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RE-SEARCHING THE NORTH:
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CANADIAN NORTHERN DISCOURSE

by
DOUGLAS A. WEST, M.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Science

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

July 10, 1990

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The undersigned hereby recommend to
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CANADIAN NORTHERN DISCOURSE"**

submitted by
DOUG WEST, B.A., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Chair, Department of Political Science

Thesis Supervisor

External Examiner

Carleton University
June 25, 1990

Abstract

The North is said to define one of the essential characteristics of Canadian identity. We are a Northern people, we have struggled in the face of Northern environmental conditions to create a Canadian reality which allows us to find our place in the world. Our Northerness is a source of pride, of ingenuity and ultimately a source of technological achievement. As a result of the sophistication of scientific and technological analysis, what we define as the North and Northerness in Canada has changed over time.

The thesis of this dissertation is that the definition of the North in Canada is expressed within the language of the Human Sciences and has been objectified as an "other" to the Canadian South. In this sense, the objectification of the territorial North in Canada can be compared to Edward Said's assessment of Orientalism as a product of a Western imagination. The application of the techniques of the Human Sciences to a specific geophysical region was identified by Said as a Foucauldian discourse of power which created and re-created the Orient as an other to the West.

The Canadian North is evaluated in terms of the power of the Human Sciences to objectify lived experience and to collect it in an archive which continuously shapes and re-shapes the knowledge of its Life, Labour and Language.

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INTRODUCTION

The specialization of contemporary academic pursuits has a limiting effect on the perspicacity of the student. With this in mind I began the research for this dissertation. Choosing a topic as broad and as complex as the discourse of the North in Canada required a self-education in a wide variety of fields and a conflation of texts. For these reasons this dissertation can only be presented as an introductory statement.

The thesis of this dissertation is that the geographical region known commonly as the North in Canada has been, and continues to be, produced by a discourse of power which emanates from the strategic deployment of a grid of knowledge. In other words, the North in Canada is more than simply a geophysical region, it is also and concurrently a region of the mind. Its objectivity and subjectivity has been conditioned by the Kantian paradigm of knowledge which values the historical aggrandizement of data. In this sense, it appears to be very much like Edward Said's Orient.

In his much-discussed study of Orientalism, Said was able to demonstrate that the Orient was constituted as an "other" to the West. Through the deployment of the strategies of

power/knowledge, by the Orientalist, the Orient was produced and collected in an archive of knowledge which creates and re-creates the conditions of its existence.

I propose to demonstrate the conditions for which the North can be understood first, as an "other" to Europe and second, as an "other" to Canada. In short, I will argue that the North has been, and continues to be, produced by a discourse of power, and is contained within an archive of knowledge which is continually created and re-created through research.

The dissertation begins with two chapters which are written in the form of travelogues. The first is an abridged account of my four week "tour" of the Canadian Northwest Territories in 1988, and is designed as a general introduction to the North in Canada. While I was travelling I kept a daily journal and recorded what I considered to be indications of anomalous occurrences, objects and situations. As a Canadian I was raised with certain mythological prejudices about what was to be found in the North. Like most Canadians I believed the North to be a wide expanse of emptiness, serene and barely touched by humanity. To a very large degree this is true. However, I also discovered a network of public and private institutions, most of which had been imported from the

South. I also saw the difference between the East and the West in the Northwest Territories, a division which easily rivals its Southern counterpart. If the image of the North as a homogeneous territory was the first mythology to be shattered, the second was the lack of political and social awareness. The Canadian North presents us with a significant amount of political and social experimentation.

The second travelogue is the summary of an intellectual journey from Greek mythology to the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Along the way images and mythologies come and go. The fantastic North of Greek mythology gives way to the dangerous and heathen North of Christianity. With the discovery of the New World, the North occupies those in search of the Northwest Passage, and finally becomes an open field for mercantile trade and scientific enlightenment. The purpose of this journey is to set the wide context for the discussion which follows. This chapter is not meant to be an authoritative or comprehensive account of Northern imagery, rather it is an exposition of general imaginary paradigms.

The next two chapters also form an ensemble. The first is a discussion of Michel Foucault's The Order of Things. The value of this discussion is the observation that in this work Foucault demonstrated the character of the Human

Sciences as they appeared in the early part of the nineteenth century. The creation of the Human Sciences signalled the objectification and subjectification of Man in a new way. This new "order of things" is significant because its production of new categories of knowledge is taken as the foundational apparatus of the contemporary physical and social sciences. More to the point, as Foucault argued, the Human Sciences were to be deployed strategically in the production of discourses of power which took the definition of Man's conditions of existence as their primary motivation. The result was a proliferation of specialized approaches to the study of Life, Labour and Language. These categories will serve to identify the production of the North in later chapters of the dissertation. Here, they suggest a new formulation of the problem of power and knowledge.

The second chapter in this theoretical ensemble discusses the measurement of space and place through the field of Human Geography. At either end of this discussion I have placed an interpretation of a text which attempts to come to terms with the totality of a region. Louis-Edmond Hamelin's Nordicity was designed to describe the conditions of Canadian Northern identity. His ambition was to create an index of "nordicity" which could be applied to the Canadian territory to reveal levels of "nordification" and "de-

nordification". As a geographer, Hamelin primarily used geophysical measurements in order to effect a new "mental nordicity" among Canadians. In this sense, Hamelin is attempting to construct the reality of the Canadian North. This attempt is then read through a general survey of literature on Human Geography in order to demonstrate Hamelin's un-recognized reliance on a phenomenological model of the relationship between space and place.

The final part of this chapter is a presentation of Edward Said's Orientalism, in which he goes beyond the conceptions of phenomenological and structural Human Geography to reveal the Orient as a product of a discourse of power. In this he relies on Foucault's formulation of power/knowledge. The conclusion of this chapter is a final comparison of Nordicity and Orientalism, the former presented as an attempt to create a mental nordicity, and the latter as resistance to the Orientalist discourse. This concludes the first part of the dissertation, having established the theoretical strategy for the next section which uses Foucault's categories of Life, Labour and Language to present the production of the North in discourse.

The second part of the dissertation begins with a discussion of Northern Life as it is depicted in the language of the sciences of Life. It attempts to outline in rough a

description of Man's functions in adapting to the environment of the North. In short, the sciences of Life attempt to reveal the cultural modifications at the physiological, interhuman and social levels of existence in the North. They create a series of taxonomies that objectify the received stimuli which force Man in the North to evolve and respond to changing circumstances of his environment. These objects are collected as data which allow the scientist to compare the conditions of Northern life with life in other locations.

The second chapter of this section presents a survey of the scientific analysis of Northern Labour, and the habits, needs, desires and conflicts which animate economic behaviour. The discourse of Economics places Man in the North in a fundamental condition of scarcity and conflict with Nature and other men. Economic habits are understood in terms of the application of rules to appease the natural contradictions of Labour.

The third chapter in this section discusses the descriptions of Northern Language on two levels. First, on the level of Linguistics and Philology, Northern languages are categorized and summarized in terms of their component parts of speech. The produced taxonomies reveal a regularity of usage and structure which in turn is taken as a sign of

their development. The second level of the analysis of Northern language deals with the creation of new words for new experiences. The lack of abstract definitions which fit the modern experience of Northern languages requires the development of new words which carry with them approximate calculations of abstraction. The conclusion of this chapter suggests that in order to understand the completeness of the North one must understand that Northern languages do not operate on the same spatial-temporal field as Southern languages. Therefore, to analyze them with the tools of linguistic analysis forces them to be reproduced in a way which does not recognize their very powerful expressions of meaning.

Life, Labour and Language form another ensemble which matches the ensemble of Foucault-Said in the first section. They represent the two sides of the Human Sciences which operate on Man. On the one side there is the production of taxonomies and on the other their application. In the process, the North appears as general product of their application. In each case, however, there are points of resistance. The scientization of Life in the North has been met with resistance through the reformulation of the practice and control of Anthropological and Archaeological sciences from the perspective of the North. Similarly, the scientization of Northern Labour has been challenged by

political demands for economic supervision and environmental controls on resource development in the North. Finally, the scientization of Language has been countered by the revitalization of Northern languages through the creation of new Northern educational curricula. In short, the people of the North have begun to participate in the Human Sciences and to use them to their own advantage. This realization provides the justification for the last two chapters of the dissertation.

The final chapters return to the themes of discovery and travel. The first discusses the Canadian discovery of its Northern identity, from the Canada First Movement to the settlement of Native land claims. The politicization of Northern administration is recounted from Confederation to the current discussions of Northern self-government with the intention of pointing to future of Nordicity. I argue that the Nordification of the North has created the possibility for the expression of a Northern political voice as Northerners begin to control the physical manipulation of their territory. This chapter ends on a cautionary note which serves as a reminder that the North remains an object and subject of the Human Sciences of Life, Labour and Language. I conclude with the prediction that Northern participation in these enterprises may allow the North and Northerners to express the value of the content of research.

The last chapter is a short rendition of another personal tour, one which took place in reading for this dissertation. It presents a polemical solution to the general problem of the Human Sciences in the North. It should also serve to suggest our nature as nomadic wanderers. In many ways, this dissertation is a wandering; it covers a very wide territory and steps over many tracks. I approach the North as a product of a culture which consistently attempts to map the sublime and forgets how to let it be.

Part I

Chapter I - Prologue

GETTING TO KNOW THE CANADIAN NORTH

All my life I have been living on the inside of what these other people have been looking at and writing about. And to tell you the truth - which is the whole idea of this book - the outsiders, or what I call outsiders, have written so much baloney that sometimes it's been hard for me to recognize in their books the land and the people that I know so well.

Ernie Lyall An Arctic Man 1

According to Michael Polanyi, an account of things presupposes embodied experience, a "looking at" rather than simply a "seeing".² This dimension of pre-judgments, of contextual understanding, is especially apparent when we confront the alien, dangerous and unpredictable area of the Canadian North.

¹ Ernie Lyall, An Arctic Man, (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1976), 17.

² Michael Polanyi, Personal Knowledge Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Measuring the Canadian North is an enterprise that provides the researcher with a open field of inquiry. This openness is testimony to the power of the modern scientific gaze to create new forms of knowledge. That the Canadian North is different from any other region in Canada, or the world, is the premise from which most scientific research begins. The question of the character of this research is posed in terms of a fundamental, experiential difference between the Canadian North and the Canadian South. Therefore, measuring the parameters of the Canadian North requires the researcher to engage in a practical and experiential re-ordering of his/her terms of reference. To participate in the accumulation and specification of the Canadian North, one should temporarily suspend belief in the well-formed tradition of modern scientific enquiry, and live the North in order to discover it. It is through living the North that its value is revealed.

As Canadians, we are exposed to a form of the Northern mythology at a very early age. We ceremoniously recite the national anthem of the "true North, strong and free", we grudgingly accept the natural conditions imposed on us by our Northern climate, we listen to the adventurous tales of the beauty and danger of the Northern wilderness that hovers over our complacent urban lifestyles, we celebrate the resource potential of our Northern environment, we protect

our claim to be a Northern people in the face of an expanding Southern empire. Canadian identity seems to have value in the consistency of the expression of our Northern mythology in our science, economy, arts and culture. It is our Northerness that connects us together; this mental map of Canada is in the Northern part of the world. Our Northerness also connects us to the past, to Europe and our Nordic roots in England and France. As Canadians, we are placed in between the traditions of the Old World and the ravenous technology of the New World. We participate in both, but our participation is conditioned by the uniqueness of our geography and, as the Northmen of the New World, we really have the best of both. We know our limitations, limitations placed upon us by our Northern environment. The measuring of the truth of the North in Canada, is in reality the measuring of these limitations.

Over time, the limits of the experience of being a Northern people have been challenged by successive waves of Canadian research. Not only are we well prepared for such a challenge, but we actively seek it out in a true Northern spirit. To be adventurous requires a heightened sense of imagination, and current research in the Canadian North is never lacking in this regard. Travelling Northward in Canada one encounters limitless examples of imagination and limitless variations on the theme of civilization. The

question that constantly confronts the Northern researcher in Canada is the extent to which civilization imposes itself on the imagination.

The researcher in the Canadian North travels with an intellectual baggage that accepts the North as an essential part of Canada. In simple terms, what counts as the Canadian North today is just an extension of the Canadian South. We are connected by history, language, religion, politics and by science and technology. Entering what counts as the North is an interesting experience. One must be careful to watch for signals of difference; where does what counts for the Canadian North begin ? At an intellectual level it begins in the decision to go Northward, to push the limits of your own well-nurtured Northerness. At a more concrete and physical level it involves a great deal of planning and organization and money. If these requirements can be met, the adventure can begin.

At first, nothing seems that different, you board an airplane and you wait for the North to envelop your senses. You assure yourself that this will be a different experience; you expect difference. Upon arrival in Yellowknife, the undisputed capital of the Canadian North, you discover that institutions have been created to protect the heritage of the Northern experience. The Prince of

Wales Northern Heritage Centre is a Museum and cultural centre and stands as a testament to the challenge of the Northern environment. It re-presents the history of the Canadian North from two very unique perspectives.

First, it contains archival material that is slowly being catalogued by a legion of devoted Northern scholars. The impression is the same as in any Museum, cultural artifacts are collected in glass and displayed for public consumption. The protection of culture requires a commitment to cleanliness and order. Artifacts appear as if in a state of suspended animation, protected from the natural environment by hermetically sealed glass houses. It reminds one of what Hannah Arendt said about the "commodification of culture"-when culture becomes a consumer item, like money, it becomes dirty as it passes through many hands. Cathedral ceilings invoke lofty thoughts, and the entire complex is presided over by a portrait of Charles, Prince of Wales in full military regalia standing under a tree beside his faithful steed. This double image of culture in glass boxes and the patriarchal head of the British Commonwealth indicates nothing different from that found in the museums of the South.

The difference comes when one enters the South wing of the complex, that which is devoted to the story of the North

from an aboriginal perspective. The exhibition of indigenous peoples of the Canadian North is prefaced with a strong and simple statement about the importance of the land to Native people. The life and language of the North are deeply connected to the land. On the wall beside this instruction is a geological time scale representation of the formation of the Earth's crust. The history of the formation of the land, from a geological perspective, includes all of the requisite "eras" of glaciation and retreat. Moreover, it situates the Native people on the land of the North thousands of years ago. The juxtaposition of these interpretations of the importance of the land in the North is an example of what is known as "cultural blending" - both stories of the land make sense of the Northern experience, and as they share this museum, they share the North as Canadians.

The same is true of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, where Parliamentary procedure proceeds among the mostly Native members. Over the years the look of the Assembly Chamber has changed. There are pelts on the walls and the pages wear vests appliqued with Inuit designs. The session begins with the entrance of the mace and the Speaker, whose robes also bear Native designs. The blending of traditions is accepted by most Northerners, Native and Non-Native, because culture is constantly in a

process of growth and change. In this sense, one sees culture played out in the North as a political event. When change occurs out of necessity, the parameters of this necessity are determined by the logic of cultural and anthropological expertise. Both the Heritage Centre and the Assembly represent attempts to institutionalize the Northerness of Canada.

At the Northern Arts and Cultural Centre (NACC) one can encounter further expressions of the institutionalization of Northerness. On this occasion, a play is being presented. "Going Native" is a comical look at the relationship between a childless Dene couple and their scheming Non-Native friend. The stereotypical Non-Native is interested in becoming the child of the couple so that he may share in the potential Land Claim settlement between the Dene and the Canadian federal government. The story unfolds in juxtaposition to a series of "land claims updates" delivered by an increasingly aging reporter. The message is clear, the bad white man wants to trick the naive Native into believing that he can be just as Native. The play seems to represent a blending of stereotypes rather than cultures. Perhaps there are better plays about the North in Canada, but the very act of depicting the North in a traditional form of cultural expression indicates a similarity, not a difference, between the North and the Non-North. This is a

common impression in Yellowknife, as the largest town in what counts as the Canadian North, it is the most "civilized" and therefore the most Southern. A more real Canadian North lies Northward.

The airplane ride to Inuvik follows the direction of the Mackenzie River and usually stops at Norman Wells, the site of the first major oil discovery in the Mackenzie Valley. One is immediately reminded of the North as a storehouse of untapped resources that will prove Canada's destiny as a young Northern nation. Flying into Inuvik's well appointed airport affords the traveller a spectacular view of the edge of the tree-line. The landscape is a swirling mass of coniferous forests, mountain ridges and meandering rivers. This is the North, virgin beauty that is dangerous to the ill-prepared. As the plane descends, and the land comes closer to the focussed eye, seismic lines appear to cut arbitrary paths across this pure environment, another indication of resource potential. Inuvik is a recently created town, cut out of the North by the Canadian federal government. The people here seem to crave "outsiders" who verify the existence of the South. The North in Inuvik is artificial and represents a re-placing of Northern people. The grid of Southern knowledge is firmly in place here, from the "igloo" Catholic Church to the incredible system of "utilidors" that channels energy and waste in and out of the

buildings, to the diesel-powered generating station that supplies the life blood of the technological life-world which sustains this bastion of civil engineering. All of this, of course, is testament to the ingenuity of Canadians and our ability to overcome our environment and climate. That is the Canadian way. We use technology to connect ourselves to the unforgiving land and to each other. The Native people of the North understand this as well.

The blending of Native and Non-Native cultures takes place in a variety of institutionalized forms - in Inuvik there is the Inuvialuit Development Corporation, a company that was created to manage the land claim of the Inuvialuit. There is also the Inuvialuit Communications Society which operates a facility to broadcast native programming in the area. They understand that the medium is the message, and that their culture is growing and moving into a larger world. They appreciate that knowledge is a form of power and they hope to use it wisely to recall their history. The blending of Native stories into a technological apparatus is funded by the Canadian Secretary of State, multiculturalism division. Recent spending cutbacks may change the breadth of programmes. However, Northernness is preserved here as part of the broad-casting of Canadian culture. Native language is transmitted in a different way; different perhaps to the traditional forms of storytelling, but not different from

the way it has been done in Canada for a long time. It all seems to rest in the method of translation.

Back in Yellowknife, at the Language Bureau of the Government of the Northwest Territories' Ministry of Culture and Communications, there is another form of translation taking place. The primary work of the Bureau is to translate the incredible Canadian lexicon into the seven official aboriginal languages that are spoken in the Territory - an indigenous multiculturalism. The Native languages spoken in the Canadian North are focussed on the land and the weather. Native words for more abstract or Southern experiences like sovereignty, justice and freedom are being created by specialists. As a result, all of the Old and New World notions of time and space are superimposed or translated into different languages.

Political nations exist in the Canadian North, but they appear to be artificially constructed realities that are strung together through a discourse of power that reproduces and regulates Northern life, labour and language. Nationalism, provincialism, administration, multiculturalism, are all re-presented here by the Government of the Northwest Territories, and are painted with the same paints and brushes that created the Northernness of Canada. These categories have their origin

in the liberal-democratic condition. Natives are no exception: they define themselves according to the rules of the Northern discourse of Canadian nationalism, otherwise no one could hear them speak. They speak a language not of their own making, but Northern all the same. The Language Bureau identifies specific usages for translated words using the syntactical and grammatical rules of the Linguistic science that seeks common ground between words and things. Anthropologists study Northern life. Political economists study Northern labour. The epistemological rules of the Human Sciences are deployed quite freely and regularly here. In the end, the Canadian North is a product of a set of regulatory mechanisms that determine the extent of its speech, life and work. All the people living in the Canadian North share a suspicion of "outsiders", and mimic the Canadian xenophobia. The protection of culture is fierce, but that's the Canadian way. No one wants to repeat the history of Canadian culture, yet everyone tunes into ITV from Edmonton and the superchannel from Detroit.

In terms of power and knowledge, this place is an imaginary locale, yet it exists as an exotic alternative to the South. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Inuit city of Iqaluit. The true Arctic landscape is revealed when one lands at the bright yellow airport in this town that was once named for Martin Frobisher. People here still sell

Inuit carvings door-to-door. Inuit elders gather at the local museum to participate in the "elders programme". They meet once a week and tell stories about the old ways into tape recorders. The recordings are then transcribed by the word processor into syllabic script, which was invented by a missionary in the late nineteenth-century, and then into Roman script, a more recent innovation. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, a branch of the CBC, sometimes videotapes the elders for re-broadcast on the Native channel.

Iqaluit is the relatively new name for Frobisher Bay, a landing site for the great explorer. Iqaluit means "meeting place" or "place of Inuit" in the official language of Inuktitut. Frobisher Bay meant meeting place for discovery. Discovery for Europeans meant commercialism, empire, Christianization and the exploitation of Nature. Discovery for the Inuit meant enslavement, capture and re-search. Re-searching what counts as the Canadian North is celebrated as progressive, yet it unwinds the traditional Inuit sense of time and space. To preserve this sense, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was created to teach Inuit about their culture. A strange and new kind of dependency is evident. It is not the traditional economic dependency that is reduced by political economists. It is a deeper kind of dependency, an epistemological dependency that is filtered

through the programming of Native culture. Elders and craftspeople eagerly go in front of the camera: they are "natural actors".

