vanishing stock of ivory; instead, carvers adopted new materials for carving in.

Today, ivory, when used at all, is primarily used as inlay in larger stone sculptures or

may be found in jewelry. Instead, artists began carving in more readily available indigenous materials such as wood and stone.

Carving in Wood: A Labrador Inuit Tradition

In contrast with the scarcity of ivory as a carving material, Nunatsiavummiut have long had access to a much more plentiful resource below the tree line. The practice of carving in wood likely goes back centuries in Labrador, as wood was readily available in the more southern areas of the Nunatsiavut territory.

In “Labrador Inuit Ingenuity and Resourcefulness: Adapting to a Complex Environmental, Social, and Spiritual Environment,” Susan Kaplan writes that a study of the Thule and early Inuit, “presents a picture of an extraordinarily competent people moving into the region with confidence and swiftly becoming a dominant force” (Kaplan 2012: 33). While the Thule would have been very familiar with the terrain of northern Labrador, there must have been both excitement and trepidation surrounding their first contact with the Boreal Forest along the tree line, which currently begins around the Napaktok area of Labrador. As Kaplan posits, the experience of traveling through the forest must have been confining and claustrophobic when compared to the sprawling, unhampered vistas offered by the Arctic tundra in northern Labrador, on Baffin Island and further north (Ibid.: 24). Elsewhere in the Arctic, however, the only supply of wood was driftwood, so Thule and early Inuit in Labrador had a major technological advantage through access to the spruce, larch, alder, sedge and willow brush that could provide warmth and shelter as well as building material for boats, sleds, weapons and tools. Furthermore, many animals live in the Boreal forest that could not survive on the tundra, offering an exciting new array of animal resources.

Given this material abundance, it is no surprise that wood has long been a popular carving material in Labrador. In 1916 Hawkes noted,

The Labrador Eskimo parallel nearly all their ivory work in wood carving. As the missionaries will tell you, walrus ivory is becoming scarce and the most plentiful material is used instead. Woodwork of this sort includes komatiks and dog teams with their loads and even snow houses, with the blocks and interior fittings carefully imitated. (101)

In Chapter 1, several rich Dorset archeological sites were discussed in relation to the discovery of a wealth of tiny tools and implements as well as several precious carvings of greater artistic significance, some of which were made of wood. Because Labrador's acidic soil has likely eroded or dissolved much of the organic cultural material from this era, these discoveries are all the more valuable. Despite the poor conditions for preservation, not only was a tiny wooden maskette of possible spiritual significance discovered at the Avayalik site, but also other wooden carvings. In his article, "Dorset Art from Labrador," Richard H. Jordan posits that three wooden zoomorphic figures may have functioned as amulets or ritual objects and suggested that these fragments and complete carvings could represent the head of a goose or duck (as suggested by the tapered bill and eye), part of a walrus with missing tusks, and the snout and ears of a wolf, identified through comparison with a similar wolf amulet carved in ivory. (Jordan 1979/1980: 406-407). Another ancient wooden carving found at the site suggested the shape of a kayak and could have been carved as a toy or a model (Jordan 1979/1980: 407).

The varied woodcarvings from Labrador in the CMC's ethnographic collections show continuities with this archeological record and also demonstrate similarities to ivory miniatures, comprising animals, and camp scenes in wood. There is no indication, in fact,

that in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Inuit carved significantly differently in wood than in ivory or that their subject matter varied with materials. For example, the collection holds several examples of miniature and model kayaks in both ivory and wood. All of the wooden carvings are also detailed (with additions such as harpoons, floats, knives, paddles and other accouterments) similarly to ivory from the same period and earlier [figure 4.15]. Wood does appear to be used more in works where assembly would assist the creation of a model or scale replica, such as in the model of the *iglu* (snow house) [figure 4.16] which demonstrates the usefulness of the technique of assembling rather than carving from a single block. The carefully crafted wooden iglu made of individually assembled ‘snow’ blocks, pegged together. In mimicking the construction techniques rather than carving the works, this allows these miniatures to more closely transmit Inuit traditional knowledge. Outside, a man in a straight-bottomed pullover *atigi* and what appears to be black-bottom boots wears a distinctive “pill-box type hat” of European styling, in an artistic reference to the confluence of both traditional life and the history of cultural contact.

Unlike the Nunatsiavummiut, elsewhere in the Arctic it was believed that Inuit did not have access to enough wood for it to be considered a “native” material. In *Sanajatsak: Eskimo handicrafts*, James Houston advised carvers that “The Eskimo should be encouraged to use only the materials native to this land, such as ivory, bone, stone, skins, grass, copper, etc. The introduction of wood, cloth, and metals into his art destroys the true Eskimo quality and places him in competition with craftsmen elsewhere who have complete mastery of the materials” (Houston 1951: 1). Charles Martijn remarked in his influential 1967 reflection on the beginning of the central Arctic carving industry, “A

Retrospective Glance at Canadian Eskimo Carving,” that “carving in wood has been quietly discouraged by those who administer the handicrafts project. [...] As a clincher, one representative of the Canadian Handicraft Guild has stated flatly that ‘the Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic do not have any wood to work with at all, as they are above the tree line’” (15). In reality, Martijn notes, Inuit and their Arctic ancestors have a long archeological record that demonstrates that they have been carving in wood for millennia, and that driftwood was a prized carving material. Martijn rightly suggests that wood was rejected as a carving material at the onset of the contemporary Inuit arts industry not because it was not an “Inuit” material, but because “the available material is usually not of a quality judged to be in keeping with the high *objet d’art* standards of appearance demanded from Eskimo handicraft by southern outlets and customers” (Ibid.: 16). I would argue that not only is this true, this would have been imposed by agents such as Houston and the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, who set standards of quality, finish, execution, rather than by the various audiences and possible buyers. As a people with ready access to wood and an ancient and continuous practice of carving in all of the materials available to them, the Nunatsiavummiut have always made frequent use of wood as a carving material from the time before European contact to the present.

When asked by *Inuit Art Quarterly* interviewer Matthew Fox if he ever got angry at the exclusion of artists working outside of stone as the typical “Inuit” sculptural material, Michael Massie responded passionately:

Yes, that really gets me. I had that experience in Goose Bay this year. I was talking with a gallery owner and she said she didn’t like to get any wood carvings from Inuit artists. I don’t understand that. I don’t understand how people can think that just because you are an Inuit artist, you have to carve in stone. I don’t agree with that; it is too limiting to an artist. Beauty – like I tried to explain to my students – is not in the material itself, but in the work that is produced. What I

find quite interesting is that Inuit pick up techniques and the functions of tools instantly; it seems natural to them. They pick up things so quickly and so easily. It is very restrictive to an artist to do things only one way. I saw one carving student while I was working up North – he wasn't my student – and his work in sculpture class was okay, but when he was given a video camera, it was amazing the way he produced images on the screen. He was more comfortable with the video camera than he was with the carving tool. I have a problem with those restrictions, because once you start offering different things to different people, you are going to start finding that they might prefer to do painting over stone carving, or they might prefer to do textiles, cinematography, anything at all. When people are given the opportunity to experiment, that is what I appreciate. (Fox 1996: 20)

Massie explains that having the option to carve in wood broadens the interpretation of his work; he can do more in terms of expression. “If I’m looking for a young man, I might use mahogany; if it’s an older man, I like the distinctive grains of tulipwood, which give it more character” (Gunderson 2004: 37).

There are many artists in Labrador who carve in wood, and asp [aspen] wood in particular is prized for its malleable qualities. Sculptor Donald Gear of Postville has explained that aspen is a material that can be softened by water for carving and then dried again easily without losing its shape. “What’s you do is you take it and soak it in water till it gets soft and then you’d use it for carving. And when it get hard again it get really hard” (App.B: Interview with Donald Gear). Gear learned to carve in asp wood by watching his grandfather, Fred Decker, carve in the evenings. Gear explained that his grandfather would get down to work after supper most nights, working on his signature pieces: miniature carved and painted scenes of a hunter and his komatik being pulled by a dog team, all mounted to a single base, also in wood. When Gear showed me a piece of his grandfather’s that had been damaged and that he had recently restored, I recognized that it was very similar to one of the works in the CMC’s Labrador Inuit collection [figure 4.18]. In both works, four harnessed black and white dogs pull a komatik loaded

with bundled wood as an Inuk in a white *silapak* runs alongside. Gear had been unaware that his grandfathers' artwork, which had been "collected by a donor in Iqaluit" in 1982, was in a prominent national collection, even though the piece was one of the few in the whole collection by an identified artist. It was exciting to both Gear and myself to make an intergenerational connection between the two artists, as well as to provide a contemporary link from museum to community. Gear continues to carve in wood as well as in his preferred medium, soapstone.

Among the many wood carvers in the Nunatsiavut Territory, the Flowers' family has perfected the art of sculpting in wood over the last four decades. Chesley Flowers (b. 1916) of Hopedale is well known throughout the province of Newfoundland and Labrador for his exquisitely carved caribou [figure 4.19]. Chesley's father taught him to carve and he continued the tradition late into life, passing it on to his own children and his nephews. In the catalogue for *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1996), Flowers described his process:

I remember I cut me twenty-two sticks, 10 feet long, green stuff. I hauled it so far. The dogs were tired. Not me. And there was nothing faster than dogs and snowshoes. First, I cut the large caribou green. Then I let them dry for two or three days. There's lots of cutting on the big ones. They're hard to do. I use a small axe to cut off all the big stuff. Then I blesses my saw. That's all I use. (1996: 31)

In the Flowers family, Gilbert Flowers sculpts highly realistic caribou [figure 4.20] are also made of soft aspen with miniature antlers carved from caribou antler. Said Flowers,

I use aspen trees for my work, as it is soft and easy to work with. [...] I use the green, or just-out, wood and have to travel twenty miles to get it. I look at the caribou when I am hunting and think about carving. I don't use photographs but

work from memory. I try to make each caribou carving different (Campbell and Saunders 2000: 17).

Ross Flowers (b. 1964), also a carver, works in wood as well as antler, whalebone and soapstone.¹³ Like his uncle Chesley, Ross makes carvings of caribou, but his pieces are distinctive in contrast to those of the other carvers in his family, with square noses and large hooves [figure 4.21]. Like others in his family he is best known for his caribou but also carves other subjects and in different materials. In contrast, his work in antler, *Salmon* (c. 2000) has an almost pictorial quality about it, with incised lines creating a high contrast between the exterior of the weathered antler and the bright white of the relief carving [figure 4.22]. Visually, it is an inversion of the ivory carving technique used centuries before, where features would similarly be incised with lines, but highlighted by darkening the incised lines with soot and seal oil or India ink.

John Winters is another artist of renown who currently resides in Makkovik.

Winters became interested in wood carving at a young age, but it was when he was given a caribou by “Uncle” Chesley Flowers that he began to consider the art form seriously. Winters carves mostly with hand tools, and also makes caribou, but his work is slightly more abstract and he tries to ensure that his pieces are distinct from those of other carvers.

I use to make kayaks with a little man in it and all the tools [...] You mix bone and wood and probably a piece of seal skin or sinew. Make a little harpoon for him. You could sell ‘em eh. But the thing is I want to make caribou now cause

¹³ Ross was born in Hopedale, Labrador in 1954. With very crafty uncles all around him, making their tools and equipment and carving miniature caribou from wood, it was not a surprise that Ross, at age 11 began carving seals, bears and caribou himself. He tells how his mother often told him, “You must take your time and do them well, or you won't be able to sell them”. Besides his full-time vocation as a hunter and fisherman, Ross has become a well-known Inuit carver with many of his works in antler, wood and soapstone making their way into the hands of collectors worldwide over the past four decades. Ross is most sought-after these days for his coveted miniature caribou carved from birch or poplar and caribou antler. His soapstone sculptures of traditional Inuit scenes and activities are much in demand as are his signature caribou antler fish (*Iqualuk*) and fish spear (*Kakivak*) ensembles. Bio by Herb Brown of Birches Gallery.

that's more me. [...] 'Cause the longer you keeps at them, you might do them a little better. Like sometimes you can see something you have never done before. It took me awhile to figure out that way. I made them like the Flowers' and them before. I thought they might think I'm copying them (laughs). So I made them a little bit different.¹⁴ (App. B: author interview J. Winters)

Individuality is a prized trait amongst Nunatsiavummiut artists, and many artists are quick to explain that while they learn from and are inspired by artists in their communities, they do not wish to copy the work of other artists. Like Winters, artists frequently expressed in their interviews the ways in which they try to do things a bit differently from others. Furthermore, many artists who work in wood also carve in stone and antler. Their personal preferences are not dictated only by the market for their art. For example, Winters explained that he also makes and sells moose hide and sealskin mitts (from hunting to sewing) and he enjoys drawing and stone carving too. Today the Birches Gallery in Happy Valley-Goose Bay devotes considerable attention to wood sculptures and has a regular roster of works in wood by Inuit and Metis/NunatuKavut artists. But several of the artists represented by Birches also carve in stone or work in other media.

Continuities with Carvings in Stone: the Archeological and Ethnographic Records

Stone carvings have turned up in relative abundance throughout archeological sites in Labrador. Among the pieces discovered at the archeological site Komaktorvik-1,

¹⁴ Not only is Winters' style of caribou a little different, he has also adapted new techniques in the creation of his pieces. For example, while "uncle" Chesley taught him the valuable tip of soaking antler's over night before carving, Winters has further developed a new way to speed up and enhance that tedious process. Winters explained that while Flowers showed him how to cut water-softened antlers with a knife, "I found an easy way to make them now. You just get a piece like that. You put it on a board and I got a drill press and a clamp, and what I done right here I had a bit and drill right through there and when I take my bit out I got the shape of the antler right there. You make 'em out of an old piece of moose antler. You drill right through and saw it in half and you have a set of antlers." Another clever technique Winter's employs is to brown the antlers with a blow torch to give them a more realistic appearance. (App. B: author interview J. Winters)

located near the mouth of the Komaktorvik Fjord, are several in soapstone. The area has evidenced habitation by both Dorset and Thule/ Labrador Inuit from about 500 BCE through to the early-twentieth century (Jordan 1979/1980: 411). The archeological discovery includes seven subterranean sod houses (*illusuak*) and two artistic pieces attributed to the Dorset period were found in House 7. One is a carved face in which “two vertically-set ovals represent the eyes whose expression might be interpreted to suggest a worried glance over the shoulder. The short oblique line below the eyes represents either the nose or a tattoo mark while the mouth is formed by a rough horizontal line” (Jordan 1979/1980: 412). The second stone carving is a figurine in a high collar with abstract facial features carved in a translucent green stone, likely from a local vein of serpentinite. Although the carving is slightly damaged, we can detect the carver's addition of such details as arms which curve downward along the sides of the chest, two horizontal incised lines on the waist that may represent the folds of a loose-fitting garment cinched at the waist by a belt, a V-shaped gouge suggesting legs, and a round area gouged from the back “probably resulting from the ritualized killing of the figurine – a feature commonly found in wooden anthropomorphic pieces from the high Arctic” (Ibid.) Other small carvings in stone found scattered throughout Labrador Dorset sites also depict figures and are similarly detailed. Jordan has compared the unusual Dorset objects from Labrador to other Dorset works found across the Arctic. He finds the Labrador carvings distinct in several ways:

The Labrador soapstone figurines have their closest counterpart in the ivory pieces from the Thule District, Greenland, but bear only superficial similarities to the wood or ivory pieces from the Igloolik region or Button Point. The Avayalik [wooden] mask has its most general similarities to those from Button Point, but stylistic and dimensional differences are readily apparent. Human face pendants are also known from the Lake Harbour district, but again illustrate considerable

stylistic differences. Nonfunctional harpoons and zoomorphic wooden amulets also have general correspondences to northern regions, but are not found in Newfoundland. The flat, abstract amulets find their closest counterparts in Newfoundland, but they are also vaguely similar to ones from Mansel Island. Pieces unique to Labrador include soapstone figurines, soapstone harpoons, the ground and polished Ramah chert block and the harpoon shaft and amulet. (Jordan 1979/1980: 412)

Jordan thus relates the innovations and divergences evident in Labrador Dorset art to the regional differences already noted among Dorset peoples in subsistence and settlement patterns, styles of housing, technological development and the use of raw materials.

It is well known that Inuit in Labrador – as elsewhere – had long used soapstone to carve their *kudliks* [oil lamps], pots and other cooking vessels, as soapstone can be heated to high temperatures without damage. Yet little is known about stone sculpture during the periods of early contact and through the Moravian era. Ivory was more popular with outsiders as a trade material, and for the most part many Inuit in Labrador were carving in wood and ivory before stone. Even so, Hawkes did purchase the unusual miniature of a fish [figure 4.10] from Makkovik carved in soapstone and the previously mentioned stone heads, which indicates that ivory may have been in moderately regular usage as a carving material.

Following the decline in the curio market from the early twentieth century until after Confederation, the Inuit Art Foundation's Nain 1991 stone carving workshop that was discussed in Chapter Two was, for many artists, the first introduction to the proper techniques in using the hand and power tools that made stone carving feasible on the coast. With several soapstone and serpentinite quarries located throughout the northern coast of Labrador – most prominently near Hopedale and Nain – stone carving quickly became a viable arts industry.

Contemporary Stone Carving, Contemporary Carving Stone

Reductive direct stone carving is one of the most commonly practiced kinds of Inuit sculpture today. It involves the process of reducing a larger stone by incremental steps. The first step is usually the blocking out of the overall shape, or the selection of a stone with a similar shape and mass to the intended carving. The artist chisels away at the surface of the stone, discarding those areas that are undesired and revealing the layers and contours of the final form. Frequently the artist begins with larger tools such as a hammer and chisel, or even a chainsaw, to “rough” out a form, and then uses progressively smaller and more refined carving tools – rasps, files, and chisels, and dremels and other hand-held power tools. As the work nears completion, the smallest tools are used for detailing, finishing, adding texture or polishing.¹⁵ [figure 4.23]

Not every stone is suitable for stone carving, and in the Nunatsiavut Territory, most good carving stone is quarried from a few select areas. Geologist Walter Gibbins has explained that while many people refer to Inuit sculptural material as ‘soapstone’ this designation is not always entirely correct, as other stones are also commonly used

Several rock types can and are used for carving, and they can be referred to collectively or by rock type as carving stone. [...] Soapstone is a metamorphic rock composed essentially of the mineral talc. [It has] a smooth, soapy feel. [...] Most Inuit carvings are made from light- to dark-green to black serpentine-rich rocks that are correctly named serpentinite. The purest and best material has a distinctive yellowish-green colour, a greasy feel, a waxy luster, a hardness ranging from 2.5 – 5 and takes a good to excellent polish. (Gibbins 1981: n.p.)¹⁶

In selecting the right stone for a particular sculpture, artists must consider whether a stone is structurally sound with no hidden flaws or weak points; decide if the colour meets their

¹⁵ Unless the artist is deliberately texturizing or adding details to the surface of a carving, it is expected that the surface should be as smooth as possible, and free of scratches or other surface imperfections.

¹⁶ Alabaster – a pink to white stone with varying levels of translucency, is also available in some parts of the Arctic, but more scarcely so

criteria for richness, depth, lightness, and veins or other variations in appearance; and is of a hardness suitable to the available tools [figure 4.24]. There are several different kinds and veins of carving stone available in Labrador to Nunatsiavummiut artists, and different artists have different preferences. Renowned multi-disciplinary artist Gilbert Hay has always experimented with stone, inlay and different kinds of materials, but his most recent body of work is carved almost exclusively in anorthosite – a granite-like stone found near his home in Nain. Anorthosite is characterized by a predominance (90-100%) of plagioclase feldspar, or Labradorite, the iridescent blue, green and gold precious stone found in abundance along the northern coast but almost nowhere else in the world [figure 4.25].¹⁷ Hay has explained that this work is perhaps his most challenging yet, because the material is extremely difficult to carve. He explains that on the scale of one to ten for mineral hardness, “Labradorite is a seven. It is also brittle, almost like glass. Labradorite is not a flexible or easy stone to work on” (McLean 1990: 5). Hay further explains that he must use chisels, hammers, power tools and portable saws to shape anorthosite works, and the sanding and polishing process is labourious. But the result of that labour is the shimmering glass-like surface of *Sitting Bear* and his other anorthosite works.

Emerging artist Billy Gauthier works in a variety of stones including anhydrite, alabaster, soapstone, anorthosite and his favourite, green serpentine, of which Labrador has a plentiful supply. [figure 4.26] Speaking of the qualities of serpentine, Gauthier described its versatility as being its ideal characteristic, explaining “it’s about the same hardness of a soft marble so it’s great to carve because it holds detail really well, and it

¹⁷ While most global anorthosite locations are relatively small, the area around Nain in northern Labrador is the richest in the world, spanning nearly 20,000 square kilometres. The shimmering blue, gold and green iridescence of the crystal in Labradorite is even known as labradorescence.

polishes really well” (App. B: author interview with B.Gauthier). As the work of these artists suggests, artists in Labrador today are fearless in their experimentation with both local stone carving materials and imported carving stone such as alabaster and marble.

Profiling Artists after the “Carving Revival” of the Late-Twentieth Century

As this chapter has demonstrated, Nunatsiavut has a long and diverse history of sculpture that has spanned a range of materials and techniques throughout the coastal territory. Both the media and purposes of carving have changed over time and while no one medium – ivory, antler, bone, wood, stone, whalebone – demonstrates an unbroken line between the first peoples in the region and the modern-day Inuit, the practice of carving has been a consistent presence for thousands of years, while the production of sculptures for trade has a history hundreds of years old [figure 4.27].

Yet over the latter part of the twentieth- and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries, Nunatsiavut has lacked an organized Inuit arts market, a cooperative system or government programs comparable to those in other parts of the Arctic. On the one hand, this has denied Nunatsiavummiut artists the opportunity to have their art exposed to the southern Inuit art market, but on the other hand, they have not been historically bound by the same expectations that govern the Canadian Inuit arts industry. While Inuit artists in Labrador share concerns, themes and stylistic similarities with Inuit artists elsewhere, they are not as restricted in what they produce, as they are no arts administrators or co-operative directors, no outside forces beyond the scope of the tourist market. Even so, many artists still say they feel restricted by the assumptions of tourists, who expect carvers, in particular, to produce typically “Inuit” art. Some artists view the lack of a

direct line to what the art consumer wants as an obstacle to their success. For others, the freedom of self-expression is motivation enough to maintain artistic practices despite the lack of a robust market for their work. Gilbert Hay explains,

I have two different kinds of work: my own and what I can make a living on, the stereotypical Inuit Art. I feel torn between these two worlds. I am raising my family and buying a house and also raising dogs and learning about the old-style clothing in an effort to keep my culture alive. I realize I'm losing something valuable. I feel I'm practicing my culture when I do my art. Everything happened very fast in Labrador. Dog teams disappeared in only two or three years. We got planes and speed boats all at the same time. Inuit art was sold to the South as a way for us to make cash, not as a presentation of our culture. We need the cash, but we have, simultaneously, to reach backwards and forwards – back to get a sense of our identity, and forward at the same time to connect with the rest of the world. Many Inuit are focusing on the cash and ignoring the potential they have in their art to communicate. (“Gilbert Hay” 1991: 22)

To suggest the great diversity that characterizes the sculptural arts in Nunatsiavut, this chapter concludes by profiling a few of the many current stone sculptors working in communities throughout Labrador and beyond. I regret that space does not allow me to devote equal attention here to all the artists who deserve to be included in this section. I have chosen to examine the works of artists who have been instrumental to the recent revival of the carving industry and whose work has been particularly influential on the development of contemporary arts. Their work is significant to this study because it illuminates continuities with past practices as well as innovations in the present.

Sculpture is practiced in every community, although more in Nain and Hopedale than anywhere else, perhaps in part due to the proximity of those communities to the stone quarries of the north coast. Hay (b. 1951) is one of the main artists credited with reviving carving practices in Nain in the 1970s. Hay's interest in Inuit art and cultural heritage began early; he sold a drawing at just ten years of age and he experimented with

a variety of media throughout his school-age years, carving small toys and other things, primarily in wood, which developed into a lifelong interest. After spending several years of his early adulthood traveling across Canada and working in the cultural sector, Hay returned to Labrador in 1975 and began carving seriously, working primarily as a self-taught artist. His earlier work was primarily in serpentinite [Figures 4.28 & 4.29]. “I started from wood, then I graduated to antler, and from antler to ivory, from ivory to soapstone, and from soapstone to anorthosite now.”

In a 1990 newspaper interview Hay said, “I’ve tried not to be one of those native people reading about their native life [...] I’ve tried to be a part of it. I still have my husky team, and have put my hand to native clothing and weaponry as well. I try to make my life as interesting as possible, trying to relate to my own culture” (McLean 1990: 5). Throughout the 1970s and 80s Hay explored a variety of media, including printmaking, drawing and illustration - which I will explore in a subsequent chapter – but he always returned to sculpture. In 1991 he had a residency at the Banff Centre for the Arts where he created the politically charged work *Natural Gas* (1991), which comments on the concerns of Inuit regarding the exploration and exploitation of Arctic natural resources. For Hay, the opportunity to practice art-making intensively and the exposure to artists from all over the world at the Banff Centre resulted in an experience that, he said, was “almost like being in heaven” (“Gilbert Hay” 1991: 21).

Hay had begun participating in both commercial and non-commercial exhibitions and group shows in the 1980s. He has also collaborated with *Kallunât* artist Bill Ritchie, with whom Hay had a long artistic partnership. These included the 1982 print exhibition, *The Labrador Mythology Series* (Hay and Ritchie, the MUN Art Gallery) and *North* in

1998 (Hay, Ritchie and Labrador artist Scott Goudie), which featured eighteen of Hay's prints and sculptures.¹⁸ *North* garnered a lot of attention from the media and brought in new customers and audiences on the island for Hay's works. Hay's inclusion in *North* is notable because his work was shown with two other artists (Ritchie and Goudie) who share thematic, rather than cultural, similarities. In one of the local news articles Hay is noted as a standout for both his style and subject matter ("he is the only one to regularly take risks") and also because, as local art critic Peter Gard put it, "his work is seldom seen" (Gard 1988: 24). "Judging from the dates and names on the labels," the reviewer concludes, "it is purchased by a handful of passionate collectors, almost to the point of completion, and so seldom surfaces in exhibitions" (Ibid.) One of his major works in a public collection is the monumental work *Taqqavut – Our Shadows* (ca. 1980), which is the cornerstone of the Labrador Interpretation Centre's collection [figure 4.30]. That work, carved out of a massive chunk of serpentinite, features carvings on all sides detailing Labradorimiut distant –and more recent – history. On one side of the sculpture Inuit men and women are carved in relief undertaking various activities, from hunting with bow and arrow *and* rifle, holding amulets *and* holding a cross. Hay doesn't romanticize the past.

Other major group shows Hay has been included in are *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1996) in St. John's, and *Sikumiut: People of the Sea Ice* (2000) at the Inuit Art Centre of Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC, now AAND) in

¹⁸ The exhibition was curated by Caroline Stone for the Art Gallery at the Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), in St. John's, Newfoundland, and held from November 3 to December 4, 1998. Works in the exhibition were lent not only by the artists but also by several private collectors and public organizations known to support the arts in Labrador, including Tim Borlase (Labrador East Integrated School Board), Bradbury and Co. Consultants Ltd., Ingrid Fraser, Joan E. Goudie, Pauline MacAdam, Memorial University Permanent Collection, Patrick Nagle, St. Michael's Printshop, Ian and Merrill Strachan, and White, Ottheimer and Green (Stone 1998: 3).

Ottawa. Over the last four decades Hay's work has grown in scale and market value; works that once garnered hundreds of dollars now sell for thousands and tens of thousands. Hay is also well known for his influential role in the rejuvenation of sculptural practice in Nain and elsewhere in Labrador, but also for encouraging young artists to try carving, often lending tools or procuring stone for sharing.

Similarly, stone sculptor John Terriak (b. 1950) is known throughout Nunatsiavut as an artist who encourages others to try their hand at carving. For this and many other reasons, especially his unique perspective and his highly recognizable style, few artists are better known or respected on the coast. Born in Hamilton River (near Happy Valley-Goose Bay), the final home of his well-known grandmother, Elizabeth Goudie (who wrote the famous memoir "Woman of Labrador"), Terriak has been making art in the northern coastal community of Nain for several decades (Fox 2011). He got his start as an artist as a teenager through the encouragement of a local man:

When we were children, we didn't have much – my dad didn't have enough money, so me and my brother we used to make our own toys out of wood. So I think that's how I started carving. Then when I was maybe 13 or 14 years old, my dad brought me visiting some guy up the road - he was a white man – and we were in his house and the guy asked me to come into the living room and on the wall he had half a wooden schooner carved on the wall, and he asked me, "you could do that?" and I said, "I 'spose I could try." And I made it, and come back and showed him, and I kept on carving from there. [...] Before I did sculpture I did a lot of drawing and painting. It was like my hobby. My class at school considered me an artist. Then this guy who has the schooner got me into carving, so I carved polar bears, seals, letter openers, hunters, dogs, out of poplar wood for maybe five years. Then one day my brother found some soapstone, so I tried that, and I've been carving stone ever since then. (Fox 2011)

While still a youth he considered carving to be a more of a personal amusement than a career path, but at age seventeen Terriak carved a dog team for his grandmother for Christmas, and it turned out so well that his thinking began to change, even if no

opportunity to develop his career offered itself. A little over a decade earlier, Terriak had attended trade school in St. John's to study stationary engineering and was then working in Happy Valley-Goose Bay and elsewhere, but he always desired to work on his carving full time. In 1977 he was given a unique opportunity that would change his path forever.

In the summer of 1977, I got an invitation from the Nain Craft Council to go on a ten-day trip to Ottawa to see what the rest of the Inuit art world was all about. There were ten carvers in our group, from Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik and Happy Valley. I had heard that there were carvers all across the Arctic and in northern Labrador, but this was the first time I had met other carvers or seen work from elsewhere. This trip was the turning point in my life. In January of 1978 I had a choice to make. I was offered a job with a mining company in Buchans, Newfoundland, but I felt I had to move to Nain to find myself. At the time, Inuit art was going great guns in Nain. The economy was much better and tourists and visitors had money to spend. This lasted a few years but then the economy took a turn for the worse. Money became scarce and carvers became disorganized again. But there were a few of us who kept on doing what we do best – carving. There was still a market for well-made carvings so we managed to keep food on the table. We were isolated again but we survived. (Terriak 1996: 11-2)

Today, Terriak is one of the few Labradorimiut artists successful enough both within the province and beyond to make a comfortable living from his artwork alone. His travels have taken him as far afield as Italy and his works are found in galleries, homes and museums the world over. While he is known primarily for his carvings, he also likes to draw, “once in a while, especially when something important or unusual happens to me,” (ibid).

Terriak has been included in numerous shows throughout his career, such as the international *Keeping Our Stories Alive* (Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe, NM, 1995) and *Tundra and Ice* (Orca Art Gallery, Chicago, IL, 1995); the nationally significant exhibits such as *Sikumiut: People of the Sea Ice* (2000) and *Qaqqiq* (Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, 1995); exhibitions held in the provincial capital such as *Labrador Crafts Past and Present* (Memorial University of Newfoundland Art

Gallery, St. John's, 1985) and *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1996) in St. John's; and locally in *Visions Labrador* (Labrador Institute of Northern Studies Art Gallery, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, 1993) and other exhibitions.

As a creative and prolific carver of stone and bone, Terriak brings to life the place, the people and the animals of his northern home, frequently carving seals, walrus, people and whales. In the work *Walrus at Breathing Hole*, Terriak demonstrates his keen eye as not only an artist but also a hunter, capturing the walrus in a way only a hunter imagines him, at the moment it pops up through a breathing hole. [figure 4.31].

Despite working in a broad range of stones and with diverse subject matter, Terriak's "hood" pieces – stand alone Inuit faces in parka hoods - are signature pieces [figure 4.31]. Terriak's hood figures are iconic because, like *Walrus at Breathing Hole*, they represent his unique way of seeing. Since 'inventing' the hood work decades ago, Terriak has refined and perfected these pieces. Tellingly, in the *Sikumiut* catalogue it is noted that not only is he well-known as the originator of these carvings but that "they have inspired copycats within Labrador and *on the island of Newfoundland as well*," [my emphasis] (2000: 11). I would argue that the exhibition curators, well-known Nunatsiavummiut artists, Heather Campbell and Barry Pottle, are articulating a subtle critique of the frustrating and ongoing appropriation of Inuit style and subject matter by *Kallunât* Newfoundlanders.

Like Hay, Terriak was greatly influenced by his involvement with the Inuit Art Foundation. In 1994 Terriak attended a stone-carving course sponsored by the IAF in Vermont as one of a delegation of three Canadian Inuit artists, also including Bart Hanna of Igloolik and Charlie Kogvik of Baker Lake. Terriak learned how to work with very

hard stone, while also demonstrating soapstone-carving techniques for students (Mitchell 1994: n.p.). He is identified by numerous current artists as the person who got them into carving, and his influence can be seen in the work of many artists today. He was also influential in the practice of his late son Charlie Terriak, who was described with his father as, “two of Labrador’s best, and most renowned, carvers” (Evans 1998) [figure 4.32]. Like his father, Charlie started carving young, selling his first carving to a nurse for seventy-five dollars. His father explained in an interview with Peter Evans, “that was good money for him then. I sold my first carvings for fifteen or twenty-five dollars, and that was good money” (Evans 1998). Evans notes that around Nain, both Charlie and his father were well known for their work, but it was Charlie who often did the bartering for both of them to their clientele of primarily nurses, doctors, RCMP officers and others passing through the region. The two also occasionally collaborated; for a corporate commission for Inco, the nickel mine developer in Voisey’s Bay, the elder Terriak made about thirty carvings priced at 400 dollars apiece which the junior Terriak polished. The writer of an article on Labrador carving quoted John Terriak as pointing out that the lack of a government support system could also have a positive impact on the Labrador carving industry. ‘We’re independent. Labrador people are more individually-minded. We’re used to doing things on our own’” (Evans 2011). Expressing the resilient and self-sufficient attitude of many artists who refuse to let the lack of governmental support keep them from carving. John’s brother, David Terriak also began carving as a hobby around the age of seventeen, but his sculpture became a more serious pursuit after he retired from the Canadian Armed Forces in 1980 and began working in soapstone. Said David, “It

keeps money in my pocket, and once I get a piece finished and I see what a nice piece of work it is, it's very satisfying" ("Coming into their Own" 1992: 18).

Philip Hunter was born in Nain in 1931 but lived in Hopedale for part of his adult life, where he was residing at the time of his participation in the 1991 Inuit Art Foundation carving workshop led by Charlie Kogvik and Matiusi Iyatuk (Ibid.). According to the interview, Hunter was one of the many Inuit who were diagnosed with tuberculosis in the early 1950s and were sent to the hospital in St. Anthony's for treatment. Hunter's discovery of carving is a story that is highly reminiscent of other carver's histories across the Arctic from the same era. He began carving to pass the time during the long three months of solitude and an additional three months at the Northwest River Hospital. The hospitals supplied Hunter with tools as well as wood and soapstone, sparking a lifelong interest in stone sculpture. Hunter continued to carve, primarily throughout the winter months or when he was between contracting and carpentry jobs. In "Coming into Their Own," an *Inuit Art Quarterly* report on the carving workshop held in Nain, it was noted,

If he runs out of stone, he sometimes turns to wood. He finds bone hard to carve with the hand tools which is all he has. He carves dog teams, hunters and traditional scenes which he takes from his own experiences. He used to hunt by dog team, but now he goes out on ski-doo, the same way he collects his stone. (Ibid.)

The workshop was important for Hunter because it was the first time he, and many of the participants, used power tools in their carving. Joked the artist, "I have almost enough stone for this winter, but if I carve a little bit faster after this workshop, I'm not going to have enough" (Ibid.: 19).

Another influential carver at Nain has been Harry Semigak, whose partner, Cornelia Tuglavina is also well respected for her sculptural skills. In Hopedale, William Nochasak (another former participant of the IAF workshop in Nain) is known for the political subject matter he sometimes expresses in his art. Levi Semigak, William Hunter, David Millie, Walter Piercy and Piercy Boase top the list of some of the community's best-known artists, both established and emerging. Makkovik and Postville count two artists I have previously discussed, John Winters and Donald Gear, among their most prominent carvers.