The idea that Native people in the Canadian North are more connected to Nature than people in the philistine South provides the central focus for epistemological dependency. As natural persons, Native people remind us of our past. We present them in a historical context of development, of progress. What began with active colonization, continues with the association of Native people with Nature. In the end, the noble savage is still noble and pure, but his savagery has been replaced by culture. The people of the North with power have always defined what the North is. This is why the Inuit need power, so that they may define themselves as a people, a natural people. However, they use a logic and a discourse that is not theirs to define themselves. They speak a discourse of power that connects them to the traditional visions of the North; they participate in the active enterprise of the Human Sciences. In the end, what is defined is not different, rather it is a variation on a theme.

Another word for blending is homogenization. What counts for the Canadian North has been, and continues to be, articulated in the homogeneous language of Canadian

Northernness. The placing of the Canadian North in Canada is defined less by legal boundaries than it is by an inclusive Northern discourse. The acceptance of the Canadian North as a recognizable region in Canada owes more to the logic of regionalization than it does to the expression of a fundamental difference of experience. As one travels in the North one repeatedly encounters situations of controlled difference, or difference expressed in a language or logic that demands exacting standards of measurement. The classification of the Canadian North began with discovery and continues with re-search.

The complicity between Humanism and technology is played out in the Canadian North by those engaged in the classification of difference. The only way to define difference is with a logic that contains difference within understandable and recognizable forms. As the Northern mythology that accompanied the creation of Canada gave way to the systematic organization of the compact signs of science, Canadian culture became the symbol or repository of Canadian difference. The taxonomy of the Canadian North followed a similar pattern. The re-search of the Canadian North takes place within Northern Studies, where there is an unspoken acceptance of the taxonomic rules of the Human Sciences.

The traveller returns to the civilization of Southern Canada satisfied that he/she has experienced the true North in

Canada. The traditional mythology of Canadian Northernness has been re-vitalized. The Canadian North is truly a "mirror to the nation", and the essential signs of our destiny as a Northern people are safely protected in the institutions of culture, economy and language that animate Northern Studies.

The Northern Heritage Centre defines itself as an institution that "studies and preserves the artifacts and records that make history come alive." The animation of this project of making history is more fully explained in a statement of its long term goals: "Preserving our northern heritage and making its richness and diversity known are tasks which are never finished." The Language Bureau of the Government of the Northwest Territories advises those engaged in the translation of English and French to Native languages to "use simple language".

If you are trying to communicate with native people in small northern settlements, don't use vocabulary that would be appropriate to bureaucrats and college professors. For example, don't use language like this :
Aboriginal tradition emphasizes the collective well-being while Euro-Canadian legal tradition emphasizes individual rights.... To make sense of this statement in one of the native languages would take pages and pages.

Again, the emphasis is placed on making sense when translating for a northern native audience. As was the case with the history of Northern heritage, the act of translation is informed with a set of standards of measurement that make sense of Northern languages. Northern culture and language are protected by an ethical discipline that respects the otherness of Northern people.

A more general set of ethical principles is contained in the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies pamphlet on "Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North" (1982). Here, the emphasis is placed on information; northerners must be made aware of the nature and practice of northern research, and researchers must respect the rights and traditions of Northern peoples.

In general, "research" includes all technological activities in the North. Even mineral and petroleum exploration surveys would be expected to honour the general principles. However, the more detailed principles on informed consent and reporting of research results are meant specifically for researchers and might not apply to all technological activities. (emphasis added)

Respect for the life, labour and language of the Northerner requires a recognition of difference, but that difference is, in turn, informed by the standards of measurement that have been developed in the Human Sciences. In the end,

difference is contained and the act of measuring the truth of the Canadian North is an enterprise that provides the researcher with an open field of inquiry.

This open field of inquiry was formed slowly as the North was slowly discovered by the European imagination. The following section is an introduction that discovery. Early speculation about the truth of the North took the form of mytho-poetic descriptions of the fantastic and godless people to be found there. The measurement of this truth took a new turn with the advancement of modern science after the Renaissance. Alternatives to the Christian world view caused a renewed interest in exploration in the North. The eventual search for the Northwest Passage followed continued reports of the riches of the East that had filtered back to Europe since the travels of Marco Polo.

The Northwest Passage, as Franklyn Griffiths has said, "is as much a cultural artifact as an Arctic navigation route."³ Griffith's observation is telling for a number of reasons. First, it places the discovery of the Passage into the context of national destiny; the Passage was primarily a British passion because it represented the last major challenge to their naval supremacy. Secondly, the various

³ Franklyn Griffiths, ed., Politics of the Northwest Passage. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1987) 3.

phases of the search for the Passage follow the development of European culture from mercantilism to empire. Finally, the Passage, along with the Arctic seas in general, have become extremely important for the cultural and economic sovereignty of the Canadian state. It remains the subject of much discussion.

Chapter II

DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH

The discovery of the North was a long process of trial and error.

Daniel Francis⁴

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to chart the parameters of what the North has meant in the general history of Western exploration. My intention is to point to thematic expressions of the North and to summarize the impulses that led this exploration. As such, this chapter presents information in a summary fashion and relies on the reflections of only a small selection of possible sources. These sources were chosen because of their contribution to our understanding of general paradigms which contain expressions of the meaning of the North in the Western imagination. In short, they provide the reader with a focus on the different perspectives from which the North has been viewed.

⁴ Daniel Francis, Discovery of the North: Exploration of Canada's Arctic. (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986.) 26.

The representation of the North in the Southern imagination follows a path which begins with the positing of imaginary locales and fantastic impressions of their inhabitants. The territory which lay beyond the lived oecumene of the Mediterranean Sea was generally represented as wholly different in character, and, therefore, as an "other" to the more civilized cultures which occupied the more temperate locales of Classical geography. The land that lay to the North was thought to be inaccessible, yet inhabited by simple and resourceful beings. They lived under the influence of the constellation of the Bear or "Arktikos", the "country of the Bear". The fantastic stories of Hyperboreans, a people blessed by the fruits of a land of the midnight sun, were part of the general mythology which characterized early images of the meaning of the North.

This view of the Northern reaches of the known and unknown world informed a kind of gentle mythology about the possibilities of human existence. This perspective would eventually give way to more dangerous images that were tempered by reports of barbaric and, ultimately heathen practices. In the Old Testament we read of the "hordes from the North" who descend with the mythical figures of Gog and Magog to invade the purer sensibilities of a world that was becoming increasingly ordered by a Christian imagination.

The North became the place of frozen souls, waiting to be warmed by the teachings of the Saviour. In this sense, "otherness" took on the qualities of an unformed spirituality. With the spread of Christianity so went the general description of the Northern lands. Still, however, the North remained part of mythical imagination, still waiting to be dis-covered.

The North was given a more concrete definition during the advances of Norse navigation to the West of their occupied lands. The discovery of Vineland by Lief Ericson was followed by the planting of Christian missions in Iceland and Greenland. The longevity of the missions in Greenland was compromised by the apparent dis-interest of the Nordic people to continue the settlement of these new found lands. However, representations of the Skraelings and Skridfinns that were contained within the accounts of these voyages maintained the mythical speculation of the general European imagination that the inhabitants of the Northern lands were barbaric and dangerous.

It was the overland travels of Marco Polo which revealed the practices of another well organized culture that lay to the East. The reports of great wealth animated a new interest in the possibility of a navigable sea route to the East that would be greatly rewarded. The European search for a safe

passage to the East was also influenced by the creation of maps that speculated about the global nature of the Earth. It was in the search for a western passage to the East that the accidental discovery of the New World occurred. The trading nature of the emerging mercantile empires of Europe eventually created a link between the North and the East. The meaning of the North became increasingly part of the mythology of the Orient in the successive attempts to find the Northwest and Northeast passages. The inaccessibility of Northern seas became an obsession, and the exploration and settlement of the New World continued with the dream of finding a route to the East.

The "opening" of the Northern part of North America eventually became a contest that involved the British, the French and the Russians. It could be argued that their obsession with the Northwest and Northeast passages to the Orient was caused by their geographic locality. In this sense, they were as naturally drawn to the exploration of the Northern part of the New World as the Spanish and Portuguese had been drawn to the South. As mercantilist empires advanced, the North came to define the character of the Northern European culture. As a natural extension of its cultural frontier, the North and Northern exploration especially revealed the tenacity of the British spirit.

The British search for the Northwest Passage occurred in two distinct phases. The first followed the direction of mercantilism, the second followed the direction of Science. This does not mean to suggest that new scientific discoveries were not part of the spread of mercantilist empires. Certainly the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century influenced the impulse of discovery and exploration. The craving for novelty that was expressed by the New Science was mirrored in the collection and classification of natural objects found in the North. However, in the second phase of British exploration of the Northwest Passage, which occurred at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the scientific exploration of the North took on a new dimension. The classification of knowledge of the North was now informed by the general study of Mankind. The North took on a new character; it was the home to "primitive" societies that were to be brought into another kind of scientific practice. It is this definition of the North that was inherited by the Canadian imagination.

Early Impressions of the Northern Lands

One hundred years ago, explorers had achieved ice-free transportation in the Northern polar sea. Since 1920, scientific and resource frontiers in the Canadian Arctic

have encouraged the mapping and legal definition of the Canadian North. In fact, the North in Canada has long held a fascination for adventurers and is the subject of a wide variety of research projects. What remains to be seen is how the Canadian North will develop into a self-sustaining political and social entity. Through a process of modernization, the Canadian North once again occupies the imagination of the public, and has become its own field of academic inquiry in Northern Studies programmes across the country.

When Martin Frobisher set out to discover the Northwest Passage in the sixteenth century, it was widely believed that America was an island. His imagination was fed by cartographers who abhorred blank spaces on their maps. According to Graham Rowley,

Frobisher's Arctic voyages took place at a time when Mercator's projection was coming into general use for maps and charts. The projection did not of course make navigation throughout the Passage any easier or more difficult, but, owing to the exaggeration of both north-south and east-west distances at high latitudes, the route appeared much longer and less direct than it is. This may have had, and possibly continues to have, an unconscious psychological effect even on those well aware of the limitations of this projection.⁵

⁵ Graham Rowley, "Bringing the Outside In : Towards Development of the Passage," in Politics of the Northwest Passage, ed., Franklyn Griffiths (Montreal: McGill-Queen's

Indeed, one of the main ambitions of Frobisher's voyages was to test the accuracy of these projections. Frobisher returned from his first voyage with examples of flora and fauna found on Baffin Island. Frobisher also reported that the local inhabitants were treacherous, and on his second voyage captured an Eskimo family and brought them back to England. In England, "They had their portraits painted, dined with the mayor of Bristol, gave a display of kayaking skills in the Avon river, and were interviewed about the geography of their native land."⁶ The Native family died after only one month in England, succumbing to the foreign climate and disease. As a result, Baffin Island became known in England as Meta Incognita. "The rocks Frobisher brought back were worthless...but the isolation of the north was broken forever."⁷ In 1578, Frobisher made his last voyage to Baffin, which ended in disaster and financial ruin. These early attempts to discover the Northwest Passage formed the first sustained contact period with the Native people of the North in America and provided the population of England and Europe with a mythical account of

Press, 1987.) 26-45. 26-7.

⁶ Francis, op.cit., 22.

⁷ Robin McGrath, Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1984) 2.

the meaning of the North. It was a cold, barren and dangerous place, inhabited by savages who could pose a threat to the survival of those seeking the passage.

These images were not necessarily new; they had a tradition that dates from the time of Homer. Much of the history of earlier Northern exploration was documented by Fridtjof Nansen, an explorer in his own right, in a two volume series entitled In Northern Mists: Arctic Exploration in Early Times (1911).⁸ Nansen created a comprehensive account of the slow discovery of the North from the perspective of Western eyes, and what follows is a brief summary of his ideas. The purpose of this summary is to gain some insight into the way that the North was generally understood before the voyages in search of the Northwest Passage would begin. In this sense, Nansen's work stands as a summary of paradigmatic themes which informed the meaning of the North.

According to Nansen, the West and the North always held the fascination for man; to Nansen the universality of speculation was evident.

. . . in the farthest distance, towards the west and north, was the region of darkness and mists, where sea, land and sky were

⁸ Fridtjof Nansen, In Northern Mists: Arctic Exploration in Early Times trans. by Arthur Chater (London: William Heineman, 1911) 2 Volumes.

merged into a congealed mass - and at the end of all gaped the immeasurable mouth of the abyss, the awful void of space.⁹

The thrill of danger and the curiosity of discovery characterized exploration beyond the known world of the lived "oecumene". As a result, poetical and mythical conceptions dominated the geographical speculation about the North during antiquity. There was, according to Nansen, a "cycle of legend" from Homer to the sixteenth-century when Science began to formalize the exact nature of the geographical world.

The first designation of the Northern regions was made in reference to the constellation of the Great Bear for the Greeks. This constellation formed the outer limit of the visible stars, and so delineated the "arctic circle". The Earth was interpreted as a disc around which flowed the great ocean or "oceanus". This ocean surrounded the "Oecumene" or lived space of the world.

As Nansen pointed out, Parmenides of Elea (460 B.C.) divided the earth into five zones or belts, two cold zones at the poles and three others, only two of which were habitable. The mythical Rhipaean mountains and the Alps formed the Northern boundary of the lived world. In the far North

⁹ Ibid., 1.

lived a happy people called the Hyperboreans. They dwelt under "the shining sky", lived in the woods, knew no injustice or war, and could fly. Their life span was deemed to be twice as long as the average Greek, given the purity of their habitat. When they were tired of life they would simply throw themselves off a cliff. Their animals were twice as big as normal, and their environment was rich in mineral deposits such as tin and gold. There was another group, the Machimos, who were more warlike and invulnerable to iron. This group was constantly invading the peaceful world of the Hyperboreans. The mythology of the North, therefore, began with a distinction between civilized and barbaric peoples, a common theme to the Greeks.

The pure origins of the Hyperborean people were given further legitimacy by Pindar, who wrote how they had brought offerings to Apollo at Delphi, and so had inherited the Apollonian qualities of flying and peaceable existence. Pindar shortened their name to Boreans after the people who came from the source of the North Wind, a label that has remained synonymous with Northern. Eventually, exploration into the Northern part of the world was animated by the widely held belief that whoever could contact the Hyperboreans would not only benefit from their knowledge of Apollo, but also from the vast deposits of gold and tin that were at their disposal.

Through Pliny and Strabo, we learn of the Voyages of Pytheas of Messalia. According to them, Pytheas wrote "On the Ocean", a work that was unknown to Aristotle but mentioned by his student Dicaearchus(d.258 B.C.) Pytheas allegedly travelled to Thule, which is described as the "land of the midnight sun". In the end, however, Strabo, and later Polybius, refused to believe that Pytheas' account was anything more than pure fiction.¹⁰

Serious Northern exploration proceeded after the creation of the Roman Empire. Pytheas' account of the Northern lands that lay beyond the Oecumene was included amongst the fanciful poetic descriptions of Pindar and Parmenides as mere speculation. In fact, Roman policy was formed around Polybius' distrust of Pytheas' accounts.¹¹ The advance of the Roman Empire followed a Northerly route to the islands of Briton, where they were able to contact the seafaring peoples to the North.

¹⁰ For a longer discussion of Pytheas' voyages see R. Chevalier, "The Greco-Roman Conception of the North from Pytheas to Tacitus," Arctic, Vol.37, No.4 (1984) 341-46. Chevalier argues that Pytheas's voyages are no longer in doubt because of recent archaeological evidence.³⁴¹

¹¹ Ibid., 342. Many have cited Pytheas's voyages as a source for information on tides, marine life, the frozen sea, sea monsters, coastlines, animal and vegetable life, coastal populations, ways of life, culture and forms of worship.

While Polybius drew his understanding of the Northern regions from Pytheas' account, Strabo refused to accept the peaceful nature of the Hyperboreans living in the Northern lands. It is to Strabo that we owe the first comprehensive description of the savagery of the Northern lands. For him, life in a colder climate is conducive to savagery. The world that lay beyond the islands of Briton was a dangerous place. Strabo spoke of an island at the end of the world; "of this we have nothing certain to relate, except that its inhabitants are even more savage than the Britons, as they are both cannibals and omnivorous(or grass eaters), and consider it commendable to devour their deceased parents."¹²

The early mythology of the North was filled with competing images of savagery and peace, of great Amazon women, of cannibalism, and of the Isle of the Blest which lay beyond the lived world as a kind of heaven. The belief that the Northern lands were a dangerous place was popularized by Strabo, considered to be the founder of Geographical classification. However, the peaceful images implied by Greek mythology remained.

As Nansen illustrates, during the early Middle Ages, the Bible became viewed as the true source of wisdom about the

¹² Nansen, op.cit., 82. See also O.A.W.Dilke, "Geographical Perceptions of the North in Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy", Arctic, Vol.37, No.4 (1984) 347-41.

northern regions of the world. The Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea (527 A.D.) wrote of Skridfinns, a heathen people from the North who worshipped many Gods and practiced barbaric sacrificial rites. By the ninth century, contact with these barbarians had proceeded through the adventures of Charlemagne and the early Christian crusades. Adam of Bremen, director of the cathedral school in Bremen, was responsible for the continuance of this Northern mythology.¹³ The Baltic sea contained many islands inhabited by barbarians. Also, the Land of Women existed there, as did a tribe of one-footed human flesh eaters. While the Danes, who had been Christianized by Charlemagne, were considered a pious people, beyond them lived a "babbling people who are incomprehensible".

The Christianizing of the North was precipitated by the voyages of the Norwegians far off their coast to Iceland and Greenland between 860 and 870 A.D.. However, the most important set of voyages were described in the Saga of Eirik Raude, or Eric the Red, who ventured into Northern waters around 1000, to spread Christianity to the Northern reaches of the world. His missionary endeavors formed part of the

¹³ Theodore E. Layng, "Early Geographical Concepts of the Northwest Passage," in Canada's Changing North, ed., William C. Wonders (Toronto : Maclelland and Stewart, 1971) 31-39. Reprinted from North, Vol.13, No.4 (1966). According to Layng, Adam of Bremen was the first to record the existence of Greenland and Iceland. 31.

Norwegian oral legends that were chronicled in the King's Mirror and the Historae Norwegiae (1250). The travels of the Norsemen to Iceland and Greenland have subsequently been verified by the discovery of evidence of early Christianity in these places. More important, perhaps, for the continuation of the Northern mythology, was the saga of Lief, son of the Eric the Red, who ventured from Greenland and discovered Vineland the Good.

Icelandic literature contains many references to lands that lay beyond Greenland and Iceland. Helluland, the land of flat stones, Markland, the land of woods, and Vineland, the land of vines, were all supposedly discovered by Lief Ericson. According to legend, Lief was on a voyage from Norway to Greenland and began to drift off course. He drifted to Vineland, a rich fertile place which also became known as the *Insulae Fortunatae* and the Land of the Amazons.¹⁴ It was thought that these places were somehow connected to Africa, and provided a link with the earlier Greek and Roman mythology about the area of the North. In the Lief saga, mention is made of missiles projected by the local people at his company, reminiscent of the Cyclops legend in the *Odyssey*. According to Nansen, there was a common belief that the Icelandic sagas of Lief are simply

¹⁴ Alan Cooke, "The Identification of Vinland", Polar Record, Vol.12, No.80 (1942) 583-7.

reinterpretations of the Greek and Roman view, that the Northlands were inhabited by either a peaceful non-warring people, or a savage tribe of amazons or cannibals. The characterization of the people of the North was thus coloured by ancient conceptions of the scope of savage life.¹⁵

According to Nansen, Greenland settlement declined after the 14th century, and by 1510 there is no mention of settlements. An explanation is offered by Nansen in terms of low productivity and nourishment, which forced the Norsemen back to their natural habitat. When Greenland was "rediscovered" in the 16th and 17th centuries, no Europeans were found there, just Eskimos.

The Map of the North

Along with his survey of Northern mythology, Nansen offered an interesting chapter on the development of cartography, which definitely shaped the geographical and cultural images projected by early exploration. During the Middle Ages, maps usually took a T shape, as the circular disc maps had been lost. While Parmenides' regional zonation, which had been

¹⁵ For a more complete discussion of this phenomenon see Louis Rey, "The Evangelization of the Arctic in the Middle Ages: Gardar, the "Diocese of Ice", Arctic, Vol.37, No.4 (1984) 324-33.

projected on a disc, was retained, the T shape reflected the significance of the cross in Christian theology. As Nansen pointed out, as the Greek configurative maps were rediscovered, they were gradually integrated into the T shape to become squares, depicting the four corners of the earth that were mentioned in the Bible. Wheel maps were also produced, placing Jerusalem in the centre and paradise to the far East, which was importantly located at the top of the maps. The wheel map was a Christian reflection of the Ptolemaic universal system, that placed the earth, with its capital of Jerusalem, in the centre of the universe. Ptolemy also influenced Arab cartographers of this period who produced round maps of the oecumene, charted the first lines of longitude and latitude, and also, according to Nansen, "had the sense" to collect information about the customs and character of the people they encountered on their voyages. Their conception of the Northern people followed the same mythological pattern of the Greeks and Romans, and they wrote of amazons, lands of plenty, blessed isles, pygmies and unintelligible beasts.

With the development of compass charts and the use of the Astrolabe that measured latitude in relation to the position of the Sun, first mentioned at the close of the 12th century, the North Star became the significant focus for all navigation. Roger Bacon's lodestone compass pointed

directly to it, and as the compass became more accepted as a method of navigation, the Italians in the 13th century began to chart accurate descriptions of coastlines based on compass directions.

The lived oecumene, as the traditional space of navigation, and the reference point for the determination of the extent of the earth, was replaced by the detailed compass navigation reference points developed by the Italians in their "sailing books". In these books, the Northern lands were almost always depicted as islands.

The close of the 15th century saw the first introduction of globes into Europe, combining the Greek notion of the earth as a disc, and the navigational information of the Italians using compass and Astrolabe calculations as empirical reference points. This combination was responsible for the first theory of global circumnavigation, and inspired Columbus, who travelled with a globe on board his ship, to seek the shortest route to the riches of the Orient. According to Theodore Layng, the introduction of the globe to navigation was crucial for the motivation to find the Northwest Passage. He argues that,

Geography begins with Ptolemy, of course, and he had long ago (A.D. 150) decreed that the known world between the Canaries and his farthest east should occupy 180 degrees of longitude. After the thirteenth century

travels of Marco Polo, the cartographer's casually added another 60 degrees of mainland to Ptolemy's farthest east and placed Zipango (Japan) another 30 degrees beyond. The total extent, east to west, of the pre-Columbian world as shown on the Behaim globe of 1492 was 270 degrees, leaving some 90 degrees of ocean to be traversed. Nevertheless, as early as 1470 the concept of sailing due west to gain the riches of the east was a fully realized concept and awaited only the confirmation of Columbus.¹⁶

The center of global navigation became Bristol, England, whose merchants had a long established relationship in trade with fishermen from Iceland, who related the Norse sagas to a receptive audience. It was here that Giovanni Cabboti, John Cabot, a Portuguese sailor, came to enlist the power of the Bristol merchants to discover the legendary Vineland. According to William D. Smith, John Cabot's was the first attempt at a Northwest Passage. He set out in 1497 but he and his ship were lost. "Thus," said Smith, "the first man to seek the Northwest Passage became its first victim".¹⁷ Moreover, as the Portuguese had discovered the Azores, which were considered to be the entryway to the fantastic islands of legend that lay further west, combined with the Irish legends of Hy Breasail as the isle of the Blest, both Cabot and Columbus began their adventures to the New World. Because the newly created globes showed that the shortest

¹⁶ Layng, op.cit., 32.

¹⁷ William D. Smith, Northwest Passage, (New York: American Heritage Press, 1970) 21.

lines of latitude lay to the North, the search for the Northwest Passage began.

The creation of maps that included a description of the North was inspired by the desire of the cartographer to create an image of what the North could possibly mean. As Barry Lopez, in Arctic Dreams, points out, "the earliest maps of the Arctic reflected the skills and conceptions (and misconceptions) of the cultures that produced them. Long before it became a field science, cartography was a contemplative pursuit; cartographers drew fabled images and imaginary lands of their own divining."¹⁸ The image of the North was represented through the cartographic representations that provided a "mental map" for the voyages of discovery.

The North and the New Science

The North was depicted in a variety of forms; however, the consistent representation of mysterious people and lands is indisputable. It was an unknown place situated beyond the edge of the civilized world. It was barbaric, savage, dangerous, yet full of possibilities. As the elements of

¹⁸ Barry Lopez, Arctic Dreams (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986) 253.

modern nationalism emerged with the mercantile empires of Europe, the North came into focus as the source of the easiest sea-route to the Orient. The contact with native people that occurred with the voyages of discovery was coloured by well established mythological predispositions. Contact was usually one-sided, with the native people dismissed as uncivilized. Moreover, settlement of the North was rarely considered, given the severity of the climate and the obvious lack of vegetation. In all of this, the North figured as a strange, foreboding place, not easily settled, yet full of natural riches. The North and the East became entangled in the same mythology; they fit together in the expansive plans of the European mercantilist empires.¹⁹

Plato's myth of Atlantis, the myths of the isles of the Blest, the voyages to the Open White Sea by the Norsemen, to the settlement of the New World, the North, and the Northern sky, provided the focus for adventure and legend. The meaning of the North, supplied by a mythology which was not only consistent, but that also provided competing images of the savagery or blessedness that lay there, was contained within the Western imagination and so was given life by its pretensions. This imagination continued to animate the minds of the Northern explorers like Martin Frobisher, Samuel Hearne, the ill-fated Franklin, Alexander Mackenzie,

¹⁹ Helen Wallis, "England's Search for the Northwest Passage in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," Arctic, Vol.37, No.4 (1984) 453-72.

and others. The connection between the North and the East was forged by the preoccupation with the Northwest Passage.

The search for the Northwest Passage from the 16th century onwards was primarily a British passion. The Spanish and the Portuguese had settled in South and Central America, while the French had ventured into the interior of Canada through the vast river system that extended from their settlements in Nouvelle France. In the early 17th century, Henry Hudson set out to explore the route to the East and ventured into what is now known as Hudson Bay. In spite of severe winter conditions, and unfriendly Eskimos, Hudson was able to chart the coastline of the bay, which he believed to be the "vast polar sea" popularized by interpretations of Native legend and myth. Hudson met his end at the hands of his own mutinous crew, but laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company which was given a Royal Charter in 1670. According to William Smith, the Passage was not the preoccupation of the Hudson Bay Company.

The search for the Northwest Passage was mentioned in the charter, but many years past before the rich company found time to pursue that goal. Nevertheless, from the late seventeenth century onward, visiting company ships soon accurately charted Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait to show that there was no real opening to the west. For more than a hundred years, whalers and fishermen of all nations reaped the abundant harvest of Arctic waters, but the passage was forgotten. Only in the second decade of the nineteenth century did England's singular fascination with the

Northwest Passage come to life again.²⁰

The ambition of the company was to compete with the French fur traders by providing an alternative trading location. Moreover, in terms of establishing British sovereignty in the North, the HBC established a series of trading posts that stretched across the Eastern Arctic. By 1713, and the treaty of Utrecht, Britain had secured from France complete ownership of the area to the West of Quebec.

James Knight became the first overseas governor and was ambitious enough to lead an expedition for the legendary Copper River, said to be teeming with rich copper deposits. He left England in 1719 and disappeared in the frozen Northern waters. Exploration waned until 1730, when Irish MP Arthur Dobbs began a new campaign for settlement and exploration. The British navy, however, was reluctant to infringe on the territory of the HBC. However,

As far as Dobbs was concerned, the company's original charter required it to prosecute the search. The HBC was threatening British interests abroad with its obstructionist tactics, unable or unwilling to exploit its own territory fully, yet standing in the way of more enterprising merchants.²¹

²⁰ Smith, op.cit., 29.

²¹ Francis, op.cit., 39.

Dobbs concern was further intensified by rumours that the HBC had found a secret route to the East. With the help of Christopher Middleton, Dobbs successfully convinced the British Parliament to sponsor the first British Naval expedition in search of the Northwest Passage in 1741. The HBC was asked to cooperate and allowed naval ships to dock at port settlements. The first expedition was able to complete the reconnaissance of the northwest corner of Hudson Bay. When no new passage was found, Middleton returned to England to face a public inquiry. Dobbs was able to humiliate Middleton, and secretly strived for the creation of an alternative company that would stretch across the North to the Pacific, thus breaking the monopoly of the HBC. To this end, Dobbs invented passages on the map, alleged that Middleton had been bribed into failure by the HBC, and convened the Northwest Committee, which included such notables as George Berkeley. By 1745, Dobbs had convinced the British Parliament to offer a 20,000 pound reward to anyone who could discover the passage. The Northwest committee privately raised enough capital to sail two ships. However, upon arrival at the HBC post at Fort York, the company traders were reluctant to help. The end result of this fiasco was another public inquiry, this time into the monopoly of the HBC. Public opinion was strongly against chartered monopolies, as the liberal economy of

Britain had begun to expand . In the end, however, the monopoly remained as Dobbs was exposed for his practice of bribing informants at the inquiry. In 1753, Dobbs was shuffled off to become the governor of North Carolina.

After 1750, the search for the Northwest Passage concentrated on the establishment of an overland route. Facing war with France, the British admiralty could not afford the expense of Northern operations. The search for the passage and the Copper River was animated by Moses Norton, chief factor of the HBC at Churchill River. In 1768 he returned to London and received a grant from the HBC to advance the search. The overtrapping of the Hudson Bay area, along with the need to establish relations with the "far Northern Indians" for greater fur resources, was responsible for the overland voyage of Samuel Hearne in 1770.

Hearne was almost oblivious to the Native people; he believed that they lived relatively undisturbed by the presence of the white man. However, during the trip in search of the copper river, Hearne became increasingly appalled by their habits. The women did all the work while the men scouted and hunted; for Hearne these were signs of a very primitive social order that still relied on hunting and gathering for economic survival. With Hearne, were members

of the Chipewyan tribe whose previous contact with the northern eskimo was coloured by territorial confrontation. Hearne related a story about the Indian - Eskimo rivalry which came to a head at "Bloody Fall", where he observed the calculated slaughter of an Eskimo hunting band by his Chipewyan guides. In the end, no copper was found, and upon Hearne's return to England the HBC gave up interest in the far Northwest and concentrated on developing the interior fur market west of Quebec and Ontario. Hearne's Eurocentricism never allowed him to see Native people as anything but savages, representatives of an inferior form of humanity.²² This was to become the dominant image of Native societies in Europe.

The task of establishing the overland route to the East was taken up by Alexander Mackenzie, who left the revolutionary war in New York and settled with his royalist family in Montreal. The Montreal fur trading community, stymied by the natural obstacles of the river system, became increasingly interested in the Northwest territory that had been almost abandoned by the HBC. In 1779 the Northwest Company was formed to mount a formal challenge to the HBC's fur trading

²² Ian R. Stone, "Profile: Samuel Hearne," Polar Record, Vol.23, No.142 (1986) 49-56. Stone points out that Hearne was an accomplished naturalist. In his reports, "he included material not only on the "principle Quadrupeds" but also on fish, birds and, charmingly, "Frogs of various sizes and colours." 56.

empire. Mackenzie joined, and set off to the Athabaska region to attempt an overland crossing to the Pacific. This new fur trading frontier was enhanced by the creation of a set of maps by Peter Pond, which showed the existence of a river that flowed from the Athabaskan region to the western part of the Arctic ocean, "la Mer du Nord-Ouest". Mackenzie travelled this route with the guidance of the local Native Dene population, and effectively opened up an empire for the Northwest Company.

It is obvious that the ambitions of Northern exploration were led, from the fifteenth century onwards, by mercantile interests that would feed the European metropolis with much needed raw materials; whaling provided oil to light the growing cities, while furs provided the growing fashion trends with new and unusual varieties of pelts. The commercial exploitation of the Canadian North followed a gradual pattern of economic colonization. British naval expeditions had subsided significantly with the outbreak of war in Europe and the successive revolutions in America and France. The commercial monopoly of the HBC was effectively challenged by the Northwest Company, and the settlement of the North never grew beyond the trading stations required to send raw materials to markets in Europe. The Northern New World still represented a vast commercial storehouse, while to the South, settlement became increasingly permanent.

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain found itself with an over-manned navy. After 1815, commercialism was replaced by nationalism and science as the prime motivations for the search and exploration of the Canadian Northwest. Russian whaling and trapping had been extended to Alaska, and the British government began to encourage the fortification of British North America against repeated attempts of American invasion. Successfully defended in 1812, British North America required further surveillance, to fill in the white spaces on the map in the beginnings of a new era of nationalism. The search for the Northwest Passage was no longer motivated primarily by a desire to reach the East for commercial purposes,

Instead, the search for a passage was now rationalized as an entirely disinterested scientific enterprise carried out solely to extend human knowledge of the world.²³

The liberal, enlightened advancement of Science, along with the proliferation of "geographical societies" in Europe, encouraged the exploration of the North. The gradual emergence of the Human Sciences provided the epistemological context for this exploration. As Barry Gough explains,

²³ Francis, op.cit., 72.

In the years of Pax Britannica following Waterloo, the Royal Navy had resumed the exploration, hydrography and scientific survey that had been its strength since the days of James Cook and George Vancouver. There was popular enthusiasm in Britain for scientific knowledge especially among the broadening middle classes, and scientific societies were flourishing.²⁴

Geography gave way to ethno-geography, commercial exploitation and mercantilism gave way to political economy and the measurement of productivity and labor, and objective and systematic scientific techniques in the fields of biology and botany, the new classificatory sciences, replaced the attitude towards Nature that had characterized earlier endeavors. In the words of John Barrow, second secretary of the British Admiralty who had been given this new charge, the project of northern exploration was,

...one of the most liberal and disinterested that was ever undertaken, and every way worthy of a great and prosperous and enlightened nation; having as its primary object the advancement of science, for its own sake, without any selfish or interested views. It would be somewhat mortifying if a naval power but of yesterday (i.e. Russia) should complete a discovery in the nineteenth century which was so happily commenced by Englishmen in the sixteenth.²⁵

²⁴ Barry M. Gough, "British-Russian Rivalry and the Search for the Northwest Passage in the Early Nineteenth Century," Polar Record, Vol. 123, No. 44 (1986) 301-17.

²⁵ Francis, op.cit. 72-3.

The twin themes of nationalism and scientific enlightenment are clearly evidenced by Barrow's sentiments. In fact, Russian whaling fleets had been collecting valuable information on ice floes and water currents in the Arctic for some time, and Barrow felt that it was in the interest of British North America to match this effort with an intensive scientific investigation of the North. Barrow was a diplomatic adventurer who knew the value of the British empire, having served in China and South Africa. He also believed the unsubstantiated reports of an open "polar sea". To test this theory two ships left London, one bound for the geographical North Pole, a route that was never before taken, and the other to go the conventional route through the Davis Strait to the northwest of Baffin Island. The aim of the second expedition was to complete the mapping of the Northern Coastline, and the discovery of new whaling grounds. Pierre Berton argues that Barrow's considerations were indeed fed by scientific ambitions.

Certainly science would be advanced - seas charted, coastlines mapped, thousands of minute observations recorded, the flora and fauna of the new land meticulously noted, geological specimens collected, the habits of natives exhaustively studied. The keeping of records of every kind was a British obsession. But all this was incidental to the Great Quest.²⁶

²⁶ Pierre Berton, The Arctic Grail: Quest For the NorthWest Passage and the North Pole, 1818-1909 (Toronto: Maclelland and Stewart, 1988) 20-21.

This expedition was led by John Ross, who , with the aid of an Inuit interpreter, made the first contact with the Etah Eskimos in July, 1818. "According to Ross, they could not believe that he had come from the south, a region they assumed was an icy waste."²⁷ This was to be the beginning of a relationship with northern natives, who were constantly astonished at the ambitions of the white man, and the study of the culture of Northern Native people. The British were impressed by the use of dog teams for transportation over the rugged terrain, and so began an adaptation to native lifestyles that proved to be the saving grace of Northern exploration.

While the expedition to the Pole proved fruitless, Ross' voyage not only opened new ground for British surveillance, it sparked a controversy. Sailing up Lancaster Sound, Ross affirmed that at the end of the sound was a mountain range, the Croker Mountains. Upon his return to England, Ross was ridiculed by Barrow for such a conclusion. In 1819 Barrow sent another expedition to test this theory led by Edward Parry.²⁸ Parry discovered that the Mountains were simply a

²⁷ Francis, op.cit., 77.

²⁸ Berton, op.cit., 47. Berton argued that by the time of William Edward Parry, "The Elizabethan idea that the Passage would provide a practical route to the fabled wealth of the Orient had long been discarded. But the collection of biological and geological specimens, the recording of

mirage, not an uncommon feature of northern exploration. It was this strait that proved to be the passage which led to the discovery of the Northwest Passage. Perhaps more importantly, Parry's expedition was the first to be outfitted with stocks of "bully beef", an innovation that "revolutionized Arctic discovery", as it allowed for longer stays. Indeed, Parry's men spent a whole winter grounded by the ice in Lancaster Sound, and survived by following a rigid daily routine that included exercise, religious services, the creation of a weekly newspaper, and even dramatic acting.²⁹

At the same time, John Franklin took the overland route for the purposes of completing the extensive mapping project begun earlier by the Northwest Company. Meanwhile, in 1824 Parry returned to the Arctic and was lost. Although Parry was unsuccessful in his attempts to find the Passage, he "had successfully charted vast stretches of coastline and had brought many important scientific observations (mostly

folkways of the aborigines, the magnetic and environmental observations - all these made sense." 47.

²⁹ "The North-West Passage, Or Voyage Unfinished : A Polar Play and Musical Entertainment" , introduction by Daniel Claustre, Polar Record, Vol.21, No.131(1982) 95-115. This was the first play ever written for an Arctic performance and was designed to improve morale. This activity was part of the "Arctic Sublime". See footnote ahead.

meteorological and magnetic) and zoological and geological collections."³⁰

Franklin accomplished the construction of Fort Franklin and designed a longboat capable of arctic navigation. Both Franklin and Parry had written books about their adventures which had been well received by a British public caught in the advancement of the empire. Both were championed by the British public and press. Franklin was able to map the western coastline of the northern ocean, and make contact with many Eskimos in the western arctic. The involvement of the British Navy in Northern exploration, however, declined when it seemed impossible that they would ever be able to navigate to the North Pole, and achieve naval supremacy at the top of the world.

The expeditions to the Northern interior continued. From 1829-33, John Ross and his crew was able to survive four winters in the Arctic using steam technology for warmth and power. In Ross's own words,

Amid all its brilliancy, this land, the land of ice and snow, has ever been, and ever will be a dull, dreary, heart-sinking monotonous waste under the influence of which the very mind is paralyzed, ceasing to care or think... for it is but the view of uniformity and silence and death. We were here out of

³⁰ Ibid., 96.

our element, so much in the philosophy of life as in the geography of it. To us the sight of ice was a plague, a vexation, a torment, an evil, a matter of despair.³¹

By the middle of the century, more and more incidences of despair and frustration, like the one described by Ross, began to tarnish the adventurous idea of Northern exploration. The question remained, however, of the completion of the Arctic coastline.

After the merger of the Northwest company and the HBC in 1821, it became more and more apparent that foreign fur traders and whalers were making inroads to British stocks. For the purposes of sovereignty and defense, Governor George Simpson, in 1836, commissioned an expedition to complete the survey of the Northern coastline. His cousin, Thomas Simpson, a professional scientist and surveyor, received the commission which was completed in three years. However, regardless of his training, Simpson relied on the expertise of the Eskimos to help his survey. The Eskimos were employed extensively as guides and hunters by the explorers. In fact, "the gradual discovery of the Arctic coastline was accomplished by European manpower for European purposes but in the end it was a triumph for Inuit know how and

³¹ Francis, op.cit., 107.

indigenous travel skills."³² It had become clear that the relationship between Native and Non-native Northerners had become one of mutual necessity. It became especially clear in the tragic case of John Franklin who had left England in 1844 on what was to be his last voyage.

John Ross was the first to raise alarm about Franklin's situation. He compelled the admiralty to send out rescue missions. In 1850, there were 6 expeditions alone involving 12 ships and 450 men. Public imagination in England ran wild, "chained up by the polar spirit"³³. Lady Jane Franklin employed psychics and clairvoyants to discover her husbands whereabouts, but it was not until Doctor John Rae's discovery in 1853 of evidence of "cannibalism" that Franklin's fate became known. In 1859, the last remains of his crew were found far from the ship; apparently in a desperate attempt to survive they had begun to walk across King William island. The Franklin mystery became the stuff of legend. Recently, however, archaeologists have suggested that the

³² Ibid., 128.

³³ Ibid., 140. The literature on the Franklin expedition and the expedition to search for the lost explorer is voluminous. For a more recent discussion of Franklin's fate see The Franklin Era in Canadian Arctic History: 1845-1859., ed. Patricia D. Sutherland (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1985). and Frozen in Time: Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition, Owen Beattie and John Geiger (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1987).

use of badly made tin cans may have caused insanity among the crew due to lead poisoning.

After Franklin's ill-fated last voyage, concentration turned to the discovery of the North Pole, a race that involved many from around the world. The North Pole was the end of the North, the end of the world, one of the last real terra ingognita on the globe. In this context, arctic explorers are often compared to astronauts;

. . . one difference, however, is that while space exploration, because of its expense, requires the vast resources of wealthy nation-states, arctic exploration still had room for the freelancer, the eccentric, the individual obsessed by a theory or better by a wanderlust; in a word, the amateur.³⁴

One such amateur was Charles Francis Hall, who had been so fascinated by the search for Franklin that he had sold his newspaper operation and travelled to the North. In 1860, Hall organized the New Franklin Research expedition. He lived with the Inuit for two years. A devout Christian himself, he stated that, "the Esquimaux really deserve the attention of the philanthropist and Christian. Plant among them a colony of men and women having right-minded principles and, after some patient toil, glorious fruits

³⁴ Ibid., 157.

must follow."³⁵ Hall travelled around America giving public lectures on his "life with the Esquimaux" using an Inuit couple and their son as his stage props. His real passion lay in finding the North Pole for America.