Among the smaller number of carvers at Rigolet are Paulosie Jararuse, Garland Baikie and Derrick Pottle. Baikie carves in many media and makes both sculptures and beautiful carved bone jewelry. He also carves bone and antler handles for the baskets by his wife, Sarah Baikie. Pottle is a successful artist who draws inspiration from his hunting career and time on the land. He works in a wide array of carving media, including serpentinite and soapstone, antler, anorthosite, narwhal tusk and whale teeth.¹⁹ Said Pottle, "my life is out on the land, that's who I am. I come alive. It keeps me grounded, keeps me connected to who I am and what I am, it gives me every bit of strength that I need" (App. B: Interview with D. Pottle).

I've killed four polar bears in my hunting career and I hope someday I get more. When I see a polar bear try to capture their vision, no capture their *movement*, in my mind. Or a seal – I kill lots and lots of seals – and I love just looking at seals. I try to see how they lie so I can try to capture in my stone the imagines that I see. [...] I mean it's pretty easy to make a straight image, but most animals or figures and things you see in natural, they're not straight. There's a movement and a flow to it. So you have to try and capture that. (Ibid.)

¹⁹ Unfortunately, like many artists I interviewed in Labrador, Pottle did not have any images of his work available; he sells pieces as soon as he makes them and does not often document his art. I have encouraged artists to begin taking pictures of their work before they sell it to preserve a record of their work.

Outside of Labrador, Kablunagajuit (meaning partly Inuit, partly Kallunât) artist Heather Carroll, whose great grandmother is from the Nunatsiavut Territory, is a stone carver who works on a scale rarely seen within the Territory to date (Gilbert Hay being one of the few exceptions). Carroll's works can be found on permanent display in many locations around her home in Luxembourg, where she has lived for the past twenty-two years, although she travels to Canada frequently.²⁰ Recently, Carroll returned to Labrador to collaborate with local Inuit and First Nations artists on the creation of a project called *Dreaming Outside* (Fulton-Anderson 2012: 40).

Most recently, emerging NunatuKavut artist Billy Gauthier is generating a lot of excitement around his work, having been named the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council (NLAC) 2011 "Emerging Artist of the Year." His first solo exhibition at the Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver in 2010, *Billy Gauthier: Visions from Labrador*, was wildly successful and sold out in just eighteen minutes. Gauthier's recent critical acclaim recognizes qualities that make him unique amongst his peers in the field of contemporary Inuit art: an extraordinary virtuosity in working with traditional Inuit sculpture materials. His intricate, mixed-media sculptural works often feature delicate lines, miniscule details, and a precision almost unmatched in the work of other artists. Gauthier also experiments with inventive ways to finish and polish his works [figure

²⁰ Carroll began her artistic career at the University of Toronto, where she completed a degree in Fine Arts. She began as a printmaker, working in stone cuts as well as the more experimental collotypes. Carroll soon moved on to carving after she made a tiny stone carving one day and realized that "it looked just like a fossil" (Fulton-Anderson 2012: 40). Working with sandstone and alabaster, Carroll's process first involves selecting suitable stone from her workshop (which sometimes houses two or three tonnes of stone at a time) and then cleaning and prepping the stone, removing any loose shards of the shell-like debris. Carroll remarks, "then I can see what has been lying dormant under the skin. It's like excavating – and I never know what I may find underneath" (Ibid.). Working in a reductive fashion, Carroll begins carving using power grinders before moving on to hand tools such as files, chisels and hammers. She works on a piece anywhere from three weeks to three months.

4.34] His appeal lies in the way that he is able to push stone, bone and other natural substances to their material limits. In one work, *Swimming Loons: my tribute to Kenojuak Ashevak* (2012) Gauthier has carved an underwater scene of two sinuous loons that dive around a swirling cluster of seaweed, rising from a soapstone base. The seaweed is finely carved from a single piece of moose antler, while the loons are made of muskox horn, for which he used a blowtorch to bend the horns to the shapes he desired, leaving the blackened finish on the faces of the loons to dramatic effect. Gauthier is quickly building a solid reputation for the way finishes his works and the care he takes to meld disparate elements into a cohesive whole. Yet this work, in which he smoothly amalgamates the typically rigid media of antler, horn and stone, is a particularly powerful example of his mastery over materials, taking a typically inflexible source material such as antler and make it appear to be rippling gently in an underwater current [figure 4.35]. The loons are also highly detailed, and their distinctive and fanciful plumes of tail feathers, are inspired by the fanciful drawings and prints of Kenojuak Ashevak.²¹

Despite his innovative approach to working, Gauthier's art deliberately maintains strong continuities with the past. Gauthier emphasizes Inuit knowledge, values and beliefs in his pieces, and his subject matter often focuses on respect for the environment, custodianship of the land and its natural resources, and the need to harvest land and sea life in sustainable ways. Gauthier feels a responsibility and connection to the land and the raw materials he harvests for his art. "There's also definitely an element of the natural materials being from where I'm from; we're of the same land. I was born on this land and these materials are from this land, it's a part of my home and I'm lucky enough that I get

²¹ This piece was only the second work of contemporary Nunatsiavummiut art purchased by the National Gallery of Canada. It was acquired in 2013.

to use these materials from my home” (App. B: author interview with Billy Gauthier) [figure 4.36].

Gauthier, like many Labradorimiut carvers, is self-taught and draws his inspiration from the natural environment, explaining that he frequently relies on photographs when it is difficult to observe the animals in their natural environment. “For example, I don’t get to see many polar bears around here, so I definitely use photographs for that” (Ibid.). Yet in other instances, Gauthier has been known to directly gather sources of inspiration while out hunting or fishing, and to draw from life. He explains, for instance, that there have been times that he has gone out hunting partridges, and “rather than plucking them I just put them directly in the freezer, so then you have a sort of ‘dead live’ model right there. Especially if you take the time to freeze them in the right position, that’s a perfect model right there!” (Ibid.). As an avid hunter who spends most of his time “on the land,” as we say in Nunatsiavut, he combines traditional ways of knowing with contemporary concerns for the depletion of wildlife and destruction of the natural environment by pollutants and unsustainable practices. In his work *Sedna’s Tears*, [4.26] based on the sea goddess of Inuit cosmology, Gauthier depicted the animals of the sea slipping through her fingers, representing his concern over environmental destruction and its effect on local fauna. “Obviously all through the North there is a lot of pollution, there’s mercury poisoning, polar bear numbers are on the decline right now, and there’s a lot of depletion of wildlife in general” (Ibid.). When asked if he often incorporates such messages in his work, Gauthier explains that while he has attempted to do so in the past, the reception has not always been positive, and it appears to have discouraged him for a time. It might be safe to say that Gauthier, like many Inuit artists, works by striking a

balance in his art between building on the centuries-old practice of carving, and even the more recent style of contemporary Inuit sculpture, but making it his own in a very contemporary way. It makes his work distinctive, even among his peers.

Lately, I have been thinking recently about making more modern art – and when I say modern I mean more modern themes, which to me is about the conveniences of every day life. The little conveniences we have today – like refrigerators and toasters. I'm not saying I would necessarily carve those things, but I think about how they affect my life, and I think that has an impact on my work. I don't think I'm going to be carving a man in a sports car tomorrow or anything like that – that wouldn't really be true to Labrador either – but one of my favourite carvings of all time was Jamasie Pitseolak's carving of a toilet that was in [the Spirit Wrestler exhibition series] *Mini Masterworks*. [...] I really admire that he carved it so well, the materials all worked together so well. The style that people carve in, or the subject matter itself, can make it appear more modern, and I think that Jamasie does both. (Ibid.)

In a final work, Gauthier captures another Inuit art practice that is very significant to Labrador artists, grasswork [figure 4.37]. In *Woven in Stone*, Gauthier's meticulous style of detailed carving draws attention to the humble practice of grass basketry. His perfectly symmetrical rings of grass mimic the virtuoso talents of grass workers, and pays homage to the artists who have maintained this ancient and continuous practice, the subject of the next chapter.

The Expansive Practice of Carving in Labrador

As this chapter has demonstrated, carving has been both an ancient and dynamic practice on the Nunatsiavut coast, spanning a significant variety of mediums from ivory, tusk and antler to wood, to serpentinite (serpentine), soapstone and anorthosite. Although carving has been a consistent and positive presence in Nunatsiavut society over countless generations, this history was largely unknown outside of Labrador, and artists can hardly

be said to have participated in the modern Inuit art market. When “primitive” arts from the peripheries of the West began to enter into the discourse of modern art in the twentieth century, it was still largely believed that there were no Inuit or Inuit artists in Labrador. Inuit sculptors thus worked primarily on their own throughout the twentieth century while elsewhere in Canada Inuit sculptural arts flourished under the tutelage of Kallunât instructors and state-funded programs and co-operatives. It was only at the end of the twentieth century that Nunatsiavummiut began to gain recognition as Inuit artists, finally gaining the right to use the “igloo tag” and otherwise market their work as “Inuit art.”

And yet, as this chapter has shown, in the absence of that concerted support and direction, Labrador Inuit artists have developed many diverse and distinctive practices. They do not feel compelled to work with a particular kind of stone, or even to work in stone at all. As Nunatsiavut carvers such as the Flowers’, Terriak, Hay and Gauthier bring national attention to the sculptural practices of Labrador, the definition of “Inuit sculpture” will inevitably open up to a more inclusive and encompassing understanding of Inuit sculpture as defined from within Inuit culture instead of by the discourse of Western art history.

Chapter 5: *Sanajaumajuk aggatigut*: Things made by Hand

This chapter examines the creation and significance of handicrafts on the Labrador coast, and particularly the ancient and thriving tradition of grasswork. Grasswork is an art form that has been practiced throughout Labrador for many centuries. In grasswork, few materials are required beyond the salt-water grass that grows freely along the northern coastline, and yet its creation demands tremendous knowledge, skills and expertise, honed over a lifetime.

Labrador Inuit handicrafts are highly varied and rich, including doll making, jewelry and other genres. I pay particular attention to grasswork in this chapter not only because it is one of the most ancient and widely practiced, but also because it is representative of the dynamics of artistry and commodity production that have shaped crafts in other media. All of these art forms are, furthermore, related to the clothing and carving traditions already discussed. For example, grasswork and doll making are both textile arts that involve sewing, as are more recently introduced media of knitting and crocheting. At the same time, grasswork, dolls and jewelry could also be considered sculptural. Dolls are a kind of “soft sculpture,” and they often have carved wood or stone heads and torsos; many artists have created imaginative, sculptural forms from grass, and Labradorimiut jewelry is usually made of carved stone, bone or antler, or the precious stone Labradorite. Yet these arts are also distinct productions with their own histories. In the future development of this research on Nunatsiavummiut art I will examine these traditions, and the artists who create and maintain them, with the close attention they deserve.

Grasswork, like many of the other handicraft practices, has a long history within Labrador, but it is also one of Nunatsiavut's few art traditions to have found some commercial and critical success outside of the territory over the last century. At least one exhibition devoted entirely to grasswork has toured beyond the province, and grasswork – historical and contemporary – can be found in museum collections such as that of The Rooms in Newfoundland, the Smithsonian and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard in the United States, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, and many other national and international collections.¹ Furthermore, there are today many artists and collectors of “grass” within Labrador. I was fortunate to have the opportunity to speak with several grass artists and to document a great variety of pieces during my field research in Nunatsiavut in 2011. Together, this research has produced a richer record for study than I have yet assembled for other craft arts, allowing for the observation of technical and stylistic continuities between early twentieth-century arts and the present-day continuation of these traditions. The combination of fidelity to inherited modes and artistic innovations evident in these works over more than a century of contact, colonization and change attests to the resilience of Nunatsiavummiut artistic practices and the survivance of Nunatsiavummiut culture.

Creating beautiful and functional things out of the highest quality materials, using designs that reflect personal, cultural, and environmental knowledge is, as Carmen Robertson argued in *Clearing a Path* (2009), an integral part of Indigenous artistic aesthetics (9). Rather than separating aesthetic and meaningful “art” from utilitarian and everyday “craft,” as is typical within Western art and art history, ‘handicraft’ production

¹ Thirty-five of forty-one Labrador Inuit objects in the Smithsonian’s Anthropology collection from the Labrador Inuit are made of grass, for example, and the CMC’s Labrador Inuit collections contain thirty-three items of grasswork that were collected by Hawkes.

in Indigenous contexts “handicraft” production is both widespread *and* culturally significant. In this chapter I examine contemporary artworks made in grasswork and other traditional media to consider how *Sanajaumajuk aggatigut* (things made by hand) might transcend the prescribed categories of the West and reveal new ways of considering Labradorimiut traditional arts.

A Long History of Inuit Grasswork on the Coast of Labrador

Nunatsiavummiut grass work is known as “sewn coiled,” referring to the process of sewing around a thin bunch of grass with a whipstitch in a continuous coil. The basket is formed by sewing around the new coil while regularly looping back on to the coil beneath, to join the rings together in spiral [figure 5.1]. While this is the foundation of all Nunatsiavummiut grasswork, both in the contemporary art form and much historical work there is considerable opportunity for adaptation and diversification of this fundamental design. Traditionally, these baskets would have been used to carry berries, store household items, and even carry water (Campbell and Saunders 2000: 13). Miriam Lyall confirms, “When we were in the bays [to fish or hunt] I saw my grandmother sew grasswork. It would mainly be for household use, such as hot plate mats” (1997: 15). By the time of Hawkes’ visit to the coast of Labrador in 1914, the shape of the basketry had been greatly inspired by contact with Europeans; the collection of baskets he amassed while in the Hamilton Inlet region includes also mats, hot plates, platters, bowls, vases and lidded jars with handles made of either grass or carved of ivory, stone, bone or antler, often in the shape of an animal [See contemporary examples, figure 5.2]. Hawkes also saw grasswork patterned after kettles, pieces that integrated colourful patterns sewn in

with dyed grass or raffia, and items with “open work” – the angular or curvy zigzagging designs often found in Labrador grasswork [figure 5.3]. In his text Hawkes suggests that the frequent practice of adding open work trim or other embellished borders echoes the design of Inuit skin clothing, which usually has a single or double line of contrasting trim bordering the collar, cuffs and other hemlines. While similar angular open work can be found in Alaskan basketry, the Nunatsiavummiut double curved line border is unique amongst circumpolar Inuit basketry traditions. The double curved border appears as two coils tightly wrapped and spiraling together as trim work on a basket, bowl or jar. [figure 5.4]. Hawkes was impressed by the basketry he discovered in Hamilton Inlet. Writing in 1916, he observed, “certain specimens collected from Labrador offer simple designs, which have led me to consider them under art” (Hawkes 1916: 103).

Hawkes wrote to Sapir during his trip in 1914:

I am sending you by the Newfoundland Parcel Post a dozen specimens of Eskimo coiled basketry and a pair of kunnuks [sic] which I picked up here quite reasonably. You will notice that the baskets are of various shapes and designs – I am quite interested in noting that they are practically the same as we find among the Alaskan Eskimo. The little kunnuks are Greenlandic but will be interesting for comparison of material and design. (App. A: Hawkes to Sapir, 28 May 28 1914)

Hawkes later followed up with a large parcel of works collected in the Hamilton Inlet / Rigolet area, noting that it was very possible to purchase large quantities of “smaller” things in that area, while he hoped to obtain larger items of clothing such as parkas and trousers further north. It is presumed that many of the thirty-three works of grass he acquired, almost entirely from the Hamilton Inlet area, were sent at this time:

I am shipping you by the S.S. Kyle a large box of some 250 specimens, mostly from Hamilton Inlet, gathered during the last two weeks. They represent the smaller articles of clothing and industry, particularly the artwork in the same, quite thoroughly. I find that by buying things in lots, one can get them much

cheaper, and at the same time demand a certain variety of material and design. I have kept the latter end in view for exhibition purposes, and not been afraid of getting duplicates which showed some variation. [...] I find that it pays to make haste slowly, as one eventually picks up things where at first there seemed to be nothing. (App. A: Hawkes to Sapir, 2 July 1914)

While not all of the comparisons to Alaskan Inuit in Hawkes' volume withstand close scrutiny, in North America, sewn coiled grass basketry similar to the style that has flourished in the southern region of Nunatsiavut can also be found throughout Alaska and in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, as well as in Nunavut and Nunavik. While Hawkes believed that the ability to make grasswork was somehow "inborn" to the Inuit, saying, "I incline to the opinion that the ability to make this simple coiled basketry is inherent among the Eskimo, and only needs contact with the proper material to bring it out," in reality, the recurrence and proliferation of these works suggests that this practice has a common Inuit origin going back many centuries, one that has been kept alive through intergenerational art practices (1916: 104). This seems particularly evident because the style and construction of Inuit sewn coiled basketry is so similar among circumpolar Inuit even though most Inuit groups had little interaction with each other during the era of contact with Europeans. Furthermore, Inuit basketry is altogether different from the basketry traditions of neighbouring First Nations.

The Canadian Guild of Crafts believed that grasswork from elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic could not rival the work of the Labrador Inuit. In the 1941 Annual Report of the CHG Indian and Eskimo Committee, Alice Lighthall, Chairman of the Committee, wrote of works from the Northwest Territories, complaining:

At the Annual Meeting last year, there were on view here some half dozen baskets from the far north. They were crudely made grass affairs, in grotesque shapes imitating objects in use or seen by the Eskimos who had made them; a cooking pot, a blubber stove, an oil lamp, complete with chimney. These had been sent to us by

Major David McKeand, of the *Nascopie* expedition with the request that the Indian and Eskimo Committee should take up the work of encouraging Eskimo handicrafts through white women now in the Arctic. [...] In a detailed discussion of the whole matter – the possibilities of developing existing skill, directing it to the use of native materials and designs rather than borrowed ones – and the question of marketing the products – many interesting points were brought out. The art of basketry, for instance, is only practiced among the Eastern Eskimo of a limited district in Ungava, that being practically the only source grass in the Eastern Arctic. (n.p.)

Lighthall goes on to exclaim that grasswork in Labrador, “was taught to them by Moravian missionaries about 200 years ago. Contact with white civilization is no new thing to them!” although there is nothing to support the idea that the Moravians introduced grasswork (Ibid.). Elsewhere, Otis Tuft Mason, a late-nineteenth century American ethnologist and Smithsonian curator, suggested instead that the practice may have been introduced by Norsemen a millennium ago, because coiled grass basketry is found in Northern Europe. Judy has countered Mason’s claims in an essay in a *Them Days* quarterly magazine in 1979. She argues that a Norse origin is unlikely, as sewn coiled baskets were not produced in Greenland, where contact with the Norse is better documented and more extensive, and salt water grass readily available. I would add to McGrath’s reasoning that if the Moravians had introduced grass basketry in Labrador, they most certainly would have also done so in Greenland, as they had established very successful missions there (McGrath 1979: 43). It is more likely, as Hawkes suggests in *The Labrador Eskimo*, that the practice originated in the Bering Strait region. Hawkes wrote of the similarities,

We find Alaskan baskets with the angular openwork design but I have seen none with a double curved line. Outside this variation in design, one could not tell, as far as appearance goes, the basketry of one section than the other. Of course, there is a large difference in individual workmanship, but some specimens obtained from Cape Chidley were as closely sewn and finely made as anything I have seen in Alaska. [...] If it is a borrowed art, it has been so long adopted that its origin has been forgotten. Its source would be hard to trace, as Eskimo basketry differs

from that of any of the neighbouring Indian types. One would have to go as far south as the California area for comparisons. (1916: 104)

In correspondence between Hawkes and Jessie Luther, she states that she also believes that the practice is of Indigenous origin. In a letter dated October 28, 1915, Luther wrote,

I think undoubtedly [grass baskets] are purely a native industry. I have been connected with the mission ten years, nearly half the time Dr. Grenfell has been on the coast, and from the first have seen specimens of that kind of basket. I was told they came from farther north and during the past seven years I have gone down the Labrador coast as far as possible every summer and have found them at various places. (Hawkes 1916: 104)

McGrath observed that both the looser coil construction of the Hudson Bay region and the very fine and tightly sewn composition found in Alaska can be found within the Nunatsiavummiut grass work tradition (1979: 43). While Nain grasswork tends to be slightly larger in scale with a generally larger coil [figure 5.5]. Rigolet is known for its very finely coiled, and usually smaller scale baskets and other types of vessels. [figure 5.6]. This is because, as grass artist Linda Palliser (b.1959) explained in her interview, in Nain baskets are made using the entire blade of grass for the coil, while in Rigolet they separate the two thin sides of the grass from the center of the blade for the outer coil (App. B: Interview with Linda Palliser). The kinds of grass used in Inuit basketry can be identified as *Elymus mollis*, *E. arenarius*, and *Ammophila arenaria*, or, in lay terms, basket grass, beach grass, salt water grass, wild rye, *ivik* and other names (Saunders, et al: 1979, 2). These grasses are found in coastal areas throughout Arctic Canada and southern Labrador as well as in Siberia, Alaska, coastal Asia, Northern Europe and other circumpolar regions. Salt-water grass is quite hardy and strong, and if properly harvested and dried it can also lend a degree of waterproofing to clothing or warmth and insulation to bedding. As previously mentioned, a tightly coiled basket with the properly prepared

grass could even be used to carry water. Beautiful and well suited to practical purposes, grass can be made into a variety of shapes and vessels to suit any number of needs.

Nancy Pamack of Nain explains,

My grandmother, Frances Agik, used to sew grass and my mother too. I used to make grass things when I was little. Right thin coils, not like now. I made baskets and round flat ones. You can join the round ones together and make a big one for the table for hot water, tea and so on. You can make them any size and shape you want, even big ones for a hot boiler or platter. (*Grasswork of Labrador*)

Style and Technique: The Influence of Kitty Keddie and the Grenfell Industrial

Division

While the Grenfell mission was not responsible for the introduction of grasswork to Labrador, it did make significant contributions to the development of a grasswork arts industry. Inuit had began to produce basketry commercially before “Kitty” Keddie took over the Industrial Division of the International Grenfell Association, but it appears that it was under her encouragement that this practical Indigenous art form began to play a more important role in the local economy.

Elizabeth Tooktoshina (b. 1924 or 1916) or “Aunt Liz” as she is affectionately known in Rigolet, started learning to make grass baskets when she was just five years old. Tooktoshina recalled that even before Keddie's arrival, all of the grasswork she and her mother made was sent to the Grenfell Mission. The Industrial Division didn't compensate craft producers with cash, she explains: “that's where we sold all our grasswork years ago. And we never get paid for it, only like second hand clothes,” which she recalled could be worn or remade into a variety of garments and other practical items (Appendix A: Interview with Elizabeth Tooktoshina).

Susie Pottle of Rigolet added, in *Grasswork of Labrador* (1981), that before Keddie joined the Industrial, grass workers often felt that the amount of second-hand clothing they received from the International Grenfell Association (IGA) was not fair compensation. (Saunders, McGrath et al. 1979: 24) Pottle further recalled an incident that occurred in the late 1920s: an enormous flour barrel filled with her family's grasswork – the result of an entire winter's labour – went missing from a ship destined for the IGA in North West River and was never replaced or recompensed. "We never heard tell of it after, never got a cent for all our winter's work." she recalled, "There was trays, baskets, mats, wastepaper baskets, workbaskets, all kinds of grasswork. We never got a cent. It was never traced" (Ibid.: 24).

She explained that soon after that, under the direction of Mrs. Kitty Keddie, the situation improved slightly and the production of grasswork became more standardized:

[...] Mrs. Keddie took over buying the grass work after we lost the barrel full. She'd order so many sets of mats. She'd have the whole set, six round ones and two oval shaped. It all had to have the same pattern. Then there'd be an order for a dozen baskets with covers, a dozen without covers, all different sizes. The mats would be the same, right to say ten inches, twelve inches, seven inches. The last year I was home I made a tray fourteen inches by twenty-four inches long. I sent it to St. Anthony and got seventy-five cents for it. Usually, before Mrs. Keddie took over, we'd get a box of clothing for our winter's work, never get paid money except a few cents sometimes. IGA charged quite a bit for it. We seen ever so many Newfoundland fishermen that bought grass work in St. Anthony. When they'd give it to their wives, they'd put a cloth over it because it was so expensive. There was no way then to make money, only with the needle. (Ibid.)

George Rich of Rigolet also recalls the time when he was young when Keddie took over the operations. "Mrs. Keddie got right excited about the grasswork and travelled around by dog team. Go right to Makkovik, goin' around the coves lookin' at the grasswork. On the last of it she sent around orders." Rich provides a telling account of the process that Keddie used for purchasing grasswork while suggesting that Inuit were

beholden to her to sell the works they produced, unless she had too much work at any given time.

My mother used to do an awful lot of grass work, so when I got big enough I started makin' little old small mats, baskets, just to pass the time. When I got to make it good enough, I used to get enough clothes to cloth myself with from the grass work. You'd make the grass work and at the end of the year, like in June, you'd send it to the Industrial Store. I sold to Mrs. Brown at Indian Harbour when I was a little boy. They used to have a clothing store there and they'd send the grass to North West River. I remember one year my father went up to North West River by dog team and my mother sent up a bunch of grass work to Mrs. Keddie, but Mrs. Keddie was overstocked so the old man got kind of excited. [...] When Dr. Paddon came around, my mother gave him a bunch of grass work and when he went to St. John's that summer he took it and sold it there. When he came back he brought back yards of flannelette and blue denim and all stuff like that. He sold the grass work and bought the material from Ayre's and Sons. That was the best time she ever got paid for her grass work. (Ibid.: 18)

Keddie was known for encouraging work of a particular quality and style. It might be assumed that she would encourage strictly "native" work as demanded by the Canadian Guild of Crafts elsewhere in the Arctic during the first half of the twentieth-century, but artists who remember her have mentioned her enthusiasm for grasswork embellished with coloured raffia, an imported material that came in a wide variety of bright colours [figure 5.7]. Susie Pottle recalled,

We used to dye grass with black berry juice because Mrs. Keddie wouldn't let us sell anything we had made with raffia to anybody but her. There used to be lots of people, like Newfoundland fishermen, who'd want baskets, so we'd dye the grass ourselves with berry juice. We'd boil the berries first and strain off the juice, we'd just use the juice. My mother dyed her own grass that way. We'd put the grass in cold berry juice and leave it for three or four days, until it took the dye, keepin' it turned. Mother used a galvanized tub. She'd do a handful each colour, that'd do a lot of patterns. She'd get pink from red berries and blue from black berries. (Ibid.: 17-18)

The use of colour for adding patterns to Labrador grasswork has been accomplished through the above mentioned berry dyes, commercial dyes and raffia, as well as through the use of purples, pinks and greens found naturally occurring in grass (Appendix A:

Interview with Garmel Rich). In a Labrador Craft Producers Association workshop and slide show, a workshop participant noted that women in Labrador had a very experimental approach to using colours, and that artists were reviving some natural dyes in their work:

The colours are made out of a synthetic raffia material, which is like a plastic. Right now the women in Rigolet are experimenting with natural dyes, using lichens and berries and bark and some of the things from around Labrador to dye the grass with to get colours that would blend more with the colours in the grass because the colours in the raffia are so powerful you have a hard time to see the basket for the design in it. With the natural dyed grass, the colours blend in a much more delicate way. (Unknown speaker giving presentation on LCPA arts, discussing a basket by Druscilla Rich. “Labrador Craft Producers Association workshop and slide show”)

In the catalogue *Grasswork of Labrador* (1981) Rosie Ford said she has coloured her grass with both natural and domestic-use commercial dyes, which could be purchased locally. Ford discussed the relative ease of this process, explaining, “Didn’t boil it or anything, just let it soak in the dye, moved it all the time so it wouldn’t get spotty. I soaked it all day, sometimes all day and all night, and warm the water now and then.”

Grass Work of Labrador: The Most Significant Exhibition of Nunatsiavummiut Grasswork

The catalogue for the exhibition, *Grasswork of Labrador*, provides many such insights on basketry and other productions through the words of more than a dozen artists working throughout northern Labrador in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It accompanied the first and only exhibition of Labrador Inuit grass basketry to tour outside of the province, and included a thorough oral history documentation of grass practices, from harvesting the grass to finishing the edges. It provides a critical bridge between the well-documented basketry collected by Hawkes and encouraged by Keddie in the early-

twentieth century, and the grasswork made by artists today. As such, it makes a significant contribution to the history of grasswork in the Nunatsiavut Territory. The exhibition and catalogue deserve scholarly attention, as does the Indigenous knowledge recorded in the objects and histories assembled in the exhibition. *Grass Work of Labrador* was produced as a collaboration between The Art Gallery of Memorial University in Newfoundland and *Them Days* Publications in Labrador (1978). According to the catalogue, it was the sixth exhibition in a series featuring craft works of Newfoundland and Labrador.² The exhibition, curated by Edythe Goodridge with co-organizers McGrath and Doris Saunders, was the first craft show created specifically to be displayed in the University's new art gallery in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. The series of craft exhibitions had the explicit intent of inviting reflection on "the richness of these cultures that have shaped this country, and in so doing, end the abuse that our cultural resources have suffered in recent decades" (Edythe Goodridge, qtd. in Saunders, McGrath, et al. 1979: 1). The exhibition opened in Happy Valley-Goose Bay in 1981 and toured to several locations across Canada, including the Hector Exhibition Centre in Pictou, Nova Scotia, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, and the Ontario Craft Gallery in Toronto.³ The original exhibition contained over 100 works dating from

² The first two in the Craft Profile series, in 1975, were of contemporary crafts by twelve women; the third and fourth were on the hooked mats of Louise Belbin of Grand Bank and Mary Margaret O'Brien of Cape Broyle in 1978; and the fifth in 1979 focused on the Ferryland Tapestry, hooked by Southern Shore women from Arch William's paintings of Ferryland (Saunders, McGrath et al. (1979): 30).

³ The touring version of the exhibition was titled *Labrador Grass Work: A travelling exhibition by Them Days Magazine, Memorial University Art Gallery and the Newfoundland Museum*. It was reviewed in Nova Scotia newspaper *the Chronicle-Herald* on Thursday, October 15th, 1981. The article explains that the exhibition was scheduled for just one stop between Labrador and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, at the Hector Exhibition Centre in Pictou, Nova Scotia. Later, in a follow-up issue of *Them Days* from 1980 Saunders explained, "We are pleased and proud to be able to tell you that the Newfoundland Museum and Memorial University Art Gallery have made arrangements for the *Grass Work of Labrador* exhibition to tour Canada for one year. The exhibit will be shown at the Art Gallery in St. John's during March while the Museum makes special cases for shipping and displaying the grass work,"

1920 to 1980, and the travelling exhibition contained 79 sewn grass works by Labrador Inuit. They ranged in size from a thimble-scale doll's cup to a functional rifle case and included vases, bowls, trays, placemats, baskets and other creations.

During its early 1980s tour, the exhibition was much praised, and its reception reflected the appeal of grasswork for southern audiences and they're a strong antimodernist sentiment. As Ruth Phillips has explained in *Trading Identities* (1998), since the nineteenth century southern Canadian consumers have sought out Indigenous art – along with the arts of other cultures imagined as pre-modern, simpler or closer to nature – as alternatives to the productions of the industrialized world (7). In a 1981 review in the Nova Scotia newspaper *The Chronicle-Herald* entitled “Unusual Display Opens,” Wilkie Taylor expressed this view, and the high value assigned to art made by hand using only indigenous materials. He quoted Hector Centre curator Juanita Brittain as saying, “Fine craftsmanship is obvious in every piece in the exhibition, but what I think is of the greatest appeal here is natural materials were used throughout” (Taylor 1981: 1). As both the Canadian Guild of Crafts and James Houston had urged in the mid-century, the use of materials native to the North and to Inuit regions enhanced the appeal of the works in the south. Brittain followed her comment by stating that Nova Scotia craftspeople were also beginning to turn to natural materials, and suggested that the exhibition might thus serve as an inspiration to local artists and enthusiasts.

In her review “Labrador Grasswork – A Time Honoured Inuit Craft” in *The Atlantic Advocate* in 1983, Barbara MacAndrew praised the installation of the exhibit at the prestigious Ontario Craft Gallery in Toronto, ON, stating, “the time-honed products

and offering thanks to all the people of Labrador who shared their skills and treasured grass pieces with the exhibition. (Taylor 1981: 1).

of Labrador grasswork craftspeople are not only functional but acclaimed works of art.”

(34). She later adds, “the craftspeople of Labrador keep their skills in traditional crafts still very much alive. They reflect the richness of their culture which has shaped the unspoiled environment of their coastal communities [and their art expresses] a sense of their heritage in the timeless quality of their crafts” (Ibid.). The romanticization of the unspoiled Arctic origin of the grasswork serves to amplify the “primitive” or “untouched” appeal to a southern market.

It appears that while the exhibition was only intended for three venues, interest in the show led to other installations elsewhere. MacAndrew reports that upon learning of the exhibition the Director of the Ontario Crafts Council, John Mabley, made arrangements to show the collection to its “urban patrons.” Said Mabley of his reasons for wanting the show to visit the Toronto gallery:

It’s a marvelous collection because it shows us the timeless influence of this sort of grasswork and basket-weaving, both in a functional and decorative sense. It would be great if the exhibit goes further, to other large urban centres. We’re still desperately short of research into our native cultural background. And the variety of crafts from this part of Canada is particularly interesting. Isolation in this part of our vast country has contributed to the originality and survival of the craft. Exhibitions like this alleviate the isolation by showing the world the work of craftspeople. We get to know each others’ areas of Canada, through this sort of display.

Introducing urban people to the crafts of rural people is particularly rewarding for our council. There are some marvelous, original works being done in the Atlantic Provinces. We’re interested in seeing examples of the varied crafts from the area. (Ibid.: 35)

In this statement MacAndrew underscores the commonly held belief in Canada and other settler-colonial nations that the Indigenous people, as “our native cultural background,” represent a stage in a nation’s past to be recovered and revered as belonging to Canada, even though the people and practice long predate Canada. He further notes that the

Moravians pointed out, “that native people were being encouraged to produce as many items as possible since good prices could be received from their sales,” and that as early as 1885 Moravian Missionaries were making references to the splendid baskets and other objects made by Inuit in grass. It seems likely that the historical information MacAndrew cites is from the catalogue that was created for the exhibition, which includes a brief historical overview of grasswork provided by McGrath before a lengthy section on oral history.

Given the few scholarly resources on Labrador grass work, it is not surprising that the catalogue for *Grass Work of Labrador* draws heavily on the research in E.W. Hawkes’ *The Labrador Eskimo*. In that sense, much of the scholarship in the catalogue is not new. One major contribution of this catalogue, however, is the interviews the curators conducted with artists from all over the coast, providing invaluable insights from practitioners while archiving oral history and Inuit knowledge.⁴ The exhibition also brought together the largest display of Inuit grasswork ever to leave Labrador, containing both “traditional” baskets and fascinating intercultural objects such as the aforementioned rifle case and teacup. The catalogue provided an understanding of the breadth and complexity of intergenerational knowledge about grasswork, while demonstrating the inventive approaches of grass workers to working with new forms, materials and dyes. McGrath said in a CBC interview shown in 1983 on the Newfoundland television program *Land & Sea*:

When we were researching the exhibition that we’ve put together, we discovered that by getting people together and getting them talking about things they

⁴ Some of the most substantial publication on grasswork has been in *Them Days* magazine, although even there the work has not been featured in abundance. Of the two creators of *Grass Work* in Labrador, Saunders and McGrath, the former is the founder and editor of *Them Days* and the latter is a frequent contributor. Much of the content of the catalogue was also republished in *Them Days*.

remembered from years and years ago and the things that they remembered their grandparents making and that sort of thing, and asking them to make that sort of thing for the show, that it seems to have revived a much broader spectrum of grasswork being done.⁵

This broad spectrum of work is reflected in the numerous works included in the exhibition and documented in the catalogue. Unfortunately, however, the major flaw of the catalogue – as in too many others from Labrador – is that it is much too small and obviously produced on a very low budget. The publication is about 8” square, soft cover and just thirty pages, and all of the images contained within are reproduced poorly in black and white. Although, there were many spectacular works included in the exhibition, the majority of the photos in the catalogue are about an inch square and reproduced nine to twelve per page, making it more practical as a takeaway for exhibit visitors than as a resource for those who have not had the opportunity to view the works in person.⁶

One of the larger images, showing artist Druscilla Rich’s extraordinary grass tabletop work and coordinating lidded basket, is, however, an exciting exception [figure 5.8]. At 24” in diameter, this ambitious work made of saltwater grass and brown raffia must have taken months to complete.⁷ A tabletop grasswork is a large, perfectly flat disc

⁵ The popular provincial cultural program *Land & Sea* produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) originally aired the episode “Baskets of Grass” in 1983, but the episode has since been replayed on February 28, 2010 and is currently available online. To view the episode visit: [http://www.cbc.ca/player/Shows/Shows/More+Shows/Land+and+Sea+\(N.L.\)/2009-2010/ID/1908818766/](http://www.cbc.ca/player/Shows/Shows/More+Shows/Land+and+Sea+(N.L.)/2009-2010/ID/1908818766/)

⁶ In 1985, the MUN Art Gallery in Labrador created a follow-up exhibition to the highly successful grasswork exhibition, *Labrador Crafts: Past and Present*. The exhibition was researched and coordinated by Judy McGrath, who again contributed a catalogue essay. *Labrador Crafts* was the third of the MUN gallery’s Craft Profiles series to feature Labrador since the 1978 opening of the Happy Valley-Goose Bay exhibition space. The exhibition catalogue was the same size and of a comparable quality to that of *Grass Workwork of Labrador*.