I feel to spend my life in extending our knowledge of the earth up to that spot which is directly under Polaris -the crowning jewel of the Arctic dome. I, for one, hang my head in shame when I think how many thousands of years ago it was that god gave to man this beautiful world - the whole of it - to subdue, and yet that part of it that must be most interesting and glorious -at least to me - remains as unknown to us as though it had never been created.³⁶

Hall's Northern mission was never fulfilled. In the end it was the Scandinavians, themselves a northern people, who discovered the Pole. More specifically it was Otto Sverdrup and Roald Amundsen who created the "Scandinavian school of arctic exploration", which employed as often as possible traditional Native technology to accomplish their task. Their quest was fed by a scientific purpose, in this case, the determination of the theoretical possibility that the "magnetic" pole was in constant motion. In the process, the northwest passage was finally discovered in 1906, sailed through by Amundsen in the vessel Gjoa. However, by this time, the importance of the passage as a trade route was

³⁵ Ibid., 161. See also Berton, op.cit., 345-52.

³⁶ Ibid., 165.

almost non-existent. The accomplishment was received gratefully by the Dominion government of Canada, which had taken control over the Arctic territory from Britain in 1870, and was eager to establish its own form of sovereignty there. Amundsen respected Native ways of life and warned of the cultural genocide that might accompany massive white settlement of the territory. He spoke in an international context.

It must, therefore, be the bounded duty of civilized nations who come into contact with the Eskimo to safeguard them against contaminating influences, and by laws and stringent regulations protect them against the many perils and evils of so-called civilization. My sincerest wish for our friends the Nechelli Eskimo is, that civilization may never reach them.³⁷

The safeguarding of Native people in the North remains an image that animates the discussion of Northern alternatives in Canada. Perhaps it represents a residue of what was once known as the "Arctic Sublime". The search for the Northwest Passage in the nineteenth century was a popular event. In Britain, the fate of Franklin was a constant pre-occupation until the first evidence of his demise was discovered. In general,

Each failure, especially the failure to find a passage, made the mystery of the Arctic more fascinating, the challenge more

³⁷ Ibid., 190.

appealing. It seemed that Nature was manifested not only at its harshest but also at its most inscrutable in the unknown reaches of the polar world.³⁸

The nature of the sublime in the Arctic was depicted in the reports that returned to Britain and in the landscape painting; both presented the Arctic landscape as a vast, empty and panoramic wonderland. Man in the Arctic could overcome the coldness of the climate by concentrating on these images, or so it was thought. It has been suggested that images of the sublime and the picturesque caused the improper calculation of the severity of the Arctic winter.

In the case of the nineteenth century British explorer in the Arctic, the known schemata for representing nature in prose and pictures were the Sublime and the Picturesque. They would permit him, figuratively speaking, to draw aesthetic maps of the Arctic that other Britons could read sensibly. Thus, they acted as the Linnean system for botanical identifications did for the naturalists, among the explorers, and as the astronomical computations of latitude and longitude did for the astronomers among them. All such systems are, loosely speaking, taxonomies or schemata - in short, metaphors that, because of the authority invested in them by a society, became accepted as the most accurate measurements of the external world.³⁹

³⁸ Chauncey C. Loomis, "The Arctic Sublime" in Nature and The Victorian Imagination, ed., U.C. Knoepflemacher and G.B. Tennyson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 95-112. 100. For a discussion of the sublime and the picturesque in the Victorian imagination see I.S. Maclaren, "The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845-1859," Arctic, Vol.38, No.2 (1985) 89-103.

³⁹ Maclaren, op.cit., 90.

Indeed, the work of various artists tended to depict the Arctic in these ways. Also included are the works of Mary Shelley, who sets Frankenstein (1818) in the frozen wasteland of the Arctic, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" uses a similar setting. In the end, the British became obsessed with the North because of these images. The residue of these images persists today in the panoramic visions presented of the North in Canada. They may even provide a regularity of focus for the justification of the Human Sciences.

As one of the early proponents of using the science of Anthropology in the North, Nansen concluded In Northern Mists with an attempt to shed light on the people of the North, and to illustrate how the mythology that had been perpetuated was inferior to the exacting standards of academic practice in the late nineteenth century. According to Nansen, in reality the Eskimo lived a unique culture, "he developed his peculiar culture: with its ingenious appliances, long before the beginning of history." Revealing his anthropological bias, Nansen described the Skrealings found by the Norsemen.

In their anthropological race-characteristics, in their sealing and whaling culture, and in their language they are very different from all other known peoples, both

in America and Asia, and we must suppose that for long ages, ever since they began to fit themselves for their life along the frozen shores, they have lived apart, separated from others, perhaps for a long time as a small tribe." ⁴⁰

The Eskimos, or Skrealings, were friendly to the Norsemen who quickly learned their ways in order to survive. The settlement of Greenland and Iceland, and the discovery of Helluland, Markland and Vineland, as contained within the Norse Sagas, continued the mythology of the different nature of Northern life and people.

Nansen, in his characterization of the Eskimo culture, continued this speculation, but in the language of an informed scientific speculation. In other words, in order to understand the North, we must be able to classify the differences that exist between the North and everywhere else. This classification has a history of its own, according to the anthropologist Nansen, and the purpose of this work was to prove a sense of continuity about Northern classification through mythology from the Greeks to the fifteenth century. The value of this continuity is said to rest in the speculative delimiting of the Northern space. Nansen's approach to the North was more rigorous and benefitted from the developments that had taken place within the scientific field of Anthropology. While Nansen described

⁴⁰ Nansen, op.cit., Vol.2, 67.

the physical features of the Eskimo as "dolichocephalic", or "short broad faces, small slanting eyes, flat small nose and broad cheeks", the early Norsemen described them as trolls, pygmies, giants, unipeds, or mouthless savages, pointing to a tradition that emanates from the ancient classification of the North as a barbaric place.

The Canadian North and the Human Sciences

This brief survey of the history of Arktikos to the North Pole was designed to provide a general understanding of the range with which Northern mythology was deployed. The North, in a general sense, was always considered a qualitatively "different" place from Europe. As part of the New World, it came under the same Enlightenment strategy as did the rest of the Americas. At the outset, the search for the Northwest Passage to the Orient conditioned the characterization of the North as a dangerous locale. Native populations, like elsewhere in the New World, were contained within a spectrum of meaning that ranged from "noble savage" living in an unspoiled state of Nature, to primitive and heathen animals who knew nothing of the advancement of science and seemed to be caught like frozen figures in a static time zone. The "contact period" between Europeans and "indigenous" people (the term indigenous, I suggest, is

indicative of an historical predilection of anthropology to establish origins of culture) was often characterized by violence and bloodshed. The residue of this relationship has taken many forms. The task of the Human Sciences has been to explain the context of these forms by revealing socio-cultural, political, economic, biological, psychological, linguistic and finally cultural patterns that are responsible for defining the "true North" in Canada. The creation of the "archive" of the North in Canada remains an on-going adventure in research. This adventure is no longer motivated simply the possibility of discovering rich resources that can be exploited by a commercial market, rather the adventure takes place within the context of research into what are considered to be the definitive categories of Man applied to a specific geographical and climatic region known as the North.

The statements made by John Barrow, in reference to the scientific exploration of the North in Canada, indicate the emergence of a new attitude toward the New World, and in the end, more importantly, reveal the acceptance of the category of Mankind. The objective exploration of Canada's Northern territories was from then on performed within the logic of the Human Sciences, which were created to reveal the historical dimensions of Man in a series of relations with Nature. The 19th century witnessed the creation of a variety

of Human Sciences designed to map the objective nature of Life, Labor and Language throughout the world. Their wisdom was deployed to explain the range of differences that existed between cultures, economies and languages in order to conform with the logic of "progressive enlightenment" implied by a new epistemological order. The taxonomies of myth and of commercial wealth that had animated the adventures to the New World gave way to taxonomies of Life, Labour and Language. The project of the Human Sciences generated a new form of knowledge of Man and Nature and described the extent of this relationship in terms of History. Archaeology, Anthropology, Political Economy, Linguistics and Philology share a common ownership of the means of the historical production of culture. Geographical regionalization provides the boundaries between cultures that display differential rates of cultural production and development. The regionalization of the Canadian North follows the pattern created by the Human Sciences, and has been contained within an archive of Northern Studies, an archive that requires constant replenishment of information and measurement about what makes the North different from anywhere else. In the end, the North in Canada is

objectified by the project of the Human Sciences and contained within its logic of measurement.

The North began as the subject of mythology, a place that lay beyond the lived world of the ancient oecumene, a place not of this world. Voyages of discovery were charted with this in mind; travel to a "New World" left open the possibility of re-mythologization. In this context, the North was part of the New World as well as an imagined bridge to the Orient, full of danger and exciting adventure. During the Scientific Revolution, the New World became a giant Natural Laboratory that was inspected and classified according to the rules of Natural Science. The North remained a mythical image in the minds of Europeans, and like the Orient was created and re-created to suit the enterprises of commercialism and the classificatory discourse of representation. The techniques of representation treated the North as a vast storehouse of mineral and animal resources, an extension of the commercial empires of Europe. As the Human Sciences began to displace the representational table, the North became an objectified space that could be studied in terms of the historical production of the qualities of Life, Labor and Language. In Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape, Barry Lopez captured the sentiment of this project.

If we are to devise an enlightened plan for human activity in the Arctic, we need a more particularized understanding of the land itself - not a more refined mathematical knowledge but a deeper understanding of its nature, as if it were, itself, another sort of civilization we had to reach some agreement with.⁴¹

Indeed, an "enlightened plan" continues to be the project of the Human Sciences, and we will now endeavour to understand its ever-increasing scope of activity. The respect for Native culture, economic productivity and language in the Canadian North are contained within this "enlightened plan".

Images of enlightenment have indeed coloured the imagination of academic specialists who attempt to "discover" the definition of the North in Canada. We must keep in mind, however, that any designation of a geographical space or place carries with it a certain mental predisposition. In this context, J.Wreford-Watson wrote that,

. . . the "North" has been different things to different ages as various mental pictures about it have been built up, discarded, reviewed or modified ; with changing perceptions. To speak about "the" geography of the North is nonsense; there are as many geographies as there have been illusions.⁴²

⁴¹ Barry Lopez, op.cit., 11.

⁴² J.Wreford-Watson, "The Role of Illusion in North American Geography", Canadian Geographer, Vol.13, 1969. 10.

The "illusions" about which Wreford-Watson speaks have included the history of mythical speculation that extends from the Greeks to the Scientific Revolution. As the space of "resemblance" gave way to the table of "representation" of the new Science in the seventeenth-century the mythical speculation about geographical knowledge changed. The establishment of a fixed route to the Orient through the Northwest Passage required the development of the representational form of geographical science that characterized the early voyages of discovery. The new globes divided the world into the known and the unknown areas and acted as a table of representation for geographical taxonomies; "that is, all designation must be accomplished by means of a certain relation to all other possible designations."⁴³ The New World was compared to the Old World on the basis of natural resources and their exploitation for the accumulation of wealth. Moreover, the New World represented a natural laboratory for the classification of new species of plant and animal life. As such, the New World, and the North, existed simply as new territories, extensions of Europe itself.

⁴³ Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (a translation of Les Mots et les Choses, 1966) (New York: Random House, 1970) 144.

It is precisely this illusion of extension that became evaluated by the Human Sciences, which attempted, from the early nineteenth-century onward, to establish the historical and pre-historical development of the New World and the North. The new scientific categories of Anthropology, Ethnology, Biology, Demography, Political Economy and Philology and Linguistics calculated new forms of measurement for the determination of historical specificities of Life, Labour and Language in North America and Europe. Enlightened science, with its implicit logic of development and progress, provided the new spaces of investigation.

In the Canadian context, the definition of the North has been combined with the definition of the natural territorial frontier of Canadian Sovereignty. Since 1870, when the Dominion government was extended to include Rupert's Land, Canada's role in "its" North has changed in response to changing perceptions of sovereignty, defense, land use and Native people. These responses correspond to ideas that continually develop in the study of Politics, Economics, the Environment and Culture. Northern alternatives have been fed by the impulse to secure Canadian territory, yet have followed a pattern determined by past experience. The mythology about the North in Canada is also fuelled by the need to establish a definite cultural pattern in Canadian

society. It is most often said, that we, as a Northern people, are imaginative, hard working and willing to take on insurmountable odds to ensure the destiny of our nation. To the Canada First Movement, our northerness denoted not merely geographical location or climatic condition, but a combination of both, molding racial character. The term "Northern" became synonymous with strength and self-reliance. Along with the theme of national destiny came a respect for the overwhelming power of Nature. As Stephen Leacock said,

The North is the only place where Nature still can claim to rule, the only place as yet but little vexed by man. All over the globe there spread his noisy failures ; the North alone is silent and in peace.⁴⁴

This "imaginative geography" has remained a central feature of the meaning of the North in Canada. During the Second World War , the North took on a new significance as a staging point for the allied war effort. The war also revealed a displaced population, who suffered from disease, underemployment and cultural indifference. After the war, the federal government took on the responsibility of

⁴⁴ Stephen Leacock, "Reflections on the North", The Beaver, (1936) reprinted in Northern Treasury, ed. Clifford Watson. Toronto: Thomas Neilson and Sons, 1954: 56.

Northern Development. This disposition was best expressed by Jean Lesage in 1954.

Someone has said that a nation remains great only while it has a frontier to conquer. Canada has always had its frontier. In 1900 it lay to the West. The West was conquered and another frontier remains. Today it stretches to our North.⁴⁵

Northern Development has had many critics. At first glance, the Northern lands of Canada seem to be barren and desert-like, inhospitable to the traditional patterns of land use that animated activity in the South. From the Southern perspective, northern settlement and development was often only temporary. Once fur stocks were depleted, commercialism would move on. The North was a vast commercial empire, and was never considered a viable settlement locale because of the lack of vegetative sustenance and the severity of the climate. Technological advancement in extractive industries, accompanied by the advancement of transportation and communication techniques, made the Canadian North more hospitable and habitable. Both federal and provincial governments were eager to exploit the new found resources. They also found a population in crisis.

⁴⁵ Jean Lesage, "Development of the North", speech to the Canadian Club in Toronto, 1954. 3.

The general treatment of Canada's Native population has been analyzed and criticized from a variety of perspectives. In terms of economic development, Native people have been described as living in a "culture of poverty". In terms of cultural and linguistic development, Native people have been considered a primitive people, with an under-developed sense of language and culture. The term "indigenous" or "aboriginal" has been applied to a population that is far from homogeneous. Native lifestyles quickly adapted to the logic of commercialism and development. Cultural transformation left many scars on the land and the people, but this has now been replaced by a new respect for Native culture and traditions. Aside from the obvious commercialism of Native art, selling "artifacts" to a receptive Southern audience, the respect for Native culture in the North comes in the form of Social Programmes which follow the same rhetoric of development. Self-determination has become the legal and political form of representation within a non-Native language and logic. The terms of reference that Native people have to deploy their cultural and political uniqueness are still formed by the rapidly advancing developments in a variety of "expert" disciplines. These disciplines follow the epistemological pattern of the Human Sciences, and the following chapters will outline the scope with which, I believe, Northern Life, Labor and Language have been codified within the archive of Northern

Studies. First, however, it is important to understand the general character of the Human Sciences, as interpreted by Michel Foucault.

Michel Foucault is probably best remembered for his polemical discussions of the relationship between power and knowledge in the contemporary practice of social and physical science. In general, what Foucault accomplished was the formulation of a series of statements about the condition of scientific truth since the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was able to trace the reaction of science to new "regimes" of truth and reveal the "politics of the scientific statement". According to Foucault, scientific statements were subject to "internal regimes of power" which allowed their expression as truthful statements. In coming to terms with power, Foucault explained that,

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," Power/Knowledge, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Gordon, et.al., (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) 109-133. 119.

In 1966, Foucault produced an account of the regimes of power which constituted the Human Sciences in The Order of Things. The Human Sciences, he argued, produced the objective scientific category called Man and placed it within a series of regimes of power that produced, in turn, the scientific practices that inspect the life, labour and language of Man.

Chapter III

THE HUMAN SCIENCES

Introduction

The discovery of the Canadian North took place within the general paradigms of knowledge which animated voyages of exploration. In this sense, the meaning of the North changed in response to the creation of new strategies that were designed to reveal its true nature in comparison to the general nature of Western knowledge. The North moved from a subject of mythology and theology to an object of scientific inquiry as the knowledge and meaning of the North became part of a larger activity; first in the poetic speculation of Ancient mythology; secondly in an attempt to posit a Christian world religion; thirdly, in the expansion of mercantilist empires; and finally, in the connection of the North to the general history of Mankind. What I attempted to show in the last chapter was the surface of the history of the North under Western eyes.

In this chapter I want to suggest that the surface appearance of the North in the language of the West has been conditioned by the practice of the Human Sciences which were formulated at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The general sciences of Biology and Botany, Anthropology and Economy, Linguistics and Philology were re-created to achieve a re-ordering of the objects and subjects of knowledge. Their focus was the description of the general conditions of Mankind. They ultimately provided the basis for the differentiation of cultures.

The North falls quite naturally into the view of the Human Sciences in the nineteenth century, as part of the general field of Western knowledge. The collection of flora and fauna, the classification of the conditions of life in the North, the representation of the origins of Northern human habitation and development under the harshness of the Northern geographical and physical environment, the delineation of Northern cultures and languages; all of these practical inquiries take place within the field of the Human Sciences.

In the Canadian North, the Human Sciences have a long pedigree. More specifically, in the second phase of the search for the Northwest Passage, what was to become the Canadian North was increasingly explored not only for a "passage to the east" but for its contribution to the general advancement of the Human Sciences. In this sense, the North became "regionalized" as a specific locale in the order of nature. What the North revealed were "other"

conditions of human and physical existence that eventually became defined in terms of the scientific rules of the Human Sciences.

For Michel Foucault, the relationship between power and knowledge most aptly describes the Human Sciences, those scientific gazes that continuously probe Man's social conditions in order to identify social customs and practices, as well as physical and environmental norms that are universally valid. Foucault's pointed attack on the Human Sciences in The Order of Things (1966, Les Mots et Les Choses) rejected the "history of ideas" in order to create an alternative methodology that would allow him to uncover their epistemological differences. The "archaeological" method began with the method of structuralism but ended in a radically new expression of the formation of ideas. According to one interpretation of Foucault's work,

While the structuralist claims to find cross-cultural, ahistorical, abstract laws defining the total space of possible permutations of meaningless elements, the archaeologist only claims to be able to find the local, changing rules which at a given period in a particular discursive formation define what counts as an identical meaningful statement.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Hubert L. Dreyfuss and Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.) 55.

For Foucault, archaeology represented a response to the hackneyed generalizations that plagued the validity of the social and physical sciences, as well as the preponderance of philosophy for the establishment of universal truths. In the end, the archaeologist dispensed with truth in and for itself, and merely recorded the rules of discursive practice that gave legitimacy to meaning in a chosen historical period. The archaeologist looked for the "field of use", the shifts in practice, the substitution of procedures, the "discursive formations" that "produce the object about which they speak." Foucault studied "spaces on which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed."

In the early nineteenth century, the Human Sciences created Man as an object for the first time, and Foucault pointed to this event as one of singular importance for the contemporary age of science. In later writings, Foucault expanded his field of vision to include Nietzsche's idea of genealogy, whose task it was "to record the singularity of events outside any momentous finality" and to "destroy the primacy of origins, of unchanging truths".⁴⁸ Like the archaeologist, the genealogist is interested in establishing the importance of discontinuous practices and changes in epistemic configurations; however, the genealogist goes one

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy and History," Language, Counter-Memory, Practice ed. D.F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.) 139-64.

step further to understand "the play of forces in any particular historical situation made possible by the space which defines them." In this sense, genealogy is interested in the strategic deployment of knowledge as power, and, more specifically, how this ensemble affects the body. More to the point, in his later works Foucault was concerned with the implications of the practices of the Human Sciences for the manipulation of Man. As he explained in "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History",

Where religions once demanded the sacrifice of bodies, knowledge now calls for experimentation on ourselves, calls us to the sacrifice of the subject of knowledge.⁴⁹

The Order of Things

When Les Mots et Les Choses was published in 1966, it was announced that Michel Foucault had broken with his previous work on the history of madness and had adopted a new methodology. Translated in 1970 into English as The Order of Things, An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, it contained a short forward entitled "Directions for Use". Foucault explained to his English readers that this work was a "regional" study of the philosophical discourse that dealt with living beings, languages and economic facts; its

⁴⁹ Ibid., 163.

purpose was "to reveal the positive unconscious of knowledge". By this Foucault meant to deploy a strategy that would violate the positivity of an absolute knowledge. In so doing he identified three specific problems that formed the leitmotif of his strategic enterprise. First, there was the problem of change. How was it, he asked, that the categories of general grammar in linguistics, natural classification in the physical sciences and the analysis of wealth, became respectively known and practiced as historical philology, comparative anatomy and political economy ? Foucault's point was to record the broad epistemic configurations that animated all three activities. Second, Foucault found causality quite embarrassing because, as he said, "there are no definite methodological principles on which to base such an analysis."⁵⁰ Causality itself was presented here as a defective heuristic device because it relied upon certain predetermined assumptions which have their basis in the present. The problem with the "history of ideas" is that it presumes a certain continuity of experience that is difficult if not impossible to prove. Foucault's "positivist" approach to the Human Sciences focused not on ideas, but rather on the "epistemic transformations" that gave rise to new analytical strategies. There is a certain irony in Foucault's project, however, for in the act of strategic deployment, he too

⁵⁰ Foucault, The Order of Things, op.cit., xiii.

forced an epistemic rupture to occur. This led to the third problem, that of subjectivity. Foucault claimed that by deploying the archaeological strategy, he freed himself from any adherence to a subjective certainty - his epistemology was not in question because he had none. Instead, he intended to map out the epistemic region that is called modernity and which is represented by the creation and proliferation of the Human Sciences. Rather than prescribe an alternative epistemological ground, Foucault exposed the symptoms of manipulative discursive strategies that were the effects of a new configuration of knowledge and power that emerged in the early nineteenth century. According to Foucault,

Discourse in general, and scientific discourse in particular, is so complex a reality that we not only can, but should, approach it at different levels and with different methods. If there is one approach that I do reject, however, it is that (one might call it, broadly speaking, the phenomenological approach) which gives absolute priority to the observing subject, which attributes a constituent role to an act, which places its own point of view at the origin of all historicity - which, in short, leads to a transcendental consciousness. It seems to me that the historical analysis of scientific discourse should, in the last resort, be subject, not to a theory of the knowing subject, but rather to a theory of discursive practice.⁵¹

⁵¹ Ibid., xiv

Indeed, Foucault intended to unravel this "knowing" (as well as speaking, laboring and living) subject called Man, to which the phenomenologists attributed the center of truth in the experience of the world. His intention was to reveal the multiplicity of strategic forces that, since the early nineteenth century, have produced this thing called Man. Following Nietzsche, Foucault admonished those who invented totalities in order to satisfy their own insecurity in an essentially chaotic world. Perhaps the most influential group, apart from the phenomenologists, were the structuralists, and at the end of his preface to the English edition, Foucault declared his disdain with those who would characterize him in this way.

Foucault identified his first clue to the character of the Human Sciences as a quote from Borges taken from a "certain Chinese encyclopaedia". The classification scheme for animals found therein was at once confusing because it indicated the removal of the "operating table" defined by Roussel as the classificatory scheme of modern Western science. This table of representation, where "language has intersected space" had been dispersed. Most alarming to Foucault was how this classificatory scheme obviated our traditional understanding of Eastern culture.

In our traditional imagery, the Chinese culture is the most meticulous, the most rigidly ordered, the one most deaf to temporal

events, most attached to the pure delineation of space; we think of it as a civilization of dikes and dams beneath the eternal face of the sky; we see it spread and frozen, over the entire surface of a continent surrounded by walls. ⁵²

More than simply indicating the tendency of Western science to appropriate the world, including China, as its own, Foucault was pointing toward a breakdown of the traditional Western scientific leitmotif established in seventeenth century Europe. Accordingly, he identified the Classical and Modern ages of Western science as "regions of truth". The difference between the two ages, he argued, was at the level of the epistemic mode of being that animated scientific inquiry. Although inquiry and experimentation remained the primary functions of science, what changed in the nineteenth century was the arrangement of the mode of being in the world. On the surface, to a historian of ideas, it looks as if there had been a steady accumulation of ideas and knowledge based on the Classical scientific method of classification by representation. In this context, Foucault introduced a new level of analysis.

... all this quasi-continuity on the level of ideas and themes is doubtless only a surface appearance; on the archaeological level, we see that the system of positivities was transformed in a wholesale fashion at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the

⁵² Ibid., xix.

nineteenth centuries.⁵³

In short, the region of truth that constituted the Classical age of science gave way to a new order - order itself was re-ordered or re-formulated. Two events reveal the character of the modern episteme. First, things were circumscribed by historicity. As the table of representation, so common to the Classical taxonomist, was forced to break down as it examined itself, the epistemic void was filled by history. Suddenly everything had a history, but, most importantly, words and things. The second event was the invention of "Man". For the first time Man, and Mankind entered the field of knowledge. Consequently, as the Human Sciences emerged, their common theme was Man in all its historicity. The real object of these sciences was finitude. Hence, with the development of the Human Sciences occurred the obsession with the management of the abnormal and the non-living, a theme which was to occupy Foucault for the remainder of his life.

The theme of The Order of Things established a new methodological framework - an archaeology which treated texts as events in order to deepen our understanding of Western culture beyond the superficial level of the history of ideas and to speak about the symptoms of an organization

⁵³ Ibid., xxii.

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of knowledge that was discontinuous with the epistemological configuration which preceded it. Foucault's point was an analysis of the marks left on the body of Man -left by a reorganization of language and meaning.

As emblematic of the shift in modernity, Foucault chose Velasquez' painting "Las Meninas", and focussed our attention on a single moment of the epistemic doublet of representation: the table of ordered symmetrical objects of a scientific gaze that originated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the "scientific revolution". One knows by watching and counting and by being watched and counted. As the faces of the King and Queen are obscured by the mirror in which they see themselves watched by the artist and the viewer of the painting, a mathesis of knowledge occurs. The painting represents for Foucault how the traditional epistemic reference point of resemblance is undermined by its inability to account to itself for its explanatory power. To be more precise, it cannot account for the subject of knowledge. Velasquez' painting, then, imposed a new perspective on the order of things, and announced the classical age of representation.

As Foucault explained, until the end of the sixteenth century, the principle of resemblance ordered all knowledge. As a function of the "great chain of being", the universe

was "folded in upon itself" and the world was considered a natural container of like and unlike things. According to Foucault,

Resemblance imposes adjacencies that in their turn guarantee further resemblances. Place and similitude become entangled: we see mosses growing on the outsides of shells, plants, in the antlers of stags, a sort of grass on the faces of men; and the strange zoophyte, by mingling together the properties that make it similar to the plants as well as to the animals, also juxtaposes them, all in so many signs of convenience.⁵⁴

Before the inauguration of the Classical age of representation, the world was ordered by using the ideas of conventia and aemulatio. Man was no stranger to Nature; in fact, he was an integral part of the great chain of being that linked the universe together. Man, "is the great fulcrum of proportions - the centre upon which relations are concentrated and from which they are again reflected." In short Man is the medium or the voice of Nature but at once remains part of Nature because of his voice. Grammar and language allowed for the signatures, or hieroglyphics of Nature, to become visible and to live. In the world of resemblances, words were signs of the invisible being of beings in the great chain. As Foucault explains,

What God introduced into the world was written words; Adam, when he imposed their first names

⁵⁴ Ibid., 18.

upon the animals, did no more than read those invisible and silent marks; the Law was entrusted to the tables, no to man's memories, and it is in a book that the true Word must be found again.⁵⁵

There is only one book, the world, and we read its words as signs of God's creative intention. The words were interpretations which revealed the resemblance of things to each other. Language, until the seventeenth century, was understood to be connected with God's will - the conjunction between the significant and the signifier. Language was limited to deciphering the code of the hieroglyphic of Nature.

In discussing the character of representation, Foucault described the "great transformation" that occurred in the seventeenth century, in the relationship of words to things. Resemblance was gradually replaced by representation in a series of strategic deployments that reformulated the relationship between the knowing subject and the objects of knowledge. Under the general strategy of "rationalism",

From now on, every resemblance must be subjected to proof by comparison, that is, it will not be accepted until its identity and the series of its differences have been discovered by means of measurement with a common unit, or, more radically, by its position in an order.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibid., 38.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 55.

Certainty replaced "successive confirmation" and "increasing probability" and a series or table of knowledge was established. As a result, "history and science will become separated from one another." Science, or knowledge, is no longer mediated by the invisible will of eternal signatures, rather it is constituted by the creation of a table upon which the series of identities and differences is mapped. Language, or more specifically scientific language, is now neutral - words only have meaning if they can become part of this new table of signs. A universal science of measurement and order is inaugurated that replaces the great chain of being with a series of identities and differences. Things are now ordered by signs - signs are no longer signatures of invisible beings, rather they are part of a discourse of rationality that makes order instead of revealing it. As Foucault explained,

The project of a science or order, with a foundation such as it had in the seventeenth century, carried the implications that it had to be paralleled by an accompanying genesis of consciousness as indeed it was, effectively and uninterruptedly from Locke to the Idealogues.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Ibid., 71.

The major concern was to establish the state of Nature, that primal moment of the "awakening consciousness" (Condillac), the "first man" (Rousseau), or the "stranger thrust into the world" (Hume). These new symbols not only replaced the symbolism of the Biblical genesis, but also helped to break down the unity of a world linked together through the logos of sublime reason. Calculus and genesis (knowing and making) formed the foundation of the taxonomic table for the Classical age of science - an accounting mechanism that initiated the specific activities of general grammar, the analysis of wealth and natural history.

Foucault presented the fundamental axioms of the Classical age of representation as speaking, classifying and exchanging. He began with the new definition of language: "language represents thought as thought represents itself."⁵⁸ Seen in this context,

Representations are not rooted in a world that gives them meaning; they open of themselves onto a space that is their own, whose internal network gives rise to meaning. And language exists in the gap that representation creates for itself.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ibid., 78.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 78.

In the process, commentary, exegesis and erudition replace the deciphering of natural signs that regulated the age of Resemblance. Language is neutralized; it now functions as discourse and reveals only a series of verbal signs. In short, language and knowledge are interwoven.

To know is to speak correctly, and as the steady progress of the mind dictates, to speak is to know as far as one is able and in accordance with the model inspired by those whose birth we share.⁶⁰

At once the history of knowledge becomes possible and is destined toward its own perfection. Language, the language studied by General Grammar, is always capable of improvement; hence, the preoccupation with the history of peoples and the origins and perfectability of expressing those histories become the centerpieces of the activity of the new scientist. The task of a science of General Grammar is to define the identities and differences in each language. The structure of languages is revealed to be the organization of the verbs, how they are used, and how they indicate the stage of development of any specific language system. Moreover, the verb "to be" is identified as the essential verb in each language system. Most important for the Classical scientist working in the field of General

⁶⁰ Ibid., 87.

Grammar, language is treated as a mechanical device that can be improved. According to Foucault,

It is in this means of representation, words and space (the words representing the spaces of representation, and, in turn, representing themselves in time) that the history of peoples is silently formed. ⁶¹

What Foucault meant is that progress, usually understood as movement in history, was simply a product of the relationship between words and space. Any language that can effectively represent itself in space is said to be more progressive. Through the act of naming things, the verbal representation of a representation, language enters into a General table, and is subject to critique and improvement. Accordingly, the study of language occupies the major thinkers of the Classical age. What Foucault has revealed is,

. . . the fundamental nominalism of philosophy from Hobbes to Ideology, a nominalism that is inseparable from a critique of language and from all that mistrust with regard to general and abstract words that we find in Malebranche, Berkeley, Condillac, Hume; the great utopia of a perfectly transparent language in which things themselves could be named without any penumbra of confusion, either by a totally arbitrary but precisely thought-out system (artificial language), or by a language so natural that it would translate thought like a face expressing a passion. (it was this language of immediate sign that Rousseau dreamed of in the first of

⁶¹ Ibid., 112.

his Dialogues.) 62

Indeed, the preoccupation with the articulation of a science of linguistic development dominated the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from Hobbes' mechanical theory of language acquisition to Rousseau's rhetoric of the noble savage. In general, nomenclature and taxonomy organized all Classical discourse. On the surface of a table of representation words and things meet.

Foucault further explained that the science of natural classification followed the same epistemic order as had General Grammar. Scientific classification, in the form of Natural History, emerged from the new space of tables, from the "new way of making history".

Natural history finds its locus in the gap that is now opened up between things and words - a silent gap, pure of all verbal sedimentation, and yet articulated according to the elements of representation, those same elements that can now without let or hinderance be named.⁶³

Natural history involved the naming of the things of nature, according to the same rules of representation that governed the analysis of General Grammar. A general science of order

62 Ibid., 117.

63 Ibid., 129-30.

is anticipated by the philosophical writings of Descartes, in which the mechanical structure of the universe was understood to correspond to strict mathematical calculation. This "mathesis" extended to the study of Nature, to the collection and tabling of the facts. The tabulation of differences allows one to classify identities because, "there must be continuity in Nature". Because the things of Nature can be spatially represented and located, the being of any living thing can be identified by way of species-specific events. Indeed, as Foucault pointed out, until the end of the eighteenth century, "life does not exist ; only living beings."⁶⁴ Life is not understood as an object in itself; rather it is simply present in the classified objects by nature. What is most important for the natural historians is not the history of life, rather they are satisfied with the collection and classification of things. After Kant, however, life "becomes one object of knowledge among others."⁶⁵ In the Modern episteme, as we shall see, life will become the centerpiece of all knowledge. For now, in the Classical age of representation and Natural history, it remains a mystery.

Foucault introduced the third elementary manifestation of the epistemological order of representation as the analysis

⁶⁴ Ibid., 160.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 162.

of wealth. Wealth is understood as the object of needs and desires and, as such, is subject to classification.

All wealth is coinable ; and it is by this means that it enters into circulation - in the same way that any natural being was characterizable, and could thereby find its place in a taxonomy ; that any individual was nameable and could find its place in an articulated language ; that any representation was signifiable and could find its place, in order to be known, in a system of identities and differences. ⁶⁶

Circulation guaranteed constant exposure and constant analysis. Continuity is ensured in the nature of exchange. Money was the vehicle for this continuity and determined the value of commodities. Thus, value, like natural facts and words, is known through the function of representation. A thing is valuable in a market of exchange based on its translation into money - its form of representation. Known value is calculable on a table of identities and differences.

In concluding this part of the work, Foucault argued that both the analysis of wealth and the collection of Natural history were circumscribed by the epistemological context of a General Grammar that understood everything in terms of a

⁶⁶ Ibid., 175.

representational table. Knowledge was found only in relation to this grid; all else did not make sense. In "The Limits of Representation" Foucault attempted to uncover the series of discontinuous practices that undermined the Classical order of representation. Almost simultaneously, the three epistemic categories of this order, General Grammar, Natural history and the analysis of wealth, gave way to their positivistic alternatives in the structure of language; the organic structure of beings and the new units of labor and production. According to Foucault,

The Classical order distributed across a permanent space the non-quantitative identities and differences that separated and united things ; it was this order that held the sovereign sway - though in each case in accordance with slightly differing forms and laws - over man's discourse, the table of natural beings, and the exchange of wealth. From the nineteenth century, History was to deploy, in a temporal series, the analogies that connect distinct organic structures to one another. ⁶⁷

History was now pervasive as it defined "the birthplace of the empirical". Foucault pointed to positive sciences that emerged in the early nineteenth century as signals of a deep epistemological rupture that occurred at the level of knowledge. In the process of discontinuity, Man was

⁶⁷ Ibid., 219.

constituted as a product of "auchtocthonous laws" that had their origin in historical events.

Labor, life and language formed the new trilogy of knowledge. Labor was constituted by Adam Smith as an "irreducible, absolute unit of measurement." In turn, units of labour produce wealth. The classical cycle of impoverishment and wealth, that was measured by their relationship on a general table of economics, gave way to political economy or the study of capital and its relationship to production. Life also became subject to new modes of analysis. For the Classical episteme, life was not an object or an absolute unit; it was simply a feature of living things compared to one another on a grid of representation. With the introduction of the concept of organic structure life took on an objective and ultimately historical quality. Accordingly, the task of the nineteenth century biologist was to deduce the depths of the body in order to understand the functional relationship between organs. Moreover, life was now opposed to death opposite ends of the historical spectrum of living beings. Finally, the study of language took on the characteristics of a battle - the great confrontation of languages that animated early nineteenth century linguistics gave rise to the study of language roots.

Languages are no longer contrasted in accordance with what their words designate, but in accordance with the means whereby those words are linked together. ⁶⁸

At the heart of language was the history of usage - the roots or etymological beginnings of meanings. Moreover, each language was studied as a structured whole, each having its own peculiar forms or mechanisms of articulation.

Underlying these practical innovations were the philosophical critiques of representation initiated by Kant. By criticizing representation, Kant opened a new epistemological space "outside the space of representation". As the "philosopher of progress", Kant questioned the absolute nature of the representational table by introducing history, or development, into metaphysical language. According to Foucault,

. . . criticism brings out the metaphysical dimension that eighteenth century philosophy had attempted to reduce solely by the means of the analysis of representation. But it opens up at the same time the possibility of another metaphysics ; one whose purpose will be to question, apart from representation, all that is the source of representation ; it makes possible those philosophies of Life, of the Will and of the Word, that the nineteenth

⁶⁸ Ibid., 236.

century is to deploy in the wake of criticism.⁶⁹

The aim of criticism is to create a new epistemological doublet; instead of knowledge being discovered on the table of representation, it was analyzed in terms of the empirical and the transcendent. The "a priori" of representation is identified by Kant in the absolute fields of mathematics and logic. In the process the new transcendental subject is opposed to the empirical world of appearances. No longer was the truth understood in terms of its ability to be represented on a general grid of knowledge; rather it was now subject to judgement and "research", or as Foucault said,

. . . the endless birth and rebirth of a project to formalize the concrete and to constitute, in spite of everything, pure sciences; positively, the empirical domains become linked with reflections on subjectivity, the human being, and finitude, assuming the value and function of philosophy, as well as the reduction of philosophy as counter-philosophy.⁷⁰

The space of knowledge was now subject to "infinite explanations" - there is no permanent grid, just an endless

⁶⁹ Ibid., 243.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 248-9.

cycle of critique and re-starting. This is the fundamental nature of the Human Sciences, or the Social Sciences, that could not have come into existence until certain epistemological rules had been changed and the objects of Life, Labor and Language been produced by them. And, moreover, and perhaps more importantly, each doublet (the ego and the other, the empirical and the transcendental, and the thought and the unthought) underscores the curious instability inherent within the account of knowledge; an instability that definitively engenders vacillation.

Foucault argued that the primary areas of research in the social or human sciences are Life, Labor and Language. He began by observing that between the years 1775 and 1795 the categories of life, labor and language were re-assessed as "quasi-transcendentals". The result was a new form of measurement. Labor produces life which is articulated in language. Nature was now ordered by the principles of origin, causality and history which provided the new depths of meaning.

In analyzing the use of the term labor from the work of Smith to Ricardo, Foucault noted that the unity of labor as an activity of producing wealth, so important to the wealth of nations described by Smith, broke down with the introduction of historicity to the labor process by Ricardo.

Workers, said Ricardo, labor "under the threat of death". This, indeed, became the central feature of the new epistemic configuration of the "labor theory of value". In this sense death is understood as the cessation of laboring - the natural condition of Man. No longer represented on a table of representation of wealth, whereby labor was representative of wealth, labor now took on the status of a fundamental aspect of Human Nature. Man is a laboring being, who, under the threat of a biological death, lives under the laws of political economy. More to the point, this law is historical.

For Ricardo, History fills the void produced by anthropological finitude and expressed in a perpetual scarcity; until the moment where a point of definitive stabilization is attained: according to the Marxist, History, by dispossessing man of his labor, causes the positive form of his finitude to spring into relief - his material truth is finally liberated.⁷¹

With the development of the category of labor, Marx created a new brand of critical metaphysics that not only placed Man in the historical laws of material production, but allowed him to escape through liberation according to this law. Hence, Marx was able to give a political answer to the question of Man's finitude. It is history that must end for

⁷¹ Ibid., 261.

Man to become fully liberated; free at last to assume his rightful place as a fully conscious laboring being.

To this more obvious example of how historicity was introduced into the study of political economy, Foucault added the new categorization and measurement of Life and Language to complete the trilogy of the Modern episteme. Life was also infused with a radical historicity, and Natural history was replaced by the History of Nature. Immediately, classification was conducted, specifically by Cuvier, as an exercise in establishing the differential development of species. In this context, Homo Oeconomicus is understood as Homo Sapiens, a species that has the capacity for reason. Moreover, comparative anatomy begins to replace the representative system of similarities and differences that animated Classical natural science. The study of organs received primary attention, but only in their functional relation to life itself. In this sense, Life has a history - not a mythical one as was depicted in the Bible; a calculable history based on the scientifically derived principles of biological function. Human development henceforth becomes a feature of scientific enquiry; eventually taking the form of anthropology, the study of Man.