⁷ This estimate on the time period for completing the work based on observations made to me by artists during my interviews on the coast. Several grass workers I interviewed discussed either works they had made of a comparable size, or objects (including a tabletop)_that artists would make, if they could find the time and save up the grass. Belinda Shiwak of Rigolet stated, “I’m always saying, before I gives up sewing I wants to make a table top that was like my mother and they used to make them. [...] Like so big, so it could fit on a big coffee table type thing ... you can make it as big as you like. [But] oh my gosh it would take forever” (Appendix A: Interview with Belinda Shiwak). Artist Sarah Baikie (b. 1950) agrees that a

of grasswork that either covers the top of a small side table or can be used as the centerpiece of a larger dining table. Rich has embellished her tightly sewn work with a large, five-pointed outline of a flower or star motif at the center, extending about half way from the center of the basket to the edge. Similar star or flower designs are often shown with four, five, six or more points, depending on the size and shape of the grasswork.

The tabletop evidences how technically adept and talented is Rich's mastery of her craft. The tight, flat coils and even shape of the circular piece, as well as the finely tapered end of the piece, demonstrate her abilities and speak to her experience. Although I have not seen this work in person, there is no doubt in my mind that the back and front are identical, and finished to the same exacting standards with no frayed ends or pulled loops. The “top” or “bottom” of well-made trays, hot plates and other flat forms of grasswork would be difficult for even a trained eye to differentiate (although the artists always seem to know). In the same way, the interiors of baskets and vases are treated with the same exacting precision as the exteriors. It is also difficult to achieve perfectly symmetrical petals or points in basketry, and learning to incorporate design elements in contrasting colours is a valuable skill grass workers hone over time. The larger or more elaborate the piece and the pattern, the more appreciation other artists have for the work.

Included in the image is a tightly woven basket with a 10” diameter, which sits along one edge of the virtuoso tabletop piece. It is made in coordinating grass and brown raffia and has a small but reflective oval-shaped piece of polished Labradorite inserted in the handle of the lid. Without the use of adhesive, Rich has embedded the precious stone

large tabletop could take two to three months of regular work to complete. As a young woman she recalled seeing her mother create a tabletop that took months to do; she got paid five dollars by the IGA.

into the work by forming a thin grass coil around the top and bottom edges of the handle. The design in raffia added to the basket represents another common pattern found in grasswork, spiraling lines. In this instance, a series of four equally spaced lines radiate out from the handle and around the basket. The lines from the lid are continuous with the lines on the basket, which likely continue circling around the lower sides of the basket and meet again at the center of the base. In the photograph of the works, the curved line of one spiral is lined up with the curved line of one of the flower or star, demonstrating how the patterns may differ, but the line quality is continuous.

This and other patterns, styles and techniques for grasswork highlighted in the catalogue and elsewhere have been passed down and innovated upon for countless generations on the coast of Labrador.

Inuit Knowledge and Indigenous Art Practices: Preparation and Process

Grasswork is not an artistic practice that can just be picked up; it requires time, effort and patience. Before a basket is even begun, many hours of planning, preparation and labour have already gone into the piece. In an article in a 1999 edition of the Newfoundland publication *The Downhomer*, grass artist and Rigolet resident Jane Shiwak remarked, “most people forget that a basket could take up to two weeks to finish when they look at the price, but I think it’s worth a lot more than what we can sell them for” (Mullaly 1999: 88) [figure 5.9]. Shiwak explained the elaborate stages of collecting, preparing and sewing that grass workers must go through between raw materials and finished product. *The Downhomer*’s Kris Mullaly admitted, “I was one of the people who

made judgments about prices but Jane opened my mind when she explained the process to me” (Ibid.).

The processes of harvesting and preparing salt-water grass have been perfected over centuries, and the practice of sewing grass into a coil is the foundation of all grasswork. Yet within these basic parameters there is an enormous variety of work, and artists continue to experiment, innovate and finish their work in new and exciting ways, maintaining the vibrancy and continuity of a traditional arts practice with great fidelity from ancient times to the present, while introducing dynamic interventions into these processes. The deep-rooted Indigenous knowledge required to create grass artworks has been handed down intergenerationally and is embedded within the objects themselves. In this way, the everyday practice of grass basketry embodies the survivance and resilience of the Nunatsiavut Territory.

In order to collect the grass artists must carefully time their harvest and must closely watch the weather to get as close to the end of season as possible before the first snowfall. Famed grass sewer George Rich has explained,

By the time for grass is ripe enough to pick it’s real hard to get a real fine day. Sometimes you go out even if it’s cold for pickin’ but when you gets where the grass is and see how good it is you can’t leave off pickin.’ You want to get all you can while the weather is good. You’re excited, tryin’ to get all you can, because tomorrow it might snow and p’r’aps you haven’t got enough for winter. (1994: 17)

Indeed, artists usually must first travel to get the grass, noting, as Susie Pottle has, that “the grass that grows out on the seacoast is the strongest, it got to be salt water grass to have any strength to it. I don’t find the grass as far in as Rigolet as good as what is out by the seacoast, not in strength” (McGrath 1979: 54). In a 1979 essay in *Them Days* the aforementioned grass sewer Druscilla Rich, mentioned above, concurs that she would

travel about thirty-five miles to Bluff Head from Rigolet to harvest her grass each year (Ibid.). However, Rich adds that while inadvisable, she knew her grandmother to sometimes pick grass in the summer if she'd already run out of her dried grass from the year before, even though the colour would not be quite the same as the light sandy beige of dried grass.

I been seen my grandmother pick green grass in the summer when she'd run out of faded grass. She'd cut the green grass and put it outdoors to dry on sunny days and bring it in when the weather'd get bad. 'Twill roll in just like the other and 'twill always have a cast of green on it, light green. 'Twill fade out from what the natural colour is and go right pale green." (Saunders, McGrath, etc. 1979: 22)

Senior artist and master grass sewer Garmel Rich (b. 1939) is more particular over her grass, and waits until October to harvest, so it's tonally the same colour – often pinks, greens, whites, and purples. Rich has always preferred grass from Rigolet or North West River. Because she waits as late as possible to get different coloured grass at the end of the season, she only rarely uses dyes from natural berries and plants to accent her work, which is delicate, subtle, and sewn to the highest standards ("Garmel Rich – NLAC Hall").

Grass must also be picked blade by blade, pulled quickly from near the base to get the longest pieces possible. When asked if there's a knack to picking grass on the television episode of *Land and Sea*, Sarah Baikie of Rigolet first responded, "you just pluck it off, I s'pose," but then paused and replied, "You don't notice when you've done it all your life." Baikie recalls learning to pick grass with an aunt who had a knack for getting her niece to come along:

Whenever I go grass pickin' the most thing I think about is Aunt Phebe. When we lived in Rocky Cove, she used to go down by the shore pickin' grass. She'd always have those rum and butter candy kisses. She'd give us some and tell us she'd like to have a knife and fork and barrel full of rum and butter kisses! [...] I

started pickin' grass as soon as I was able to get around, I imagine. I never went to school so I started to sew grass when I was fairly young, maybe eight or nine. I used to always try to sew but I could never get ahead. One evening I was sittin' there and father (John Oliver) asked me did I want him to show me how to sew, so he took my needle and my grass and showed me how to start off. That's when I started sewing so I guess he showed me how to sew! (Saunders, McGrath et al, 1979: 20)

The grass is then slowly dried indoors or out, depending on the weather. Elsie Blake explained in the oral history component of the catalogue for *Grass Work of Labrador* that, "When grass is dried it turns in, except for the goose grass which is flat. When you're pickin' grass you picks it piece by piece. It's not good to pick your grass and use it right away, although I have tried a couple threads just to try it, but 'tis better after 'tis dried" (Ibid.: 22). After grass has been harvested in the late fall, it needs to be dried carefully. She continues,

I usually dries my grass for a week. In the old days 'twas much easier for dryin' because we had beams in our houses. We'd put boards across the beams and dry the grass on that. You get all kinds of heat on that. Houses these days is all closed in. I dries mine on tables now, the ironin' board is awful good, especially the ones with the holes in them like mesh. The air can get all around. (Ibid.: 23)

Susie Pottle from Rigolet agrees that the quality of a finished basket is closely linked to the initial drying process. "If you use your grass too soon after 'tis dried, it usually gets full of little old ends. When it's dried and kept for so long, its what we calls seasoned." (Ibid.: 22). She explains,

You can sew grass right away, but when it dries it gets all slack. When you pick your grass and lets it lie overnight the inside gets all yellow and spotty. You got to spread it and keep turnin' and movin' it. Sometimes I spreads mine on the tops of the cupboards where the heat can get at it. I sticks it up in cardboard boxes too. After I takes it out of the boxes, I tie it up in bundles and hangs it on a line until it gets all rattly. You can't store it in a damp place. Put it in the porch or somewhere cold. You can't put it where there's frost, that's no good at all. It won't spoil in the heat but you'll have a problem getting' it wet again. I usually keep mine all tied together and hang it on a nail in the cold. (Ibid.: 56)

After grass has been properly and sufficiently dried, it must be cleaned, soaked and rehydrated for use. The processes for these final stages before use vary according to community, era, and individual artist. In a 1979 article by Judy McGrath in *Them Days* that appeared at the time of the *Grass Work of Labrador* exhibition, and featured much of the same content as the catalogue essay, several grass sewers compared processes, revealing the variety of personal techniques that yield similar end results. Elsie Blake of Rigolet, for example, first soaks her grass in cold water overnight before warming the water up just a little to wash it down. Her secret, she explains, is using a little Sunlight soap to get the grass as free of debris as possible, “I takes the soap and rubs it over the grass once and then rubs my hand over it, a whole lot of dirt comes off” (McGrath 1979: 56). Gladys Burdett of Cartwright described seeing older people using a bit of grease while cleaning grass, recalling, “they would take the grass in their hands, so much at a time, and sort of rub it through, then keep the grass in a damp cloth. They would probably do that the day before they would use it” (Ibid.). Deborah Atsatata of Nain added a final word of caution, stating, “if you put your sewing down and leave it for a few hours, before you start sewing again you got to dip it in water. It’s got to be damp all the time.”

While in Nain some artists keep the grass blades whole, in Rigolet, Labrador’s most prolific grasswork community, blades of grass are split on both sides, leaving a spine in the middle and two thin, long sides with which to sew. The spine is used for the centre and the beginning of the coil while the thin sides are threaded through a needle and sewn tightly around the coil to the next ring. Susie Pottle explained that when you spilt the grass, “it’s good to take the middle piece, the spine, for startin’ something small, where the full grass would be too thick. You take the two sides for sewin’ and the middle

for soaking.’ You got to keep the grass flat for sewin’ so you get it even, don’t twist it” [figure 5.10].

Continuity and Invention: Some Observations on Comparing Grasswork Over A Century

To consider how the technique, form and motif have changed over the last century, I compare baskets from the CMC’s early-twentieth century collections; works in other collections, publications, the exhibition catalogues of from the 1970s- to the 1990s, and the pieces that I documented during my field research on the Labrador coast in 2011. Although this is not a definitive overview of works made over the last century of grasswork production, it will serve to demonstrate the depth and breadth of the practice, while highlighting some of the challenges and achievements of contemporary grass workers.

I make some preliminary observations based on my first-hand examination of works and the photographic, but further research into historic and contemporary grasswork collections will be required to support and expand these observations. First and foremost, it is clear that the fundamental process of sewn coil basketry has been honoured and maintained from time immemorial. Yet within this continuation of a tradition there also exist endless possibilities for variation. If we accept, as Hawkes has claimed, that he purchased “representative” examples of the grasswork available in 1914,⁸ his collection offers a basis for comparing specific traits with later examples.

⁸ There are nearly three dozen baskets in the Labrador Inuit collections of the CMC, and over thirty of those were collected by Hawkes, mostly in the Hamilton Inlet / Rigolet area. When Hawkes visited the Labrador coast in 1914, poor weather conditions and a late break up of sea ice left him in the Hamilton Inlet region for a much longer period than he was able to spend in any of the other communities. As a result, he collected numerous items from around the Rigolet area, which has been known for its grasswork for centuries. (App. A, Hawkes to Sapir, July 2 1914).

Comparison 1: Scale

First, the scale of the works has shifted considerably over the last century. Hawkes does not mention miniature, or souvenir-scale grass work in his 1916 text, nor are there examples of miniature grass pieces in the CMC's collection. It is possible that these were available, but that he was inclined to purchase larger pieces that would be considered "museum quality." It is more likely, however, that grasswork has been scaled down over time to suit the demands of the itinerant tourists who visit Labrador for a variety of reasons. Because grasswork began as a utilitarian art form, and baskets were used to carry water, store berries, protect sewing supplies and serve other practical purposes, very small or very large lidded baskets and bowls would not have been as useful as mid-sized pieces. In the Hawkes collection, the basketry ranges from approximately 10 cm to 30 cm in diameter [figure 5.11]. While these pieces could have been made for purely decorative or trade purposes, they still echoed the pre-contact uses of grass basketry.

In contrast, works from the 1970s onward range from the miniature to the tabletop.⁹ While there continues to be no shortage of mid-sized baskets, bowls and vases produced [figure 5.12], smaller works have been created in relative abundance [figure 5.13]. The small works are a response both to the demands of the local art market and to the kinds of productions that get fair prices for the labour that goes into their creation [figure 5.14]. But even small "souvenir" style grasswork is carefully crafted with expert

⁹ I refer to this period only because I have yet to see significant numbers of grasswork from the time between Hawkes' departure and the beginning of grass appearing in contemporary collections or exhibitions in the late 70s. The Grenfell mission encouraged the production of grasswork through the first decades of the twentieth-century, but after the IGA scaled back its efforts for handicrafts during the War, grasswork was no longer an economically viable practice for several decades. Artists maintained their practices but the sale of works was only revived half a century later.

hands and with great attention to detail. As Ruth Phillips has written of miniature basketry by First Nations artists in the northeast produced for the souvenir market, basket makers, and grass basket purchasers, implicitly recognize the “quality of preciousness that attaches to the miniature,” rendering it more valuable for both its aesthetic properties and its particular suitability to transcultural exchange (Phillips 1998: 73). Take, for example, the flag-themed coaster by Sharon Baikie [figure 5.15]. At first glance, this drink coaster emblazoned with a Labrador flag could easily be dismissed as a tourist trinket, but upon closer inspection, it reveals a virtuoso hand. Although it is just nine centimeters wide and clearly intended to be a souvenir of Labrador – with its miniature flag in Labrador colours, a recurring motif across many craft forms – to be a souvenir of Labrador, this tiny grass mat is exquisitely made. The eight perfectly formed concentric rings with meticulously even stitches are a marvel to behold. Even the tiny, three-centimeter flag, rendered in cotton embroidery floss, displays an extraordinary attention to detail: the flag pole is ruler-straight, and the impossibly tiny spruce branch, a symbol of Labrador pride, is composed of five painstakingly arranged stitches. This piece presents a challenge to the negative associations that Indigenous “tourist art” has received both from academia and the modern art market. In fact, as argued by Phillips in *Trading Identities*, the virtuosity quotient of the miniature is extremely high and is enjoyed both by the artists and the public alike (Phillips 1998: 73).

The summer that I visited Rigolet, the town council and the Craft Centre had employed four women full time to create grasswork souvenirs for the coming cruise ships. One of the women employed then was Linda Palliser (b. 1959), who explained that they arrived at 8:30 every morning and made work all day long, producing tiny bowls,

baskets, and vases, Christmas tree ornaments and key chains [figure 5.15]. Objects made during this program are not for sale in the craft centre, but rather are stock-piled specifically for the few days in late summer or early fall when “the boat” would come through the community. The goal is to produce grasswork as well as, to a lesser degree, other goods popular with tourists such as slippers and mittens. Palliser explained, “You do small. They specifically want small pieces so you do the small pieces, it doesn’t matter what, what they are as long as they’re small pieces because small pieces usually sells better than big pieces.” When I commented, only half-joking, that “tourists are cheap,” Palliser responded, “Yeah, that’s true. We’ve learned that” (Appendix A: Interview with Linda Palliser) Artists have learned from experience that it is not worthwhile to make large-scale or elaborate pieces, because the time and labour that more ambitious work requires will not be fairly compensated on the local art market. Furthermore, many tourists seek out miniature souvenirs because they are more portable and lightweight for travel. Many artists choose to make smaller works they know will sell well to visitors, but delight in the practice of miniaturizing objects in grass, such as Louisa Palliser’s petite tea cup and saucer set, just 6 cm in circumference [figure 5.16].

Comparison 2: Style and Motif

A second observation is that grasswork displays both significant stylistic continuities and many dynamic inventions in design, materials and subject matter. Three distinctive grasswork traits can be identified in pieces made during the last century, some apparently older than others. The first two techniques use only grass to create designs: zigzagging “openwork,” and the double-coil technique. The third is the addition of colour

using embroidery thread in silk or cotton, coloured raffia or dyed grass to achieve a pattern.

“Openwork” is a form of angular or curving border decoration that is added to grasswork bowls, baskets, mats and other forms. In this technique, a row of coiling is separated from the basket, and rather than being stitched down to the preceding row, it is tightly wrapped and raised on an angle, then bent and wrapped back down to the basket edge and sewn down. By repeating this all around the circumference of a work a zigzag or curving line is created in the side of a piece of grasswork, Hawkes praised this feature as “offset[ing] the plainness of the basket” (1914: 103). In one of the wonderful specimens collected by Hawkes [see figure 5.4], the round basket employs the openwork technique twice in an interesting fashion. The flaring, cylinder-style basket has sides that extend outward at an angle from the circular base, so that the diameter of the mouth is greater than that of the base. The sides consist of three horizontal coils followed by a row of openwork in a zigzag motif that is woven around the middle. This is finished with three more horizontal rows of sewn coils, and then finished with a rim of more zigzag open work in a double line.

This basket and other works like it using the zigzag open work design demonstrate techniques that are still commonly found in Labrador. These techniques have been maintained with great fidelity, and are found throughout the coast, as seen in the large, lidded basket by an unknown artist from Nain c.1980s [see figure 5.5] and in the round mat by Belinda Shiwak [figure 5.17], where the same zigzagging double line of openwork can be observed wrapping around the circular border. Additionally, the large mat made for Sarah Baikie by her grasswork students is an example of a very minimalist

employment of the openwork tradition, where the decorative technique has been cleverly integrated into the round mat as a practical design element, where single openwork hook incorporated in the outer edge of the circumference serves as a way to hang the piece on the wall [figure 5.18].

The second decorative grasswork technique is the twisting double coil, frequently used to finish the outer edges of a work.¹⁰ The technique of creating a double coil involves turning a single larger coil into two smaller, twisted and intersecting coils, by dividing the core of the single core of the wrapped coil into two equally sized sections. [figure 5.19] In order to finish a basket edge with this elegant twist, the two coils are kept tightly twisted and sewn down to the horizontal edge of the basket where the twist meets the edge flatly. This painstaking technique has been used frequently by some artists to add a distinctive polish to simple basketry.

Finally, the introduction of coloured patterns, usually in abstract geometric shapes, has provided a seemingly inexhaustible variety of decoration for grasswork. As grass can be picked in naturally occurring shades of green, purples, pinks, whites and beiges, it is not known when artists began adding this kind of surface embellishment to baskets. It could be that early baskets have these patterns but that the colour has long since faded from the grass, as coloured grass is quite susceptible to light over time. Coloured patterns could also have been introduced by the Moravians, who supplied silk and cotton embroidery thread (also known as floss) from the late-eighteenth century onward, and may have encouraged the addition of certain kinds of designs. “Flower” or

¹⁰ Hawkes discusses the “double line” technique in *The Labrador Eskimo*, but does not mention the double coil specifically, nor did he collect any works using the double coil, so it is unknown at this time where or when that technique originated. A Rudimentary search of online databases has not yet turned up an example in any historical collections, but this is as yet inconclusive. Whether or not this is a late twentieth-century innovation or an earlier stylistic trait, has not yet been determined.

“star” designs are now popular and commonplace, but the “Moravian star” has long been a household object in Labrador; perhaps the origin of the star design is Moravian symbolism, now forgotten. At this stage, this is entirely conjecture, as I have come across no conclusive evidence yet.

A few baskets in the CMC’s Labrador collection are embellished with black and red thread in a checkerboard-like pattern [figure 5.20]. While this uses similar materials as contemporary basketry, the patterns are frequently much more elaborate today. It is also known that Kitty Keddie encouraged artists to add decorative patterns to their work using raffia, and it is likely that she was the first to introduce the use of this material into common usage along with natural or synthetically dyed grass. Today artists have mastered the use of raffia and it is a favourite form of design in grasswork. [figure 5.21].

Comparison 3: Experimental Subjects

The final comparison between works made a century ago and today reveals that dramatic innovations have occurred in the time since the CMC’s baskets were collected. While museum collections demonstrate that there was a great variety of grasswork in the early twentieth century – when baskets, bowls, vases, hotplates, mats, tabletops, jars, and other shapes could be made with or without lids, colour, pattern, openwork, coils, or other embellishments – today there are few limits on what can be created. Mary Jacque of Happy Valley recalled,

Flora Jacque used to make an awful lot of mats and big sort of stuff. She used to make little dolls’ cradles with little rockers on them and everything. She used to make those big baskets to put clothes in. She could make them right neat. I think that’s what she used to spend her winter doin’. (Saunders, McGrath, et al 1979: 8)

Thorwald Perrault of Happy Valley – Goose Bay recalled another amazing example of experimentation:

I saw one beautiful job that a woman made in Hopedale. I believe it was Theo Nitsman. She made a gun case for her husband out of grass. It was just the shape of a rifle, a Winchester, and on the end she had a little flap to put over so the gun wouldn't slide out. She had no type of hinges except grass. It was all done with grass except where the little flap came over the edge, there was something else there. She had a little loop made and you could put something through to hold it. It was a beautiful job! (*Labrador in Pictures* 1997: 32)

Contemporary grasswork artists express themselves by making fanciful miniature objects such as cradles, cup and saucer sets and other recognizable household items and miniatures, like the popular wheelbarrows made by Naomi Williams [figure 5.22].

Belinda Shiwak has said that she enjoys the challenge of thinking up how to execute something that hasn't been done in grass before.

It's interesting though sometimes when someone asks you to make something that you didn't make before, like out of grass. 'Cause I know this nurse here asked my sister if she could make a baby rattle. You know a baby rattle. She said oh no, she said she wouldn't do that, she couldn't do that. Ask Belinda she said, so she asked me and I said, gosh no I don't think so. But I got to that evening, I got to thinking about it, maybe that would be interesting to do. So I thought I'd give it a try, and I did, my first one and it turned out real good. [It was] a proper baby rattle. Like it's made, it's made round, round with the little bell or thing inside that rattles. And then I came down the, I got wire I put into it but that was the hardest part. You come down the little handle part, and that I had sewn right around with wiring in to it. (Appendix A: Interview with Belinda Shiwak)

Grass sewers like Shiwak and respected elder grassworker Garmel Rich have elevated the practice to new heights through their mastery of the materials and their ingenuity in manipulating grass.¹¹ Rich is both a master of the traditional practice and an innovative

¹¹ Garmel Rich was born in Bluff Head, just north of the Inuit community of Rigolet, Garmel began weaving grass at age seven and by the time she was in her teens she was greatly skilled in the arts practice. In 1958, she moved to Happy Valley-Goose Bay. As an Inuit elder, Rich continues to weave beautiful grass pieces with galleries, museums, and eager collectors worldwide seeking to include her work in their collections; her work is carried by Birches Gallery, Drum Dancer Arts and Crafts and she also takes orders

and experimental artist. She once made a grass Stanley Cup just to see if she could do it, on a request from her son:

You have to mold it to the shape you want it – say if you was working with clay you would do that – and you can make almost anything you put your mind to. Like little novelties, you know; I’ve made a tea set and a tray for it to go on; a komatik, boat and motor... anything you put your mind to almost [...] Oh yes, I made a Stanley Cup too one time. It was nice too when it was finished. [It was about] a foot high and five inches or so at the bottom. My son wanted one and he figured I could make one, and so I gave it a try, and I put the logo, you know, the Montreal Canadiens on the side. (Gaudi 2012) [figure 5.23] .

Based on this piece and many others that support my conclusion, I would argue that for now, the most spectacular grasswork results when the market is not a consideration. The most challenging and exquisitely made pieces I discovered during my fieldwork were not sold to tourists or found in craft shops and museums. Rather, the most ambitious grasswork pieces were usually the ones made for one’s own home, or to be gifts for friends and family. While this is true of many wonderful pieces, there are two works by Belinda Palliser that illustrate this point particularly well. Made as wedding gifts for two of her children, a tray and a grass bowl [figure 5.24] are technical and aesthetic triumphs.

The basket, in particular, is a spectacular blend of many of the techniques described above. At thirty-nine centimeters in diameter and thirteen centimeters deep, it is one of the largest pieces I documented during my field research. Shiwak explained that it took her a long time to make the large basket for her son’s wedding gift because of the complexity of design and the sheer size of the piece. (App. B: Interview with Belinda Shiwak) The round basket has a large mouth that tapers in towards the base, and features

and sells her work through the local craft shop. As a young artist Rich would made many versions of a single item before she felt it was of a good enough quality to put in a church sale, where she sold her first piece; today her work is in major collections in the province and worldwide. In 2012 Rich was inducted into the Newfoundland and Labrador Art Council’s Hall of Honour. The award recognizes an artist’s lifetime contribution to the arts and cultural heritage in the province.

both grass and embroidery floss design elements. A sixteen-point star or floral design circles the circumference of the basket near the top of the basket. Three connected lines of blue, red, and blue create a zigzagging pattern, eight coils in height. Additionally, at the top of the basket a wavy zigzag of double line openwork trims the top of the basket. Admiring every meticulously neat, consistent stitch of grass from the center to the edge, and the flawless addition of the coloured design that is the same on both sides with no ends showing, the piece is a major accomplishment and a testament to the expertise of its creator. The discovery of this and other similar pieces has led me to believe that some of Labrador's greatest treasures are not held in museums, but literally housed in houses.

Great continuities have been maintained through many generations of grass artists on the Labrador coast, in a tradition that long predates contact with *Kallunât*. Sarah Baikie recalls that her father taught her to sew when her grandmother was too busy, recalling, "I remember one time daddy saying "Do you want me to show you how to sew?" And I never saw him sew. So he actually showed me how to get it the right way, flat. And I can remember at our old house in Rocky Cove, it was nearly dark and he was sitting up on the table and he knew I was very smart, and he showed me that. Both of my brothers, I saw them sew." (App. Author interview with S. Baikie) Baikie has since passed on the skill to her daughters, as her father did to her.

Likewise, Garmel Rich not only practices this art form, she also teaches it, having given many community-based workshops as well as passing on the skills and knowledge to her daughter Josie.

It is my heritage. My grandmother brought it down, or the idea, from wherever she came from. Up north, somewhere. See people used to come down as servants for the Hudson Bay Company, and now I'm only guessing at this, but I think that's how she came to be in [southern] Labrador. She was Inuit. And she sort of

started the grass work [down here]. People caught on from that. [...] Now it's come down to me and my daughter, she can make grasswork. Now she don't make very much because she works and you know you got to have a lot a lot of time to do something like that. But someday when she's my age, she won't have as much to do and she can make them then. I wouldn't like to see it die away. I'd like to see somebody keep it going. (Gaudi 2012)

The tradition of grasswork continues to be passed on with great fidelity to the traditional practice with artists transform the work through their inventiveness and creativity.

Future Avenues for the Investigation of Nunatsiavummiut Craft Practices

However splendid and deeply rooted in the Nunatsiavut Territory, grasswork is not the only time-honoured handicraft tradition. Doll-making also has a long and productive history in Labrador. The art form has been primarily transmitted intergenerationally, so much so that through time, some dolls are easily recognized as being from a particular artist or family of artists. Hawkes collected six handmade dolls in a variety of traditional skin and fabric ensembles in 1914; today dolls can be found in every craft shop on the coast and a few master doll makers like Emily Flowers of Hopedale have been recognized and celebrated for their work [figure 5.25]. The introduction of knitting and crocheting by Moravian missionaries over a century ago has resulted in a cultural florescence of the practice, and the popularity of knitted mittens, scarves, socks, church bonnets, throws and other goods sometimes rivals that of skin garments on the coast. As shown in the eighteenth century portraits of Mikak and Caubvik, Inuit have long used carved ivory and glass beads to adorn their heads, bodies and clothing, and today stone, bone and other forms of jewelry are always in high demand. While Nunatsiavut artists have yet to realize the potential of this market – particularly in Labradorite jewelry which is being grossly underutilized – this craft has

the potential to be a rich source of commercial and academic development in the future.¹²

While space here does not allow for a full exploration of these and other *Sanajaumajuk aggatigut*, these practices are both culturally significant and economically important to Nunatsiavummiut artists and therefore necessitate further investigation in the near future.

Significantly, the strength, skill, expert execution and creativity of handicraft practices such as the ancient and contemporary practice of grasswork eloquently indicate the problem of imposing Western art historical and hierarchical hierarchies on Indigenous art that would result in a higher value being assigned to stone carving than basketry. As Doxtator argued in *Basket, Bead and Quill*, “Although very different visually, the continuities that these forms share, whether they are always so apparent or not, are more important than the varied individual differences that divide them” (1996: 18).

Bolstered by our burgeoning independence as a self-governing territory, the longstanding artistic practices of making things by hand continue to expand and diversify throughout the Nunatsiavut Territory, while new and exciting contemporary art forms have also emerged.

¹² Jewelry is one of the most under-utilized art forms. Frances Murphy, Executive Director of the Nain Craft Shop, has explained that aside from stone carvings, jewelry sells the most and the easiest to tourists, who often wish to purchase small souvenirs because they are traveling. Said Murphy, “We wish [name] would make more jewelry for us. We were just ... it would sell so well. Silver, gold, like the works in all of that but he said he can’t get the materials. So I said maybe we’ll talk about getting the silver and gold in and then we’ll just take it off the price. Like, cause we really want it. I’d like to showcase that because his jewelry is beautiful” (App. B: Interview with Frances Murphy).

Chapter 6: Photography, the Graphic Arts and Other Contemporary Media and Methods: Innovative New Art Forms Rooted in Continuities

In this chapter I examine how artists today work with contemporary materials, styles and techniques to introduce dynamic new practices into the corpus of Labradorimiut art history. This chapter profiles emerging art forms which gained popularity among the Nunatsiavummiut in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, including drawing, painting and printmaking; photography and digital media; installation and large-scale or mixed media sculptural work, and other contemporary forms.

As there is such variety and distinctiveness amongst this group of contemporary artists, and because these developments make up a small but significant group of artists whose work does not yet fit within broadly defined categories of practice in this chapter I have grouped individual artists according to their chosen media but write about all the artists individually. Their individual stories provide an introduction to a fascinating new development in Nunatsiavut art history.

As we've seen in the previous chapters, artists working within the longstanding traditions of sewing, carving, and grasswork are increasingly innovative and experimental in their arts. Today a new cohort of Labrador Inuit artists is also expanding into new areas of artistic practice, working in disciplines such as photography and drawing that are considered to be "fine arts" within Western art historical contexts. These new practices are the dynamic evidence of the resilience and adaptability of Inuit society and continuity of Nunatsiavut culture. Deborah Doxtator has provides some useful insight into this process in a parallel First Nations context:

Alongside the use of historical symbols and traditional technology, a “fine arts” Indian tradition has developed, seeking to make the connections between past and present aspects of Indian life in different media. These perspectives are only contradictory if one assumes that there is only one Indian mode of expression. Indian artists who work within the media that are most accessible to the Euro-Canadian art community borrow from both cultures. They have found different ways to express continuity between present-day artists and traditional people who produce art in songs and ceremonial objects, designed to be used not in the context of a museum gallery but within the Indian community. (Both express the connections of the past in the present.) (Doxtator 1992: 31)

Inuit artists in Labrador have had to largely “go it alone,” working outside of the co-operative system and without any long-term support or direction from arts organizations, state-funded programs, or Kallunât cultural mediators. As a result, although it is sometimes possible to recognize the influence of one artist over another (Chesley Flowers’ influence in the work of his relatives, for example), it can be difficult to discuss “community” styles. Many contemporary Nunatsiavummiut artists have, rather, developed highly individual art practices. Somewhat ironically, while access to the southern art market is the thing that Labrador Inuit artists have needed most, it may be the ongoing lack of access to that market that will make Labrador Inuit art most appealing in the future. Today, artists elsewhere in the Arctic are beginning to break away from market expectations, providing an opportune moment for Labrador Inuit artists to debut as well.

Another interesting result of the isolation of Labrador artists from markets, other artists, and community co-operatives, is that an increasing number of Nunatsiavut artists have attended college, university, or other training programs in the arts. Based on the works of artists who do, it seems that attending art school increases individualism in their work, while providing artists with more knowledge of and access to contemporary

practices. Furthermore, their work frequently evidences their exposure to Western art history. In other parts of the Arctic, the cooperative environment and community-based art centres (such as in studios) can play a large role in providing opportunities for emerging artists to learn from established artists. From this, serious collectors of contemporary Inuit art can often identify the community in which an artwork was made simply by looking at it, as artists working together over many years borrow and learn from each other. In Labrador, artists have been unable to maintain spaces for collective art production, and as a result, this kind of easy identification is less formalized, and artwork is more individualized.

The Graphic Arts: drawing, printmaking and painting

Labrador Inuit had access to drawing materials much earlier than their peers elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic due to the earlier introduction of the Moravian Church school system.¹ Inuit had both access to paper and pencils and exposure to European culture, through early twentieth century missionaries like Katie Hettasch who encouraged children to make drawings of Inuit culture at school (Murphy 2010: 14-15). To date I have not discovered any illustrations or maps made by Inuit in museum collections or in historical records (although I believe it is highly likely these exist). Because drawing was encouraged in elementary school, several artists interviewed during my field research commented that their passion for art and their abilities in drawing developed from an early age. Today, sewing, carving and craft artists frequently use their drawing skills in the service of their artwork – sketching *inukuluk* designs, tracing beadwork patterns, or

¹ As Inuit settled permanently around mission complexes children began to attend missionary-taught schools Moravians taught in Inuttitut in these schools, and Inuit children learnt to read and write in their native tongue. For educational purposes, the Moravians translated the bible, multiplication tables, sheet music and other school materials into Inuttitut.

marking out the shape of a seal on a chunk of aspen in preparation for carving – but there are few artists who work primarily in two-dimensional media.² The following section provides a brief introduction to a few of the trailblazing graphic artists who are shaping the field.

Josephina Kalleo: An Early Graphic Artist

In the graphic arts, one of the earliest artists to gain recognition within the Nunatsiavut Territory is Josephina Kalleo (b. 1920) of Nain. Kalleo came to the graphic arts later in life. After her children reached adulthood, she began to draw seriously while working for the Torngâsok Cultural Centre in Nain. Kalleo became interested in recording her own oral history while transcribing the tapes of the Inuit elder Titus Joshua. For Kalleo, drawing became an extension of her oral history practices. Using coloured felt- tipped markers, Kalleo has created images from her childhood that depicted her lived reality. These drawings, along with the oral history Kalleo recorded for each image, were published in a book titled *Taipsumane*³: *A Collection of Labrador Stories* (Kalleo 1984). An exhibition of the same title was held at the Arts and Culture Centre in St. John's when the book was published. (Andersen 1987: 7) *Taipsumane* thus arose out of the desire of elder Kalleo to document her experiences and the history of the community where she spent most of her life and raised her family. The book contains forty-five large full-colour drawings detailing major events and everyday activities, ranging from Christmas Eve to berry picking, to depictions of significant places, seasonal activities and games. In some

² This is in contrast with the other Inuit regions of the Arctic, where the proliferation of printmaking studios throughout the 1960s and 70s led many artists to develop excellent drawing skills. Drawings used to be considered just a preliminary stage in the creation of a print, but today drawing is considered an Inuit fine art in its own right.

³ *Taipsumane* is an Inuttitut word meaning "Them Days."

images Kalleo provides light social commentary, often comparing her way of life on the land with changes brought about by year-round settlement. It is still today one of the best descriptions of transitional Labrador Inuit life during the mid twentieth century.

In the colourful narrative work, *Women as Trappers* (*Annak Tigiganniasimajuk*), for example, three interrelated vignettes play out against a white ground [figure 6.1]. In the background, two large buildings are shown standing out among the smaller trees and structures of Nain's rolling hills. Based on their scale and shape, I suspect the little triangular-roofed building on the left represents the Hudson Bay Company trade store, and the longer building with the trapezoidal roof on the right the Moravian mission building. In front of it, women and children play on the ice with a sled, but no dogs are depicted. Earlier in the book in a drawing entitled *Travelling by Dog-Team*, she had recreated a scene recalled from childhood of welcoming the dog teams home for Christmas (2). Change is documented in her description for *Women as Trappers*, where she adds, "No-one travels on the land by dog-team anymore, and no one lives on the land the way we did, when we had dog teams" (10). Clothing in the image also subtly reflects the transitional period: the women wear colourful cotton skirts under their *amautet*, but appear to wear hairy-leg sealskin boots. In the foreground on the left, more people are shown in front of wooden houses. On the right a woman in an *amautik*, pink skirt and heeled boots brings a fox skin to the trade store, where *Kallunât* men (identified by their western-style jackets, long pants, and bare heads) exchange money. Kalleo laments that the days of trapping and trading -- and an entire way of life -- has largely disappeared. She explains, "The women, too, used to go hunting and trapping. But not anymore. I miss that freedom very much. [...] We used to do our own trading with furs. The prices were

very cheap but so were the trade goods. Now, no one goes trapping for a living and the price of food and trade goods is very high.”

In *Education (Ilinnianik)*, Kalleo describes her experiences both in and outside of class, interacting with the missionary teachers. She explains (as is illustrated on the right hand side of the drawing) that when she was young, “We didn’t learn anything about the English culture. Everything was in Inuttitut language” (7) [figure 6.2]. In the image, three children sit in a row in front of a teacher who is pointing at a blackboard, but on the board the writing is all in Inuttitut (interestingly, the teacher wears an *amautik*, although missionaries were all *Kablunaat*). Before the 1950a, when the federal government introduced the residential school system throughout the north, Nunatsiavummiut children residing in Moravian settlements, unlike children elsewhere in the Arctic, had already been attending schools for decades, where they were taught in their own language.⁴ In the image, the children play outdoors against a spacious white space, while the classroom is depicted as a small, densely coloured rectangle on the right side of the drawing. This image provides a striking visual contrast between the wide-open Inuit world outside, and the slightly claustrophobic interior of the Moravian school.

⁴ The Moravian approach was to have missionaries learn Inuttitut, rather than have the Inuit speak the same language as English trappers and traders, whom the Moravians regarded as corrupting influences. For educational purposes, the Moravians translated the bible, multiplication tables, sheet music and other school materials into Inuttitut. Inuttitut language teacher and artist Tabea Murphy (b. 1940) recalled her experiences in the Nain Moravian school prior to Confederation: “It got hard when everybody had to go to boarding school. Before that we was not allowed to speak English, that was what old man Hettasch and his daughter said. They were very strict about that. Anybody who learned to speak English used to get punished. Punishing means a leather strap, maybe a foot long, real thick, used on the children for just saying a word in English, for learning it from the settler children. When I started going to school at first, when it was all in Inuttitut, the only material we had written in Inuttitut was the Bible. This is why people my age know more of the Bible, because of what we had to use – just the Inuttitut Bible. The church was the only resource when I was small. Later they came out with alphabet books and little stories about children and what they do when they’re learning in school, things like that.” This practice continued until the state Aboriginal educational policies were introduced following Confederation (Murphy 2010: 14-5)..

In other works Kalleo employs the same kind of “picture within a picture” narrative device, Kalleo's image *Women Preparing for Winter (Okiatsâsiujut)* shows various preparations women undertake in September, including berry-picking and making boots (9). In the interior a scene a woman smokes a pipe while cleaning sealskin, “because there were no rubbers or shoes when I was a child. We had only our resources to work with to provide us with food and clothing.”

As in the drawings made by Inuit women graphic artists, such as Kalleo's contemporaries Pitseolak Ashoona (b.1904 or 1907) and Ashoona's daughter, Napatchie Pootoogook (b. 1938), her drawings have a narrative focus. She illustrates autobiographical stories of early camp and settlement life with frank descriptions similar to those found in Ashoona's *Pictures Out of My Life* (2003), and fills her images with a high degree of detail; for example the clothing in her drawings changes according to the occasion, the era, and the season she depicts, such as in the work *Weddings*, where she explains:

The top picture is a wedding in the 1930's. They are wearing skin boots and a white shell. All the females used to wear caps, particularly hand-made church caps, from the small children to the old ladies. The bottom picture takes place in the 1960's. The women are no longer wearing church caps. Many don't even wear caps in church anymore. I think it's the changing influence in the church. (1984: 15).

Kalleo also takes a distinctive approach to illustrating perspective, frequently employing multiple perspectives within a single work if it suits the narrative, or blending overhead and landscape perspective together in drawings of significant places, such as in *Paul's Island* (38) and *Nunâluk* (40). She started drawing late in life and, to my knowledge, all of her drawings were collected, exhibited and published only once, in *Taipsumane*. These forty-five drawings, and the complementary oral history, are a graphic legacy and an

invaluable record of Nunatsiavummiut life during the transitional period of the mid-twentieth century. Because the Nunatsiavut Territory was not involved in the early government-sponsored development of Inuit art in the late 1940s and early 1950s, little art is preserved in museum collections in Labrador from the period between the decline of “Moravian rule” in the early twentieth century and the era of self-governance that began with the Labrador Inuit Association in the late twentieth century. Kalleo’s works thus provide an invaluable perspective on Inuit culture and society in this period.

The First Labradorimiut Printmaker: Gilbert Hay

Gilbert Hay, whose early career and sculptural work is addressed in Chapter Four, is Nunatsiavut’s first, and still one of the only, printmakers. He got started in printmaking by attending a workshop at the St. Michael’s Printshop in St. John’s, Newfoundland with his colleague, fellow printmaker Bill Ritchie in 1980, and continued to produce prints and drawings throughout the eighties, even though he returned to Nain to work and continued to make large-scale sculptural works on commission.

Hay no longer works in printmaking, and his graphic arts are not as well represented in collections as his sculptural work – I could locate only one of his prints, *Inuksuk* (1981) – but his work is highly regarded within Labrador and the south and no section on the graphic arts could be completed without mentioning him [figure 6.4]. As in *Inuksuk*, His lithographic and drawings give the appearance of almost being stenciled, as his figures are made up of individual pieces assembled together using negative space to delineate individual parts. During the height of his graphic art practices his work was included in several significant exhibitions and collections. In 1983 he was commissioned to create wildlife drawings by Canterra Energy Ltd for its wildlife observation reports,

and in 1984 and 1985 he created illustrations for *The Labrador Inuit* published by the Labrador East Integrated School Board., Throughout that decade he also participated in numerous print exhibitions nationally, showing at galleries in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Newfoundland.

Contemporary Graphic Artist Heather Campbell

Ottawa-based, artist Heather Campbell, originally from Rigolet (b. 1973) is an interdisciplinary artist working primarily in the two-dimensional arts of drawing, painting, printmaking and illustration. Campbell holds a BFA from Sir Wilfred Grenfell College, Memorial University of Newfoundland (1996), where she majored in drawing and minored in art history. Campbell is probably best known for her drawings on traditional themes, such as *Nuliajuk Meditating* (2007), on the subject of the Inuit sea goddess, Sedna [figure 5.5] In the image, ocean creatures swirl around Nuliajuk's face over a watery blue backdrop of concentric rings and dots. Campbell has adapted this design from the dot within a circle pattern found on pre-contact Inuit ivory art from the Bering Strait region and she frequently includes it in her work.⁵ She believes that the pattern is more than simply decorative:

You see the concentric circles in my work? It's like a circle, within a circle, within a circle, and that comes from the Bering Strait carvings. In my mind, I'm thinking those Shamans knew, they understood what the true nature of the universe is. They see that we don't live in a material world. We live in a world that's made of energy and those little symbols represent universal energy [...] that interconnectedness is always what I try to include it in my work now. I always try

⁵ Dots and circles made by Inuit bow drills are an ancient form of ivory decoration. The nucleated circle pattern can consist of either dots within circles or circles within circles. Sometimes patterns are also created by connecting the circles with straight lines, as is illustrated in Campbell's drawing. In *The Labrador Eskimo*, Hawkes stated that these geometrical designs were common to Alaska and Greenland but not used by the Labrador Eskimo (1914: 100). However, the practice of adding incised lines to ivory carvings and then blackening those marks is common everywhere in the Arctic, both before and after contact.

to include those little circles. It's something that represents that interconnectedness. (Appendix A: Interview with Heather Campbell)

She also integrates the pattern throughout work with contemporary themes, such as in the portrait *Anansiak: my Grandmother* (2009), to draw visual continuities between ancient Inuit traditions and living history [figure 6.6]. Her inclusion of these symbols and interpretation of their meaning has been fostered by a deep interest in Inuit visual culture and history, which she began researching for her own artwork while pursuing her degree. After university Campbell trained at the Canadian Museum of Civilization before becoming a curatorial assistant at the Inuit Art Centre at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. She has been included in several major exhibitions in Ottawa, elsewhere in Canada, and in Nuuk, Greenland, and her work is in the collections of the City of Ottawa, Carleton University, and the Nunatsiavut Government, among others. Her experiences working in museum and gallery contexts and showing with other artists have influenced the development of her work in recent years, and she is developing a unique voice as one of the few Nunatsiavummiut woman artists working in the graphic arts.

Campbell's interest in and knowledge of Western art history is revealed in many of her most stimulating images. In her "Inuitization" series, she substitutes Inuk women in famous works of European art. In her reworking of Edouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863), for example, Campbell cheekily recreates the famous reclining nude, but substitutes all the familiar elements with Inuit iconography: the plush bedding is exchanged for a bed of stretched sealskin; Olympia is now an Inuk with facial tattoos, hair braids, and rabbit-fur trimmed slippers; and the servant in the background offers not a bouquet, but a lush tanned mink skin. Similarly, in the watercolour and ink work *Inuit Grande Odalisque - (after Ingres)* (2009) [figure 6.7], she recreates the classic beauty with the alluring pose

and elongated spine, but her Inuk odalisque sports a complicated braid of shiny black hair, as well as traditional Inuit face and body tattooing, skin slippers, and, instead of a peacock feather fan, she holds a goose wing brush.⁶ These works of juxtaposition and appropriation have a playful tone, but also serve to contest the stereotypical images that Inuit “were just short, chubby, childlike little people that you know, waddle around laughing and giggling.” that mid-century that films such as *Nanook of the North* (1922) have helped to entrench. Campbell’s series challenges this one-dimensional image of the Inuk as an asexual being:

They were never seen as whole people; you know whole three-dimensional people are also sexual people. And it always bothers me that we were seen as non-sexual creatures. [...] Like why aren’t I sexy? I want to be sexy. I want to be a sex-pot. So that’s where I came up with this idea of re-doing some of the famous nudes from Art History. So I would take the famous nudes, like the *Grande Odalisque*, and turn her into an Inuit woman. (Appendix: Interview with Heather Campbell)

Supporting Campbell’s assertion that Inuit people have been de-sexualized in the media and popular imaginary, Norman Vorano begins his essay, “Certain Indecencies... That Need Not Here be Mentioned,” in Drew Hayden Taylor’s *Me Sexy* (2008), by remarking that his viewers may find the idea of erotic Inuit art to be a contradiction in terms.

Historically, the systemic *Qallunaat* (white) misapprehension and denigration of Inuit sexuality, followed by the pervasive trafficking in the “happy-go-lucky Eskimo,” created a flattened and manifestly *asexual* stereotype about Inuit masculinity in the south. These *Qallunaat* cultural dispositions indirectly shaped the production of Inuit art through their articulation in the marketplace. In a more discreet way, the desexualization of Inuit art was influenced, first, by the missionary work in the Arctic and, second, the residential school experience, which, for some Inuit, instilled a sense of shame about Inuit culture in general and sexuality more specifically (125).

In Campbell’s work, the appropriation of the Western art historical tradition of the nude

⁶ Goose wing brushes, made of an entire goose wing, sometimes attached to an ivory or bone handle, were used by Inuit to dust snow from their skin clothing to prevent it from getting wet and hardening.

enables the artist to eroticize her subject while also boldly injecting Inuit imagery, and specifically Inuit women, into dialogue with European art history.

Campbell has recently begun incorporating more social and political commentary into her art, as in her work on the history of disc numbers and the colonization of the Arctic. In the irreverent and overtly political work *Inuit Judith and Holofernes (after Klimt)* (2010), she adopts Judith, the biblical femme fatale, whom Gustav Klimt painted twice in the erotic works *Judith and the Head of Holofernes* (1901) and *Judith II* (1909). In her mixed media drawing, Campbell appropriates the imagery of the later Judith painting, drawing on Klimt's stylistic signatures: highly ornate and decorative use of pattern, sinewy lines, gold embellishment, and above all, his iconographic theme of female empowerment. In Campbell's drawing [figure 6.8], skyscraper and igloo collide in the background. The Inuk Judith wears a cotton *silapak* and floral skirt, her hair is in long braids, and her chest is bared. Clutched in her tattooed hands is the decapitated head of Prime Minister Stephen Harper wrapped in a Hudson's Bay Blanket. Campbell's *Inuit Judith and Holofernes (after Klimt)* appropriates the theme of erotic feminine empowerment versus dominant masculinity but humorously juxtaposes this with a triumphant Inuk woman and a conquered political figurehead. Whether this is a decolonizing stance or a commentary on the Harper Government's policies towards arts funding is for the viewer to decide.

Campbell's work has matured and developed considerably over the last decade and it is exciting to watch her work gain recognition within the sphere of Canadian art. She continues to make innovative, thoughtful and challenging art that examines Nunatsiavut and Canadian Inuit history while engaging with broader art historical

discourse.

Dinah Andersen, Trailblazing Painter

Dinah Andersen (b.1956) is a multi-disciplinary artist who works in various media, such as stonecarving, painting, printmaking, and traditional crafts. She was born in the former Moravian settlement of Okak Bay and grew up in Makkovik.⁷ After completing Memorial University's Teacher Education Program, Anderson graduated from the University of Ottawa in 1994 with a Bachelor of Arts and a Major in Fine Arts.

During university, Andersen had begun carving in soapstone and found the medium to be, "exciting, and a challenge for me," acknowledging that, "there are not many women carvers around, and I like to do something different."⁸ Andersen carved throughout the late '80s, but also began experimenting with pastel drawings and painting. Today, she maintains a thriving two-dimensional art practice developed during her Fine Arts studies at the University of Ottawa. Her paintings are well-regarded within Labrador and elsewhere; she has participated in numerous exhibitions including *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*, which was organized by the St. John's Native Friendship Centre and first mounted at the Christina Parker Gallery in St. John's

⁷ In 1956 her family, along with many others from Okak Bay and Hebron between 1956 and 1959, were compulsorily relocated to other communities further south along the Labrador coast; Dinah's family moved to Makkovik. There she had to learn English, as the teachers discouraged the use of Inuttitut in the classroom. In 1970 she was forced to continue high school in the central Labrador town of Northwest River because at the time there was no high school education on the coast. Briefly quitting school after a challenging ninth grade spent away from home, Andersen returned to school in 1982 and got her grade 11 equivalency, enabling her to attend Memorial University's Teacher Education Program "Artist Biographies: Dinah Andersen," *Inuit Art Section, INAC*. Last Revised November, 2001: 1.

⁸ While Andersen is recognized as a multi-disciplinary artist who carved throughout the 80s and 90s, much of her work and the images of that work were all destroyed in a break-in in Nain in the late 80s, and other work has been sold to private collectors, leaving little record of her carving work to examine. For a time though, she did have a successful carving career that is worthy of note. During Andersen's BFA she attended a ten-week residency at the Banff Centre and travelled to a carving symposium held in Trani, Italy. She has participated in several group exhibitions, including "Death by One's Own Initiative" (New Gallery, Calgary 1993), "Stone and Bone: An Exhibition and Sale of Labrador Sculpture" (Labrador Institute, Happy Valley 1993), and "Fine Arts from Labrador" (House of Commons, Ottawa 1995). She is also an accomplished textile artist. (Andersen 1989: 3).

Newfoundland in 1996; a contemporary Nunatsiavummiut exhibition “Sikumiut: People of the Sea Ice,” (Inuit Art Centre, INAC, Ottawa 2000); and a show at the Labrador Interpretation Centre in 2011. Experimenting with curatorial practice, Dinah also created an exhibition for the Eastern Edge Gallery in St. John’s, NL in the winter of 1994 entitled “Pieces of Labrador.” Her work in printmaking has also met some critical success, and the linocut *Migration* (1997) is in the collection of The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery [figure 6.10].

Andersen began by working with pen and ink and pastels to create drawings of primarily coastal animals and birds of prey, later progressing to painting in acrylic and expanded her subject matter to include landscape and figural works.

Inuit oral histories and spirituality also figure heavily in her artwork.

I still believe in the Sea Goddess and I still believe in Torngasôk. I became fascinated with Sedna and found that there were two versions of god; the female goddess and the male god. There are many versions of the legend of Sedna. There is male and female. She was one time a human being. This lady, this fish-animal, you can put any face on her. You can make her anything and no one can say, “She doesn’t look like that.” You can use your imagination to it’s fullest. (Andersen 1996: 40-41). [figure 6.10]

Sewing since age six, Andersen has worked with textiles and embroidery throughout her life, stating that she most enjoys embroidery on cotton because, “it’s similar to drawing and painting, only you use a needle and thread instead of a brush,” and can work from home (Andersen 1989: 8). Learning the techniques as a girl from her mother and grandmother, Andersen now explains that she has a more experimental approach to the graphic arts that she draws from her experiences working with other media. Her mother, Nellie Winters, is a renowned artist currently residing in Makkovik, who has been discussed elsewhere in this volume. Dinah has been active in the arts

community in a number of ways, serving as a member of the Board of Governors for the Labrador Community College, and as Vice-President of the Association of Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Nunatsiavummiut Photography

Like drawing and painting, photography is still an uncommon medium for Inuit art throughout the Arctic. Among the Nunatsiavummiut, those artists who have experimented in the medium have, however, produced impressive results. Michelle R. Baikie, James Andersen of Makkovik, and Barry Pottle are three of the small number of nevertheless significant photographic artists who use their medium to document community life and share their knowledge and history with Labrador and the world.

James “Uncle Jim” Andersen: The Documentary Photographer of Makkovik

The retrospective exhibition and catalogue *James Andersen: Over 50 Years of Taking Pictures (Jâret 50 Ungatâni Adjiliusimajangit)* was produced in 2008 by the Nunatsiavut Government in association with The Rooms Provincial Archives. Opening in May of that year at The Rooms, the exhibition was curated by documentary filmmaker Rhonda Buckley and honoured the work of James Andersen (1919 -2011), or “Uncle Jim” as he was affectionately known in Makkovik [figure 6.11].⁹ In 2003 the Labrador Inuit

⁹ Andersen, who was born on April 21, 1919 and attended school at the Moravian Mission under Kate Hettasch, the previously mentioned daughter of German missionaries. As a teenager Andersen became interested in photography; in 1940 he met fellow photography enthusiast, Moravian missionary Reverend George Harp from England, who taught him how to develop film in a dark room. Andersen developed and enlarged photos in a bedroom in his parent's home for 12 years, before purchasing his first 35-mm camera (a Jiffy Kodak for \$38). Then Minister of Culture, Recreation and Tourism for the Nunatsiavut Government, Ben Ponniuk wrote in the exhibition catalogue, “When Uncle Jim first picked up a camera he became fascinated with this lens that allowed him to see the people he loved and the home he cherished in a

Association purchased the entire collection, which now comprises an invaluable record of many decades of life in Makkovik, made by a man who enjoyed documenting every event, person and place in the community and who had a keen eye for composition, colour and capturing action, as well as an ability to create beautiful portraits in the moment. Greg Walsh, Provincial Archivist and Director of The Rooms Provincial Archives, noted that the collection features “the people, industries, buildings, social and cultural events, passing seasons, traditions and history of Makkovik,” and several other Inuit communities and Nunatsiavut events. It documents Makkovik and other communities over time in imbricated layers of visual, sound and video recordings (*James Andersen: Over 50 Years of Taking Pictures* 2008: 8). Sam Kula, Archival Consultant and President of the Association of Moving Image Archivists, first discovered the value of this collection when he was introduced to Andersen in 2003, and he has since declared it to be the “largest collection of photographs from a single community in Canada.” Kula summarized the significance of Uncle Jim’s contribution succinctly:

I had been a moving image archivist for some forty years by then and while I recognized that ‘home’ movies can enrich the record of a community, they are frequently tied too closely to the life of one family to be of general interest. But for over fifty years James Andersen looked upon all of Makkovik as his home, and everyone in the community as his family. (Ibid.: 10)

While the exhibition displayed over 80 large-format colour photographs, the archival collection now housed at The Rooms includes those images as well as nearly 300 black and white photographs, over 1700 35mm slides, and approximately eighty-four hours of video and audio recordings captured by Andersen in a variety of formats (Ibid.: 10). In

new light. The images he captured on film are a testimony to that fascination.” Andersen later began experimenting with video (starting with Beta, then 8-mm and Hi8 film) journaling in vividly arresting images what life has been like through the years. *James Andersen: Over 50 Years of Taking Pictures (Jâret 50 Ungatâni Adjiliusimajangit)*, Nunatsiavut Government and The Rooms Provincial Archives, St. John’s, NL).

addition to being a prolific photographer, Andersen was a trapper and hunter, a respected elder, and a celebrated musician and storyteller who performed at festivals and was profiled by the CBC and other local radio stations and television networks (Ibid.: 12). Inspired not only by people and places but also by the living history of Makkovik, his photographs depict the events that shaped a community over time [figure 6.12]. Through Andersen's expository text (transcribed from interviews with the artist and included in the exhibition catalogue) a simple portrait can become a historical document. For example, the image entitled "Mary Ann Laughing," (circa 1940s) is a closely cropped outdoor shot of a pretty young girl caught in the middle of a laugh, but Andersen's recollection of the photograph contextualizes the image within his family's own history, as well as the broader history of the creation of the military settlement Goose Bay and the impact of World War II on the Labrador economy:

That is my niece after she went to Goose Bay. Three parts of the people went to Goose Bay during the war in the 1940s. It is my niece Mary Ann she married Paul Doucet from Shallow, New Brunswick. I think they are retired now. There was no work, absolutely no work, and in them years anyone could get a job in Goose Bay construction work or labourer. Many of them learned trades and we get a lot of clever people in Labrador too. Many of them made a success of their positions working on the base.

Mary Ann Winters she was then, she was my sister's girl. There were 9 of them in the family. In the fall when Mary Ann was 2 years old she left Makkovik in the fall in late October. Now them times this was unheard of to leave Makkovik and go to Goose Bay 160 mi. up in an old boat, and his family looked for work and they stayed in Goose Bay. But Mary Ann was only two years old to go all that way in an open boat with no cabin in it. (Ibid.: 28)

Other images in the impressive collection of colour photographs simultaneously detail the extent of transcultural adaptation and the persistence of continuity and Inuit knowledge. In Andersen's pictures current fashions and longstanding clothing designs inhabit the same temporal space; people use both Native and imported hunting practices and

equipment; and they participate both in ceremonies and secular community gatherings. In “Susie Skinning a Seal,” (n.d.) an elder in a beautifully tailored, hand-made floral apron skillfully butchers a small seal in the kitchen of a wooden house. In “Whale with men Standing on Top,” (1945) [figure 6.12] men in a variety of clothing, work overalls and rubber boots wades across the rocks or stand on top of the enormous whale; while in “Bob Andersen and His Brother Jim with Musical Organ,” [figure 6.14] (1955) two men in crisp button-downs, fifties style bomber jackets and slacks tucked into black bottom boots (*kamiks*) adjust the ropes securing the Moravian’s “Harmoninum” organ to a *komatik* (winter sled). Throughout the exhibition catalogue, events of note range from the catching of an enormous whale - in the image thirteen people stand atop the whale, but there is room for plenty more- to the Christmas toy drop and children’s Coronation Day races. Throughout it all, Andersen’s stories colourfully explain what life has been like in Makkovik. Exhibition curator Rhonda Buckley writes,

James Andersen’s stories reflect Labrador’s oral tradition wherein all aspects of natural and spiritual life are of importance and told with equal respect. Andersen’s stories tell of resettlement of the Hebron people to the South, of the discovery of an RCAF plane wreck and it’s pilot who died of starvation. These stories are told with graphic detail that contrast with our sometimes sanitized depictions of life’s events in contemporary North American urban culture. We also learn of the finest smoke house built for fish and Inuit women making a traditional silapâk (parka) and white bottom boots. Andersen does not shy away from any of these stories but tells them with conviction and with a voice that honours each event’s importance; the church being rebuilt, fish being caught, the story of death are each told with the same reverence. The images themselves are unique portraits of Labrador showing a recent history including traditional activities of Makkovik. The portraits accentuate individual and community personality, and still resonate within a canon of contemporary portraiture. [...] Andersen’s Collection of photographs personalizes his community life in Makkovik. For the community and family members throughout Labrador it gives them a record of life and memories that can be passed on for generations. (Ibid.: 12-3)

Catharyn Andersen, a former Director of the Torngasôk Cultural Centre and

relative of “Uncle Jim,” has noted the significance of Andersen’s photographs to both individuals and the community. “I have learned so much about my hometown looking through the pictures and film in this amazing collection. In it I have seen documentation of how Makkovik has been shaped and developed. I have seen pictures of my great grandfather and my great grandmother for the first time.” (Ibid. 7). In May of 2009, Anderson was awarded the “Rogers Arts Achievement Award” at the 24th annual Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council Arts (NLAC) Awards and Gala in St. John’s. Andersen died in 2011 just a few short years after the publication of the text and the exhibition of his photographs in St. John’s.

Iconic Imagery from Labrador: Michelle Baikie

Michelle Baikie, an artist of Scottish and Inuit heritage, is a photographer whose journey to a career as an artist is unique. Born and raised in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Baikie studied at Memorial University of Newfoundland’s Faculty of Education by correspondence from 1988 to 1991 and went on to receive a Bachelor of Science degree with a major in Biomedical Photographic Communications from the Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, New York in 1994.¹⁰ Although her introduction to art developed out of ophthalmic photography, Baikie has since developed a keen eye for landscape, portrait and still life photography.

Her work has garnered much popular acclaim within Nunatsiavut and the province, and her photographs are in many private and public collections. She was also featured in the exhibition *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1996)

¹⁰ Michelle also completed a Bachelor of Education in May 2003 with Memorial University; a Master of Education (Literacy) from Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia in October 2007 and has obtained a Master of Philosophy in Educational Research from the University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England (2010).

and was awarded the 1992 School of Visual Communication Cultural Diversity Incentive Award for the one-woman exhibition entitled, “Footprints of my Ancestors.” The photograph *Spirits* (1996), which appears in *First*, shows a line of ghostly apparitions walking through a golden field of grass below a deep blue, almost purple sky [figure 6.15]. Baikie explained that her artistic perspective is informed by her ancestry and educational experiences, and thus her imagery is sometimes inspired by her deep interest in folklore of both cultures. Of the image, Baikie stated, “It’s very difficult to photograph the past ...but I aim to do that lot in a documentary way. I’ve been doing a lot of scenery, but now I really enjoy documenting people and photographing their faces” (1996: 32). She later also speaks to the spiritual aspects of the work, noting “By photographing what I feel about that, searching for something, even if it’s trying to be closer to god in some way. I’m in no way religious, but I don’t think that it’s a silence around me” (Ibid.: 33).

Baikie has a long-standing fascination with capturing her Settler and Inuit history in her work. In *First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Michelle explains that, “The Baikies have a Scottish and Inuit background. I’m not going to say more of one than the other because I feel it’s the same.” Baikie’s most famous photograph, “Our Labrador,” (1993) is a combination of old and new, as well as Inuit and Settler visual culture. In the staged still life, traditional sinew and wood snowshoes and a pair of hanging black-bottom sealskin *kamiks* accompany a kerosene lantern and well-worn metal tea kettle against a backdrop of wood walls and tanned hide. The photo was so popular, it was chosen as the cover, and the title, of a local folk music album [figure 6.16].

Emerging Talent: Barry Pottle

Like James Andersen, photographic artist Barry Pottle got his start in documentary photography and photojournalism, but he has since made the transition from capturing community events to creating art that provides critical commentary and encourages social action. A self-taught photographer who was born in Rigolet but who has lived in Ottawa for more than a decade, Pottle's photo-journalistic work centered on the urban Inuit experience. His photographs of Ottawa-based events have been published in *Inuit Art Quarterly*, *Makivik* and *Inuktitut Magazine*.¹¹ Pottle has developed his keen eye through studying classic photography manuals and examining the work of other Inuit photographers like Jimmy Manning of Kinngait [figure 6.17].

Pottle's first major body of work, the *Eskimo Identification Tag System Series* (2008 -2011) is on display through 2015 with the touring exhibition *Decolonize Me*, which features six Indigenous artists from across Canada [figure 6.18]. This series of photographs critiques the history of identification tags, often referred to as "E-numbers" or "Eskimo Tags," issued by the federal government from the 1940s to the 1970s. Like a First Nations treaty card, Inuit were compelled to carry these tags which identified them, not by their own names, but by numbers [figure 6.19]. To create this moving

¹¹ Barry also has a background in curatorial practice, having worked as a curatorial assistant at the Inuit Art Centre of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (then INAC, now AAND) for several years, where he and Heather Campbell were colleagues for a time, and co-curated on *Sikumiut: People of the Sea Ice*, the exhibition of Labradorimiut artists. In a newspaper article from *The Labradorian* Pottle stated, "The idea for the exhibition had been in my mind for years. [...] I was attending an aboriginal training program at the Museum of Civilization (sic). One of the assignments was to come up with a proposal for an exhibition. My idea was Labrador Inuit art, and for the last six or seven months, we've been putting this exhibition together." The exhibition, which featured Gilbert Hay, John Terriak, Dinah Andersen and Shirley Moorhouse, included sculpture, paintings and wall hangings and included the publication of a small catalogue. The exhibition opened on June 8th and ran until July 31, opening with "40 to 60" people, which is a considerable audience for the small INAC gallery space located within the government offices of Gatineau. Pottle also worked on the famed Aboriginal group exhibition *Transitions 2*, by Mohawk curator Ryan Rice while at the Inuit Art Centre. (Pomeroy 2000: 1).

photographic series on this little-known chapter in Arctic colonial history, Pottle first borrowed a collection of discs owned by Reepa Evik-Carleton, a respected Inuit community member in Ottawa. Pottle says he took several hundred photographs of the discs, creating detailed close-ups of the pieces:

Just trying to get it right, because I didn't want to do it in a sensational sort of way, because that's disrespectful. Because this is a living history, right, and people could be very very angry with you. There could be a lot of hurt feelings, a lot of mixed feelings about this. Rightfully so. But that's how that came about. I wasn't really looking at the portrait part of things at the time. That came later on. I was looking at photographing and documenting tags... number one, I wanted to show them to my children because they'd never... I had never seen one physically, and I thought it was important to do that, to show my kids and give a little bit of history to them about the tags. Just to create some awareness about that. But I've managed to, over the years, photograph them, and then I gave them back to [Reepa] and asked if I could do it again because I didn't get it right. I needed to get it right. (App. B: Interview w Barry Pottle)

Pottle then traveled to Inuit cultural events across the country gathering oral histories from those Inuit who wore the leather identification tags, and documented the complex and emotional reactions-- both negative and positive -- people have to their numbers. One of the central images of the series shows Leena Burns, who works at Larga Baffin, the medical centre for Nunavut in Ottawa [figure 6.20]. In the image, Burns is shown close up, smiling as she holds up her tag, worn on a chain around her neck. Pottle explained that this kind of attitude is a part of the complexity and ambiguity of the tags. "She's very proud of it" (Ibid.) During the conversations with elders and others, Pottle exercised a respectful approach to engaging people in discussion. "I have to be very careful, I could get into trouble if it's not done out of respect and consideration for Inuit, their families and history. This topic is a living history as we speak, people were affected by it" (Ibid).

As one of the first Inuit artists in Canada to work on this subject matter, Pottle

recognized he had an opportunity to not only photograph people for the series, but to also develop a kind of informal oral history archive, which is reflected in the many images from the series as well as in the artist's speaking and writing about the work. In 2011 I wrote about this work in the catalogue for *Decolonize Me*. "Juxtaposing poignant object-studies of the discs with portraits that honour the numerous Inuit elders who wore their numbers for decades, Pottle provides an inroad for understanding a significant moment in the history of colonization in the Arctic, and gives voice to this subaltern Indigenous people who, in many ways, still reside on the boundaries of Canadian culture" (Igloliorte 2012: 24).

Continuing his passion for capturing the urban Inuit experience and for supporting that urban community (whom Pottle calls the "Ottawamiut," meaning Inuit of Ottawa), Pottle has recently embarked on a new body of work about the difficulty of obtaining Inuit 'country food' (traditional game and fish, prepared in traditional manner) in the south. For the *Foodland Security Series* (2012 - present) [figure 6.21], the artist visited community feasts in urban locations to examine the difficulty and necessity of accessing traditional food sources for urban Inuit, like himself. Connected to recent Inuit activism and social media movements such as the protest group that advocates for fair food prices in the Arctic, *Feeding my Family*, Pottle is engaged in addressing issues of food security for some of Canada's most at-risk communities.

I do look at what's going on the north and recognize the fact that food is very expensive; it's very difficult to provide the healthy, nutritional foods that we know of. As well as country food – country food is still very expensive to go out on the land and get it. And the idea of getting the animals, providing for yourself and the community, in the context of urban... so the idea of the Foodland Security project was to look at the access by Inuit through country food in the urban settings. [...]it also talks about the ability to get food up north and the very expensive

pricing of food up north. So that looks at what are you making a decision of getting something healthy or you buy junk. (Ibid).

He concludes by making clear the role that traditional food, like language, art, and other cultural practices, play in sustaining Inuit sovereignty. “If we don't have our food, we don't have us.”