In the study of language, the primacy of the word was replaced by the function of the vowel in articulating the sounds of language. Each language was now autonomous and fully historical in its development. Comparative philology objectified the structure of languages and engaged in an empirical study of the origin of languages.

Empiricity - and this is equally true of natural individuals and the words by which they can be known - is henceforth traversed by history, through the whole density of its being. The order of time is beginning.⁷²

The objectification of language completed what for Foucault was a radical departure from the Classical theory of knowledge. The difference between Classical and Modern epistemes centered on the re-interpretation or re-ordering of life, labor and language. The end result is the establishment of Man and Human Nature as the matrix of epistemology. According to Foucault,

The modern themes of an individual who lives speaks and works in accordance with the laws of an economics, a philology, and a biology, but who also, by a sort of internal torsion and overlapping, has acquired the right, through the interplay of those very laws, to know them and subject them to clarification - all these themes so familiar to us today and linked to the existence of the "human sciences" are excluded by Classical thought ;

⁷² Ibid., 293.

it was not possible at that time that there should arise, on the boundary of the world, the strange stature of a being whose nature (that which determines it, contains it, and also has traversed it from the beginning of time) is to know nature, and itself, in consequence, as a natural being.⁷³

In other words, the modern episteme creates Man as an object of knowledge and as a subject that knows - an "enslaved sovereign, observed spectator." Man now suffers the weight of his natural, historically conditioned being; hence the necessity of establishing a regime of freedom requiring limitations on movement to avoid as much as possible his ultimate finitude in death. Death, in the process, becomes meaningless except in functional opposition to life. The new metaphysics of life, labor and language replaces the Classical metaphysics of the infinite that was required by a representational table of knowledge. The end of classical metaphysics coincided with the appearance of Man as an object of the Human Sciences. The great metaphysical question was no longer the essential truth of the infinite, rather it was the ontological truth of being-in-the-world. The "cogito" is no longer a discoverer; he is an interrogator establishing the truth of the unthought.

⁷³ Ibid., 310.

The myriad of techniques that have been developed to map out the human condition bears witness to the proliferation of the Human Sciences. Hannah Arendt spoke of this in The Human Condition ; "Only the modern age, in its rebellion against society, has discovered how rich and manifold the realm of the hidden can be under the conditions of intimacy...".⁷⁴ In other words, for Foucault and Arendt, Man in the modern age is an object that requires an intense investigation to reveal the hidden secrets of its behaviour. The instability of this object is revealed through the instability of the orthodoxy that attempts to represent it.

Consequently, Man becomes an "empirico-transcendental doublet" and is analyzed from one of two perspectives. First, one form of analysis "operates within the space of the body". The body itself is responsible for the generation of the possibilities of knowledge, encouraging the transcendental aesthetic that there is now a nature of human knowledge that can be understood in terms of its empirical contents. Secondly, and coincidentally, there emerged a study of the history of human knowledge that could be descriptive and prescriptive.

⁷⁴ Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.) 72.

Actual experience is, in fact, both the space in which all empirical contents are given to the experience and the original form that makes them possible in general and designates their primary roots ; it does indeed provide a means of communication between the space of the body and the tone of culture, between the determination of nature and the weight of history, but only on condition that the body, and through it nature, should be first posited in the experience of an irreducible spatiality, and that culture, the carrier of history, should be experienced first of all in the immediacy of its sedimented significations. ⁷⁵

The Modern episteme, then, is wholly concerned with collecting and measuring the truth through techniques that allow researchers to codify results according to the rules established expressly for this purpose. It is practiced in the name of Culture. Culture is the totality that engages research activity to develop new systems of classification. In the end, research done in this way has an eschatological significance, it is like the self-fulfilling prophecy centered on eliciting the "real" historical truth of Mankind. Moreover, "it is always against a background of the already begun that man is able to reflect on what may serve for him as an origin."⁷⁶ The first and foremost challenge to knowledge comes in the form of an organized

⁷⁵ Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, op.cit., 321.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 330.

Anthropology and develops into a study of Culture - the matrix of the Human Sciences. The modern episteme is concerned with the world, and differentiates the world in terms of cultural regions - regions within which life, labor and language is different. These differences are in turn contained within a homogenizing discourse that treats them as exchangeable commodities. According to Foucault, the Human Sciences "are dangerous intermediaries in the space of knowledge" because not only do they consistently "produce" Man but they all claim a universal right to do so. In the end, everything has a history; "history shows that everything that has been thought will be thought again by a thought that does not yet exist." More than agents of mere historicism, the Human Sciences begin to appear to themselves as developments of Mankind's psychic history: that hidden history revealed through the science of the unthought, Psychology. In other words, there is always a hidden meaning behind the truth produced by the Human Sciences - the truth of an ever-developing human psyche grasping the final truths of social existence.

According to Foucault,

... historicism always implies a certain philosophy, or at least a certain methodology, of living comprehension (in the element of the Lebenswelt), of inter-human communication (against a background of social structures), and of hermeneutics (as the re-apprehension through the manifest meaning of the discourse

of another meaning at once primary and secondary, that is, more hidden but also more fundamental).⁷⁷

The consummate Human Science is Ethnology, the study of culture, which, as a basis for comparison, provides a sometimes rigid but always critical structure for the study of "Other" cultures. The practice of identifying other cultures in terms of Life, Labour and Language conditioned the emergence of the East and West as opposites, and the grand theoretical categories for the establishment of the history of Western metaphysics and Science. Moreover, this spatialization of knowledge promoted the order of things into readily identifiable objects of exchange and marketable commodities. In the end, it is not the "spirit of capitalism" that caused the emergence of new orders of information, rather it is the reverse, the order of things at the level of knowledge is represented by the capitalist system of exchange relations. The fetishism for commodities roundly criticized by Marx in his treatment of capitalist relations of production is already a function of critique itself - the continual search for causes places Marx himself safely within the flow of the Modern episteme. At bottom, Marx, along with other "critical thinkers", places himself within relations of production at the level of knowledge.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 373.

More importantly, perhaps, the emergence of the Human Sciences as the nexus of history and historicism animates not only the crude positivism of the nineteenth century but also its humanitarian response in the twentieth century.

Michel Foucault's work in The Order of Things focussed on the archaeology of the Human Sciences, his point was to reveal the new epistemic configuration of meaning that conditioned the emergence of the sciences of Man qua Man. The archaeological method allowed Foucault to bracket the phenomenological lived-experience and to concentrate on the strategic manoeuvres of "critical thought" which underscored the growing preponderance for the identifiable axioms of historically derived Human nature. By focussing on "the use and abuse" of history for life, labour and language, Foucault encountered the work of Freidrich Nietzsche whose interpretation of the genealogy of power offered him a more radical point of departure for the study of the study of Man. The genealogical method became Foucault's chosen strategic paradigm in his analysis in Discipline and Punish and the History of Sexuality.⁷⁸ He became interested in the "normalizing techniques of the self" which, in practical terms, not only emanated from the epistemic configuration

⁷⁸ Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), The History of Sexuality Vol.I : An Introduction, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

called modernity, but also proved to be the foundation of knowledge itself. Foucault began to speak of ensembles of power/knowledge relations which performed specific tasks at specific sites. The totalizing discourse of power, whether it be attired in the State or some other form of hegemonic power force, gave way to discourses of power/knowledge relations in different, yet complementary locales of normalization. Covering over each discourse is a critical mind, which from the methodological approach of the "history of ideas", allowed one to make grand theoretical statements about the "state" of modernity. However, by treating discourses as functionally separate loci for the dissemination of power/knowledge, Foucault was able to offer a more rigorous account of the relations that constituted the subjectivity and objectivity of Man. In this sense, a discourse is "something autonomous having its own objectivity and in fact determining, by its operation, the position of the subject's understanding."⁷⁹ Meaning is always achieved through the deployment of rules. According to one interpretation of Foucault's work,

... Foucault treats classificatory systems as having no natural or intrinsic basis; in fact, he views them as sustained by normative and institutional practices that go through abrupt and dramatic shifts.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Robert D'Amico, "What is Discourse ?" Humanities in Society, Vol.7(1985) 201-10. 201.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 203.

In this sense, statements are part of a discursive formation that generates its own ground of knowledge. Whenever one detects a certain order or series of statements that are dispersed with a continuing regularity over a particular field of knowledge, one is detecting a discursive formation. Discursive formations must be assessed from within themselves, only then will one be able to identify the effects of knowledge as power, and the rules of discursive formation that precede the subject that encounters them.

A discursive formation forms objects, concepts, and makes them manifest through a set of orders and arrangements of statements to subjective experience. Discursive formations name, circumscribe, analyze, define, and even erase objects, entities, things as well as the position of its subjects.⁸¹

The order of things becomes an institutionalized practice subject to the rules within a given discursive formation. What Foucault accomplished was a more rigorous analysis of "the order of things", which began with a rejection of "traditional" metaphysics in archaeology and ended with an appreciation of the "web of power" formed by analyzing the effects of power/knowledge on the body of Man, generated in the increasing specialization of the Human Sciences. The autonomy of discursive formations allows one to understand

⁸¹ Ibid., 209.

the individual, not as the product of some historical or experiential necessity, but as a product "of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces."⁸² The Human Sciences are actively engaged in the formation of subjects and objects of knowledge through their individual application of rules for the accumulation of knowledge. At bottom, then, is history.

History constitutes, therefore, for the human sciences, a favorable environment which is both privileged and dangerous. To each of the sciences of man it offers a background, which establishes it and provides it with a fixed ground, and, as it were, a homeland; it determines the cultural area - the chronological and geographical boundaries - in which that branch of knowledge can be recognized as having validity...⁸³

The Human Science of ethnography operates within the general conditions of a subject-object field of conceptual representation. The identification of cultures requires a rigorous assessment of the differences between the life, labor and language behaviours of various homogeneous societies. Their homogeneity is ensured by, among other things, geographical proximity, economic behaviour, ritualistic practices, and linguistic expressions that have a history. Difference is measured through the application

⁸² Michel Foucault, "Body/Power," Power/Knowledge ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Gordon et.al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) 55-63.

⁸³ Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, op.cit., 271.

of a methodological grid that gives meaning to natural behaviours. The subjects of a specific culture are objectified on this grid and are represented through the creation of conceptual categories that allow them to speak to the Ethnographer. The truth of a particular culture corresponds to the ability of the ethnographer to reveal the historical continuities that have allowed it to remain alive. History, then, provides the circumstances for the nature of a culture to be understood and expressed. Continuity of practices that are measured by the Human Sciences ensures cultural survival. As Foucault explained, Ethnography, drawing upon the expertise of the Human Sciences shows how "within a given culture, there occur the normalization of the broad biological functions, the rules that render possible all the forms of exchange, production and consumption, and the systems that are organized around or on the model of linguistic structures."⁸⁴ The study of culture, in other words, provides the initial point of entry for the Human Sciences of life, labour and language.

Ethnology establishes similarities and differences between cultures in an attempt to reveal a "universal human nature"; and, as such, along with psychoanalysis, maps the unconscious of the mind of Man. Moreover, it attempts to circumscribe regions of culture and to deal with the effects

⁸⁴ Ibid., 377.

of geographical formation of human behaviour (human geography). It is this activity that has given rise to "regional" studies and to the delineation of natural affinities due to adjacent locations. Thus, we can appreciate the role that ethnology has played in the sophistication of the Human Sciences, but also in the forging of new territories for study. According to Foucault, ethnology creates "strategies of space" that allow for the production of geographical knowledge used in the domination of "other" cultures. In this sense, one can say that the investigation of "other" cultures or territories is part of the mandate of the Human Sciences. More to the point, it is in response to the impetus of Human Sciences that sites of power/knowledge relations are created, sustained and explored in and of themselves. Regional analysis, or "area studies", becomes a site of power/knowledge relations complete with the investigation of the life, labour and language of different regions. As Foucault stated in an interview in 1972,

Once knowledge can be analyzed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power. There is an administration of knowledge, a politics of knowledge, relations of power which pass via knowledge and which, if one tries to transcribe them, lead one to consider forms of domination designated by such notions as field, region and territory. And the politico-strategic term is an indication of how the military and the

administration come to inscribe themselves on both a material soil and within forms of discourse.³⁵

Foucault was suggesting here that, not only should we use geographical metaphors to establish the sites of power/knowledge relations, but that we should also attempt to understand the effects of territorial occupation and administration as forms of discourse themselves. In this sense, nationalism, the preoccupation with geographical certainty through mapping, and the creation of national discourses, must be understood as constituting sites of power/knowledge relations.

Conclusion

In Canada, the regionalization of the North has been created by the ambitions of the Human Sciences. The study of Northern human geography, which began with the search for the Northwest Passage, showed the way for Ethnography and the full impact of the Human Sciences in the determination of the difference of Northern culture. The definition of the Northern culture involved the systematic mapping of a geographical space along with the identification of differential elements of life, labor and language within this space. I suggest that, in Canada, this follows from a

³⁵ Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography", in Power/Knowledge, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Gordon, et.al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 69.

general appreciation of the historical definition of our national identity as a northern people.

The historian William L. Morton once argued that Canadian history was formed around four inter-related factors; a northern character, a historical dependence, a monarchical government and a committed national destiny.⁸⁶ To Morton, Canada's Northern character was part of a Northern frontier that extended across the Western world, and was formed by what have come to be known as the "staples" of a Northern economy. Accordingly, Morton argued that,

...Canadian life to this day is marked by a northern quality, the strong seasonal rhythm which still governs even academic sessions; the wilderness venture now sublimated for most of us to the summer holiday or the autumn shoot; the greatest of joys, the return from the lonely savagery of the wilderness to the peace of home; the puritanical restraint which masks the psychological tensions set up by the contrast of wilderness roughness and home discipline. The line which marks off the frontier from the farmstead, the wilderness from the base land, the hinterland from the metropolis, runs through every Canadian psyche.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ W.L. Morton "The Relevance of Canadian History" in Contexts of Canada's Past ed. A.B. McKillop, (Toronto : Macmillan, 1980)163. Reprinted from Canadian Historical Association Annual Report (1960) 1-21.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 167.

Indeed, Morton suggested that the aim of Canadian political and economic development was "the civilization of the northern and arctic lands."⁸⁸ In a later essay, he argued that the direct value of Canadian historiography was its ability to come to terms with the other factors of our Northern character. He argued that the North, as a specific "climatic environment", influences all of Canadian historiography. As it establishes the limits to southern expansion, it forms a silent and powerful boundary to the traditional practices of politics and economic development that have animated the settlement of Canada. In short, the North is Canada's other, and to understand Canadian identity we must establish the true character of the North. In Morton's words,

The development of the North, therefore, has its own characteristics, different in quality, scale and sociology from the historic development, agricultural and industrial, of southern regions. Population in the North will be concentrated; it will be made up mostly of transient residents; it will rest on dwindling resources. To some degree a northern community resembles a human outpost on the moon or Mars more than one in the south....The character of the North, then, is firm, decisive, and different from that of the south. ⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Ibid., 166.

⁸⁹ W.L. Morton "The North in Canadian Historiography" in Contexts of Canada's Past, op.cit., 230-1. Reprinted from Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series IV, Vol.VIII(1970), 31-40.

The "otherness" of the North in Canada is what forms the limits of Canadian experience. At the same time it represents the "permanent frontier"; the North "begins along the line of institutional breakdown: Its influence operates below that line not by breakdown, but by limitation."⁹⁰

Morton succeeded in capturing the imagination of academics who became interested in the place of the North in Canadian historiography. Canada was, and is, a Northern country; our economics, politics and culture are conditioned by the presence of the North itself. Recognition of the North as part of historiography and culture allows for an expression of the context of Canadian identity. Morton's contribution to the Northern discourse can be measured in terms of his challenge to future generations of academics to understand the limits that the North imposes on Canadian identity.⁹¹

In the work of William C. Wonders, a Canadian Geographer who has spent much of his academic career investigating the parameters of the North in Canada, we discover a general

⁹⁰ Ibid., 235.

⁹¹ Morton argued that there were four main historiographical positions in Canada. First was the extension of French culture and Catholicism, second was the "victorious spread of British institutions", third was the "laurentian thesis", and the fourth was the concept of the "metropolis, general and local." All were influenced or "limited" by the otherness of the North. Ibid., 238.

expression of these limits. In 1962, Wonders addressed the Canadian Association of Geographers with a speech entitled "Our Northward Course". Echoing the sentiments of Morton, he began by pointing out that,

It is only natural that Canadians should be interested in the north. Geographically, we are both in it and of it. Nothing can change this. Indeed, without the north, we should lose much of our sense of identity as a people...The entire history of the exploration and development of Canada has been set against a northern environment...In large part its greater availability is the result of technological advance. This has ranged through every type of equipment from seismic recorders to ships. Better clothing, food, and shelter facilities specially designed for northern use in many cases, have improved the living and working conditions through the area, and in turn have led to more efficient activity and greater accuracy in the advancement of our knowledge.⁹²

Wonders continued by arguing that in order to achieve a greater knowledge of our North, we must be careful to recognize the differences that exist there. We must end our "colonial" mentality and agree that the North "has a right to be developed as part of Canada and not for a part of Canada."⁹³ The message in these statements is quite clear, the North in Canada is part of our cultural heritage, and as such, must be respected. Indeed, Wonders conjectured that

⁹² William C. Wonders, "Our Northward Course", Presidential Address to the Canadian Association of Geographers, Hamilton, Ontario (10 pages) 2-4.

⁹³ Ibid., 9.

"Only through intelligent, applied planning can the increasing factual knowledge and technological advances be most effectively utilized in our further northward course."⁹⁴

Wonders expressed the sentiments of a cultural nationalist who saw in the North an opportunity to capture the limits of Canadian culture. By including the North in the Canadian identity, we can solve two problems; first, we can give voice to our Northern heritage from a variety of perspectives thus ensuring the survival of the Canadian imagination, and second, we can end the era of "colonialism" that was characterized by the inability to provide ethical dimensions for research and development in the North. In Wonders' view, the ethics of Northern development were a part of "intelligent, applied planning" and the replacing of mythology with scientific facts. With this, Wonders placed himself squarely within the traditions of the Western scientific leitmotif; progress is equal to the accumulation of knowledge, and, in turn, provides the focus for a national imagination.

The context of this national imagination was further explored by Jim Lotz, who opened the discussion of Northern development onto a different plane. In commenting on "Social

⁹⁴ Ibid., 10.

Science Research and Northern Development" in 1968, Lotz described a "psychic split" that was beginning to show in the endeavors to open the Canadian North to more sophisticated forms of inquiry. The advent of research in the North from the perspective of Social Science had begun to reveal some of the mythology that surrounded the culture of Northern Native people. As Native Northerners began to question the aims of the development of their land, "two ways of thought" began to clash. Lotz was able to capture the essence of this conflict in a description of the problems of Northern development.

... the problems of northern development can be grouped under the following headings : space (How can a nation control, operate efficiently in, and develop a large land mass with a sparse population? How can the centre of power, where decisions are made, be related to the periphery where action is carried out ?) ; culture contact (How can a high level of science and technology be introduced into an area which has only recently come into the stream of modern history ?); and resource endowment and development (What constitutes a resource, and how can it be developed without insult to other potential resources and to the people ?).⁹⁵

Lotz was able to introduce the ethical dimension of Northern development by paying attention to the actual dynamics of Northern life. The effects of Northern development are felt

⁹⁵ Jim Lotz, "Social Science Research and Northern Development", Arctic, Vol.21, No.4 (1968), 291-3. 293.

most acutely by the people who live there. This observation has led to the inclusion of social impact assessments in the determination of the viability of the various enterprises of Northern development. More importantly, this sentiment has brought the North into the view of the Social Sciences. Indeed, most research in the North today proceeds from the perspective of Social Science. And Native Northerners are now, for the first time, participating in the discussion of Canada's northward course.

This positive development has led to the expression of a Native Northern political culture, which is still in its formative stages. The political tension in the North now works on a number of levels; at the level of cultural identity, Northern Native Anthropology has proceeded to express the character of the Native societies; at the level of land claims, Northern economic development is now coming under the supervision and control of Native societies; at the level of sovereignty, political development has led to a discussion of aboriginal self-government; and, finally, at the level of global politics, the Canadian North has moved from an object of American foreign policy to the development of a Circumpolar political consciousness. In the end, the development of the North, in all respects, is slowly becoming the property of the North itself. Some important questions remain. Does the development of the Canadian North

follow the same traditions of Western Human Science that animated earlier activity there, or has the North achieved a sense of difference in all aspects of its existence ?

In 1975, Lotz provided another focus for the answers to these questions. In "Northern Alternatives", he pointed to an image of what the North has become to Canadians.

The North has become the ground upon which a number of national conflicts are fought out : conservationists against developers, modernists against traditionalists, humanists against technocrats, evolutionaries against revolutionaries. From being a remote and romantic land, Canada's North has suddenly become a mirror to the nation.⁹⁶

The Canadian frontier in the North continues to be an intellectual battleground for the expression of a variety of ideological and practical solutions to the problem of establishing the "right" direction of Canada's northward course. As a "mirror to the nation", the North reflects not only the nature of Canadian identity, but also the traces of the activity of the Human Sciences.