Continuing to push himself, the boundaries of his work and Inuit photography in general, Pottle is passionate about maintaining a dynamic practice and experimenting now techniques, media and subject matter. “I try and use it in a political/social context as well. I’m just trying to put a voice to something” (Ibid.). And he is self-reflexive about the benefits of being an Inuit artist outside of the Inuit art market. Discussing future projects of a potentially controversial nature, Pottle noted, “I think that's where the independence comes into play. If you look at Baffin Island, Dorset Fine Arts and the co-op movement, I don't know if you'd get away with that” (Ibid.). Pottle situates his contemporary art photography within the continuum of Nunatsiavut visual culture and appreciates the role that all forms of art can play in fostering cultural resilience:

Inuit have always had to adapt and to be resilient. It shows in their art as well, Inuit artists have always depicted their culture, their history and traditions through their art. I’m not that different, I’m just focusing on the urban setting. Inuit have been resilient in this contact for quite some time. Adapting to a new way of life, urban realities and to maintain and to be resilient in that context is very impressive and something to be very proud of. For me it is just a natural progression in the change of both resilience and wanting to survive, thrive and adjust in society. (Ibid.)

Other Contemporary Art Forms

Beyond photography and two-dimensional art, a few artists in Labrador are working in contemporary media in new and exciting ways. Mark Igloliorte (b. 1977), for example, is an emerging artist from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, currently residing in New

Brunswick, who has recently begun working in installation, video, and performance [figure 6.22]. His exciting new practice has garnered him national attention in recent years; he was one of just a few Inuit artists included in the nationally-touring exhibition *Beat Nation* (2012, Vancouver Art Gallery), participated in the the Quebec Triennial at the Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, and in 2007 was longlisted for the Sobey Art Award. After completing a BFA in Painting from the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCADU), he went on to earn a Bachelors degree in Education and was awarded several residencies at the prestigious Banff Centre before finishing an MFA at Concordia University in 2011.

Igloliorte's works reflect the diversity of these experiences in the North and South, and his ongoing engagement with cultural dynamics, Inuit history and contemporary painting practices. In *Work* (2008) Igloliorte paints in oil on plexiglass, recreating imagery from archival photographs but obscuring his imagery with paint splatters, drips and streaks, referencing the difficulty of recovering the past in the present [figure 6.23]. But not all of Igloliorte's works are expressly focused on "Inuit" themes. In the untitled works of the Diptych Series (2011), Igloliorte created a series of paired still-life paintings that take mundane objects as their subject – sneakers, a bookshelf, a bird cage – and paints them once, and then again, with just a slightly shifted perspective [figure 6.24]. These painting reflect both the painterly decision-making process while also evidencing the strong observational skills Igloliorte honed in his youth on the land in Labrador.

As more and more young Inuit artists attend art school and otherwise gain access to the contemporary art world, it is certain that the style, media and subject matter of

Nunatsiavut artists' work will continue to diversify, and grow more critical and self-reflexive. Two of the frontrunners of the contemporary avante-garde, working in completely individual ways, are Shirley Moorhouse and Michael Massie.

Hybrid Art Works: The Contemporary Wall-Hangings of Shirley Moorhouse

Happy-Valley Goose Bay artist Shirley Moorhouse is in a class all by herself. The artist works primarily in the format of the wall-hanging, but her work is distinctive in comparison to that of other Inuit textile-artists across the country. Her works combine the tactile nature of sculpture and mixed media with the visual narrative of the graphic arts. In commenting on earlier works, such as Moorhouse has described her process as working from what she sees in the scraps and findings of hide, sealskin and fabric, piecing parts together until an image emerges, rather than beginning with an idea, as she did in *Finding Inner Strength* [figure 6.25]. As a sort of reductive process, in this sense her work might more accurately mirror that of some stone carvers, who turn the stone over looking to see what it wants to be, rather than trying to shape the stone to their will. Her early works all began with a background of black stroud to which she added beads and found objects to create a cohesive whole, such as in *The Spirit Soars* [figure 6.26]. Recently, she has also recently departed from working exclusively with textile components. She now incorporates beads, wire, keys, and other random objects into her wall-hangings and uses grounds made of such diverse materials as stroud, canvas, and even layers of wire screen-door mesh, such as in the 2006 work, *In My Backyard After Three Beers*, a work about contemplating the power lines in her backyard, and the loved ones she imagined connecting across them [figure 6.27]. In the piece, carefully placed

beads represent the energy of voices, crackling along the telephone wire. Explained

Moorhouse,

And so, this... my work my dear is not just getting an image and putting it down, there's also as well a philosophy into my work. You'll see some of my work it has mesh for doors, plastic mesh for doors? [...] this is to show, you know to acknowledge, that a lot of thinkers think that the world is built by mathematical equation. You know that like every leaf has like you know has so many points, everything has got symmetry worked out to a mathematical formula and that type of thing? This is to acknowledge that okay, well I know some people think that, but also as well, as counter to that, this is the imagination and the intuition. You know, you could have the math to build a foundation but you got to have the intuition as well to have a complete understanding. Like, not everything is black and white, mathematical. You know there is also the intuition that has to be taken into account as well. (App. B: author interview with S. Moorhouse]

Elsewhere in the Arctic the development of wall hangings began in the 1960s, arising from the practice of using the leftover scraps from the production of utilitarian clothing. Wall hangings may be a recent introduction to Inuit art practices but they grow out of ancient skin sewing traditions and the skills used in their creation are much the same.¹² Moorhouse continues to develop her varied practice within this tradition, but expanding the practice beyond the scope of "Inuit" materials and themes. Her works delve into Inuit oral history and visual representation deftly and frequently, yet she doesn't shy away from contemporary socio-political issues, inventive mixed media pieces or expressive abstraction.

¹²The potential of arctic wall-hangings and other textile arts was first recognized by Gabriel Gély in the early 1960s, when he was hired to initiate a printmaking program in Baker Lake; while there he also purchased a number of parkas, *kamiks* and wall hangings made by Jessie Oonark and other women in the community. Soon Sheila and Jack Butler, Gély's successors in Baker Lake, were operating a sewing shop and ordering large quantities of felt and other textiles for the creation of wall-hangings, which today has left a legacy of iconographic textile work with recognizable community and individual styles. In 1972 Virginia Watt of the Canadian Guild of Crafts in Montreal organized *In the Beginning*, the first exhibition of twenty-five brightly colour) (Hickman 2002: 45; *Northern Lights* 1993-4: 26)..

Moorhouse has been included in numerous exhibitions throughout Canada and worldwide, her pieces are in many provincial and national collections and she recently completed a prestigious three-month Indigenous arts residency in Australia.

The Mixed Media Sculptural Work of Michael Massie

Metal, stone and mixed-media artist Michael Massie is one of Labrador's most celebrated artists, known for his distinctive vision as much as for his virtuoso talent. Massie began his career as a professionally trained metalsmith, creating fanciful teapots and sculptural objects which incorporate clever puns and visual plays into the skillfully formed vessels. Today he works across a diverse media including stones, precious metals, and exotic woods, and his subject matter ranges from the narrative to transformation iconography and self portraiture. He never, however, strays far from his longtime focus on tea and its significance within Inuit culture. He finds ever-evolving and amusing ways to reinvent his subject matter, and works have long challenged ideas and categories about what is sculpture, what is craft, and what is Inuit in Inuit art.¹³

Massie works across media and materials to combine his considerable skills as carver and silversmith into beautiful, daring, and imaginative three-dimensional forms. Always intriguing and frequently humorous, his mixed-media sculptures, teapots, bowls, and other vessels are imbued with symbolism, cultural meaning, and personal narrative. His works evidence a master artist who is adept at blending precious metals with local

¹³ Between 1991 and 1995 Massie had several solo exhibitions, but it would again be *Inuit Art Quarterly* that catapulted him, in 1996, into fame, when it put his work *May-Tea* (1991) on the cover of the Spring issue and featured a lengthy and revealing interview. As Louis Gagnon explained in the essay "Ulu-bowls & Teapots – Memories and Gatherings," this exposure landed Massie a high-profile art distribution agreement with the Alaska on Madison gallery in Manhattan, which led to several more solo exhibitions in the US.¹³ In Canada, he was also included in such prestigious exhibitions as *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (1997), curated by Barry Ace and July Papatsie, which travelled internationally. Today, he is represented by the Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver, and has developed a lasting relationship with Nigel Reading, who also represents emerging artist Billy Gauthier and many other outstanding Inuit artists from across the Canadian Arctic.

stone and exotic woods. While he sometimes incorporates organic materials native to the North, such as caribou antler, bone and musk ox horn, he is just as likely to work with foreign gemstones and Italian marble, as well as to combine his metal work with stone sculpture, as in *Come Sit and Have Some Tea*, 2005 [figure 6.28].

Massie is most famous for his teapots and tea sets, a series begun at NSCAD as a student during a difficult time in his life [figure 6.29].¹⁴ Returning to the school after the funeral of his maternal grandmother, Mae (May) Baikie, to whom he was very close, Massie was given an assignment to make a vessel in one of his silversmithing classes. Fascinated by the work of George Jensen, whose style and technical virtuosity he emulated, and wishing to honour his grandmother, who loved to make tea, Massie created his first teapot. The title of the work, *May-Tea* (1990) is thus both a commemoration of his grandmother and a play on 'Métis.' Massie's works play on the idea of straddling two worlds and two cultures in both title and concept, and puns and word play have become one of his hallmarks, as evidenced also in such titles as *puber-tea* (2000). Art school gave him the opportunity to experiment with different media and materials and to work with artists from a variety of different backgrounds as well. "When it came to my teapots, if I had a problem with a spout or a handle, I would sit down and talk about it and work out my problems with one of my best friends, who was in to ceramics and who also made teapots. Because ceramics and silversmithing are a lot alike, in experimenting you

¹⁴ At one time a commercial sign painter, Massie began his professional career when, after high school, he too a year-long commercial art course at the College of the North Atlantic in St. John's, followed a few years later by a visual arts course in Stehpenville, Newfoundland (Fox 1996: 16-17). Spurred on by this initial success, Massie then went on to the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD, now NSCADU) to complete a four-year degree. While he studied sculpture, painting, drawing, printmaking, his focus quickly turned to jewelry and three-dimensional forms in metal work (Ibid.).

discover that a problem in one area might help you with a problem in another area.” (Ibid. 16-7)

Massie has, in the past, expressed his feelings about making work of Inuit subject matter as a person with mixed Inuit ancestry. Explaining that teaching jewelry “up North” for two years helped him to understand his culture better, Massie said in 1996 “Even now, people ask me why I am making Inuit art and I just tell them that I am part Inuit, and right now, that is what I am comfortable with. I really want to try and understand it more. I just want to be able to put it out visually” (Ibid. 19). He elaborates:

A lot of times I do feel that I am caught between two worlds. So what I try to do is incorporate Inuit images, like the *ulu*. When my teapots are finished, hopefully they will convey what I am trying to get across here. I am part Inuit and part Qablunaaq; I might as well combine the two and come up with something different. I don’t really want to be considered a stereotypical Inuit artist in that sense. All I really want to do is express what I see. If it comes out as being Inuit, then I think that is fine; if it comes out as being contemporary, that is also fine. I think a lot of times I have a tendency to put the two of them together and see what happens. (Ibid. 20)

When Michael Massie was ten years old, he found an *ulu* near his grandparents house in Mulligan, Labrador. “I have always kept it as a souvenir, and I have always been intrigued by its shape” (Gunderson 2004: 3). The formal relationship between the *ulu*-bowls and the teapots is immediately apparent in Massie’s work; although each is unique, the teapots all echo the curvilinear form of the iconic *ulu*. Perhaps the handle is gone, or the blade is rotated sideways or upside down, or the form greatly abstracted; yet it is always present in the work. In *boa-tea* (1996), for example, the smoothly polished semi-circular work is supported by dainty wooden legs, ivory accents and an arching handle; while in *seed-tea* (1997), the forms of the tea-pot and *ulu* are greatly abstracted, the handle and foot become one, and the surface is etched all over with Inuktitut syllabics.

Over the years, Massie's teapots have taken on animalistic forms, growing feet, and antlers; gazing out with one elaborately inlaid eye, or two; their handles, made of exotic materials like tulip wood and cocobolo, have become abstractions of horns or tails.

The artist's first curated solo exhibition, *Silver & Stone: The Art of Michael Massie*, opened at The Rooms in Newfoundland and Labrador in 2006, and examined the decade between 1996 and 2006 in Massie's career. The exhibition highlighted numerous examples of Massie's impressive oeuvre, including the work *grandfather I have something to tell you* (2005) [figure 6.30]. The figural work in anhydrite (Newfoundland limestone) is an emotional confession of a childhood transgression; evidenced both in the twisted form of the body and the anguished face drawn out in inlay, mouth-open and nostrils flaring in distress. The figure conceals the body of a little bird held behind its back. It flops backward distressingly and, displays two Xs for eyes, the universal cartoon symbol for death. The work is based on Massie's recollections of his Inuit upbringing and particularly the teachings of his beloved grandfather who had taught him to respect living things and never to never an animal that would not be eaten. Yet when he was twelve years old, Massie killed a tom-tit with a pellet gun. Ashamed, the young Massie buried the little bird with a kitchen spoon and never confessed his crime, but thirty years later, he sculpted this stone mea culpa.

Silver & Stone exhibition curator, Gloria Hickey, has written, "it is typical of Massie to combine elements from all the corners of his world: the welcoming pot of tea, vivid imagery from popular culture, the ulu knife from the Inuit lifestyle of his grandparents, and art history and design influences from art school and books" (Hickey 2006: 22).

The ulus and other elements are particularly emphasized in the inspired work of abstraction, *enigmas of a teapot* (2002), which was featured on the cover of the Winter 2006 edition of *Inuit Art Quarterly* [figure 6.31]. In *enigmas*, which was created with a specific client in mind who also loved surrealism, Massie ambitiously combined references to many different iconic surrealist works while maintaining the balance with Inuit imagery and iconography through the use of the teapot-vessel, the inclusion of acid-etched Inuktitut syllabic symbols, and the leg inspired by Charlie Kogvik's *Little Ivory* figure (with a band of sealskin decoration sewn by his wife, Jo-Ann Massie). Massie has described this work at length in the catalogue for *Silver & Stone*, explaining the various elements borrowed from surrealist works include references to Man Ray's *Indestructible Object* (1923/58), Yves Tanguy's *Certitude of Never Seen* (1933), and no fewer than three works by Salvador Dali, including an eye from *The Painter's Eye* (1941) and the melting clock from *The Persistence of Memory* (1931). His deep interest and knowledge in Western art history shines through but rather than competing with the "Inuitness" of his artwork, it enhances it. It is not difficult to see why Massie is one the most admired and acclaimed Inuit artists working today, not just in the province but across Canada. In the last decade Massie has frequently represented the Nunatsiavut Territory in a number of national and international exhibitions.

Mapping Inuit Contemporary Art Histories in the Twenty-first Century

Although this chapter has provided only an introductory overview to the kinds of contemporary, two-dimensional and other inventive practices taking place in Nunatsiavut and across Canada, the diversity of the works presented speaks to the strongly

individualistic culture the of artists and others from Labrador. Massie, Moorhouse, Hay, Igloliorte, Pottle, Campbell, Andersen and others not mentioned here demonstrate the breadth of contemporary art practices by a group of artists whose main commonality has been their individuality. Yet this seeming independence is not at odds with the Inuit worldview as communal and holistic. Rather, I believe it is a reflection the socio-political history of Labrador as a territory and of its peoples' long tradition of self-reliance. While societal values are focused inward on the resiliency of our community, Inuit in Nunatsiavut are largely self-sufficient by necessity, and have developed an ethos of independence, reflected in our status as the first self-governing Inuit territory. There is such variety and distinctiveness amongst this small group of contemporary artists, it is important to recognize that as we move into the twenty-first century, these artists prefer to be seen not so much as 'Nunatsiavut artists,' as they are 'artists from Nunatsiavut,' underscoring their independence and uniqueness.

Furthermore, the recent achievements of these contemporary artists suggests that their history of exclusion may have been at least in part an advantage in fostering individualist art practices that meshes well with the southern art world. These contemporary artists have sought engagement in the contemporary Canadian and international art world while gaining recognition as Inuit artists, putting them in a nearly unique position in Canadian art, where Inuit artists elsewhere still rarely attend art school, live in the south, apply for grants and residencies, or have direct interactions with art dealers, galleries, collectors and other non-Inuit artists.

Conclusion: *SakKijâjuk* / To Be Visible

The purpose of this dissertation has been twofold: first, to arrive at a better understanding of the history of Labradorimiut visual culture, and second, to bring recognition to the arts of this little-known region. To make both the arts and the history visible.

As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, over four centuries of increasing contact and exchange Nunatsiavummiut have safeguarded and maintained numerous and diverse expressive practices that evidence the strength of our cultural continuity and resilience despite our long history of colonization and our slow return to sovereignty and self-governance. In fact, as I have argued, fostering and sustaining the visual arts in our territory has played an integral role in the maintenance of that cultural sovereignty. With regard to the resilience of Nunatsiavut Inuit culture and the role that the artists played in cultivating that resilience, artist Heather Campbell has remarked,

I think we are a shining example of resilience because we are one of the first regions to be in contact with Europeans. The Moravian Missionaries settled in Labrador in the 1700's so our culture has been able to survive all these years, despite the influx of outside influences. I am sure art has contributed to that. [...] I think for our generation, looking into these visual expressions of our culture will help us to understand where we come from in order to move forward in the future as Nunatsiavut Inuit. (App. B: interview with H. Campbell)

While for over a century the outsider narrative of Labrador has largely been one of inevitable extinction, total domination, or passive assimilation, the history outlined in this dissertation provides a counter narrative of agency, resilience and *survivance* even within the deeply unequal and discordant power relations on the Labrador coast.

While from the mid-century onward in other regions of the Canadian Arctic Inuit artists benefited from state-funded arts instruction, administration, marketing, promotion, co-operatives and art studios, in Labrador artists were largely overlooked and excluded. While a number of factors -- outlined in the first section of this dissertation -- contributed to this marginalization, I argue that one of the main factors affecting Labradorimuit exclusion was that Nunatsiavut people and visual culture often clashed with the southern imaginary of the Arctic, the Inuit and Inuit art.

Firstly, Labrador has a centuries-old, dynamic history of contact and exchange that has made it impossible to romanticize Nunatsiavummiut culture in the same way that the South (falsely) imagined central Arctic Inuit in the twentieth century. In the first chapter of this dissertation I illuminated how, through a critical analysis of transcultural histories of contact and exchange with whalers, traders, missionaries, ethnologists, government representatives and others, Labrador's long contact history has influenced the production and circulation of Inuit visual culture. Then in Chapter Two I surveyed the individuals, collectives, organizations and state-run initiatives that have aided or overlooked the development of an arts industry in Labrador. I highlighted a series of successful --albeit often fleeting--initiatives that indicate the potential for the future realization of a thriving arts market, while at the same time examining how evanescent funding, spasmodic ventures, and missed opportunities have contributed to the ongoing obscurity of Nunatsiavut art in the southern Canadian arts milieu.

Secondly, I have argued throughout this dissertation that because Labrador Inuit artists have always prioritized and maintained arts practices in grass, wood, skins, and other materials not associated with high modern Inuit art, the Western aesthetic division

of “high” and “low” art impeded the acceptance of Labrador Inuit art by the modern art market and the development of the Nunatsiavut arts industry as part of the history of Canadian Inuit art. The Labradorimiut, who had so eagerly and expertly incorporated European materials into their arts over several centuries of contact lacked the “primitive” or “untouched” appeal of the peoples believed to inhabit the central Arctic. The socio-political contact history of Labrador coupled with the artistic focus on the “low” arts such as clothing production, woodcarving and basketry made Labradorimiut art unappealing to the anti-modernist or modern primitivist art market.

Yet perhaps this long history of public parsimony, exclusion and neglect has also held some benefits for Nunatsiavummiut artists freeing them to express themselves without much outsider influence. The development of carving arts has not been not negatively impacted, and, arguably, these arts have flourished and been realized through diverse media in which central Arctic artists do not yet often work. Clothing production, grasswork, dollmaking and other “handicraft” practices have also been maintained and are regarded within the territory as equal to other forms of visual production. In the second section of this dissertation, I underscored these thriving arts by focusing on selected major artistic genres that have thrived within the Nunatsiavut Territory in order to make visible the largely undocumented but deeply continuous and innovative history of Nunatsiavummiut visual culture.

These chapters, which focus on sewing, sculpture, grasswork, and new, primarily two-dimensional media as the overarching practices that encompass a vast array of productions. These chapters have been informed by a shared purpose: to elucidate the history and development of those practices on the coast in terms of the continuities that

both maintain and creatively transform each cultural fluorescence. In Chapter Three I studied Inuit sewing practices and considered how clothing and *kamiks* have been creatively adapted by Inuit seamstresses over centuries. I have argued that the continuity of Inuit clothing is not about the adherence to patterns, adornment, or materials. Rather, as this chapter demonstrated, the continuity of Inuit clothing has been carried forward by the continuous engagement with the practice of making Inuit clothing and the visual expression of skill, artistry and creativity - knowledge which is shared across generations. In Chapter Four I examined the practice of sculpting in ivory, tusk, bone, antler, wood, serpentinite, anorthosite and other media across time and all along the coast. As this chapter reveals, carving has been both an ancient and dynamic practice on the Nunatsiavut coast, providing a consistent and positive presence in Nunatsiavut society over countless generations. Even in the absence of all the benefits and services provided to carvers elsewhere in the Arctic, Labrador Inuit artists have developed many diverse and distinctive practices which, I believe, will contribute to the future articulation of “Inuit sculpture” as more a broadly encompassing and inclusive category of art than is represented by the relatively narrow scope currently defined by the southern art market for Inuit art.

Chapter Five considered the significance of *sanajaumajuk aggatigut* or “things made by hand” to the maintenance of cultural resilience and the transmission of intergenerational knowledge. The expertise and creativity evident in grasswork and other handicraft practices have presented a persuasive challenge to the artificial introduction of Inuit art to the Western fine art/craft binary. This chapter calls for a reconsideration of

how Western art historical discourse has been imposed on Indigenous art in the last two centuries, which I hope to pursue in future work coming out of this thesis.

And finally, in Chapter Six, I investigated how contemporary artists working in two-dimensional media such as drawing, painting and photography are incorporating exciting and dynamic new practices into the corpus of Nunatsiavummiut art. The recent achievements of these contemporary artists suggests that their history of exclusion from the Inuit art world may have been at least in part an advantageous development in fostering individualist art practices. While elsewhere in the Arctic the demands of the southern art market and imposed Western art historical discourses and constructs have been dictating what forms, themes and mediums have been acceptable to the Inuit art market, in Labrador, artists worked without these restrictions, and had greater freedom to work in diverse “non-Inuit” mediums and materials such as contemporary performance, photography, mixed-media and metalwork. Where Inuit artists elsewhere still rarely attend art school, spend any time living in the south, apply for grants and residencies, or have direct interactions with art dealers, artists from Nunatsiavut have sought engagement in the contemporary Canadian and international art world while gaining recognition as Inuit artists. They are thus placed in a unique position in relation to Canadian art, galleries, collectors and other non-Inuit artists. This alignment with the southern art world, rather than the staid Inuit art market, may prove to be their greatest asset in the future.

In each chapter I have focused on significant productions that have deep continuities in Nunatsiavummiut culture and history, while indicating directions for future research and development. My aim throughout has been to bring recognition to the

struggles, successes and resilience of Labrador Inuit artists within a challenging social, economic and political environment and to illuminate the interrelationship between the revitalization of Inuit arts and culture and the reestablishment of political, economic and cultural sovereignty.

It is notable that this dissertation is the first comprehensive study of Labradorimiut art and culture in nearly 100 years, since E.W. Hawkes published his ethnographic study *The Labrador Eskimo* in 1916. As we approach the ten-year anniversary of the 2005 ratification of the Nunatsiavut Land Claims Agreement and the formation of our self-governing territory, we have the opportunity to reflect on the role that art-making, as a consistent and positive presence over hundreds of years of contact and colonization, has played in preserving our culture, knowledge and heritage. It is also an opportune moment in which to envision how we can support our art and artists going forward, as we continue with the efforts to assert our sovereignty and self-determination, decolonize our lands, and revitalize our cultural practices.

This dissertation has demonstrated that art making has been a consistent and positive presence in Nunatsiavut for millennia; that the arts today reflect the deep continuity and resilience of Nunatsiavummiut culture despite centuries of colonization and contact; and that in this new era of self-governance, the arts hold the potential to assist in the development of our economic independence while asserting and securing our unique cultural identity.

IMAGES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A History of Contact and Cultural Continuity

1.1 The Labrador-Davis Strait Region. Image from *Cultures in Contact*: 46.

1.2 Left: Dorset. Egg Shuldham Island 9, Labrador. Soapstone. 2.5 cm. Courtesy the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador (Collec. No. IdCq-22:396). Right: Dorset. Whelk. Shuldham Island 9, Labrador. Soapstone. 3.8 cm. Courtesy the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador (Collec. No. IdCq-22:406).

1.3: Soapstone figurine, AD 1350-1500, Soapstone 3 cm, Late Dorset,. Found on Shuldham Island, Labrador, photo by William Fitzhugh, 1978.

1.4: Two images from Gilbert Hay's illustration of the oral history of the Tunnit. *The Labrador Inuit*, 1993: 60, 63.

1.5: Girls were taught to knit and sew by the missionaries wives. Mrs. Ellen Hettasch giving a lesson to (front) Susie Martin, Maggie Brait, Brigetta Atsatata, Rhoda Atsatata, (back) Ningijok Green, (unidentified), Sara Obed. Photo courtesy of Kate Hettasch/Them Days Archive.

2. The Arts Industry in Nunatsiavut: A History of Absences, Missed Opportunities, and Great Resilience

2.1: example of an “Inuit” Grenfell mat. Unknown artist, *Children Playing*, hooked approximately 6 x 13.”

2.2: Mrs. Keddie and her dogs at Cartwright. Photo provided to Them Days by Joan Stedman. *Them Days*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Pg.6

2.3: The “Round House (right foreground in the photo) was the first crafts centre in Nain. Photo by Dori Zerbe Cornelsen. *Inuktitut* Summer, 1987: 31.

3. Nunatsiavummiut Clothing

3.1: "Hulda, a well-liked 16 year old girl, took care of missionary children and communicated in Germany and English. The plaited with a pink ribbon, gathered in a knot in front of her ears, would be looped around the ears and fastened at the back of her head once she became a full communicant member. Photography provided by Berthold Lenz. Courtesy Unity Archives, Herrnhut." Photograph provided by Berthold Lenz in *Labrador Through Moravian Eyes*, 2002:101,

IV-B-1832

3.2: Coat, c. 1920, Caribou skin and mammal sinew, 132 x 52 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Major Lachlan T. Burwash, IV-B-1832. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

3.3: Sylvia Jacque, Mittens, Moosehide, caribou skin, rabbit fur and beads, 39 x 21 cm. Postville.

Warhafftige Contrafey einer wilden Fraywen / mit irem Tochterlein / gefunden in der Landtschafft
 Noua terra genannt / vnd gen Amroff bracht / vnd von menniglich allda offentlich gesehen worden / vnd noch zu sehen ist.

In diesen M. D. LXXVI. Jar ist zu Am-
 torff ankommen zu Schiff auß Zealand / ein wilde fraw-
 ein kleine person / sampt irem dochterlein vnd ist gefor-
 miert vnd bekleide gewest / wie dise figur anzeigt / vnd sind
 gesunde worden in Terra noua / wolt ein neue Landtschafft
 ist in etlichen vergangene jaren / von den frantzösischen vñ
 Portugalesen erst gefunden / vnd ist dise fraw mit ire kind
 vñ ire Man von de frantzösischen (die auß dise landtschafft
 ire Schiffart gehabt vnd zu land kommen sind / vñ frembde
 aben / euer g. lichte) angetroffen / vnd ist der Man mit ein
 pfeil durch sein leib geschossen worden. Dennoch wolt er sich
 nit gefangen geben / sondern stellet sich manlich zur gegen-
 wehr / vñ ward er in diesem schawmügel / von einem andern
 frantzösischen mit ein schla- beschweden / in der seiten hart
 verwundet / da nam er sein eigen blat auß der seiten in sein
 handt / vnd lezte das auß sein hand / vñ stellet sich noch ge-
 miger zur geg. wehr dan zuvor. Endlich ward er in sein ke-

le dermassen gehawen vñnd verwundet das er zur erdenstet
 vñ starb auch an dise verwundunge / diser man war 12. schuch
 lang vnd hatte in 12. tagen 12. personen vñnd bracht mit sein
 eigen hand / frantzösischen vñnd Portugalesen dieselbig zu er-
 sten / denn sie kein lieber fleisch essen / dann Menschen
 fleisch / vñnd als sie die fraw vñnd vñnd kommen / stellet sie sich also
 ob sie gar rasende / vñnd vñnd wolt gewest / vñnd ire kind
 das sie verlassen solt / diereit sie die Schiffschreie zu schiff
 wolten führen vñnd sie hin weg zu führen / dann sie das
 kind so lieb hat / das sie lieber ire leben wolt verlieren
 dann das kind verlassen / Als sie sich nit so vñnd stel-
 ler / lieffen sie ire ein wang nach / da gieng sie an den ort / da
 sie ire kind vorstekt hat / vñnd da war sie besser zu frieden
 dann vorher / da namen sie die fraw mit irem kind / vñnd
 fürten sie hinweg / vñnd niemand von den frantzösischen
 ihr ein einich wort verstehen / oder auch mit ire durtz Worte
 reden. Man hat aber ihre in 8. Monaten so viel gelidert /
 das sie bekande hat / das sie von vielen Menschen gesehen /
 ire Kleider sind von Sechons fellen gemacht / auß die
 weisse / wie diese figur anzeigt / Die Halszeichen die sie in
 Angese hat / sind ganz blau wie Himmelblau / vñnd
 die machen sie ire / wie man wenn sie zum weib
 nemmen / dabey erkennen sie ire Weiber / denn
 sonst lauffen sie vñnd einander wie das Wild /
 vñnd man mag die Zeichen mit keinerley mact
 wider abthun / vñnd diese Zeichen machen sie mit
 safft vñnd einerley Kraut / da im lande wuchst /
 ire leib ist gelb / braun / als die halbe Woren /
 Die fraw ist alt / wie sie ist gefangen worden /

im Jar 66. im Augusto / 20. Jar alt / das kind 7. Jar. Laß uns Gott dem allmechtigen danken für seine Wohlthat / das er uns in sei-
 nem Wort erleuchtet hat / das wir nit so gar wilde Leut vñnd Menschen fresser sind / wie in dieser Landtschafft sin / da die Weib ge-
 fangen vñnd her auß gebracht worden / denn sie gar nichts von dem rechten wahren Gott wissen / sondern schier erger denn das
 Wild leben / Gott wolle sie auch zu seinem erkenntnis bekehren / Amen.

Getruckt in Nürnberg / bey Hans Wolf Glaser.

3.4: Hans Wolf Glaser, handcoloured woodcut, Nuremberg, 1567. This hand-bill advertised the exhibition in Europe of an Inuit woman and her child. The dress depicted may be representative of the clothing of the Thule people, from whom the Labrador Inuit at the time were not too long removed.

3.5: John Russell, *Portrait of Mikak and Tutuak*, 1769, oil on canvas. No dimensions. Institute of Cultural and Social anthropology, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Germany

3.6: Portraits of Attuiok and Caubvick, painted by Hunneman in 1702 from the full-figure portraits by Nathaniel Dance (shown in Lysaght 1971; see note 7). Courtesy of the Ethnological Museum of Gottingen, Germany. Captain George Cartwright, Pg. 29

3.7: Mr. Hünne (see figure: portraits) and sent to a friend of Banks, Blumenbach in 1792. On the back of the portrait of Caubvic is a handwritten note that describes the work. "An Esquimaux woman brought from Cape Charles on the coast of Labrador by Cartwright a. 1773. Her name was Caubvic which in her language signified wolverine. This copy was made by Mr. Hünne 1792 from Nath. Dance's original drawings in the possession of Lady Banks."

3.8: Watercolour, found in the Cartwright papers. An Inuit woman wearing a beaded amauti and beaded ear pieces. Original is a 10 x 8 cm watercolour pasted into a scrapbook of family mementos and news clippings belonging to Frances Dorothy Cartwright. Reproduced with permission of John Cartwright; in private collection. *Captain George Cartwright*, Pg. 77

3.9: unknown artist, *Portrait of a Labrador Woman* (Mikak or Caubvick), c. 1772, oil on canvas, 75 x 63 cm. Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Hunterian Museum.

3.10: Angelica Kauffmann, *Woman in Eskimo Clothing from Labrador* (ca. 1768-72), oil on canvas, 76.5 cm x 63.5 cm. The woman's amauti has a wide hood, which the artist depicts as draped about the face. The decorative bands and the wide, high boots are consistent with what is known of Labrador attire. The long, narrow back flap, seen in the almost ethereal figure in the background, is evocative of the shape of the tail of early Nunavimut amautiit. From *Sinews of Survival*, Pg. 165

3.11: A Moravian Missionary Conversing with the Eskimos at Nain, Labrador, 1807-ca. 1830. Painting by Mid (?) Hall after Maria Spilsbury (1777-1820), watercolour on paper, 51 cm x 66 cm. The male parkas have no side vents, a feature of Labrador clothing that contrasts with that of Baffin Island and other locales. The form of beadwork on the woman's amauti appears to be similar to the design on a doll from near Kuujuaq, Nunavik (Turner 1979, 95) From *Sinews of Survival*, 167.

3.12: Parka Band, ca 1914, Glass, textile, fibre, 79.2 x 10 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-514.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

This is a beaded band (collector number 406) for woman's parka hood. It is constructed from a single thickness of black velvet edged in an orange-red twill tape that has been sewn on with machine stitching. A floral decoration, in glass beads, has been added for practically the whole length of the band. Colours of glass beads are white, yellow, dark rusty-red, 3 shades of blue all solid colours and dark green, dark red and pink translucent. The stitching of the beads is with black thread. The band curves to a slight point in the centre front.

3.13: Two unmarried women with church caps. The church cap for unmarried women has a pink ribbon, for married women a blue ribbon, and for widows a white ribbon. Photograph provided by Paul Hettasch. Courtesy Unity Archives, Herrnhut. *Labrador Through Moravian Eyes* 1996: 55.

3.14: Coat, 1919, Cotton, fur, wool and glass, 126 x 135 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Mrs. Rosina Ford, IV-B-1624.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Outer *Silapik*, coat, thin white cotton machine stitched coat, one piece, seam at top. Peaked hood trimmed with fur. Band appliqued around hood opening. Band consists of black wool edged with purple stain covered with broad red wool band-metallic "Gold" Rick-rack tape sewn onto red band, 2 strands along length of band, one strand at ends, not continuously sewn. Multi-coloured floral pattern in round opaque beads.

3.15: "Working in the blubber yard" 1905 Okak, Labrador. Clara Ford collection. *Labrador in Pictures* 1996: 20.

3.16: Plate 1, E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo*, 1916: 167.

3.17: Elias Morhardt on the hunt. Photography provided by Heinrich Simon. Courtesy Unity Archives, Herrnhut. From *Labrador Through Moravian Eyes*, 2002: 100.

3.18: Coat, 1914, Cotton, 112 x 50 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-303.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Coat, woman's outer coat shell of beige cotton cloth. Traditional style of coat, large hood, side pouches, front apron and back tail. The border of the hood opening is a green coloured cloth, approx. 1.6 cm wide. A section of black cloth was used instead of the green for 9.5 cm on the right side of the hood. Horizontal bands of coloured cloth encircle the wrist cuffs. The lower band is two strips of orange tape, the upper black cotton. The same colours were used to outline the border of the apron and tail, five bands of alternating colour sewn on top of beige cotton coat. The coat was machine stitched with cotton thread.

3.19: Amalia McNeil, *Silapak*, Canvas and rickrack trim, 58 x 21.” Frances Murphy models a contemporary cotton siliapak by Amalia McNeil, Nain Craft Shop.

3.20: Coat, 1914, Seal skin and caribou skin, 72 x 59 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-301.
Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

3.21: Nellie Winters, Duffle Coat, Duffel and fibre. Photo by Jamie Lewis. *Sketches of Labrador Life*: 8.

3.22: Susie Igloliorte, *girl's coat with inukuluk designs*, duffel, cotton, 1966. Collection of Miriam Lyall.

3.23: Sealskin boot, mid-twentieth century, sewn with sinew, Nunavummiut or Nunatsiavummiut. Collected by Dr. Arthur Schwartz. The close-up of the boot toe shows the waterproof stitching. The seamstress gathers the toe and heel between her marked notches in fine crimps or pleats to form the sole, which comes up the sides of the foot. In *Sinews of Survival*: 91.

3.24: These shaved sealskin boots, also known as black bottom boots, from Nain were commonly worn in northern Labrador, especially during wet conditions. The middle was worn by Amos Atsatata (P89.186.2), Susie Winters made the shorter boots (left, S79.508.2), and the tallest boot was made by Minnie Merkuratsuk (right, P89.185.2). In *Our Boots*: 108.

3.25: Eleanor Tuglavina Saimat, Shaved seal skin boots with scalloped trim, 1989, Seal skin, Nain. Women wore these kamiks for special occasions. You can still see them in old photos of church festivals and weddings. In *Our Boots*: 110.

3.26: Boots, 1958, Seal skin, sinew and wool, 45 x 28 cm, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-654 a-b. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Boots, pair, made of sealskin. The foot is made from 3 pieces of dehaired skin,. The sole is formed from a piece of yellowish skin, turned up around the edges of the foot and gathered at heel and toe, the vamp is U-shaped, of dark brown, dehaired skin, and the lower sides and back of the foot are formed by a narrow, dehaired strip of dark brown, dehaired skin. The boot leg is made from furred sealskin with the fur to the outside. One main skin piece, blonde with brown mottling, is used, with row of butterfly motifs bordered with horizontal lines inserted down front of leg, using dark brown furred sealskin. A broad band of furred skin is sewn around top edge. This has series of holes cut, and a cord of braided red, blue, green yarn drawn through. Sinew sewn. Butterfly decor on front

(BALIKCI) Pair of men's fur sealskin Komiks, Cape Smith. low-heel type. Vertical butterfly decor. in front. Made by Siasi.

3.27: Nellie Winters, Boots, Sealskin, Black bottom boots with contrasting sealskin coloured patterns and embroidery of a person, seal and igloo, From *Sketches of Labrador Life*: 8.

3.29: Nellie Winters, Contemporary mittens, 2011, Moosehide, sealskin, bear fur, cotton embroidery trim, thread, wool, 36 x 15 cm, Makkovik.

3.30: Linda Palliser, Mittens, 2010, Moosehide, beads, and Rabbit fur, 20 x 14 cm. Rigolet.

4. Carving Practices in the Nunatsiavut Territory

4.1: Two soapstone carvings the Hawkes believed to be fetishes, or *Inua* – physical representations of spirits.

Left: Sculpture, 1914, Soapstone, 4 x 11 x 5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-319. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Figure of head and upper chest of man, carved from a single piece of soapstone. Oval shaped face is framed by rim of parka hood. Eyes are incised ovals on either sides of straight nose carved in low relief. Mouth is incised straight line and hair across forehead carved in low relief. Parka angles up to point. Body of figure is rectangular. Central cone is carved out, leaving shaft through figure, ending in small hole drilled through center top of parka hood.

Right: Sculpture, 1914, Soapstone, 5.5 x 4 x 2.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-319. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Figure of head and neck of woman carved from single piece of soapstone. Flat oval base rounded up to form shoulders and short neck. Oval shaped face has mouth and eyes carved as incised ovals and straight nose carved in low relief. Hair carved as if cut straight across forehead, framing face at sides and short around back of head.

4.2: Dogsled, ca 1890, Ivory, 13.8 x 2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-129 a.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Model, ivory, runners and platform made from separate pieces of ivory held together by cotton sewing; nine slats of platform fit together tightly

4.3: Saw, Ivory, 12.5 x 2.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Dr. Robert Bell, IV-B-851.
Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

4.4: Rifle, 1899, Ivory, 6.5 x 1 x 0.3 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-139.
Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

4.5: Ring and pin, ca 1899, Ivory and sinew, 11.5 x 2.8 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-134.
 Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

above dimensions of bear; length of sinew: 27.0 cm., length of pin: 11.5 cm.

Ring and Pin game, of ivory, carved in the form of a stylized polar bear. Sides, bottom section and neck section pierced with holes. An ivory pin is attached to the carving with braided sinew which is wrapped and knotted at one end of the pin and threaded and tied through two holes in the bear. The ivory is dark golden in colour, with scratches and small cracks on the surface. The back legs are shown as a solid rectangular protrusion from the body, one edge has been broken off. The front legs are depicted in a triangular fashion side view. The edge of the neck is chipped.

4.6: Dominoes (game), ca 1893-94, Ivory, 4.5 x 1.5 x 0.2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-146.1-99. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Ivory ornaments, etc. handed over by Mr. Lambe, May 28, 1910.(Grunfeld, Frederic V., "Games of the World", New York: Ballantine Books, 1975, p.104-107) Dominoes were invented by the Chinese at least three centuries ago. Once used in divination, they are now essential to games and gambling throughout China and Korea. There are twenty-one pices which represent the permutations of throwing two dice (each half of the domino stands for one die). The 'one' and 'four' spots are red, as on Chinese dice. Eleven pieces are duplicated, making a set of thirty-two. The duplicated pieces are called 'civil' and the others 'military' an important distinction in some games. Old sets were carved of dark wood, ivory or bone.

Dominoes were introduced into Europe through Italy in the mid-eighteenth-century. By the end of that century they had arrived in England. Early European dominoes were made of thin pieces of bone. By 1840 the bone strip was glued to an ebony backing and fastened with sprigs of brass to make small tiles that would stand on edge. The availability of cheap sets, made of wood stained black (and recently of plastic) brought the game a popular following.

4.7: Lucas Ittulak, *Kayak*, 1978, Antler, sinew, thread and bone, 28 x 4 x 6 cm. Carol Brice Bennett collection, Happy Valley-Goose Bay. A highly detailed kayak with seal, harpoon, paddle, knife and other tools.

4.8: Caribou with antlers, ca 1880, Ivory, 10.2 x 2 x 2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Albert Peter Low, IV-B-799 a-b. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

4.9: Fox, 1912, Ivory, 4 x 0.8 x 1.5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Mrs. A. W. Wakefeild, IV-B-1150.
Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Ivory carving of a standing fox, wide tail, possibly also a dog.

4.10: Fish, 1914, Soapstone, 3.7 x 0.6 x 1 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-534 e.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

A miniature stone sculpture of a fish Hawkes collected from Makkovik is quite unusual for its time, but as he notes, stone was “also used for lamps and kettles [is] used as well as ivory for carving, on the east coast” (Hawkes 1916: 101).

4.11: *Ivory carvings, female and male*, Ivory, (Female) 2.5 x 2 x 5 cm, (Male) 2 x 1 x 2.6 cm. The Rooms Provincial Museum Division. Image courtesy of The Rooms Provincial Museum. IVB-35, IVB-36.

Ivory carving of female Eskimo in standing position, arms at sides, wearing boots, trousers and a jacket with large hood in which she carries a child. Jacket cut straight across in front but with wide tails or flaps behind. Arms, hood, waist and hem of jacket and trousers ornamented with red lines. Boots are brown and inside dress is yellow. Facial features painted with brown hair pulled back in large bun. Child wears speckled hood and jacket.

Ivory carving of Eskimo male, standing with one arm out-stretched, wearing trousers, boots, and parka with hood. Neck, arms and head of parka ornamented with red lines and carving. Facial features carved. Hair and boots stained brown.

4.12: Women carrying meat, 1890s, Ivory, thread, black, red and yellow colouring, 5.4 x 7.7 x 1.5 cm. Cotter Collection, Winnipeg Art Gallery.

4.13: Sculpture, 1914, Ivory, 2.5 x 1.2 x 0.3 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-535 a.
Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Woman, small ivory carving of standing woman. Parka decorated with incised lines coloured orange-red. Eyes and mouth incised and blackened. Head bare, painted black to represent hair. Bottom of one arm grooved to hold implement, this is now missing.

4.14: *Toy Eskimo village of carved ivory in a covered basket*, Carved ivory village scene and basket, human figures, igloo, kayaks, dog sleds, collected by George F. Durgin (1902) Labrador, Ivory, Wood, Pigment, Leather, String, Fiber, 50 pieces. overall dimensions: 5.7 x 2.7 x 1.3 cm (2 1/4 x 1 1/16 x 1/2 in.) The Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology at Harvard University collection.

4.15: Kayak, Pine and bone, 34.5 x 5 x 10 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by James H. Pocklington, IV-B-1685.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Kayak, made of pine, body has been carved from single piece of wood. Both bow and stern of boat goes to point, bow shaped upward to a point. Inside cockpit is a man, carved from wood, he has his arms out in front of him, his hands have been broken and what ever he was holding is no longer in his hands. The hood is up over his head, set inside hood is face made of bone. Face carved, nose protrudes, but other features have been drawn on. On top of kayak is receptacle for putting coiled line from harpoon, this is in the bow section of the boat just in front of the cockpit. The receptacle is round in shape and had two handles on each side. Resting on one handle is harpoon, made of wood. There is another harpoon, broken, with line wrapped around handle. Glued to kayak is harpoon head at right side of man. It has a hole near the head where the line is put through. Behind the man is a sealskin float, with a line tied around its tail. At each side is a spear shaped object, one at left is just slightly curved, one at right has notches taken out of one side.

4.16: Igloo and figure, 1914, Wood and fibre, 20.5 x 8.2 x 11.3 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-330 a-b.
 Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Model of igloo consists of (a) tall dome-shaped model of igloo made from blocks of gold-brown coloured wood on a wooden base and (b) figure of a man carved from single piece of tan-coloured wood. Dome formed by individual blocks of wood cut in triangular, square, rectangular and other shapes to fit together in a spiral pattern with small wooden pegs driven through holes pierced at an angle from one block to another close to edges. Dome attached to circular part of skull-shaped wooden base, each block on bottom row of dome attached to base by single wooden pin at centre. (3 x 2.5 cm) trapezoidal shaped opening at bottom front of dome. 6.4 x 3.4 cm block missing from dome above opening and 5.3 x 4.4 cm block missing from bottom at left side. 3.9 x 3.2 cm opening at centre back of igloo. Roughly rectangular piece of wood (11.3 x 2.4 cm) lying loose within igloo, possibly a sleeping platform which has been broken off. 3.9 cm long crack runs parallel to long edge from short edge. Circular holes (0.2 cm in diameter), one in centre of crack and two filled by a broken wooden peg which possibly were to attach platform to base within igloo at back. Piece of worn and wrinkled dark red cloth with gold and black circular pattern attached by single peg to base within igloo at left rear, possibly to cover sleeping platform. Number 570 inked in black on bottom of base at front. Small wooden figure of man with long pullover, parka (?), short trousers, black coloured boots, long straight black coloured hair framing face and black pill-box type hat with distinct crown. Facial features are incised and painted. Stumps for hands are coloured black. Front part of sinister foot missing.

4.18: Two sculptures by Fred Decker

Top: *Dogteam*, Wood, paint, fibre, plaster and paper, 40 x 5 x 4 cm, Collection of Donald Gear

Bottom: *Dogteam*, Wood, paint, fibre, plaster and paper, 37.7 x 5 x 4.2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Judy Hall, IV-B-1990. Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization. Sculpture of four dogs pulling a wooden sled loaded with twigs. Pair of wooden snowshoes hangs on side of sled. Human figure wearing a parka runs beside the sled. Figure and dogs painted black and white. Attached to rectangular base painted white. Signed on bottom.

4.19: Chesley Flowers, *George River Herd*, 1995-96, Pine and bone, approx. 100 pieces 15.2 x 15.2 x 7.6 cm. Acquired with assistance from the Canada Council for the Arts The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Memorial University of Newfoundland Collection 97.8.15.

4.20: Gilbert Flowers, *Tutuit (Herd of Caribou)*, (no date), aspen, antler, max size 5 x 4.5 x 2.5". Spirit Wrestler Gallery

4.21: Ross Flowers, *caribou*, no date, aspen and antler, max size 6" length. Photo: Birches Gallery

4.22: Ross Flowers, *Salmon*, Antler. Photo by Ned Pratt. *Sketches of Labrador Life* (2000): 40.

4.23: Eva Nochasak, *Seal*, 2011, Soapstone, Nain Soapstone carving showing two different kinds of finishes, both textured and highly polished. It appears that the artist first finished the carving in a high smooth polish before going back in to add texture through fine hatch marks.

4.24: Manuel Lethbridge, *Hunter and Seal*, 2003, Mixed Media, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection

4.25: Gilbert Hay. *Sitting Bear*, 2011, Anorthosite, 15 x 10 x 14 cm. Nain.

4.26: Billy Gauthier, *Sedna's Tears*, 2008, Serpentine, Labradorite and slate, 12.5 x 12 x 2.5". North West River, Nunatsiavut (Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Pg. 27 This large sculpture of the sea goddess Sedna with the sea mammals tangled in her hair and slipping through her fingers is primarily made of dark green serpentine, a favourite local carving stone.

4.27: Jacko Jararuse, *Untitled*, 1996, Vertebrate whale bone, caribou antler, 68 x 27 x 43 cm. *First Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Pg. 45

4.28: Gilbert Hay, *Nuijak*, 1995, Soapstone, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection.

4.29: Gilbert Hay, *Amaguilu, Alailu & Akkikilu (Wolves, Indians & Partridges)*, 1995, Serpentine. The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection.

4.30: Gilbert Hay, *Taqqavut – Our Shadows*, ca 1980, Serpetinite, Nain.

4.31: John Terriak, *Walrus at Breathing Hole*, 2011, Serpentine and bone, 22 x 13.5 x 13 cm. Nain.

4.32: John Terriak, *Woman in Amauti*, 2011, Soapstone and serpentinite, 13 x 9 x 12.5 cm. Nain.

4.33: Charlie Terriak, *The Founder*, 1997, Soapstone, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection.

4.34: Billy Gauthier, *Shaman Drummer*, 2008, Serpentine, caribou antler, sinew and ptarmigan feathers 10 x 11 x 4". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. In *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Pg. 26

4.35: Billy Gauthier, *Swimming Loons – my tribute to Kenojuak Ashevak*, 2012 Muskox horn, antler, Serpentine, Labradorite, 18 x 18 x 12". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photos by Spirit Wrestler Gallery.

4.36: Billy Gauthier, *Whale Hunter*, 2007, Serpentine, anhydrite and cherry wood, 3 x 5 x 6". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. In *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Pg. 27

4.36: Billy Gauthier, *Woven in Stone*, 2008, Serpentine, alabaster, caribou antler, 4.75 x 4.5 x 4.5". North West River, Nunatsiavut. Photo by Kenji Nagai, Spirit Wrestler Gallery. *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2.

5. *Sanajaumajuk aggatigut*: Things made by Hand

5.1: Top: Elsie Blake starting a piece of grass work. Bottom: Basket made by Druscilla Rich, Rigolet. Photo by Judy McGrath. *Them Days*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Pg.16

5.2: Garland Baikie, Lid Knobs, 2011, Caribou antler, various sizes approximately 1". with drilled holes for attaching to baskets for wife Sarah Baikie's grasswork.

5.3: Table mat, 1914, Grass, 20.7 x 19 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-184.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

This table mat is constructed of solid bundles of grass that are wrapped with grass and secured with grass as the sewing element. The mat is oval in shape, solid in the central portion, then 2 rounds of a zig zag pattern, 2 solid rounds and 2 zig zag rows around the edge, giving it a star shape.

5.4: Basket, 1914, Grass, 75.3 x 5 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-184.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Basket, flaring cylinder type with the sides extending outward at an angle from the circular base. Dimensions of the circular mouth are greater than the base. Base is commenced with a spiral start of grass woven in coiled technique with a bundle foundation. Bundles are secured with grass in predominantly split stitch whereby each stitch of the sewing element splits the stitch of the coil below. Sides consist of 3 horizontal coils of same worked in same technique as base. Row of loopwork in zig-zag motif is woven around centre of sides. In this technique, the final row of coiling on the side is tapered, raised at an angle, then bent into a zig-zag pattern. The bundle is wrapped with grass and fastened at regular intervals with a stitch of same to upper and lower coils at the apex of each bend. The design is finished by overlaying the end of the coil on top of the beginning of the pattern to produce a double coil. The coil continues horizontally across upper edge of design 3 x around circumference of sides. The rim is formed by tapering the last coil at the mouth and bending the coil into a 2 x repeated zig-zag pattern as above. Rim is attached to mouth with grass stitches through lower edge in each bend.

5.5: An example of looser coil basketry. Unknown artist, Basket, 1976, Grass, 36 x 26 x 24 cm. Collection of Carol Brice-Bennett, Nain.

5.6 An example of the tightly coiled basketry prized in Rigolet. Belinda Shiwak, Basket with lid, 1990, Grass and raffia, 23 x 18 cm. Rigolet

5.7: Elizabeth Tooktoshina, Basket with lid, 2010, Grass and raffia, 8 x 8 cm. Collection of Jane Shiwak, Rigolet.

5.8: Rich Druscilla, 1979. 1. Grass basket with lid and Labradorite handle. Patterned with brown raffia. 5 x 10". Collection of Memorial University Gallery. 2. Rigolet, 1979. Table top. Patterned with brown raffia. 24". *Grass Work of Labrador*

5.9: Jane Shiwak, Basket with lid, 2009, Grass, 16 x 11 cm. Rigolet.

5.10: an incomplete grass mat shows the difference between the thin blade of grass and the spiny middle. of the spiny Sharon Baikie, Mat (Unfinished), 1994, Grass, 11.5 x 0.5 cm. Sarah and Garland Baikie collection, Rigolet.

5.11: Basket, 1914, Grass, 18.9 x 9.1 x 7.2 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by E. W. Hawkes, IV-B-211.
Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Basket, consists of an elliptical base with sides flaring outward at an angle towards the rim. Dimension of the elliptical mouth are greater than the base. Base is commenced with a spiral start of grass woven in coiled technique with a bundle foundation. Bundles are secured with grass in predominantly split stitch whereby each stitch of the sewing element splits the stitch of the coil below. Sides consist of 4 horizontal coils of same worked in same technique as base. An additional coil wrapped with vertical strands of grass is secured around perimeter of base to produce a raised stand on which basket rests. Two horizontal rows of loopwork in zig-zag motif are woven around sides under the rim. In this technique the final row of coiling on the side is tapered, raised at an angle then bent into a zig-zag pattern. The bundle is wrapped with grass and fastened at regular intervals with a stitch of same to the upper and lower coils at the apex of each bend. The design is finished by overlaying the end of the coil on top of the beginning of the pattern to produce a double coil. The coil continues horizontally across upper edge of design 2 X around circumference of sides then repeats zig-zag design. Rim consists of a coil of grass wrapped with same which gradually tapers towards the end.

5.12: Garmel Rich, Vase, Grass and silk embroidery thread. Photo by Craft Council. From *Sketches of Labrador Life*, Pg. 12.

5.13: Garmel Rich, Creamer and sugar bowl, grass and silk embroidery thread. Photo by Craft Council.
From *Sketches of Labrador Life*, Pg. 12.

5.14: Elizabeth Tooktoshina, miniature basket with lid, 2011, Grass and raffia, 9 x 7 cm.

5.15: Sharon Baikie, Mat with Flag, 1993, Grass, 9 x 0.5 cm. Collection of Belinda Shiwak, Rigolet.

5.15: Louisa Palliser, Key chains, 2011, Grass, beads and metal, Rigolet.

5.16: Louisa Palliser, Teacup, saucer and tea spoon, 2010, Grass, 8 x 6 cm. Rigolet.

5.17: Belinda Shiwak, Mat, Grass, 18 x 0.5 cm. Collection of Jane Shiwak, Rigolet. An example of the “open work” style of basketry is shown on the border of this tray

5.18: Group project ,Mat, 1992, Grass, 14 x 0.5 cm. Belinda Shiwak Collection, Rigolet.

5.19: Ruth Pottle, Bowl, 2010, Grass, 16 x 4.5 cm. Collection of Jane Shiwak, Rigolet. An example of the “Double coil” trimwork described by Hawkes as being unique to Labrador.

5.20: Basket, 1912, Grass, 18.3 x 5.4 cm. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Collected by Frank G. Speck, IV-B-166.

Courtesy of The Canadian Museum of Civilization.

This is a round basket that flares out slightly from the base that is 11.3 cm in diameter. Bundles of grass are wrapped and secured with grass as the sewing element. The top two rows have a pattern consisting of burgundy wrapped and black wrapped coil alternating with

5.21: Georgina Broomfield, *Grass Basket*, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection.

5.22: Naomi Williams, Wheelbarrow, 2011, Grass, 12.5 x 5 x 5 cm, Rigolet

5. 23: Garmel Rich, *Stanley Cup*, Grass, silk embroidery thread, 12".

5.24: Belinda Shiwak, *Bowl*, 2002, Grass, cotton and embroidery floss, 39 x 13 cm. Rigolet

5.25 Emily Flowers, Dolls, Fibre. Photo by Eric Walsh. *Sketches of Labrador Life*, Pg. VI

6. Photography, the Graphic Arts and Other Contemporary Media and Methods: Innovative New Art Forms Rooted in Continuities

6.1: Josephine Kalleo, *Women as Trappers* c. 1984, pen, felt tip marker on paper. The woman is selling the fox skin to the store. The women, too, used to go hunting and trapping. But not anymore. I miss that freedom very much. We used to do our own trading with furs. The prices were very cheap but so were the trade goods. Now, no one goes trapping for a living and the prices of food and trade goods is very high. No one travels on the land by dog-team anymore and no one lives on the land in the way we did, when we had dog teams. *Taipsumane*, Pg. 11

6.2: Josephine Kalleo, *Education*. c. 1984, pen, felt tip marker on paper. School was a little different then. When I was a child. English wasn't spoken in school. It wasn't the language of instruction. We had to memorize everything. Part of the curriculum included: the alphabet, the Ten Commandments, reciting parts of the New Testament, hymns that we would sing in church, arithmetic and a grammar book. We didn't learn anything about the English culture. Everything was in the Inuktitut language. I am 60 years old now. My teachers were Frederika Ilinniatitsijok and Auntie Katie Hettasch. It was good then. *Taipsumane*, Pg. 9

6.3 Josephine Kalleo, *Weddings*. c. 1984, pen, felt tip marker on paper. The top picture is a wedding in the 1930's. They are wearing skin boots and a white shell. All the females used to wear caps, particularly hand-made church caps, from the small children to the old ladies. The bottom picture takes place in the 1960's. The women are no longer wearing church caps. Many don't even wear caps in church anymore. I think it's the changing influence in the church. Church customs have changed. The younger people can no longer read Inuktitut because they go to church less frequently. The church was always the main propagator of literacy in the Inuktitut language, as most literature in Inuktitut was church literature. It is sad to see literacy in Inuktitut language dying. *Taipsumane*: 15.

6.4: Gilbert Hay, *Inuksuk*, 1981, Lithograph, 45.4 x 32.7 cm.

6.5: Heather Campbell, *Nuliajuk Meditating*, 2007, mixed media on paper, 15x20"

6.6: Heather Campbell, *Anansiak: My Grandmother*, 2009, watercolour, ink and pencil crayon.

6.7: Heather Campbell, *Inuit Grande Odalisque* - (after Ingres), 2009, watercolour and ink on paper.

6.8: Heather Campbell, *Inuit Judith with Holofernes (after Klimt)*, 2010, watercolour, acrylic and pen and ink on paper, approx. 4" x 9"

5/8 "Migration" Dinah Anderson, C.P. '97
 6.9: Dinah Anderson, *Migration*, 1997, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection. Linocut Ed. 5/8.

6.10: Dinah Andersen, *Watching as she Sleeps*, 1996, Oil on Canvas. 81 x 101.5 cm. *First Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Pg. 41

6.11: James Andersen, *self-portrait*, photograph, c. 1980.

6.12: James Andersen, *Bella*, photograph, 1969

6.13: James Andersen, *Whale with men standing on top*, photograph, 1945

6.14: James Andersen, *Bob Andersen and his brother Jim with musical organ*, photograph, 1955.

6.15: Michelle Baikie, *Spirits*, 1996, Digital photography, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection.

6.16: Michele Baikie, "Our Labrador," photograph, 1993.

6.17: Barry Pottle, *Lighting the Qulliq*, 2009, digital photography.

6.18: Installation view of Barry Pottle, *Eskimo Identification Tag System Series* (2009 -2011), at the Ottawa Art Gallery, 2011.

6.19: Barry Pottle, *Awareness I*, *Eskimo Tag Series* (2009 -2011), digital photograph, 2009

6.20: Installation view of Barry Pottle, detail: "Leena," *Eskimo Identification Tag System Series* (2009 - 2011), at the Ottawa Art Gallery, 2011.

6.21: Barry Pottle, *Setting the Table* (2012) digital photography

6.22: Mark Igloliorte, *Komatik Skate Box*, digital video still, 223.5 x 59.7 x 55.6 cm, Image Credit: Navarana Igloliorte.

6.23: Mark Igloliorte, *Work* (2008) oil on plexiglas, 90.4 x 100 cm, Image Credit: Tara Nicholson

6.24: Mark Igloliorte, *Untitled* (Diptych Series) (2011) oil on prepared archival paper, 14 x 16.5 cm, Image Credit: Guy L'Heureux

6.25: Shirley Moorhouse, *Finding Inner Strength*, 1996, Embroidery, beadwork, applique on black duffel. 100 x 73 cm. *First Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador*: 47

6.26: Shirley Moorhouse, *The Spirit Soars*, 1996, Textile, The Rooms Provincial Art Gallery, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Collection.

6.27: Shirley Moorhouse, *In My Backyard After Three Beers*, 2006, Happy Valley - Goose Bay, Nunatsiavut black stroud, fur, beads, hide, metal, found materials, silk, rayon, wool, nylon, chicken wire

6.28: Michael Massie, *Come Sit and Have Some Tea*, 2005, Anhydrite, sterling silver, ebony and bone, 40x 51.5 x 29 cm (figure), 14 x 28 x 9 cm (teapot). On loan from Christopher Bredt and Jamie Cameron, Toronto. *In the Shadow of the midnight Sun*, Pg. 47.

6.29: *festivitea* tea set #V, Michael Massie, 2005, Stephenville, NL
 Silver, brass, bloodwood, bone, horsehair Size: 8 x 11 x 2.75" (teapot) Size: 6.25 x 6.25 x 1.75" (creamers) Size: 4.5 x 5.75 x 1.75" (sugar)

6.30: Michael Massie *grandfather, i have something to tell you*, 2004, anhydrite, bone, bird's eye maple, mahogany, ebony, Stephenville, NL, Size: 17.25 x 9.25 x 12 inches

6.31: Michael Massie, *Enigmas of a Teapot* (2003), Stephenville, NL, silver, wood, sealskin, and other mixed media

Bibliography

Abele, Frances, et al. "Introduction and Overview." *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Power and Prospects in Canada's North*. Ed. Frances Abele, et al. McGill-Queens University Press, Canada: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2009. 3-18. Print.

"Aboriginal Peoples: Palaeo-Eskimo Peoples." *Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage*. Web. 4 Mar. 2012 <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/aboriginal/palaeo.html>>.

Andersen, Dinah. *Report on the Labrador Biography Project*. Gatineau: Indian and Inuit Art Centre, 1989. Print.

Andersen, Dinah. *Labrador Biographical Project*. Ottawa: Inuit Art Foundation, 1989.

Andersen, Dinah. "Torngâsok, the Labrador Cultural Institute." *Inuktitut* 67 (Summer 1987): 6-10. Print.

Andersen III, William. "The Labrador Inuit Association." *Inuktitut* 67 (Summer 1987): 12-5. Print.

Appadurai, Arjun. Ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Print.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Print.

Ashcroft, Bill. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature*. London and New York: Routledge, 1990. Print.

Ash-Milby, Kathleen. *Hide: Material and Metaphor*. New York: National Museum of the American Indian, 2010. Print.

Ashoona, Pitseolak. *Pictures Out of My Life*. Ed. Dorothy Eber. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003. Print.

Auger, Réginald. "European and Inuit contact: Evidence from a 1769 Labrador Inuit dwelling." *Études Inuit Studies* 15.1 (1991a): 131- 38. Print.

Auger, Réginald. *Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: from the Written Sources to the Archaeological Evidence*. Quebec: Centre d'études nordiques, Université Laval, 1991b. Print.

Baikie, Gary. "What Do Labrador Inuit Want?" *Inuit Art Quarterly* 8.3 (Fall 1993): 8-13. Print.

Barkham, Selma. "A note on the Strait of Belle Isle during the period of Basque contact

with Indians and Inuit.” *Études /Inuit/Studies* 4.1-2 (1980): 51-8. Print.

Barthes, Roland. *The Rustle of Language*. Trans. Richard Howard. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. Print.

Beattie, Heather. “[reference request for the HBCA archives - HBCA #37].” Message to the author. June 25, 2012. Email.

Beauchamp, William M. “Southern visits of the Eskimo.” *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 21.4 (1899): 201-3. Print.

Ben-Dor, Shmuel. *Makkovik: Eskimos and Settlers in a Labrador Community*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966. Print.

Beriau, Oscar A. *Handicrafts*. Report dated November 1, 1944 and supplement to report dated April 19, 1945. To Hon. P.D.H. Dunn, Commissioner for Natural Resources, St. John's: The Rooms Archives. Print.

Biggar, Henry Percival. *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* 11. Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1924. Print.

Bird, Junius Brian. “The archaeology of the Hopedale area, Labrador.” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 39.2 (1945): 117-18. Print

Birket-Smith, Kaj. *Ethnography of the Egedesminde District with Aspects of the General Culture of West*. Meddelelser om Gronland. Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, 1924. Print.

Blodgett, Jean. *In the Shadow of the Midnight Sun: Sámi and Inuit Art 2000 – 2005*. Hamilton: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2007. Print.

Blodgett, Jean. “The Historic Period in Canadian Eskimo Art.” *The Beaver* (310.1) Summer 1979: 17-27. Print.

Boas, Franz *The Central Eskimo*. Washington: Bureau of Ethnology, 1888. Rpt. Coles, 1974. Print.

Boas, Franz. *Primitive Art*. New York: Dover, 1927. Print.

Borlase, Tim. *The Labrador Inuit*. Happy Valley-Goose Bay: Labrador East Integrated School Board, 1993. Print.

Borys, Stephen. “Inuit Art.” *Winnipeg Art Gallery: Guide to the Collections*. Winnipeg: Art Books Canada Distribution, 2010. Print.

Brantenberg, Anne and Terje Brantenberg, "Coastal Northern Labrador after 1950." *The Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 5. Ed. David Damas. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984. 689-99. Print

Brice-Bennett, Carol. *Hopedale: Three Ages of a Community in Northern Labrador*. St. John's: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland, 2003. Print.

Brice-Bennett, Carol. "Missionaries as Traders: Moravians and the Inuit, 1771-1860." *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*. Ed. Rosemary E. Ommer. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990. 223-246. Print.

Brice-Bennett, Carol. *Reconciling with Memories: A Record of the Reunion at Hebron 40 Years after Relocation*. Nain: Labrador Inuit Association, 2000. Print.

Brody, Hugh. *The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975. Print.

Brook, Joanne. "A Survey of Labrador Crafts." *Them Days Archives* [TD 268/2 APL] (9 pages). Toronto Mar 21, 1976. Print.

Brook, Joanne. "Labrador Craft Producers Association workshop and slide show." (circa 1978) Memorial University DELTS Video Collection, pre 1994: MUN Extension Services VT0141-04. Web. 18 May 2013
<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/extension&CISOPTR=1570>.

Brown, Gillian H. "Them Days Magazine." *Inuktitut* 67 (Summer 1987): 52 -55. Print.

Brown, Herb. "Artist Profile: Gilbert Hay – Nain, Labrador." Happy Valley-Goose Bay: Birches Gallery, 2004. Print.

Brown, Herb. "Contemporary Art in Labrador." *Virtual Museum of Labrador*. Web. 12 Mar. 2013 <http://www.labradorvirtualmuseum.ca/home/contemporary_art.htm>.

Bunzl, Matti. "Franz Boas and the Humboldtian Tradition," in George Stocking Jr. *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*. History of Anthropology Vol.8, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1996: 17 – 78.

Cadigan, Sean Thomas. *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. Print.

Campbell, Lydia, and Doris Saunders. *Sketches of Labrador Life*. St. John's: Killick Press, 2000. Print.

“Cape Dorset named most 'artistic' municipality,” cbc.ca, Monday, February 13, 2006
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2006/02/13/dorset-artistic-13022006.html>

Carpenter, Edmund. *Eskimo Realities*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1973.

Cartwright, George. *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. Ed. Marianne P. Stopp. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Print.

Cartwright, George. *A Journal of Transactions and Events During a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador*. 3 vols. Newark: Allin and Ridge, 1792. Print

Champlain, Samuel de. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* [1632]. 5 vols. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1933. Print.

Chaulk, Aimee. “The Torngasôk Cultural Centre.” *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 34.4 (2010): 4-7. Print.

Chaulk, Aimee, and Sarah Ittulak. “Making Boots.” *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 34.1 (2010): 14-17. Print.

Clark, Brenda, and Jane Sproull-Thomson. *Spirits of Earth and Water*. St. John's: Newfoundland Museum, 1981. Print.

Clark, T.J. “On the Social History of Art,” *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology* Ed. Francis Francina, Charles Harrison SAGE Publications Ltd. Print.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988. Print.

Coates, Ken. *The Forgotten North: A History of Canada's Provincial Norths*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1992. Print.

“Coming into Their Own,” *Inuit Art Quarterly* 7.1. (1992): 14-19. Print.

Cornelsen, Dori Zerbe. “The Nain Craft Centre.” *Inuktitut* 67 (Summer 1987): 27-32. Print.

“Craft Producers Given RDCA Grants.” *The Labradorian* 18.19 (May 1991): 4. Print.

Crowe, Keith J. *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada*. Kingston: Arctic Institute of North America, 1974. Print.

Curtis, Dr. Charles S. report of the *Activities of the Grenfell Mission During 1941*: 2-3. (Rooms Archives)

Davis, Elizabeth M, James Igloliorte, and Victor Young. *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada*. St. John's: Office of the Queen's Printer, 2003. Print.

Denzin, Norman K., Yvonna S. Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds. *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008.

Dikovitskaya, Margarita. *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005.

Diubaldo, Richard. *The Government of Canada and the Inuit 1900 – 1967*. Ottawa: Research Branch, Corporate Policy, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985. Print.

Doll makers of Labrador = Inikuewa Katutuat Labrador = Kittungangoaliotet Labradorime : a written and photographic record of a doll makers workshop, Rigolet, May 1978. Happy Valley – Goose Bay: Labrador Craft Producers Association, 1979. Print.

Doxtator, Deborah and Janet Clark. *Basket, Bead and Quill*. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1996. Print.

Doxtator, Deborah, "Reconnecting the Past: An Indian Idea of History." *Revisions*, Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1992: 25-33. Print.

Driscoll, Bernadette. "Sapangat: Inuit Beadwork in the Canadian Arctic." *Expedition* (Winter 1984): 40-7. Print.

Driscoll-Englestad, Bernadette, and George Swinton *The Inuit Amautik: I Like My Hood To Be Full*. Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1980. Print.

Dunn, P.D.H. "Closing of Hudson's Bay Company Posts at Hebron, Nain, Hopedale, Nutak and Davis Inlet." Memorandum Submitted for Consideration of Commission of Government by Commissioner of Natural Resources, 14 April 1942 [N.R. 27 (a) – 1942] The Rooms Archives, St. John's NL: 1.

Edmunds, Alison J. *What's Not Set in Stone: Labrador Carver's Views on the Cultural and Market Aspects of Inuit Art*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, Master of Arts in Native Studies, 2002. Print.

Errington, Shelly. *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art: And Other Tales of Progress*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. Print.

First: Aboriginal Artists of Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's: St. John's Native Friendship Centre and Christina Parker Gallery, 1996. Print.

Evans, Peter. "Carving is a Family Business for Father and Son John and Charlie Terriak." *Wetum*. Web. 13 Nov. 1998. <<http://sae.ca/wetum/98march/established1.html>>.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1961. Print.