In the following chapter I will attempt to provide a general evaluation of the place of the Canadian North in the Human

⁹⁶ Jim Lotz, "Northern Alternatives", Arctic, Vol.28, No.1 (1975) 3-8. 3.

Sciences through an interpretation of what has come to be known as the study of Human Geography. As a Human Science, geography has provided the rules for the establishment of regions which, in turn, help to identify the field of the Canadian North.

Chapter IV

NORDICITY, HUMAN GEOGRAPHY AND ORIENTALISM

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general evaluation of the geographical area known as the Canadian North, in order to more easily situate it in the Modern episteme. This will be accomplished by way of a comparison between two major works devoted to the evaluation of what are taken to be specific geographical areas. Edward Said's Orientalism⁹⁷ represents an attempt to re-evaluate the characterization of the geographical area known as the Orient. Published in 1977, Orientalism provides a description of the techniques that have been used to capture the Orient by the West. Said's intention was to analyze the relationship between knowledge and power that exists in the transformation of a set of stories about a far away place into an objective and scientific account of Oriental history, language, culture and politics, which, in the end, are formulated as commodities or objects that can be studied, assembled and re-assembled to reveal truths about the Orient. In his treatment of Orientalism, Said followed

⁹⁷ Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978)

the direction which Foucault had mapped out in The Order of Things, and other of his works. Briefly, the creation of objectified knowledges that characterized the practice of the Western Human Sciences, was made fully operational in the definition of the field of Oriental studies. Orientalism, for Said, was responsible for the identification of objects which made the Orient different from the Occident. This difference, however, created the entire Orient as an objectified fact that was contained within an archive of Orientalist knowledge.

Our entry into the foray of Northern Studies, where Said's study can serve as our critical guide, is by Louis Edmond Hamelin's Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North, Too., which was presented as an attempt to come to terms with the field of Northern Studies in Canada. Hamelin's ambition was to collect and formalize the scholarship about the Canadian North in order to give a meaningful , and scientific, account of the experience of the North, and of being Northern. As a human geographer, he directly confronted the meaning of the North, how it had changed over time, as well as its future in the context of Canadian history, language, culture and politics. "Nordicity" becomes a qualitative and quantitative measurement of "Nordic" experiences and facts that are organized by Hamelin onto a grid of knowledge. He began by asking the seemingly absurd question, "Is the North

northern?", and ended with a plea for humanitarianism and a greater awareness of "mental nordicity" on the part of southerners. Hamelin's study of the meaning of the North is paradigmatic in the general field of Northern Studies. While it provides a survey of Northern images that have been used over time to describe the Northern condition, it engages the reader in the consideration of empirically verifiable facts which are used by Hamelin to create a total picture of the Canadian North. To some, this picture may be inadequate, but it illustrates how knowledge can be organized on a grid to present the North as a complete object of study.

In this light, writers like Foucault and Said attempt to uncover the process of making sense, and the epistemological ruptures that create new orders of meaning. At bottom, is an appreciation of the political nature of knowledge and the normalizing effects of power. There is no "right" answer, there is power that is deployed through the application of regimes of power to the study of objectified spaces. This is what Hamelin's book is about: the definition of what it means to be Northern is placed into objective scientific discourse for the purposes of clarification and justice.

My discussion of Nordicity will be followed by a general discussion of some approaches to the study of Human

Geography in order to situate Hamelin more firmly within the Human Sciences. Finally, a discussion of Said's contribution to Human Geography will provide a greater focus for an introduction to the understanding of the Canadian North as a spatial category that has been subjected to a number of strategic moves at the level of knowledge which were introduced through the logic of the Human Sciences.

Said's Orientalism is an attempt to "deconstruct" the Orient as a region or area. While Said describes Orientalism as a fiction, the Orient never leaving the realm of imagination, Hamelin describes the Canadian North as a place of the future, not fully politically and socially developed yet quite willing to define its place in the world. In the end, Hamelin was attempting to do to the Canadian North what Said argues has already been done to the Orient.

Nordicity

In Canadian Nordicity : It's Your North, Too⁹⁸ Louis-Edmond Hamelin stated that he was not attempting to create an atlas, an encyclopaedia, or a thematic regional treatment. He wrote that,

In general, the North is considered as a whole; one of my constant preoccupations will be to show the Canadian polar world as an entity and to demonstrate general intranordic structuring. The intended objective is to structure the work around the problems posed by the recent concept of nordicity, which expresses the state or level of being polar in the Northern Hemisphere.⁹⁹

The recently conceived notion of nordicity was used by Hamelin in order to provide an accurate description of what it means to be polar in Canada, because, as he argued, "appropriate tools are needed to define new ideas."¹⁰⁰ Hamelin explained that certain "northern" structures lent themselves to the meaning of the North. In fact, certain elements of the North "lent themselves" to Hamelin as he investigated the boundaries, inhabitants, climates,

⁹⁸ Louis-Edmond Hamelin, Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North, Too., trans. William Barr (Montreal: Harvest House, 1979). Hamelin's work on the North is an excellent example of the attempt to create a "total" picture of the Canadian situation there.

⁹⁹ Ibid., xi.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., xv.

environments, and vocabulary that made the North northern. He referred to history as a cumulative process whereby the North was progressively changed to adapt to an increasingly modern world. He argued that "indigenous people" of the North will be the ones to tell us how they wish to be designated in the future.

Almost at once we can recognize Hamelin's dependence on the "structural" definitions that come from the Human Sciences. The qualities of which he speaks are treated as objects that can be arranged to create a definition of what it means to be Northern. More specifically, Hamelin's analysis uses prescribed rules of scientific procedure in his understanding of empirical evidence. He uses a version of the resolute-compositive method, whereby he identifies the scientifically derived objects that individually contribute to his reformulation of the Northern experience in Canada. This experience is then presented as completed whole

Accordingly, Hamelin attempted to uncover the meaning behind what is usually regarded as a diversified northern territory. In reference to the voluminous literature on this subject Hamelin argued that,

The tendency has been more to study particular, concrete situations rather than measurable psychic criteria that would lead

to an understanding of the North and, hence,
to managing it appropriately.¹⁰¹

Hamelin wanted to consider the North as a whole by creating objective criteria for measuring "nordicity", or those qualities of climate, demography, environment and latitude that differentiated the North from the South. The truth of these criteria depended on their capacity to stand as empirical facts whose identity could be determined by using the appropriate tools for their measurement. The logic of this exercise presupposed that these facts were simply present to Hamelin. I would suggest that these facts have the capacity to be seen because Hamelin was operating within a field of knowledge in which they were deemed to have value.

Hamelin continually stated that he would confine himself to discussing general images of the North as it had been portrayed from a variety of literary and scientific perspectives. Among whites, he argued, only specific situations had been appreciated; never had anyone attempted an understanding of the whole North. Instead of a "little sectoral tableaux", Hamelin intended to create a grand tableaux of Northerness or nordicity.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 1. Hamelin's notion of "psychic" is very telling. He appears to be attempting to change the Canadian consciousness about the North. In this, he is representing "Nordicity" as an ideology.

In general, over-idealism and over-pessimism, he argued, represented the two most common extremes of judgement from a white or southern perspective. Pessimism stemmed from the inadequacies of the climate, and from the lost fortunes of early exploration. Optimism was found through the belief in Nordic heritage, and a strong-willed desire to settle amidst the harshest of climatic conditions. At the turn of the twentieth-century, images of northern expansion coloured the opinions of French-Canadian and English-Canadian nationalists alike. More to the point, while progressive northern expansion helped to define the Canadian identity, there continued a pre-conceived impression of indigenous people as "noble savages". Consequently, "perceptive dissonance", to use Hamelin's terms, leads to bad policies. Accordingly, the North had lost its place in Canadian mythology, its value was undermined by the mistreatment of Native Northerners and disrespect for their cultural connection to the land. Hamelin attempted to re-value the Canadian North by revealing the significant empirical facts that made Canada a Northern country.

Allusions to the passion of the North in Canada had become rare. More often, said Hamelin, it was considered as a necessary evil requiring supervision with little or no regard for indigenous peoples. Responding to this attitude,

and, particularly because "resident northerners are strongly aware of the uniqueness of their region", policies must be made to correspond to their aspirations and not reflect a southern style of political and social behaviour. The North had become a national tragedy with increasing instances of suicide and depression, as well as limited institutional structures that would adequately deal with justice, health and work in a Northern way. We must define the real North, from a northern perspective. According to Hamelin,

Knowledge of psychology and the possession of some fellow-feeling may be of great help in understanding the northern people, native or otherwise. Mental images can be found for each of the themes of the north, whether a person is dealing with territoriality, the environment, settlement, politics, peoples, or development.¹⁰²

Indeed, this was the major focus of Hamelin's work, to establish the concrete mental images that would allow the North to express itself. To that end Hamelin attempted to establish the criteria for measurement of nordicity, with the express aim of putting an end to Southern styles of analysis that most often began with a badly conceived predisposition about the North.

In looking for indices, or criteria that would allow him to identify the regionality of the North in Canada, Hamelin

¹⁰² Ibid., 13.

argued that only experts understand the real meaning of the North now. His purpose was to educate the general population of Canada, to make that knowledge more accessible to the southerner. An index of the North was now attempted. Ten significant and converging factors are used by Hamelin; latitude and longitude, summer heat, types of ice, total precipitation, development of vegetation cover, accessibility (air or surface), number of inhabitants, regional population density, and degree of economic activity. The first two, said Hamelin, were merely an identification criterion used to more exactly establish location of areas under consideration. The next four were Natural and the last five were what he called "man induced". Each of these criteria was given a series of "Valeurs Polaires" or VAPO units based on their significant contribution to the nordicity of the area in question.

The northernness or nordicity of any region was revealed by simply adding up the number of Vapo units. In this way, Hamelin was able to scientifically show the evolution or history of northernness as areas were settled and transformed by "man induced" ideas and structures. By using a scale that begins at the North Pole, where the Vapo index indicates 1000 Vapo units, Hamelin then proceeded to establish the relative boundaries of the Extreme North, the Far North, the Middle North, the Near North and Base Canada.

Hamelin argued that 200 Vapo units establish the real division between the North and the South (Base Canada). No longer was the 60th degree parallel, suggested by the Canadian Senate under the guidance of J.M. Bernier, to be used as the absolute division. Hamelin's index was more scientific and, in the end, more valuable for the definition of northern alternatives. Using the 200 Vapo line as the real division, Hamelin was able to expand what was considered to be northern to 70% of Canada's territory. As Hamelin explained, "at a time when we are beginning to stretch the areal limits of this planet, this zonal immensity constitutes an enviable trump card."¹⁰³ The evolution of nordicity, and the establishment of Hamelin's criteria, created a more comprehensive and important image of the North in Canada. By using the 200 Vapo line as the division between north and south, Hamelin had proven the value of nordicity, as this line cuts across seven of the ten provinces in Canada. The North of Canada, as a larger part of the Canadian consciousness, would derive a greater respect from the majority of Canadians. At the same time, Hamelin acknowledged that the North was shrinking as social, political and economic development ensued. At one time all of Canada was northern: there were no differentiating criteria that would allow one to distinguish between north and south. Vapo units changed over time, and in the end

¹⁰³ Ibid., 30.

there were variable degrees of nordicity. As the North continues to move, we must be able to track its changing shape, and Hamelin's index will prove invaluable in this enterprise. What Hamelin established was a method of accounting for the movement of time in a geographical region. To do so he used expert knowledge in a new way. The term nordicity represented the experience of the North as a geographical region. According to Hamelin,

Since nordicity, being a differential phenomenon, increases with latitude, the idea came to me of having an interlocking series of terms, reminiscent of the Near East and the Far East, Middle Atlas and High Atlas, Lower and Upper Canada, Midwest and Far West. Thus were born the terms Near North, Middle North, Far North and Extreme North.¹⁰⁴

The Middle North was the most important sub-region of the North as it was 800 Kilometers wide, is home to 93% of the Northern population and was 87% provincial. More to the point, however, was the fact the Hamelin had created new regions within the northern region in order to justify his index. For Hamelin, the greatest determinant of regional variation remains the temperature.

Even simply from the thermal point of view, it is instructive to distinguish the three northern zones and to note their divergence with respect to the situation in the south of the country. Cold provides pointers to this

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 75.

climatic degradation from south to north in Canada. The significance of this zonation should not be exaggerated. In fact, it comprises a series of known variations which may be subjected to an overview. In general, the accentuating effect of altitude and of bio-ecological and demographic developments produce positive anomalies, or denordification.¹⁰⁵

Hamelin's aim was to increase the "mental northerness" of Canadians by pointing out the responsibility that more governments have there. At the same time he revealed some of the techniques whereby the North is made to be Northern. These techniques speak of the cultural or linguistic identity of northern peoples. Or, they speak of the tragedy of the North; under-developed and a forgotten part of Canada's destiny. The map of nordicity that Hamelin provided was both historical and scientific in that it attempted to classify scientific criteria of measurement, be they social or physical, over time to produce a graded schema for understanding nordicity and de-nordification. The real problem for Hamelin was "southernness".

As we shall see, the limited nordicity, the profusion of parallel departmental administrations, the ambiguity of attitudes, the inappropriate developmental models, and, in particular, the inadequate recognition of the fact that indigenous people are different; all of these find their roots in

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 80-1.

this homogenizing and self-important southernness with its exaggerated notions of its own superiority.¹⁰⁶

What Hamelin projected was a plea for the southern-style Canadian to recognize the different cultural and linguistic roots, the different work habits, and the unique political forms that were so tenuously preserved in the North. In short, Hamelin wished to situate the North more firmly within the Human Sciences. By using the criteria mentioned above to describe the "nordicity" of the Canadian North, Hamelin explicitly acknowledged their value. The unity of the North in Canada was dependent upon the elaboration of these criteria that account for the difference between the North and the South.

The Canadian North was not simply a place that is adjacent to the Canadian South, or as Hamelin called it, Base Canada. Rather the North was becoming increasingly de-nordified by the progression of non-indigenous techniques of measurement and manipulation. Hamelin identified the criteria that make it possible to keep the North northern; to guarantee its survival in the face of modernity. The commodities that Hamelin identified are equally non-indigenous, yet they are seemingly more fair than those which preceded them. Hamelin

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 93.

effectively "nordicized" the North by giving it a larger significance in the lexicon of the Human Sciences.

Nordicity, in the end, became a way of being that could be transmitted through the educational system, usually by way of Northern Studies. Within this context, the North is saved for cultural posterity, and displayed according to the criteria of modern social and physical science. In one way, the North is possessed by the army of social and physical scientists who investigate its "indigenous" attributes according to the rules of their respective professions.

An assessment of Hamelin's concept of "nordicity" was made in response to the presentation of his work at a seminar that was held in Edmonton. The title of the seminar was "Nordicity : Canada as a Northern Nation", and was sponsored by Athabasca University and the Science Council of Canada, and was designed to allow professionals from a variety of fields to "discuss ideas and problems related to Canadian unity." The concept of nordicity was presented as a way of expressing Canada's identity in the face of continentalism. It was generally accepted by those who described themselves as economic nationalists. They saw the advantage of using the concept of nordicity to focus people's attention away from American markets. The concept was generally rejected by those people who feared that nordicity would not allow

Canadians to express themselves through their traditional cultural or linguistic heritage. In the words of one reviewer,

The major difficulty with the concept of Nordicity arose from its potential for creating a kind of romantic self-delusion in the English-speaking majority...Canada's "nordicity" [however] is a way for us to interpret ourselves as separate and unique...The danger in the concept of Nordicity is that it is founded fundamentally in geography... It starts with the proposition that the nature of peoples is ultimately determined by their common physical experience of the part of the earth they inhabit ...it should not be thought of as an ideological panacea for those problems of contemporary Canada which do not derive from its physical environment...¹⁰⁷

Hamelin's concept was criticized and applauded for a variety of reasons. In the end, it was understood as primarily a geographical symbol. And in order to persuade Canadians to accept it as a unifying feature of their identity, one would have to persuade them first to give up their regional, ethnic, linguistic and religious identity. Nordicity was a principle of homogenization, and when understood as such, became a vague response to a variety of complex problems in the contemporary world of Canada.

¹⁰⁷ R.D. Sparham, "Nordicity : Canada as a Northern Nation", Musk-Ox, Vol.22 (1978), 77-9.

Hamelin's measurement of Canada's Nordicity employed the techniques and rules of demography, biology, economics, physical geography, and human geography. His Polar Values were composite numbers which relied on the calculation of scientific facts. More to the point, Hamelin's political position was to remind Canadians that in every part of Canada there existed qualitative and quantitative elements of "nordicity". The proper development of the North could proceed only if Canadian people and governments recognized these elements. In short, Hamelin's scientific construction of Canadian nordicity was like a blueprint that provided a focus for the definition of the North as a unique and homogeneous place within the Canadian psyche.

As a geographer, Hamelin must be situated in the field of Human Geography, for it is within this field that the relationship between Man and space is formulated. In the next section of this chapter, I will present an overview of the practice of geographical analysis which focusses on a limited number of sources. It is hoped that these references will give the reader some idea of how the identification of space and place have been discussed within the field.

Human Geography and Human Sciences

The general study of Geography is based on the perceived differentiation of spaces. Accordingly, nothing which appears on the surface of the earth is alone in itself, rather it is always understood in terms of its relation and location to other spaces. Geography involves the study of land formations and physical features which differentiate specific regions, and while "chorological" differentiations remain the primary geographical leitmotif, "human" geography has become increasingly articulate in its sophistication since Vidal de la Blache at the turn of the twentieth century. It is argued that "Nature, especially the ground, is a pre-requisite of human existence and cultures." As such, geography finds itself beside or interwoven with ethnography. Accordingly,

A chorological differentiation is important, if it is significant to man, man being considered as the principal inhabitant of the earth's surface. Geography is anthropocentric. The evaluation of the chorological differentiation of the earth is determined in geography from the point of view that the regions are the living spaces of human groups. This also holds where no human beings live, and which only consist of physical and organic things. Then, too, the significance of the chorological differentiation of these things is determined by the significance they have to

the human inhabitants of adjoining regions and those lying further away.¹⁰⁸

In as much as the designation of a region is conditioned by the aims of the inhabitants or the researcher, the study of regions must be understood within the context of an assembly of rules of the Human Sciences. The study of regions is a corollary of ethnography; both involve the mapping and delineation of specific chorological differentiations that affect the "culture" of the region under investigation. Said this way, we can propose that any "regional" analysis must be subjected to the investigation through the methods identified by Foucault, which would allow us to identify the institutional and administrative production of knowledge, the "politics of knowledge", of that region. In 1925, John K. Wright set a cautionary tone for the discussion of the relationship between geographical space and human thought. He pointed out that,

Danger besets the man who would study the relation between geographical environment and human thought. So complex are the factors which mold our mental processes, so imperfect our understanding of the relations between geography and the physical - let alone intellectual - activities of humanity; and so great the risk of unfounded generalization

¹⁰⁸ Dr. G. DeJong, Chorological Differentiation (Groningen : J.B. Walters, 1962.) 193.

that critical geographers have fought shy of the subject.¹⁰⁹

The study of "human geography" has been carried out in the interest of establishing the social, political and intellectual factors that impose upon geographical speculation. Indeed, the geography of any area or region is interpreted through the design of a "mental map" which consciously or unconsciously influences scientific and popular opinion. The study of human geography, therefore, must be included under the general epistemic configuration of the Human Sciences. The question at hand is to what extent Foucault's analysis of the Human Sciences in The Order of Things can be applied to the interpretation of spatial arrangements by geographers. One way might be to concentrate on Foucault's use of geographical metaphors to describe the "spatialization" of knowledge that occurs with the sophistication of the Human Sciences. A more rigorous analysis, however, would lead to the creation of "a list of the spatial practices of European societies, to determine the way in which statesmen, soldiers, financiers and tradesmen think about space, use it, and transform it."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ John K. Wright, "The History of Geography: A Point of View", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.25 (1925) 192-201. 193.

¹¹⁰ Paul Claval, "Epistemology and the History of Geographical Thought", in Geography, Ideology and Social Concern, ed., D.R. Stoddart (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) 227-39. 238.