Fariello, M. Anna. "Regarding the History of Objects." *Objects and Meaning: New Perspectives on Art and Craft*, Ed. Fariello and Paula Owen. Latham: Scarecrow Press, 2005. 2-21. Print.

Finkenstein, Maria von. "A few things in the way of curios": Historic Ivories at the Canadian Museum of Civilization," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 14.4 (Winter 1999): 28-32. Print.

Fitzhugh, Lynn. *The Labradorians: Voices from the Land of Cain*. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1999. Print.

Fitzhugh, William H. "Environmental Archaeology and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador." *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, 16 (1972). Print.

Fitzhugh, William H. "A Review of Paleo-Eskimo Culture History in Southern Quebec-Labrador and Newfoundland." *Études Inuit Studies* 4.1-2 (1980): 21-31. Print.

Fitzhugh, William H. "Introduction," and "Early Contacts North of Newfoundland, A.D. 1600." *Cultures in Contact*, ed. Fitzhugh, 1985: 23 – 44. Print.

Ford, Violet. "The Inuit and Issues of Arctic Sovereignty." *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Power and Prospects in Canada's North*. Ed. Frances Abele, et al. Ed. Frances Abele, et al. McGill-Queens University Press, Canada: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2009: 137-40. Print.

Fossett, Renée. *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001. Print.

Fox, Matthew. "Mike Massie of Labrador." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 11.1 (Spring 1996): 16-24. Print.

Fox, Matthew. "Women Helping Each Other," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 13.1 (1998): 6-17. Print.

Fox, Matthew. "John Terriak Interview." Inuit Art Foundation's Open House and Board meeting, 2011. Video.

Minnie Aodla Freeman, introduction to Odette Leroux, ed., *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset*. Ed. Odette Leroux. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilizations, 1995: 15-16.

Fulton-Anderson, Deborah. "Stone Whisperer." *IKL Centre de documentation et d'animations interculturelles*. Luxembourg, 2007. Web. 4 Dec. 2012: 39-40.
<http://www.ikl.lu/pdf/2007_07-08.pdf>.

Gagnon, Louis. "Ulu-bowls & Teapots - Memories and Gatherings: Michael Massie." *Genous: First Peoples Art of Canada 1*. June 1999: 50-7. Print.

Gard, Peter. "North: Three Artists Capture the Wilds." *The Newfoundland Herald*, (November 19, 1988): 24.

Garland, Jim. "Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency: Background and Objectives." *Labrador Crafts Marketing Agency*. Happy Valley – Goose Bay. Web. 12 April 2013.
<<http://www.hvgb.net/~labcraft/agency.htm>>.

"Garmel, Rich – NLAC Hall of Honour Inductee 2012." *Sea and Be Scene.com*. Web. 14 Jan. 2013 <<http://seaandbescene.com/2010/07/garmel-rich-nlac-hall-of-honour-inductee-2012/>>.

Garnett, David. *New Statesman and Nation* (March 28, 1936, quoted in 1936 *Memorandum Submitted by the Commissioner of Natural Resources for Consideration of Commission of Government*) [N.R. 55 – 1936] The Rooms Archives (provincial archives?) (April 17, 1936).

Gaudi, John. "A Labour of Love...Garmel Rich's Love of Grasswork Nominated for Art Council's Hall of Honour Award." *cbc.ca*. Labrador Morning Show. 2012. Web. 14 Jan. 2013.
<<http://www.cbc.ca/labradormorning/episodes/2012/02/17/a-labour-of-lovegarmel-richs-love-of-grasswork-nominated-for-art-councils-hall-of-honour-award/>>.

Gibbins, Walter. *Some Economic Aspects of Inuit Stone Carvings*, Geology Division, Northern Affairs, DIAND (Inuit Art Section, DIAND: Ottawa, ON) 1981: no page: Importance to the National Economy section)

"Gilbert Hay." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 6.3. (Summer 1991). 20-22. Print.

"Facts about the Labrador Community and Cultural Association," Labrador Community and Cultural Association, Happy Valley – Goose Bay, NL, (1953): 1-3. Print.

Goetz, Helga. *The Development of Inuit Art*, 1986. *Department of Indian and Northern Affairs*. Unpublished manuscript. Ottawa: Inuit Art Section Research and Documentation Centre, 1985. Print.

Goetz, Helga. "Inuit Art: A History of Government Involvement." *In the Shadow of the Sun*. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 1993. 357-81. Print.

Goetz, Helga. "Listing of individual documents selected from federal government files pertaining to Inuit arts and crafts between 1958 – 1970," compiled and researched by Helga Goetz, June 1985. Inuit Art Section, Research and Documentation Centre.

Goetz, Helga. "Problems of Cross-Cultural Interpretation." *Conference for Curators and Specialists who work with Inuit Art*. Ottawa: The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council and the Inuit Art Section of DIAND, 1982. Print.

Gosling, William .G. *Labrador: Its Discovery, Exploration and Development*. Toronto: Nabu Press, 2010: 112. Print.

Graburn, Nelson H. H. "The Discovery of Inuit Art: James A. Houston-Animateur," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 2.2 (Spring 1987): 3-5. Print.

Graburn, Nelson H.H., ed. *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. Print.

Grattan, Patricia. *The Fabric of Their Lives: hooked and poked mats of Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Art Gallery, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980. Print.

Grenfell, Wilfred. *A Labrador Doctor: The Autobiography of Wilfred Thomason Grenfell*. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1919. Print.

Griffiths, Franklyn. "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty: Time to Take Yes for and Answer on the Northwest Passage." *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Power and Prospects in Canada's North*, Ed. Frances Abele, et al. McGill-Queens University Press, Canada: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2009: 107-136. Print.

Guha, Ranajit and Gayatri Spivak eds. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Print.

Gunderson, Sonia. "Michael Massie: Playing in His Own World." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 19.3-4 (2004): 32-37. Print.

Hall, Fred. "The Labrador Inuit Development Corporation." *CARC- Northern Perspectives*. Canadian Arctic Resources Committee 18.2. 1990. Web. 17 Jan. 2013. <<http://www.carc.org/pubs/v18no2/9.htm>>.

Hanrahan, Maura. *The Lasting Breach: The Omission of Aboriginal People from the Terms of Union Between Newfoundland and Canada and its Ongoing Impacts*. (Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, St John's: 2003. Print.

Harp, Jr, Elmer. "An archaeological survey in the Strait of Belle Isle area." *American Antiquity* 16.3 (1951): 203-20. Print.

Harp, Jr. Elmer . "Late Dorset Art from Newfoundland," *Folk*, Vol. 11-12, pp. 109-124.

Haven, Jens. *Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, the First Missionary of the Brethren's Church to the Esquimaux, on the Coast of Labrador*, 1798. Rpt. in *From the Coast to Far Inland: Collected Writings on Labrador*. Ed. William Rompkey. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Ltd., 2006. Print.

Hawkes, E.W. *The "Inviting-In" Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo*. No. 3 Anthropological Series. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1913 No.1317 National Museum of Man. Print.

Hawkes, E.W. *The Labrador Eskimo*, Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916. Print.

1790 – 1958: Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen. [Later changed to] *Periodical Accounts relating to the work of the Moravian Missions*. June 1928, pages 239 – 240. Quoted in Helge Klevian, *The Eskimos of northeast Labrador*. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut Skrifte Nr. 139, 1966: 129.

Hessel, Ingo. *Inuit Art: An Introduction*. 2nd edition. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2003. Print.

Hessel, Ingo. "Re: Quote." Message to the author. 22 May 2013. E-mail.

Hickey, Gloria. "Silver & Stone: The Art of Michael Massie." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 21.4 (Winter 2006): 18-29. Print.

Hickman, Deborah. "Tapestry: A Northern Legacy." *Nuvisavik: The Place Where We Weave*. Ed. Maria von Finckenstein. Montreal and Kingston: Canadian Museum of Civilization / McGill-Queens University Press, 2002. Print.

Hiller, James K. "Early Patrons of the Labrador Eskimos: The Moravian Mission in Labrador 1764-1805." Ed. Robert Paine. *Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic*. Social and Economic Papers No. 2. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971. 74-97. Print.

"History." Happy Valley – Goose Bay: Labrador Friendship Centre, (2009): Web. 18 May 2013 <<http://www.lfchvgb.ca/home/12>>.

History of the Labrador Craft Producers Association. Happy Valley-Goose Bay: Labrador Craft Producers Association, 1979. Print.

Holman, Barbara. *Researching and Cataloguing the Boucher Collection of Inuit Carvings*. St. John's: The Newfoundland Museum, 1979. Print.

Hood, B.C. "Towards an Archaeology of the Nain Region, Labrador." *Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology* 7. Washington: Smithsonian Institution (2008). Print.

Houston, James. *Eskimo Handicrafts*. Written and illustrated by James Houston; translated by Sam Ford and Frederica Woodrow. Montreal: Canadian Handicrafts Guild and the Department of Resources and Development, 1951. Print.

Houston, James. *Eskimo Handicrafts: A Private Guide for the Hudson's Bay Company Manager*. 1953. CGCQ [C10 D1 055]. Print.

Hutton, S. K. *Among the Eskimos of Labrador: a record of five years' close intercourse with the Eskimo tribes of Labrador*. Toronto: Musson Book Co, 1912. Print.

Igloliorte, Heather. *Influence and instruction: James Houston, Sunuyuksuk: Eskimo handicrafts, and the formative years of contemporary Inuit art*. Ottawa: Carleton University, 2006. Thesis.

Igloliorte, Heather. "No History of Colonialism: Decolonizing Practices in Indigenous Art." *Decolonize Me*. Ottawa: Ottawa Art Gallery, 2012.

Innis, Harold. *The Fur Trade of Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch, 1927.

"Introduction." *The International Grenfell Association*. Web. 25 April 2012. <<http://www.iga.nf.net/>>.

"Introduction." *Proposal: Department of Regional Economic Development*. Happy Valley – Goose Bay: Labrador Craft Producers Association, 1978: 12 pages. Print. Them Days Archives [TD VPFL 742]

"Inuit Art in Labrador." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 1990/91 special issue *Inuit Art World*: 43. Print.

Inuksuk, Aipili, et al. "Tuniit in Life and Legend." *Inuktitut* 66 (Spring 1987): 33-45. Print.

Issenman, Betty Kobayashi. *Sinews of Survival: The Living Legacy of Inuit Clothing*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997. Print.

Jacque, Caroline. "Like it's Tradition." *Them Days* 3.4 (1978): 19-20. Print.

James Andersen: Over 50 Years of Taking Pictures (Jâret 50 Ungatâni Adjiliusimajangit). St. John's: Nunatsiavut Government and The Rooms Provincial Archives, 2008.

Jenness, Diamond. *Eskimo Administration: III. Labrador*. Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 16. 1965. Print.

- Jenness, Diamond. "The Problem of the Eskimo." *The American Aborigines, Their Origin and Antiquity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933. 373-396. Print.
- Jonaitis, Aldona, ed. *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995. Print.
- Jordan, Richard. "Archaeological Investigations of the Hamilton Inlet Labrador Eskimo: Social and Economic Responses to European Contact." *Arctic Anthropology* 15.2 (1978): 175-85.
- Jordan, Richard H. "Dorset Art from Labrador." *Folk* 21-22 (1979/1980): 397- 407. Print.
- Jordan, Richard H, and Susan A. Kaplan, "An Archaeological View of the Inuit / European Contact Period in Central Labrador." *Études Inuit Studies* 4.1-2 (1980): 35-45. Print.
- Kalleo, Josephina. *Taipsumane: A Collection of Labrador Stories*. Nain: Torngâsok Cultural Centre, 1984.
- Kaplan, Susan. "European Goods and Socio-Economic Change in Early Labrador Inuit Society." *Cultures in Contact*. Ed. William Fitzhugh. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985. 56-69. Print.
- Kaplan, Susan. "Labrador Inuit Ingenuity and Resourcefulness: Adapting to a Complex Environmental, Social, and Spiritual Environment." *Settlement, Subsistence, and Change Among the Labrador Inuit: The Nunatsiavummiut Experience*. Ed. David C. Natcher, Lawrence Felt, and Andrea Procter. Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2012: . Print.
- Kaplan, Susan. "Neo-Eskimo Occupations of the Northern Labrador Coast." *Arctic* 33.3 September 1980: 646-658. Print.
- Kaplan, Susan, unpublished doctoral thesis, *Economic and Social Change in Labrador Neo-Eskimo Culture*. Bryn Mawr College, 1983. Print.
- Kaplan, Susan, and Jim M. Woollett. "Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast." *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research* 32.3 (2000): 351-359. Print.
- Keddie, K. M. "In the Interest of Industrial Work." *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 19.3 April 1994: 6-15. Print.
- H.L. Keenleyside to Mrs. G. S. Currie, November 17, 1949. CGCQ [C10 D1 023]
- Kennedy, John C. *People of the Bay and Headlands*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Print.

Kennedy, John C. "Our Heritage, Our Identity: The Case of the Labrador Metis Association." *Acta Borealia* 1 (1996): 23-34. Print.

Kennedy, John C. *Holding the Line: Ethnic Boundaries in a Northern Labrador Community*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981. Print.

Kirsch, Gesa. *Ethnic Dilemmas in Feminist Research: The Politics of Location, Interpretation, and Publication*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

1790 – 1958: *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen*. [Later changed to] *Periodical Accounts relating to the work of the Moravian Missions*. Quoted in Helge Klevian, *The Eskimos of northeast Labrador*. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut Skrifte Nr. 139, 1966: 82.

Klevian, Helge. *The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador*. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut Skrifte Nr. 139, 1966. Print.

Kovach, Margaret. *Indigenous Methodologies – Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Kupp, Jan and Simon Hart. "The Dutch in the Strait of Davis and Labrador During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Man in the Northeast* 11 (1976): 3 – 20. Print.

"Labrador Inuit Art: Grasswork" *Torngâsok Cultural Centre* [pamphlet], Them Days Archives [NK 842 L3 G73]

"Labrador Craft Producers Association Workshop," (circa 1976), Memorial University DELTS Video Collection, pre 1994: MUN Extension Services VT0141-03. Web. 18 May 2013
<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/extension&CISOPTR=1570>.

"Labrador Craft Producers Association workshop and slide show." (1977) Memorial University DELTS Video Collection, pre 1994: MUN Extension Services, pre 1994 (MUN Extension Services VT0140-02). Web. 18 May 2013
<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/extension&CISOPTR=1570>.

Labrador in Pictures. Happy Valley-Goose Bay: Them Days, 1997.

Land, Sea and Time. Book Two. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 2001. Print.

Laugrand, Frederic, and Jarich Oosten. *The Sea Woman: Sedna in Inuit Shamanism and Art in the Eastern Arctic*. Alaska: University of Alaska Press, 2008. Print.

Lavery, Paula. *Silk Stocking Mats: Hooked Mats of the Grenfell Mission*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005. Print.

“Leaves Labrador Post: Mrs. Kate Keddie on Furlough from Grenfell Mission.” *The Montreal Gazette* 22 Nov. 1938: 7. Print.

“Looking at the Needs of Craft Work in Your Community.” Happy Valley – Goose Bay: Labrador Craft Producers Association, (1978). Print.

In the 1941 Annual Report of the CHG Indian and Eskimo Committee, Alice M.S. Lighthall, Chairman of the Committee. [CGCA C10.D1.017]

Loughrey, A.G. “Preliminary Investigation of the Atlantic Walrus *Odobenus Rosmarus Rosmarus* (Linnaeus)”. *Canadian Wilderness Service Bulletin (Ottawa) Series 1* (14): 27.

Low, A.P. *The Cruise of the Neptune: Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands: 1903 – 1904*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906. Print.

Low, A.P. *Report on an Exploration of the East Coast of Hudson Bay*. Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada. 1906. Print.

Letter from Bob Lyall, President of the I.A. of H.V., to Mrs. Goudey, (circa 1973). Happy Valley, Labrador. Them Days Archives [TD 288/2 APL] Print.

Lutz, Harmut and Students, eds. *The Diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and Context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005. Print.

MacAndrew, Barbara. “Labrador Grasswork – A Time Honoured Inuit Craft.” *The Atlantic Advocate* 73.12 (August 1983): 34-35. Print.

MacPherson, Ian. “What Has Been Learned Should be Studied and Passed On: Why the Northern Co-operative Experience Needs to be Considered More Seriously.” *The Northern Review* 30 (Spring 2009): 57-81. Print.

Maggo, Paulus. *Remembering the Years of My Life: Journeys of a Labrador Inuit Hunter*. Ed. Carol Brice-Bennett. Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1999. Print.

Major, Kevin. *As Near to Heaven as by Sea: A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Penguin Books, 2002. Print.

Martijn, Charles A. “Canadian Eskimo Carving in Historical Perspective.” *Anthropos* 59. 3-4 (1964): 546-596. Print

Martijn, Charles A. "A Retrospective Glance at Canadian Eskimo Carving." *The Beaver* 298 (Autumn 1967): 4-19. Print.

Mathiassen, Therkel. "1925 Preliminary report of the Fifth Thule Expedition: Archaeology." *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Americanists*. Goteborg: 1925. 206-215. Print.

McClintock, Anne, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat. *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997. Print.

McGhee, Robert. "Contact Between Native North Americans and Medieval Norse," *American Antiquity* 49: 1 (1984): 4-26. Print.

McGhee, Robert. "Inuit Art, Inuit History." *Inuit Modern*. Ed. Gerald McMaster. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010. 12-17. Print.

McGhee, Robert. "Late Dorset Art From Dundas Island, Arctic Canada." *Folk* 16-17 (1974/75): 133-145. Print.

McGhee, Robert. "Thule Prehistory of Canada." *Handbook of North American Indians* V. 5. Ed. David Damas. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984. 369-76. Print.

McGhee, Robert, and James A. Tuck. "An Archaic Sequence from the Strait of Belle Isle, Labrador." *Mercury Series* 34. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975. Print

McGrath, Judy. "Labrador Crafts: Grass Work," *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 5.2 (1979): 42-58. Print.

McGrath, Judy. *Labrador Crafts: Past and Present*. Labrador: Art Gallery Memorial University of Newfoundland and Them Days Publications, 1985. Print.

McLean, Bob. "Nain Sculptor's Work Crowns Ferry Collection." *The Labradorian* (19 June 1990): 5. Print.

McLeod, Ellen Easton. *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999. Print.

McMillian, Allan. *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1988. Print.

Michelin, Mary Martin. "Christmas Them Days: Christmas at Dove Brook." *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 6.2 (1980): 4-5. Print.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas. Introduction to *An Introduction to Visual Culture*. London: Routledge, 1999. 1-20. Print.

Myers (Mitchell), Marybelle. *Joe Talirunili: "A Grace Beyond the Reach of Art."* Toronto: Herzig Somerville Limited, 1977. Print.

Mitchell, Marybelle. Editorial. *Inuit Art Quarterly* 26.1 (2011): 47. Print.

Mitchell, Marybelle. "John Terriak Elected President of the Inuit Art Foundation." press release, *Inuit Art Foundation*, 1995. Print.

Mitchell, Marybelle. "Long-neglected Labrador Inuit get help with carving." press release, *Inuit Art Foundation*, 1991. Print.

Mitchell, Marybelle. "Making Art in Nunavik: A Brief Historical Overview." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 13.3 (Fall 1991): 4-17. Print.

Mitchell, Marybelle. "Social, Economic, and Political Transformation Among Canadian Inuit from 1950 to 1988." *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993. 333-356 Print.

Mitchell, Marybelle. *From Talking Chiefs to Native Corporate Elite: the Birth of Class and Nationalism Among Canadian Inuit*. Toronto: McGill – Queens University Press, 1996. Print.

Mitchell, W.J.T. *Iconology: Images, Text, Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. Print.

Mitchell, W.J.T. "Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual culture." *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*. Eds. Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, 231. Print.

Montague, John. "Born Trappers." *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 1.4 (June 1976): 8-11. Print.

Moravian Mission Board Field Conference Report Memorial University Library, Labrador Institute Archives, c.1930: 7.

Mullaly, Kris. "From High on the Mountain: A Snapshot of Some of the People Behind Aboriginal Art in Labrador." *The Downhomer* 12.6 (November 1999): 86-90. Print.

Munn, Henry T. "The Passing Eskimo." *National Life* March 1924: 6-7, 26. Print.

Murphy, Tabea, and Jessica Flowers. "It's the Language I've Known All My Life." *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 34.4 (2010): 14-18. Print.

Murricane, Kenneth. "The Influence of Government Trading Operations on the Economic Base of Northern Labrador Inuit Communities, 1942 – 1975." report of the Labrador Services Division (March 16, 1977, MUN Labrador Institute Archives): 4. Print.

National Gallery of Canada "Inuit Art in the Collection of Indigenous Art," *National Gallery of Canada*. Web. 10 July 2013 <<http://www.gallery.ca/en/about/942.php>>.

Newfoundland Act, 12 & 13 Geo. VI, c. 22 (U.K.) "An Act to confirm and give effect to Terms of Union agreed between Canada and Newfoundland." 23rd March 1949. Web. 12 Sept. 2012 <<http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/nfa.html>>.

"News and Events: Message from Chief, March 22, 2013." *Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations Band*. Web. 15 July 2013 <<http://qalipu.ca/news/news-archive/>>.

Nickels, Scott, Jamal Shirley and Gita Laidler, eds. *Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities: A Guide for Researchers*. Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Nunavut Research Institute, 2007.

"Nunatsiavut Assembly: Members." *Nunatsiavut Government*. Web. 23 July 2013 <<http://www.nunatsiavut.com/index.php/assembly-structure>>.

Nunatsiavut Government Research Process. Web. 5 June 2013 <http://www.nserc-crsng.gc.ca/_doc/Northern-Nordique/Nunatsiavut_January_2008_e.pdf>.

Nungak, Zebedee. "History in the Making: Thoughts on Self-Government in Our Land." *Inuktitut* 66 (Spring 1987): 71-80. Print.

Oakes, Jill, and Rick Riewe. *Our Boots: An Inuit Women's Art*. Toronto: Douglas and MacIntyre, 1995: Print.

Obed, Natan "Inuit Values and the Implementation of Land Claims Agreements" *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Power and Prospects in Canada's North*, Ed. Frances Abele, et al. McGill-Queens University Press, Canada: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2009: 511 – 514. Print.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. "Recovering the Subject: Subaltern Studies and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia." *Modern Asian Studies* 22.1 (1988): 189-224. Print.

Paine, Robert. *The White Arctic*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University, 1977, Print.

Palliser, Hugh. *Colonial Office Archives*. Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada Series 194/27, (1765 – 67) file no. 178.

Pamack, Nancy et al. *Grass Work of Labrador: organized by the Art Gallery of Memorial University of Newfoundland and Them Days Publications*. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. Johns: The Gallery: 1979. Print.

Park, Robert W. "The Dorset-Thule Succession in Arctic North America: Assessing Claims for Culture Contact." *American Antiquity* 58.2 (1993): 203-34. Print.

Parker, Rozsika. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. New York: Routledge, 1984. Print.

Parsons, Ralph. Hudson's Bay Company, to John C. Puddester, Commissioner for Public Health and Welfare, St. John's, Nfld. personal correspondence, March 9, 1942. The Rooms Provincial Archives [GN 38: Box # S 2 -1- 7 File No. 5: Rural and Agricultural Reconstruction].

Peacock, Frederick W. *Reflections from a Snowhouse*. Jespersen Press, 1986. Print.

Peacock, Frederick W. *Some Psychological Aspects of the Impact of the White Man upon the Labrador Eskimo*. Thesis presented for the obtention of the grade of "Maitres (d)es lettres, 1947. Print.

Permanent Collection Display: MUN Art Gallery in Goose Bay, February 20 – March 26, 1980. Labrador Craft Producers Association, Happy Valley. Them Days Archives [NK 446 L3 1980] 3 pages.

Phillips, Ruth. *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1999. Print.

Playthings and Curios: Historic Inuit Art at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Web. 2 May 2012

<http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/art_inuit/inart39e.shtml>.

Pomeroy, Bert. "Labrador Inuit Art Being Showcased in Ottawa." *The Labradorian* 27.27 (3 July 2000): 1. Print.

Popovitch-Penny, Sadie. "Labrador Inuit Development Corporation." *Inuktitut* 67 (Summer 1987): 19-24. Print.

Potter, Kristen. "James Houston, Armchair Tourism, and the Marketing of Inuit Art." *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. W. Jackson Rushing. London and New York: Routledge, 1999. 39-56. Print.

Pottle, Susie. "I Started Makin' Dolls at West Bay." *Them Days* 3.4 (1978): 21-22. Print.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, [1992] 2007. Print.

"Preamble to the Labrador Inuit Constitution," *Labrador Inuit Constitution*, Labrador Inuit Association, Nunatsiavut, NL, 2002. Print.

Price, Sally. *Primitive Art in Uncivilized Places*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Procter, Andrea, Lawrence Felt, and David C. Natcher, eds. *Settlement, Subsistence and Change Among the Labrador Inuit, The Nunatsiavummiut Experience*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012. Print.

Prowse, Daniel W. *A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records* London, 1895. Rpt. Belleville: Mika Press, 1979. Print.

Quinn, David B. "Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony." Northwest Passage Searches, Vol. IV. *New American World. A Documentary History of North America to 1612*. Eds. David B. Quinn, Alison M. Quinn, and Susan Hillier. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc, 1979 : 228-251. Print.

Ray, Arthur J. "The Decline of Paternalism in the Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade, 1870 – 1945." *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*. Ed. Rosemary E. Ommer. Fredericton: Acadliensis Press, 1990. Print.

Reif, Rita. "ARTS/ARTIFACTS; The Doctor Who Gave Silk Stockings a Second Life." *New York Times* (March 06, 1994). Web. 20 Feb. 2011
<<http://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/06/arts/arts-artifacts-the-doctor-who-gave-silk-stockings-a-second-life.html>>.

Rich, George. "Grasswork for Mrs. Keddie." researchers: Judy McGrath and Doris Saunders, *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 19.3 April 1994: 17-19. Print.

Richling, Barrett. "'Very Serious Reflections': Inuit Dreams about Salvation and Loss in Eighteenth-Century Labrador." *Ethnohistory* 36:2 (Spring 1989): 148. Print.

Richling, Barnett. "Not by Seals Alone: The Moravians in the Fur Trade – Souls and Skins." *The Beaver* 88.1 (Feb-March 1988): 29-35. Print.

Rickard, Jolene. "Sovereignty: A Line in the Sand." *Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1995. 51-9. Print.

Roberts, Lacey Jane. "Put Your Thing Down, Flip It and Reverse It: Reimagining Craft Identities Using Tactics of Queer Theory." *Extra/Ordinary: Craft and Contemporary Art*. Ed. Maria Elena Buszek. Duke University Press, 2011. 243-59. Print.

Robertson, Carmen. "Clearing Paths." *Clearing a Path: New Ways of Seeing Traditional Indigenous Art*. Eds. Carmen Robertson and Sherrey Ferrell Racette. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2009. 9-20. Print.

Rompkey, Bill. *The Story of Labrador*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003. Print.

Rompkey, Ronald. *Jessie Luther at the Grenfell Mission*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001. Print.

Rowe, Frederick. *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980. Print

Rudge, Geraldine. "Rhoda Dawson: A Missionary Zeal for Rag Rugs and Ruskin." *The Guardian* (Mar 31, 1992): 39. Print.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979. Print

Saunders, Doris et al. *Grass Work of Labrador*. Labrador: Art Gallery Memorial University of Newfoundland and Them Days Publications, 1979: 17-18. Print.

Saunders, Doris. "K. M. Keddie (1887 – 1966)," *Them Days: Stories of Early Labrador* 19.3 (April 1994): 4. Print.

Saunders, Todd. "Torngasôk Cultural Centre." *Saunders Architecture*. Web. 4 Dec. 2012 <<http://www.saunders.no/work/item/89-torngasok-cultural-centre>>.

Schledermann, Peter. *The Thule Tradition in Northern Labrador*. Unpublished Master's thesis, St. John's: Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971. Print.

Smallwood, Joseph R. *The Book of Newfoundland*. 6 vols., St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1937-75. Print.

Spivak, Gayatri C. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana & Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1988. 271-313. Print.

Sproull Thomson, Jane. "A Tiny Arctic World: An Attempt to Answer Some Questions about Historic Miniature Ivory Carvings from Labrador." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 7.4 (1992): 14-23. Print.

Sproull Thomson, Jane, and J. Callum Thomson. "Prehistoric Eskimo Art in Labrador." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 6.4 (Fall 1991): 12-18. Print.

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur. *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the Northwest, A.D. 1576-8*. London: Argonaut Press, 1938. Print.

Stopp, Marianne P. "Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England." *Arctic* 62.1 (March 2009): 45-64. Print.

Stopp, Marianne P. *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Print.

Stone, Caroline. *North*. St. John's: Art Gallery, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1998. Print.

Stout, Madeline and Gregory Kipling. *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003. Print.

Sutherland, Patricia D. "Strands of culture contact: Dorset-Norse interactions in the Canadian eastern Arctic." Eds. Appelt, J. Berglund and H. C. Gullov, *Identities and Cultural Contacts in the Arctic*, The Danish National Museum and Danish Polar Center, Copenhagen. 2000: 159-169.

Swinton, George. *Sculpture of the Inuit*, 3rd ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999. Print.

Swinton, George. *Sculpture of the Eskimo*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972. Print.

Swinton, George. "Prehistoric Dorset Art: The Magico-Religious Basis." *The Beaver* 298 (Autumn 1967): 32 – 47. Print.

Tanner, Adrian. "The Aboriginal Peoples of Newfoundland and Confederation." *Newfoundland Studies* 14:2 (1998): 238-52. Print.

Tanner, V. "Outlines of the Geography, Life and Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador. (The Eastern Part of the Labrador Peninsula)." *Acta Geographica* 8.1 (1944): 51. Print.

Taylor, J. Garth. "The Two Worlds of Mikak." *The Beaver* 314.3 (1983): 4-13. Print.

Taylor, J. Garth. "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire," transcribed by J. Garth Taylor, *Ethnohistory* 19.2 (Spring 1972): 141. Print.

Taylor, J. Garth. "Traditional Land Use and Occupancy by the Labrador Inuit." *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy in Labrador*. Ed. Carol Brice-Bennett. Nain: Labrador Inuit Association, 1977: 49 – 57. Print.

Taylor, J. Garth. "Labrador Eskimo Settlement of the Early Contact Period." *National Museums of Canada, Publications in Ethnology* 9 Ottawa, 1974. Print.

Taylor, J. Garth. "Historical Ethnography of the Labrador Coast," *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5 Arctic*. Ed. David Damas, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution (1984): 508-521. Print.

Taylor, J. Garth, and Helga R. Taylor. "Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in the Okak Region: 1776 - 1830," *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy*

in Labrador. Ed. Carol Brice-Bennett. Nain: Labrador Inuit Association, 1977: 59 – 81. Print.

Taylor, Wilkie. “Unusual Display Opens.” *The Chronicle - Herald* (15 Oct. 1981): 1. Print.

Taylor, William E. Jr. *Society for American Archeology Memoir 22: The Arnapik and Tyara Sites*. Salt Lake City: The Society for American Archaeology, 1968. Print.

Taylor, William E. Jr. “Taisumanialuk – Prehistoric Canadian Eskimo Art.” *Sculpture/Inuit: Sculpture of the Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971. 23-8. Print.

Terriak, John. “The Contemporary Living Art: John Terriak.” *Inuit Art Quarterly* 11.1 (Spring 1996): 11-12. Print.

Torngat Arts and Crafts. “Background of Torngat Arts and Crafts,” Nain: Torngat Arts and Crafts info sheet (2009).

Torgovnick, Marianne. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago and London: University Of Chicago Press, 1990. Print.

Townsend, Charles Wendell ed. *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*. Boston: D. Estes and Company, 1911. Print.

Trobe, Benjamin Ia. *With the Harmony to Labrador: Notes Of A Visit To The Moravian Mission Stations On The North-East Coast Of Labrador*. London: Moravian Church and Mission Agency .32, Fetter Lane E.C., 1889. Print.

Trudel, François. “The Inuit of Southern Labrador and the Development of French Sedentary Fisheries (1700 – 1760).” *Papers From the Fourth Annual Congress*. Ed. Richard J. Preston. Ottawa: Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 40. National Museum of Man, 1977. 99-121. Print.

Trudel, Francois. “The Inuit of southern Labrador and the development of French sedentary fisheries (1700-1760),” *Canadian Ethnology Papers from the Fourth Annual Congress 1977*, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 40, Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1977: 99-122.

Tuck, James A. *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976. Print.

Turner, Lucien M. *Indians and Eskimos in the Quebec/Labrador Peninsula*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Report No. 11, 1894. Rpt. by Presses Comeditex, National Library of Canada, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1979. Print.

The Handicrafts of Labrador, “for the Canadian Handicrafts Guild by Mrs. Wakefield of the Grenfell Mission,” CGCA [C6 D1 038 (2)]: 4 pages. Print.

Vizenor, Gerald. *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1994. Print.

Vorano, Norman. “Certain Indecencies... That Need Not Here be Mentioned.” *Me Sexy: An Exploration of Native Sex and Sexuality*. Ed. Drew Hayden Taylor. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008. 124-49. Print.

Watt, Virginia. “The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council did not Limp on to the Scene.” *Inuit Art Quarterly* 8.1 (Winter 1993): 51-3. Print.

Wetzel, Jerry “The Hidden Terms of Union: Executive Summary – Confederation and Federal Abandonment of the Newfoundland Mi’kmaq.” *Newfoundland Quarterly* 92.4 (1999): 23-8. Print.

White, Cathy. “Labrador: The Worst Problems in the Canadian North.” *Atlantic Insight* 8.10 (Oct 1986): 26-9. Print.

Wolff, Janet. *The Social Production of Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1993. Print.

Zimmerly, David W. “Introduction.” *Woman of Labrador* Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd, 3rd edition 1973. Print.

APPENDIX A: Relevant Correspondence: Hawkes and Sapir 1913 - 1916

CMC Archival Research – transcribed by H. Igloliorte, 2010

Box 624 F5: Hawkes, E. W. 1913

March 18, 1913 – Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten):

Dr. E. Sapir –
Canadian Geological Survey
Ottawa, Canada

My Dear Dr. Sapir:

Is there any opportunity for me to go up to Alaska or Labrador for you this summer, and do some field work among the Eskimos? My plans with the Am. Museum of Natural History fell through owing to Canada taking over the work. I would go for a reasonable salary and my expenses and [unintelligible - make?] a collection at cost. The cost of a summer trip would be less, of course, than the one I gave you. I understand that there is a supply ship which sails from here to the northern Labrador stations in June and returns in December. It is connected with the Dr. Grenfell Association. I should judge that if passage could be got on her, a Labrador trip could be made very reasonably – the Alaskan trip can be made more cheaply in the latter part of the summer when fares are reduced. If you care for my figures as to transportation expenses I can furnish them.

I am working out a [unintelligible – Phonetic?] Key for the paper I sent you along modern lines. As it involves [unintelligible – incredible?] study, it will be some time before it is complete. The one sent was adopted from the Geological Survey of Alaska, and works well enough in using place names, but is hardly broad enough to cover distinctly native sounds. Perhaps you noticed that I omitted the consonants d & p – they heard only on the [unintelligible – Kurkoum?]

Very Truly Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Sapir to Hawkes, March 22nd, 1913

Mr. E. W. Hawkes,
University of Pennsylvania Museum,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Hawkes,

I have your letter of March 18th. I am afraid that you are quite too late now for us to make it possible to provide for further Eskimo field work. My estimates have been in a long time ago and even as it is I am rather afraid that they may have reached more than the straining point. As a matter of fact, I want very much to have serious ethnological and linguistic started in Labrador, as well as archeological work among the Eskimo west of Hudson's Bay. I have already spoken about these two undertakings to Mr. Brook, our Director, quite some time ago, but I saw quite clearly that we could not swing them this fiscal year. I am hoping, however, that at least one of them can be undertaken next fiscal year, that is, April 1st, 1914 – March 31st, 1915. Would you be willing to be considered an applicant for one of these field trips at that time, that is, for ethnological work among the Labrador Eskimo, or more likely archaeologic [sic] (very probably also ethnological) work among the west coast of Hudson's Bay Eskimo?

Your specimens arrived safely. I have not had time as of yet to read over your manuscript, but intend to do so before long.

Yours sincerely, [no signature – copied letter]

March 31, 1913 – Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten):

Dr. E. Sapir –
Canadian Geological Survey
Ottawa, Canada

Dear Sir,

Your letter of recent date is at hand. I should be please to undertake ethnological work for you next year, either among the west Hudson Bay or Labrador Eskimo, as you suggest.

In looking over my Eskimo drawings, I find a sketch of the Karluk, Steffanson's ship, made by [unintelligible – Ka – nou – nuk?], one of my [unintelligible] Eskimos who made several trips on her. The Karluk was a frequent visitor at the islands, and I saw her the spring before I left Alaska. I am mailing you the drawing under separate cover, thinking perhaps you would like it for your office.

With best regards, I am cordially yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Sapir to Hawkes – October 11, 1913

Alberni, B.C. October 11, 1913
 Mr. W.I. Hawkes [sic] c/ o Dr. F. Boas,
 Columbia University,
 New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hawkes,

As I am about to make up my estimate for anthropological work for the next fiscal year, beginning April 1, 1914, I should like to come to an understanding with you in regard to the Eskimo work we have referred to in previous correspondence. Last summer you spoke of the possibility of taking advantage of the sailing of a government vessel to Labrador to undertake ethnological field work among the Eskimos of that territory. Will you be in a position to undertake this coming summer what you suggested for last, indicating as far as at present possible your plans for such a trip? The terms would be as usual in such cases, that is, all field expenses would be paid, and you would be remunerated at the rate of one hundred dollars per month, of which sum half would be paid in monthly installments at the time that field work is in progress, the balance being withheld until such time as manuscript is submitted for publication. It is the policy of the Survey to insert this latter clause with a view to avoiding too long a delay in the working up of the field material obtained. The exact number of months to be estimated for I shall leave to your judgment, but it should not exceed six. Please answer me at your early opportunity at this address, as I expect to stay here for several months.

With best wishes, yours very sincerely, E. Sapir.

(Hawkes to Sapir, Oct. 16, University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Thirty-third and Spruce Streets: letterhead)

Edgewater, N.J.
 Oct. 16, 1913

Dear Dr. Sapir. —

As you will notice from the change of address, I am now at Columbia, and hard on the trail of my old friend, the Eskimo. Dr. Boas is giving me special instruction in the language, and later I am to work over some texts from the vicinity of Bering Strait. Of course it goes without saying that this work with him will be of inestimable value to me putting my somewhat disorganized knowledge on a scientific basis.

Besides this work I am taking American Languages, Social Organization and Religion with Dr. Goldenweiser, and Science of Language with Dr. Jackson. I presume you remember the courses. They often speak of you here.

Rumor has also reached us of your remarkable discovery that certain Californian dialects are related to Algonquin. Sometime when you have the time would you let me know just what it is. Dr. Speck was down last Friday with the idea sticking out all over him, they say, but I did not get a chance to see him.

When you publish my article on the Inviting-In Dance could you let me have a few copies for personal use. Would you also give my name in full, Ernest William. My reason for this somewhat strange request is that I have a brother who is also a writer and people will get our names confused.

When you are in New York we hope you will run over and see us. We are right opposite the 130th St. Ferry. Northern N.J. Trust Co. Bldg. I am at the University, Journalism Bldg. every day but Tuesday and Saturday.

With best regards, sincerely yours,

E.W. Hawkes

(Hawkes to Sapir, Oct, 22 - University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Thirty-third and Spruce Streets: letterhead)

Edgewater, N.J.

Oct. 22, 1913

Dr. Edward Sapir, Canadian Geological Survey

Dear Dr. Sapir. –

Your favor of Oct. 11th was handed to me yesterday by Dr. Boas. As it happens I had just written you about my work here as preparation for fieldwork.

My idea of getting up to Labrador was to take the Grenfell supply ship which sails from Philadelphia each summer, and visits the various settlements of the coast. I presume this would be the easiest and most economical way. Time might be gained by taking a steamer to St. John's and a trading schooner up the coast. In referring to the "Government" vessel, I had in mind the summer inspection which the American cutters make of the Alaskan coast. If Canada maintains a similar service for Labrador, passage could probably be obtained on such a trip. I used to make such trips every summer on the U.S. Revenue Cutter Bear. Being connected officially with the Canadian Service you probably know more about this than I do.

I understand that the open season for navigation in Labrador is from June to October, as in Alaska. At least five months would be necessary for the trip, but I cannot say definitively until I get more data. The winter is the best season to visit the Eskimos as we find them then under natural conditions and have an opportunity of witnessing their ceremonial dances &c. Do you want an ethnological collection made or do you simply wish information?

I will find out the time of sailing of the Grenfell vessel and probable cost of the trip, and let you know as soon as possible. Probably by that time you will have learned the disposition of the cutter service. My predilection for the latter is on account of the efficient aid which can be obtained in gathering information, particularly if the captain is interested in the subject. It would also save the Survey considerable expense.

In my study of the Eskimo dialects I shall take up the Labrador speech in due course. I presume I shall find a great many interesting comparisons between this extreme Eastern branch and the Western Eskimo among whom I lived, both in language and customs. I appreciate the opportunity given me of studying them.

With best regards, I remain, Sincerely yours,
E.W. Hawkes

Sapir to Hawkes, Oct. 31, 1913

Alberni, B.C.
Oct. 31, 1913.

Mr E. W. Hawkes
Edgewater, N.J.

Dear Mr. Hawkes,
[... discusses providing copies of anthropological series papers, first paragraph...]

I really know nothing whatever of about the steamship service which the Dominion Government maintains with Labrador. I shall write the Director of the Survey in regard to this matter. I suppose it would be safest to estimate for six months of fieldwork for you. The work I should like to have done particularly is religion and social organization, as the material culture of the Eskimo is, at least in a general way, pretty well known by this time. At the same time I should like you to get an all-around ethnological collection for our museum. We have some very good Labrador Eskimo costumes that were collected for us by Dr. Low, but are not particularly strong on other types of specimens from this region.

I am glad to learn that you are making good progress in your studies at Columbia. The discovery of mine that you refer to is simply a demonstration that Yurok and Wyot, two languages of northwestern California, are genetically related to Algonkin. A lengthy article on this subject is to appear in *American Anthropologist*.

With best wishes, Yours Sincerely,

P.S. What would be the expense, do you suppose, of a six months' trip to Labrador, not counting salary, but allowing for a fair-sized ethnological collection?

Hawkes to Sapir, Nov 19, 1913

Edgewater, N.J.
Nov. 19, 1913

Dr. Edward Sapir,
Alberni, B.C.

Dear Dr. Sapir.—

In answer to your favor of the first of the month, I should estimate the expense of a six month's trip to Labrador around \$900., allowing \$400 for a "fair-sized ethnological collection," and \$500., for field and traveling expenses. I am not at all acquainted with conditions in Labrador, so this estimate may not be correct, but have based it on conditions in Alaska, allowing for the difference in distance. I should judge that a total outlay of \$1500., including salary, would be sufficient.

Perhaps you could get a closer estimate from the Labrador department of the Canadian government.

Have you learned anything from the Director of the Survey in regard to steamship routes? It seems difficult to find out anything here. However, I am in communication with Dr. Grenfel [sic] of the Labrador Mission and shall get some definite data soon.

I am making a special study just now of Northwest Coast influences on Eskimo culture, which appears to throw some interesting side lights on their social organization. We appear to have in Alaska evidence of a totemic organization connected with their ceremonials. I don't know just how far this will work out.

I imagine that it will be rather difficult to obtain information as to religion and social organization in Labrador from present conditions, but, by digging back into the past through good informants, and comparing our information with other parts of the Eskimo world, we may arrive at a definitive system. I have made a careful study of these subjects as we find them in Alaska, which should be interesting for comparison. If I have an opportunity of witnessing the winter ceremonies as they are performed in Labrador, could the term of my service be lengthened? I think that much information could be obtained in a year at a comparatively small increase in expense. The big expense in such latitude is getting into the country.

I took the liberty of talking over the trip with Dr. Boas yesterday. He seemed to think that some valuable archeological material might be obtained from the old village sites in Northern Labrador. Would you be interested in this also [sic]. It would take more time.

I think that it would be helpful if I could visit your museum before starting, and see just what you have and what you need for a collection. We could also go over plans for the trip.

With best regards, I remain, sincerely yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Hawkes to Sapir, Nov 21, 1913

Edgewater, N.J.
Nov. 21, 1913

Dr. Edward Sapir,
Alberni, B.C.

Dear Dr. Sapir.—

Since writing you yesterday I have obtained information in regard to the steamship routes to Labrador. It appears that it will be comparatively easy to get there by the ocean route.

One may take steamer from New York to St. John's, Newfoundland direct, or via Halifax and North Sydney by rail connecting there with a steamer for St. John's. The fare from New York to North Sydney, all rail, is \$26.45, from North Sydney to St. John's, \$16.00 plus \$1.00 for stateroom, making a total from New York to St. John's by rail of 43.45. The fare by water is \$60.00 round trip. Steamship service can be had from St. John's to Labrador as far north as Nain; the fare is \$40.00.

I think Nain would make a good centre for observations in summer, and a convenient point from which one could make sledge trips up the coast or possibly across country to Ungava Bay in winter. I understand there is quite a little settlement of pureblooded Innuits [sic] there.

I will send you further information as I receive it.

With best regards, I remain, Very Truly Yours,
E.W. Hawkes

Hawkes to Sapir, Nov. 25, 1913

Edgewater, N.J.

Nov. 25, 1913

Dr. Edward Sapir,
Alberni, B.C.

Dear Dr. Sapir.—

Your favor of Nov. 16th is at hand. I sincerely hope that our plan for the Labrador trip will go through all right. If arrangements can not be made for observations extending six months to a year, why not cut it down to the summer months, and I will get what I can in that time. It is not as if I were going among a new people. I already have a pretty good general knowledge of Eskimo customs, and in Labrador would simply be noting variations.

The fare by steamer to Nain is \$100. round trip, good for six months. From there, “A very bad little vessel,” as Dr. Grenfel [sic] says, runs up the northern coast during mid-summer with mail. The season open to navigation depends upon ice conditions. I understand there is no service after Dec 1. from Labrador to Newfoundland, so a person would have to winter there, if they stayed after that date.

I am putting in about nine hours a week on language work at Columbia, not that I expect to be a linguist of your class, but I want to be in shape to take down some Eskimo texts, if an opportunity offers. I think that would be a good stunt, as we have no Eskimo texts to speak of, outside of Greenland.

I am writing you whenever the spirit moves, so you won't get lonesome in your present location. I hope you spend a pleasant Thanksgiving, although you are rather far removed from the land of turkey.

Very Sincerely Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Box 624 F6: Hawkes, E. W. 1914

Hawkes to Sapir, Feb. 14, 1914

Edgewater, N.J.

Feb. 14, 1914

Dr. Edward Sapir,
Alberni, B.C.

Dear Dr. Sapir.—

I have an opportunity of finishing my work for a Doctor's degree at Penn. when I get back from Labrador, so am applying for a Fellowship there. I have given you as a reference, and would you mind writing a brief note of commendation for me to Dean Ames of the Graduate School.

From what I have learned of ice conditions I would have to leave the coast of Labrador by November, which would not be too late to start in school work. I could leave here by the month of May, as Dr. Boas is leaving on a field trip about May 20th. Could you let me know definitively in regard to the trip soon, so that I can plan accordingly? I have been going over the available literature of the country pretty thoroughly.

I was very sorry to learn through Dr. Goldenweiser of your recent loss at Ottawa. It must be hard to lose at one stroke the results of much labor. I understand that you will be in New York in the course of a few weeks, when we will be able to talk over things further. I have just finished up a 15,000 word article on the Asiatic Eskimo for the Bureau of Ethnology.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, sincerely yours,
E. W. Hawkes

[handwritten on bottom of letter]

I recently corrected the proof of the "Inviting-In Dance" article. Will you kindly ask the Bureau to send me a few copies?

Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten, received March 12, 1914 in the Division of Anthropology)

Columbia University
Mar. 10, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir,

The American Museum is planning to send an expedition up to Hudson Bay this summer, and have spoken with me about going as Ethnologist for them. I referred them to you, as I know you were interested in that district and might like to send me up there, jointly, instead of to Labrador.

There are several advantages to this trip, as it is larger, and would enable me to finish my work here on my return, instead of at Penn. I trust arrangements can be made which are

satisfactory to all concerned. I am perfectly willing to go to either place, but would like to save enough on the trip, so that I can finish my work for a degree on my return.

With Best regards, I remain, Very Truly Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Telegraph from Hawkes to Sapir, Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph, received April 11, 1914 by the Division of Anthropology:

“Dr. Edward Sapir, Victoria Museum, Ottawa.

Will undertake Labrador trip as per correspondence, leaving in May. Heard from Speck Pennsylvania Fellowship o.k. thanks for letter.

E. W. Hawkes, Edgewater N.J.”

Hawkes to Sapir, May 9, 1914

Edgewater, N.J.
May 9, 1914

Dr. Edward Sapir,
Canadian Geological Survey
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Dr. Sapir.—

The box containing the Kodak and stationary, and check for \$400. from Mr. Marshall, arrived yesterday. I find I cannot possibly make that early boat via the east coast now, so am taking the next regular steamer from New York to St. John's which leaves the 20th. This connects with the first boat leaving St. John's for the Labrador coast, north of Battle Harbour.

I shall make my headquarters in Nain, and work north from there if opportunity offers. As there are only two trips made to Nain during the year, it might be well to send the balance of my appropriation to me at St. John's.

I should also like to have the letter to the Hudson Bay men. I am getting letters to the Moravians and other missionaries. I understand from those who have been in the country that these are very helpful. Could you also give me note to the customs authorities at St. John's, so that I shall not have to pay a duty on my outfit.

With best regards, I remain, Very Truly Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten, received June 1, 1914 in the Division of Anthropology)

Crosbie Hotel
St. John's, Newfoundland
May 26, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir –

I arrived here this morning in the [unintelligible] Newfoundland. Route about a week ahead of the Red Cross steamer which is still lying in New York Harbour. Spring here is unusually late (it snowed as we came across Newfoundland) and there is still heavy ice between the west coast and Labrador. The steamer [unintelligible] which I spoke to you about catching, was obliged to turn back on her first trip to Battle Harbour. Regular service to posts from St. John's will not open for a week or two, so I am looking for passage on some private boat going up early. The Strathcona, Dr. Grenfell's boat, is lying here, waiting for him, and I may be able to make arrangements to go up on her.

I got some very interesting pictures and information of an Eskimo dance this morning from a Newfoundlander who was up in Labrador a long time ago. I believe there is plenty of stuff up there if a fellow only gets down and digs it out.

With best regards, I remain, Very Truly Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten, received June 4, 1914 in the Division of Anthropology)

Crosbie Hotel
St. John's, Newfoundland
May 28, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir –

I am sending you by the Newfoundland Parcel Post a dozen specimens of Eskimo coiled basketry and a pair of kimmuks (or "kunnuks?" sic) which I picked up here quite reasonably. You will notice that the baskets are of various shapes and designs – I am quite interested in noting that they are practically the same as we find among the Alaskan Eskimo. The little kunnuks (sic) are Greenlandic but will be interesting for comparison of material and design.

There is an interesting feature of the dance about which I wrote you in the last. I understand, [unintelligible] a Hudson Bay man, that the Eskimos say that it is performed with a moral idea in view, i.e., to teach the people not to be greedy. You know the Aleutians used to have something of this kind; [unintelligible – Vernisoff?] tells us that the elders instructed the children and youth every evening after the hunt in their duties to their relations and the rest of their world. It would be interesting to note if the Eskimo had an indirect way of moral teaching in this usual dramatic method, somewhat in the same way that they arouse certain moral emotion by their story - telling.

I expect to get away Wednesday on the Kyle. The ice is still heavy on the northern Newfoundland coast, and no steamer has been able to get there yet. I anticipate a rough trip. If the steamer is unable to get as far north as Nain, I will let you know where I am landed.

I believe that it will pay me to get all my outfit and supplies for the season here before starting, so I am looking for the balance of my appropriation, which has not arrived yet. Of course you understand that it costs two or three times as much to live in this part of the world as outside.

I find both Canadian and Newfoundland people very pleasant so far, had no trouble with the customs and find everyone willing to give information. Visited the Museum yesterday, where they have an interesting Beothuk collection. Mr. [unintelligible – Carly? Coroly?], the Director, is preparing a work on the same, which I understand is the labor of years. I think it would interest Speck.

With best regards, I remain, Sincerely Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten, received June 4, 1914 in the Division of Anthropology, with a note at top saying he has arranged to have his mail delivered on the Labrador coast)

St. John's, Nfld –
June 2, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir. –

I am sending you a various assortment of specimens, by parcel post, just before leaving for the Labrador coast. They are mostly from the Ungava district, west of Cape Chidley, and things I would not get on the coast. The model oomiak (sic) and kayak are from Ungava Bay, the skin tobacco pouches and mittens are from the Labrador Coast.

There are two interesting little soapstone figures, which I am sending separately. They came hidden in a bundle of skins from Hudson Bay. Probably you know that Turner says that the Labrador Eskimo believe in a personal guardian spirit, and carry around a little image of it with them. But when they have a string of bad luck they give it away to someone without their knowledge. Perhaps this is an instance. Anyway these are interesting specimens of carving.

Do not think that I am paying a high price for things, because I am getting them here. I am getting everything quite reasonably. People have been going from here to the Labrador, Hudson Bay, and Greenland coast for years, and naturally bring back some good specimens. So I have picked up what I could while waiting for the steamer, to let you know that I was keeping my eyes wide open. I have also gotten hold of some of the old winter scenes from Labrador, which exhibit a phase of Eskimo life, which I could not get in summer, or at the present time.

With best regards, I remain, Sincerely Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

P.S. On second thought am sending the kayak model and carvings by express as I feel it might get broken in the mail.

Am also sending an ivory model of a dog – team, driver, and sled from Fort Chimo, Ungava Bay – it is an excellent piece of Eskimo art, particularly the man and sled – Please do not break the thread, as it illustrates manner of hitching and lashing. – E.H.

Hawkes to Sapir (handwritten, received June 13, 1914 in the Division of Anthropology)

On board the S.S. Kyle
June 8, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir. –

I trust that by this time you have received the various letters and specimen I have sent you. I feel quite encouraged to have been able to pick up material at the start, although I have been delayed by the ice and bad weather longer than I expected. This is the first boat to the Labrador coast north of Battle Harbor, and I cannot say how far we will get, as the ice is the worst in years.

I saw Dr. Grenfell in St. John's, and he very kindly gave me notes of understanding to all the museums on the Labrador coast, both English and Moravian, and I was also able to make arrangements for visiting the extreme northern stations on the mission for the summer.

The main difficulty in this country is the extremely high cost of living, and the difficulty in getting transportation. If I was coming up here another year, I would have a motor boat and my own supplies, and be independent. The fishing schooners going up the coast are paid in advance to bring in so much fish, and consequently have time for nothing else. The steamship line is governed largely by conditions, and last year did not make Nain at all. They have agreed to take me Hopedale, but I don't expect they will make it this trip, so I have arranged for a stop over at the farthest port and will continue on the next boat.

I have a most unusual opportunity to visit and make collections on the northern and western coasts of Labrador, Hudson Bay, and South Hampton Island this summer by joining, as your representative, the Carnegie Magnetic Expedition, which is chartering a schooner to make the trip this summer. They will leave about the middle of July, and, as you will see from the enclosed plan, will visit the most important points of the coast, offering an opportunity of making a continuous survey of the Eskimo Tribe of Labrador and Hudson Bay, along the coast, in one trip, which, you must admit, is an unusual advantage in making comparisons. Expenses would be only \$500. With whatever you wanted to spend on a collection. I would continue my work on the Eastern Labrador coast until the expedition called for me. The schooner John B. Cluett owned by Dr. Grenfell, and you might communicate with him at St. John's and the Carnegie people if you wish further information. I would not advise you of it, did I not think it an opportunity entirely out of the ordinary.

Mail addressed to me in care of the Reid Newfoundland Co. will reach me. I will advise you of my Labrador address, as soon as I know what it will be myself.

With best regards, Very Truly Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Sapir to Hawkes – June 17th, 1914

Mr. E.W. Hawkes,
c/o the Reid- Newfoundland Company,
St. John's, Newfoundland

Dear Mr. Hawkes, -

I have received your various letters, the last dated June 8th from on board the Steamship Kyle. Two express shipments of specimens have come, and this morning a box came by parcel's post. I am glad to see that you are raking in stuff at the very start, and I anticipate a good all-around collection from you before you are through with this season's work.

The revision of plan that you refer to in your letter of June 8th seems an interesting one, and perhaps it would be well to utilize the opportunity afforded by the Carnegie Magnetic Expedition. I have brought the matter to Mr. Brock's attention, and he is very favorably

disposed towards the idea. He suggests you make the necessary arrangements yourself, as far as you are able to do so. In other words, the matter is put in your hands. At the same time, I have asked Dr. Brock to write Dr. Grenfell and to the Carnegie Institute in Washington, in order to put the matter on a definite official basis. You are then to consider yourself at liberty, should you find it advisable to do so, to join the Carnegie Magnetic party, which is to leave St. John's on the Schooner John B. Cluett some time in July. I have also suggested to Mr. Brock that he allow you a few hundreds extra for collections of specimens. Although he has failed to refer to this matter specifically in his reply to me, I anticipate no particular trouble in swinging the extra funds if necessary. Meanwhile, you might let me know more definitely as to how much more you will want to see you through conveniently.

Yours very sincerely

[This letter is followed by a long typed note about a Mr. Christian Leden, who went to Chesterfield Inlet and went missing in action, and asking Hawkes to keep an eye out for him, should he see or hear of him.]

Sapir to Hawkes – June 18th, 1914

Mr. E.W. Hawkes,
c/o the Reid- Newfoundland Company,
St. John's, Newfoundland

Dear Hawkes, -

The Director has just called my attention to the fact that if you decide to go on the cruise with the Carnegie Magnetic expedition you will, of course, need trading articles to deal with the natives, as in most of the points touched currency will be of no use. You doubtless understand this fully yourself, but I thought it would be safest to call your attention to it for fear of misunderstanding on your part.

Yours sincerely.

Hawkes to Sapir, June 18, 1914.

Indian Harbour, Labrador
June 18, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

This is as far as the boat was able to get on the first trip, as I am stopping off here, and continuing on the next boat. It made slow progress owing to stormy weather and having to lie to several days for ice [unintelligible – jams?]. I am close to the Eskimo Country now and will make it on the next trip.

I find that the Eskimos here are gathered mainly about the three mission stations of Makkovik, Hopedale, and Nain, so shall confine my labor to those localities for the most part. It's harder getting up the Northern coast than going to Hudson Bay but I shall make an attempt to reach Cape Chidley this summer, if any craft offers. Transportation conditions are about as bad here as could be imagined – it is much easier to get around in Arctic Alaska.

I was unable to purchase a photograph in St. John's with blank records, so you might send me an outfit at Hopedale. On account of being up here ahead of the usual summer migration, I was also obliged to purchase extra supplies. You see people come up here in summer and leave in the fall, and I don't blame them for not staying in the country. I haven't seen a seal or a bird for 500 miles. Will report from time to time. Address me to Hopedale for the present.

Very Truly Yours
E.W. Hawkes

Telegraph from Hawkes to Sapir, Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph, requesting cash be sent to him on June 2, 1914, for the Carnegie Expedition)

Sapir Victorian Memorial Museum, Ottawa, ON. Need eight hundred for Hudson Bay trip letter credit Hudson Bay Company ok shipping box specimens by Kyle. Hawkes.

Hawkes to Sapir, July 2, 1914.

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

Your cordial and encouraging letter of recent date is at hand. While I am making every effort to gather in specimens in a country where they are few and far between, I appreciate support from headquarters.

I am shipping you by the S.S. Kyle a large box of some 250 specimens, mostly from Hamilton Inlet, gathered during the last two weeks. They represent the smaller articles of clothing and industry, particularly the art work in the same, quite thoroughly. I find that by buying things in lots, one can get them much cheaper, and at the same time demand a certain variety of material and design. I have kept the latter end in view for exhibition purposes, and not been afraid of getting duplicates which showed some variation.

This finishes up the smaller stuff fairly well so that I will be able to turn my attention now to the larger articles of clothing and manufacture, soapstone work, &c. I presume that I shall find this in great abundance farther north. It exists here only as relics at unreasonable prices, but I have a line on some at the next station. I find that it pays to make haste slowly, as one eventually picks up things where at first there seemed to be nothing. So I am taking the stations in their regular order. One is almost forced to, with the weather and service as it is. I am leaving to-night for Makkovik or Hopedale, according to the ice.

I haven't heard definitely about the Hudson Bay trip yet, although I have been advised by Dr. Grenfell that the Cluett was at Battle Harbor. I shall ask her to call for me at one of the northern stations if I go, so that I may get as much work done on the Labrador coast as possible before leaving. I think it would be a grand trip. However, if I am unable to go, I can see where I may put in a very profitable summer in Labrador. Will advise you from time to time. As I wrote you I shall need more funds for specimens and expenses, \$600.00 if I stay on the Labrador Coast, and \$800.00 for the Hudson Bay trip (this includes \$500 fare and board).

With best regards, I remain,
Very Truly Yours,
E.W. Hawkes

Am all out of specimen tags and stickers. Will also need more stationary and notebooks. Kindly mail me a supply.

Mrs. Hawkes is spending the summer at [unintelligible – Trepp, S.D.?] Please send her my salary checks there instead of Edgewater, N.J.

Copy of Telegraph from Sapir to Hawkes, Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Telegraph, sent July 3, 1914:

E. W. Hawkes, Indian Harbour, Labrador

We are arranging for letter of credit Hudson Bay Company for you for eight hundred. It will come to you via schooner Cluett later on this month.

Sapir

Hawkes to Sapir, July 10, 1914 – stamped received by the Division of Anthropology on Aug. 10, 1914.

Hudson Bay Post
Cartwright, Labrador

July 10, 1914.

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

I am sending you by parcel post a small box of specimens, picked up here on my way to Battle Harbor to meet the Cluett. You will notice that they are from Baffin Land and Chesterfield Inlet, and procured from an employee of the company who had been up there.

I met the Superintendent of the Hudson Bay Posts here, and was able to get some valuable information in regard to conditions north. He was rather pessimistic about specimens (they all are, but it don't signify [sic]) but thought that the best way to secure what I wanted would be through traders who would probably supply me with trade goods at cost. I have also seen the Revillon superintendent who gave me the same advice. But I am taking no chances, and carrying some supplies of my own to be on the safe side.

I haven't heard anything from the Cluett yet except that she was on her way to Battle Harbor, - those mission people are the most delightfully un-business like lot I ever ran across. I am taking the steamer south again tonight for Battle Harbor.

I have worked Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay thoroughly, and can do no more until the ice opens north, and the boats can get through to the Moravian stations. I might go up there if the Cluett is further delayed. The two times I have tried we have met ice as far as we could see. Just to give you an idea of the unusual season we are having, I will mention the snowfall this morning.

Cordially yours,
E. W. Hawkes

Hawkes to Sapir, July 22, 1914 – stamped received by the Division of Anthropology on Aug. 10, 1914.

Grady, Labrador
July 22, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

I am sending you by the same mail a complete series of patterns of the various industries of Eskimo women, boot-making, parka-making, [unintelligible] pants, mitten-making, which I obtained, with accompanying information, from an excellent informant here. You will note that I have gone into the technique quite thoroughly, describing the various steps of manufacture and various stitching. I don't remember that this has been done before, except in a general way.

I want to do the same thing for the men's industries, sled and boat-building, i.e., if I can find a good informant and have time.

You must realize that in trying to cover so much territory for collection purposes, with a backward [unintelligible] to delay me, I have little time to collect information. I understood that your first desire was for a "representative collection" and I am doing my best to get it, in a country where specimens are few and far between and transportation extremely difficult. So I shall ask for another season to complete my information, especially if I make the Hudson Bay trip, when I will be unable to stop in any place lay for information; unless I kidnap some obliging Eskimo and take him along.

The mail steamer has tried three times to get through to the Moravian stations, and not succeeded yet. There is a solid jam of ice about 40 miles north of here. Her sister ship, the [unintelligible], is a wreck, so opportunities for travel are limited. I learned today that the little steamer which runs north in the summer from Hopedale is also wrecked. The Moravians had a large lot of supplies in the [unintelligible] so I don't suppose they feel like feeding visitors. So I think the best thing I can do is to make the Hudson Bay trip, and let the Moravian's go until next year.

I have become very much interested in this region [unintelligible] of Hamilton Inlet, where a few scattered Eskimos survive of the great bands who met the first English and French explorers and who, according to my informants, need to make yearly excursions to northern Newfoundland, where they came in contact with the Beothuks.

There are two old women in this Bay from whom I could get texts and songs (I should have to use a motor boat to reach them) which would illustrate the southern dialect, which is considerably different from the northern dialects of [unintelligible] and the Moravians. The Eskimo influences the Beothuk culture strongly, or is shown in the implements and I presume, from the remnants which we have in their language as well.

Then there is the archeological problem, which I shall not have time to go into this year. But from those who have examined some of the old sites, I gather that a relationship in implements and art could be established between Labrador and the eastern Eskimo, showing a common underlying parentage [unintelligible] told me about finding some ivory carvings which I did not suppose were common to any but the Alaska branch.

The Cluett is still lying at Battle Harbor, waiting for the weather to clear up and the ice to open. You can't imagine, by any stretch of the imagination, what a bad season it is. We have had only two days of good weather since I struck the Labrador coast – nothing but ice, fog, and rain. I hope to get started north again soon.

With best regards, and appreciation for your hearty support, I am,
Cordially Yours,
E.W. Hawkes

P.S. The two fur “beads” included are aglav’tir, a very old and rare form of native decoration, formerly used on tobacco bags.

P.S. I have carefully noted what you wrote about Mr. Leden. If I run across him or am able to get into communication with him, I shall do all I can for him. E.H.

Hawkes to Sapir, August 8, 1914 – stamped received by the Division of Anthropology on Aug. 21, 1914.

Hopedale, Labrador
Aug. 8, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

I write to inform you of my arrival at Hopedale on the schooner Cluett, bound for Hudson Bay.

Judge my surprise on connecting with the Cluett at Grady to find no letters of credit aboard her. These had probably been delayed by the fact, that, owing to heavy ice, no mail had been received at Battle Harbour for three weeks. I was unable to get you by wireless, owing to the shut-down caused by the outbreak of the European war – I left a message at Grady to be sent to you, with a request to answer at Makkovik, but the schooner being able to stop at Makkovik, I do not know whether you received it or not. As the “no communications” order is still on, I take it you did not.

I believe, having laid plans for the cruise, that it will be best for me to go on. So I have arranged with the captain to pay my fare on my return to Battle Harbour. I have between two and three hundred dollars worth of cash and supplies on hand, which will go a long way when turned into trade goods. I can get them of the stations along the coast, or of the captain if I run short. Of course I have some on hand.

I would suggest that you cancel the Hudson Bay letters of credit, if you have sent them, and send instead a draft at Battle Harbour or cash by the Reid- Newfoundland Express C / off Dr. Wakefield of the International Grenfell Association, for the same amount, so that I may discharge my debt upon my return, about the first of October.

I think this is going to be a valuable trip, although it will necessarily be somewhat curtailed on account of the lateness of the season. We are taking the inside route, and skipping right often along the shore. I believe I shall have brief but sufficient opportunity to collect ethnological specimens along the way. I learned today that the captain may make Baffin Land on the way back.

I trust this will meet with your approval. Having received no funds, but knowing your intentions, I have been forced, so to speak, "to take the bull by the horns."

With Best Regards,
Sincerely Yours,
E. W. Hawkes

P.S. I shall keep a lookout for your friend Leden. This is one reason for my pushing on.

Hawkes to Sapir, August 9, 1914 – stamped received by the Division of Anthropology on Aug. 21, 1914.

Hopedale, Labrador
Aug. 9, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

I have a letter here from Mrs. Hawkes, stating she has not received any salary checks yet. You will remember that I assigned her my salary. I shall be greatly obliged if you will see that she gets them promptly, as she is depending on the money. I believe I wrote you that she has changed her address from [where to where] for the summer.

Very Truly Yours,
E.W. Hawkes

Rec'd the stationary and tags here at H. Also copies of "Inviting-In" Dance paper. Many Thanks.

Got a fine lot of photographs here; some of the old-time Eskimo.

Hawkes to Sapir, August 20, 1914 – handwritten received by the Division of Anthropology on Sept. 18, 1914.

Port Burwell, Cape Chidley Labrador
Aug. 20, 1914

Dear Dr. Sapir, -

Having completed the first leg of my voyage, I am appending a brief summary of the summer's work to date.

Since arriving on the Labrador coast June 10th, I have covered some 1300 miles of territory, the entire East Coast from Battle Harbour to Cape Chidley, visiting all the principle inlets – Sandwich Bay, Hamilton Inlet, Makkovik Bay, Hopedale, Davis Inlet, Saglek Bay, Nachuk [?] Bay, Luklasuk [?] Bay (Ryan's Harbour), Lauguyok and Jokaur. The first trip was from Battle Harbour to Indian Harbour and Koltun; the second into Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay; and the third (first leg of present voyage) from Grady to Cape Chidley.

As a result I am able to include a rough archeological and ethnological map of the East Coast, showing all old villages and burying grounds, and present villages. (For information see back of map). I should like to follow up this East Coast another year, taking them in turn, as I have not had time to examine them thoroughly, owing to the extension of this summer's work. I have located good informants for this entire section; two for Sandwich Bay, two for Hamilton Inlet, one each for the Moravian Stations and northern Inlets.

We do not find any settlements of Eskimo living in the old style on the East Coast. They are much modernized, particularly those gathered at Moravian stations, as to dress and dwellings, but still retain many of the old implements and weapons. We should have to reconstruct the old life from archeological work and the information of the older informants.

Under such conditions specimens illustrating strictly native life are rather scarce. I have collected 337 to date, most of which I have sent you. I expect to find them in greater abundance on the northern coast and Hudson Bay.

When I received your letter in regard to trade goods for specimens I was well up the coast, and unable to turn back to St. John's for a supply in time to reach the Cluett. So I have bought the necessary articles from the Moravians, Hudson Bay Posts and the Captain of the Cluett. The HBC gave me a 15% discount, and the captain sold to me at slightly above cost, so I really have been at no loss. I have on hand a supply of flour, guns, ammunition, dry goods, cutlery, tobacco, and cheap jewelry, which I think will do us very well.

Not having received my letter of credit, I shall have to make my slender resources, \$140 in cash and \$58 in supplies, stretch as far as possible. Capt. Pickler has kindly offered to assist us further with cash or trade goods if necessary, so I feel safe in making the trip.

I shall be in debt to the Cluett on my return for my fare, \$500, and probably \$200.00 or \$300 for specimens, so do not fail to have my money waiting for me at Battle Harbour against my return. It has taken considerable "nerve" to make this journey without it. I judge from your letter and telegram that both you and the Director saw the advantages of this trip, and I did not wish to disappoint you.

I wrote you that I should be at loss for an informant for this journey. I am glad to write that I have found a prize in Mr. Ford, the pilot and interpreter of the Expedition (father of

the Ford who was with the Neptune) a man who has spent 27 years on the Labrador coast, and been familiar with the Eskimos and their language from childhood. I am getting much interesting information from him, particularly as to old conditions and an illuminating insight into the Labrador dialect.

We have been much delayed in this trip, as on earlier ones by fog, ice, and contrary winds, and a backward season – all of which should be taken into account.

I find the Carnegie people very pleasant and obliging. Capt. Peters, the head of the expedition, has given me [unintelligible] assistance in opportunities for taking photographs and getting ashore for specimens. If we don't strike any more bad weather, and God knows we have had enough, this trip should be a success.

Cordially Yours,
E.W. Hawkes