Indeed, what Foucault called for was an appreciation of the administrative and institutional practices of the Human Sciences as they operate within specifically designated geographical areas. At once one can detect the whole field of regional studies as an appropriate starting point for the study of Geography as a Human Science. In the end, the expectation is to find any number of discursive formations at work in a given geographical region, each adding to the discursive reality that is that region. One suspects that it will be under the auspices of the Human Sciences that a region will yield its most productive examples of specificity. Before suspicion we should attempt to understand the traditional methodology of geographical practice and the traditional organization of geographical thought in relation to regional studies.¹¹¹

Most geographers admit that the appropriate starting point for any regional or area study is the general understanding of how space and place are differentiated by human subjects. This implies a shift in focus from the study of positive geography to the epistemology of geography itself. This shift has been occurring at an alarming pace since the publication of David Harvey's widely acclaimed treatise on geographical practice in 1969. Harvey's ambition was to

¹¹¹ Foucault, among others, has reminded us that the English word "region" is derived from the French "regere"- "to command".

provide a "monumental defense" of positive geography that had been attacked from a variety of perspectives. Geography, it is continually argued, is not an objective science, it is a human science, and, as such, must be understood within the context of social and political thought. This apparent shift in focus does not really begin in 1969 with Harvey's Explanations in Geography.¹¹² Rather, the tension between positivist and human geography is as old as the discipline itself. In general, it is understood that from a geographical perspective,

Each social system organizes the world in accordance with its particular structure and requirements; each culture screens perceptions of the milieu in harmony with its particular style and technique.¹¹³

This realization has led to a re-assessment of the role of the geographer in the "transformation of society". Some advocate a more active role for geographers in establishing not only the existing spatial or chorological differentiations that animate social behaviour, but also the reference points for "maximizing the satisfaction of the

¹¹² For a complete discussion of Harvey's work see David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden, eds. The Geographies of the Mind (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

¹¹³ David Lowenthal, "Geography, Experience and Imagination", Annals of the Association of American Geographers Vol.51 (1961) 241-60. 252.

people". In this context, "geographers might be able to suggest spatial arrangements that will make it much easier to achieve desired social transformations."¹¹⁴ Short of suggesting radical changes in spatial orientation, geographers - in this case human geographers - have enlisted the philosophical discourse of ethics and values to create different modes of transformation. Accordingly, "human in human geography implies a subject matter; Geography implies a way of viewing this subject matter."¹¹⁵

Human geography is a technique used to map the conscious and unconscious spatial differentiations in any society. As such, human geography stands as a point of reference for the Human Sciences and as a point of intersection between the human and the physical sciences. The domain of human geography includes everything from the consideration of mental maps as general spatial differentiations, to urban planning and policy-making. In this sense, human geography involves a form of clinical fieldwork designed to create the possibilities for "theoretical structures". A human geographer must, as it were, go beyond the map, for "it could be that the map, by its limitations, is selecting for us certain classes of spatial phenomena and making us forget

¹¹⁴ David Lowenthal and Martyn Bowden, eds. Geographies of the Mind op.cit., 21.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 67.

others."¹¹⁶ The investigative, clinical research of the human geographer must be relentless in its pursuit of universal norms of chorological differentiation. In other words,

The purpose must be to "freeze" events into geographical patterns, or more likely into chains of symbols, thus converting them into a convenient form which can be viewed from various angles and which does not elude the observer while he is analyzing the message. More penetrating analysis comes after these patterns have been established, and here mathematics and statistics are surely ready to help.¹¹⁷

The use of mathematics and statistics helps to establish the optimal spatial arrangements that would lead to a better physical and social environment, and ultimately to a better world. In this sense, human geography belongs to the historical world of the Human Sciences. More to the point, we need history to shape the world of the future.

Foucault suggested that historical progress in the Human Sciences was measured by the qualitative improvements in the study of life, labour and language; for the human geographer the same is true, we share a common history with the land we inhabit and we must improve the relationship. As David Lowenthal explained,

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 70.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 77.

As we erode and alter the inherited past, we more and more create our own. Creatures of historical processes beyond our control, we shape landscapes and artifacts to conform with illusory histories, public and private, that gratify our tastes. All the lineaments of the present are historical, yet they are continuously re-born in the minds of every culture and of every generation.¹¹⁸

The motivation of human geography is channelled through the appreciation of human history, the history of human interaction with Nature. Clinical fieldwork achieves an appraisal of this interaction while predicting the requirements of a "properly balanced environment". From a geographical perspective, "the contrast between order and disorder was placed in the specific context between nature and culture. The ordered and therefore proper basis of prediction was nature."¹¹⁹

The study of nature as the basis for prediction of land need and use forms the major component of human geographical studies, which in turn forms a bond between the physical sciences and Ethnology. In the clinical practice of human geography, biology, ethnography, demography, economics,

¹¹⁸ David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Meaning", The Geographical Review Vol.64, No.1 (1975) 1-36. 36.

¹¹⁹ Brian S. Robinson, "Some Fragmented Forms of Space," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.67, No.4 (1977) 549-63. 555.

anthropology and politics converge to form the general impressions of an area or region. Acting together, on a common spatial unit, frozen, as it were, in time, these converging sciences of man create the scientific positivities of area studies. In this sense, human geography resembles ethnology, or the general study of culture, which, as we saw in Foucault's The Order of Things, acted as the quintessential Human Science. More than simply classifying the environmental determinants of human behaviour, human geography analyzes "lifestyles", or the "inorganically integrated and biotic infrastructures of human life on earth."¹²⁰ Human geography discusses the relationship between science, space and society; in short, it investigates social space from an interdisciplinary perspective.

The interdisciplinary nature of human geography was discussed by Anne Buttimer in her assessment of the merits of Maximillien Sorre's L'Homme sur la Terre. She argued that,

On a global scale, then, Sorre envisioned social space as a mosaic of areas, each homogeneous in terms of the space perceptions of its inhabitants. Within each of the areas a network of points and lines radiating from certain "points privilegie"(theaters, schools,

¹²⁰ Milton Harvey and Brian P. Holly, Themes in Geographic Thought (New York: St.Martin's Press, 1981) 249.

and other foci of social movement) could be identified. Each group tended to have its own specific social space, which reflected its particular values, preferences and aspirations.¹²¹

In addition to describing the value of the interdisciplinary approach to the description of space and place, Buttimer also represents the attempt of human geography to enlist the phenomenological notion of intentionality to describe the contingencies of lived space or "lifeworld"- the "all encompassing horizon of our individual and collective lives."¹²² Intentionality, from Heidegger onwards, was the phenomenological criterion for dwelling in a world that was attuned to the rhythms of nature and human history. More to the point, intentionality should reflect one's "ecological and social milieu". In this sense, each person has his own natural space and is surrounded by "concentric layers of lived space". Space becomes a mosaic of special places, and social space is studied through reference to an elaborate network of interaction revealing the "ecological processes" and "functional organization" that animates the lifeworld of any individual in society. In short, human geography, from

¹²¹ Anne Buttimer, "Social Space in Interdisciplinary Perspective", The Geographical Review Vol.59 (1969) 417-26. 419.

¹²² Anne Buttimer, "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld" Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.66 (1976) 277-92.

the phenomenological perspective, searches for the "latent substratum of experience" that provides a glimpse of the ontic speech of Being. Furthermore, according to Buttimer,

Most conventional geographic procedures assume a Newtonian concept of space as a container in which physical objects and events are assigned a place. This representational space is an attempt to describe and analyze the experience of space through scientific, logical and mathematical categories. Time becomes atomized into units of equal duration to facilitate generalization and theory: space is a three-dimensional grid with coordinates stretching along each of its axes, each coordinate point equal in its position, and equal lengths representing equal distances. No point is preferred to any other, but alternative zero-points can be chosen by simple transformations in the grid systems. Thus, lived experience is objectified. In the phenomenological view, however, space is a dynamic continuum in which the experienter moves and searches for meaning.¹²³

What is needed, then, is a phenomenological appreciation of lifeworlds, or, in other words, an inter-subjective assessment of culture. The representational table of Classical science, that from a geographical perspective attempts to present lived experience on an objective grid of knowledge, must give way to the appreciation of the accumulated experiences of any given society, to an appreciation on the inter-subjective sharing of lived space. Buttimer's arguments take us far beyond the simple

¹²³ Ibid., 282.

classification of physical geographical forms. As Buttner explained, the human geographer must "encounter" rather than "master" the objects given to the experience of the lifeworld. This practice would afford the social scientist a better "grasp of values" that exist in any given culture, without the cold gaze of the dis-interested and objective practitioner. Space must be understood in the terms of the language of what is alive. What is needed is "a language and set of categories which will enable us to probe lifeworld experience and to communicate about it."¹²⁴ This language will be supplied through phenomenology, the intersubjective reality of experience in lifeworld communicated through shared meaning. This application of phenomenology to human geography opens the possibilities of a greater understanding of the specific experiences of specific cultures and societies. At bottom, human geography becomes more humanistic. In turn, the study of regions, or specific cultural groups takes on the positive value of respect for the practices and traditions which make culture a living thing.

This study of space from a humanistic perspective analyzes "spatial feelings" or those abstract ideas which emanate from the feelings of the body. The feelings of the body help us to measure Nature because in the body time and space

¹²⁴ Ibid., 288.

come together to form an experienced wholeness of being-in-the-world. Space, in this sense, becomes place.

Place incarnates the experiences and aspirations of a people. Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broad frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning.¹²⁵

In other words, the ways in which people designate chorological or spatial differentiations is a function of the culture of any society. Geometrical space is re-cast as cultural space and the control of Nature implied by applied geometrical configurations is deemed a cultural phenomenon. Space is no longer objectively given, rather, through the intentional designation of the symbols of place, space becomes a cultural or lived experience. The understanding of real places, we are told by Yi-Fu Tuan, requires the creation of mental maps;

The idea of a mental or cognitive map was introduced by the psychologist E.L.Tolman to account for the fact that rats, and presumably also men, respond not only to specific and successive stimuli in the environment, but to entire environmental fields.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective" Progress in Geography Vol. 6 (1974) 213-47. 213.

¹²⁶ Yi-Fu Tuan, "Images and Mental Maps" Annals of the Association of American Geographers Vol. 65 (1975) 205-13. footnote 2, 205-6.

The construction of a mental map allows the individual to remember his lifeworld more easily. As mnemonic devices, mental maps are necessary in establishing points of reference for travel and other forms of spatial behaviour. They are used to conjure up imaginary worlds and provide orientation to new places.¹²⁷ As such, the rigorous construction of mental maps also allows the geography of strange places to be taught. As Gould and Whiting argued,

In the same way that a mathematician can formally map items of one set into one item in another, so the geographer takes many individual viewpoints and transforms them into a single, overall mental map.¹²⁸

The human geographer, then, combines psychology and ethnography in order to reveal the spatial differentiations that animate human behaviour in any given society. More to the point, the human geographer uses the concept of a mental map to create an overall impression of a region or area through analysis of cultural significations. In this sense,

¹²⁷ Frances Yates, in her major study of The Art of Memory (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.), described the Roman practice of investing architectural forms with parts of long oratories in order to make the process of memorization much more practical.

¹²⁸ p. Gould and Rodney White, Mental Maps (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1974) 67.

human geographers focus on "thoughts that are uniquely human."

Humanistic geography achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behaviour as well as their feelings in regard to space and place. All animals express themselves . . . however, the habit of philosophical reflection is rare among non-human animals.¹²⁹

Indeed, human geography establishes the reference points in nature with regard to the human species. Emotional ties to physical objects, the constraints on human freedom, the impersonal forces of the economy, these are the research objectives of the human geographer. As such, he/she must engage in the critical analysis of the human condition as it is given in specific territorial, regional and cultural contexts. "One of the humanist's functions is to make explicit the virtues and defects of a culture."¹³⁰ Therefore, the humanist geographer is at once a critical theorist, a sociologist, a statistician-demographer and an engineer suggesting the optimal methods for community planning that serve the interests of the culture in

¹²⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, "Humanistic Geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers Vol.66, No.2(1976) 266-76. 266.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 275.

question. At bottom, the human geographer operates in the broad field of ethnography. As J. Wreford-Watson explained,

. . . the geography of any country [or region] lies in the dream of its people ; it is what they see in it, and make of it. Thus, the geography carried in the mind molds the geography on the ground.¹³¹

The force of humanist geography is provided by the phenomenological consideration of lived space. More to the point, humanist geography was formulated in response to the resurgence of the objective methods of chorological differentiation known as positive geography. It examines the relationship between culture and environment, focussing on the collective experience of individuals in specific geographical settings, and individual understanding of "home" or "journey", for example. It began with the critical appraisal of the positivist school and ended with a return to the "things themselves" as a way of being-in-the-world.

Phenomenological methods and topics define each other so that subjects must be either phenomena of the geographical life-world, for instance, streets, particular places, suburban landscapes, expressways, mountains and plains, or they may concentrate on experiences such as

¹³¹ J.Wreford-Watson, "Image Geography : The Myth of America in the American Scene" Advancement of Science Vol.27 (1970-71) 1-9. 1.

obliviousness to some environments and engagements with others or the aesthetic and spiritual sentiments engendered by landscapes.¹³²

While humanist geography considers the dialectical relationship between space, place and the human subject, it has been roundly criticized for accepting the phenomenological notion of a collective sense of a shared geographical experience. The problem that can be identified with this aspect of human geography is its inability to question how the techniques of cultural classification are in turn a product of a kind of historical determination. In this context, the most vehement critique comes from the radical or Marxist approach to geographical interpretation. More than simply creating mental maps of spatial behaviour, the more radical geographer is interested in social transformation. Consider the following text.

The spatial arrangement of human activities must reflect the needs and desires of those occupying areas and society as a whole, not the narrow goals of economic efficiency, nor the interests of just property owners and investors. Jobs should be created where people want to be, not at the whim of investors. Spatial inequality in income, services and justice must be

¹³² Edward C. Relph "Phenomenology", Chapter 5 in Harvey and Holly, op.cit., 113.

alleviated.¹³³

The alleviation of social injustice requires careful analysis of the political economy of the society, region or area under consideration. The analysis of spatial inequality requires different tools of analysis. New spatial arrangements must follow the laws of economic history and must represent alternatives to current capitalist spatial arrangements. This calls for a more active role for geographers in the maximization of social space through analysis of spatial and chorological differentiations inspired by the capitalist mode of production. The sense of collective experience of the land, which alleges that there is some pure, or authentic, relation to the land, is replaced by the structural inadequacies of the economic system.

[The] phenomenological method provides considerable insight into the meanings that places and landscape have for us, particularly as individuals. But in turning to collective experience their assumptions are idealist. Abstracting "minds", "souls", spirits, ideas, intentions in such a way as to represent them as independent entities is the traditional

¹³³ Richard Morrill, "Geography and the Transformation of Society" Antipode Vol.1 (1969) 20-24. 23.

philosophical alternative to the deterministic assumption of positivism.¹³⁴

The phenomenologists, however, do not go far enough into the social world of production and reproduction which establish our relationship to the material world which structurally determine our sense of space and place. They fail to understand the "element of cultural superstructure" that is animated by capitalist relations of production, and, that a relation to the land is itself a technique. A more incisive geography looks for particular historical conjunctures that create certain types of geographical behaviour. In this sense, geography itself is seen as a tool of imperialist capitalism, "gazetteer for the ruling class, explorer under the guise of Royal Geographic societies, apologist for the inhumanities of industrial revolution, colonialism and imperialism."¹³⁵ The practice of geography must be reformed to focus on the real historical material practices that animate capitalist relations of production and which constantly reproduce "capitalist landscapes".

¹³⁴ D. Cosgrove, "Place, Landscape, and the Dialectics of Cultural Geography", Canadian Geographer, Vol.22 (1978) 66-72. 70.

¹³⁵ Michael E. Eliot Hurst, "Geography, Social Science and Society : Towards a De-Definition" , Australian Geographical Studies Vol.17-18 (1979-80) 3-21. 7.

Some geographers called for a "radical intervention" in geographical studies. For example, Michael Hurst tried to "de-define" capitalist geography. In the process he admonished Foucault for not having realized the main objectives of historical materialism in The Order of Things, portraying it only as a small episode in the epistemic transformation that took place in the nineteenth century. According to Hurst,

. . . it is not a matter of rearranging the fragmentation of epistemological space, but of transcending all such boundaries as we know them to emphasize the unity of scientific practice. Historical materialism as the science of human society ranks alongside mathematical and natural sciences as the only tenable scientific practices.¹³⁶

In this context, the radical intervention of Marxist geography would not only disturb the idealism of the phenomenologists, but also the "positive" archaeological method of Foucault, revealing both to be silent apologies of the capitalist mode of production. Furthermore, Foucault's revelation that the Human Sciences formed the basis for techniques of normalization was criticized for its inability to offer an alternative theory of human nature. What is needed is a "critical theory" of culture.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 13.

Social science ought, that is, to establish a body of knowledge written not in the technological language of control (the relation of human societies with external control) but in the practical language of communicative interaction (the internal relations between human beings) which is inaccessible to technology's instrumentality.¹³⁷

In short, what is needed in social science is not a critique of its epistemological roots, but rather a reformulation of its purpose as a sounding-board for inter-subjective meaning. In terms of geography, then, what is needed is a theory of communicative interaction that is not measured by the criteria established by the necessities of technological innovation in the capitalist mode of production. A more scientific practice would reveal the shortcomings of humanist geography as idealism and then endeavour to establish the spatial reference points for a theory of communicative interaction.

The transitions which have obtained in the general discussion of the relationship between space and place focus on the adequacy of theoretical positions to explain the true nature of this relationship. The challenge of theory is to represent the actual lived experience of a people or a

¹³⁷ Neil Smith, "Geography, Science and Post-Positivist Modes of Explanation" Progress in Human Geography Vol.4 (1979) 356-80. 362-3

culture within a specifically determined area or region. The value of this exercise seems to involve the ability of human geographers to identify the differences between cultures by positing a general theoretical framework which allows them to identify the objects of this difference. The development of alternative approaches to the definition of space and place, I would argue, remains conditioned to a large degree by the homogenizing effects of the requirements of human scientific practice as described by Foucault.

The delineation of different approaches to the field of human geography has pointed to, the projects of ideological and philosophical reflection which have affected the geographer's appreciation of spatial and cultural differentiation. Moreover, it has been suggested that geography is a wholesale member of the Human Sciences, and, as such, should be understood as engaged in the theoretical practice of defining Man. The value of human geographical objects, whether they have been studied from positivist, phenomenological or more radical points of view, has remained within the epistemological configuration of the Human Sciences by virtue of the fact that, at bottom, it is concerned with elements of culture. The relationship between nature and culture, or nature and MAN, is the focus, and various interpretive strategies have been deployed to uncover the reality of this relationship.

At this point it is necessary to establish the extent to which we can argue that human geography shares with ethnography the privileged position at the centre of the Human Sciences. Ethnography takes as its point of departure the history of different cultures, and, as such, must encounter the problems of spatial and chorological differentiation. In this sense, the study of culture or different cultures is in some way pre-determined by or at least coterminous with the analysis of space and place. Place is understood as a cultural phenomenon, whether culture is analyzed as a result of communicative interaction, historical laws of political economy, or the mental maps created by autonomous subjects. In this context, Anne Buttmer argued that we must,

Consider what happens when we first encounter a foreign culture. The knowledge acquired in one's own society is inadequate; one has to question the former "givens" of social life and search for the common denominators for dialogue with the other. To gain a foothold, or basis for dialogue, one needs to grasp the inner subjective meanings common to that other group, its socio-cultural heritage, and its stream of consciousness. ¹³⁸ (emphasis added)

¹³⁸ Anne Buttmer "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld" Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.66(1976) 277-92. 285-86.

The "discovery" of new or "other" cultures, the contact with different "socio-cultural groups", leads the field geographer to consider and establish common points of reference in order to effectively create a dialogue and learn more. At once, knowledge of other cultures has been "grasped" and forms objects which fit into the theoretical framework that informs the consciousness of the observer. The value of cultural objects, then is determined by the categories of classification that are recognized as being objective and scientific. Having begun a dialogue, the research continues and scholarly publication ensues. Knowledge of the newly discovered culture is transmitted back to the researcher's community in a language understood by those concerned, an expert language. This expert language then becomes the agency of knowledge, and the condition of knowledge about the "other" culture or territorial inhabitants.

In commenting on Gilles Deleuze's work in Proust and Signs, Brian Robinson noted that,

. . . as in cultural geography the name is an indicator of a place. Indeed, seen from a distance, the impression is that one is the other. The name seals the place. For example the name Baalbec conjured up for Proust an association with Persia, but this expectancy, like a piece of information in a glass container, is shattered when on arrival he discovers the true pedestrian nature of the

place.¹³⁹ (emphasis added)

The naming of places is indeed the function of geographical research. The general character of places, however, is usually sealed by a variety of normal and pre-determined expectations about what one expects to find there. The naming of a place also requires the collection of objects which reflect or represent the meaning of that place. They help to explain how the place is different from any other place.

The place of the Orient in the mind of the Occidental provides an excellent example of how the activity of Western scientific practice has projected the objects of another place onto a universal field of order. There has been significant discussion of the "colonial" mentality which led to the subjugation of the Orient to the political and social logic of imperial powers. The strategic importance of the Orient encouraged the development of commercial and political empires which attempted to change the nature of its political and social organization.

At the level of knowledge, the study of the Orient has been subjected to the panoply of the Human Sciences. The analysis of Oriental cultures, politics, economies, histories and

¹³⁹ Brian Robinson, op.cit., 556.

languages has taken place within the general field of Oriental Studies, and is pursued at a wide variety of institutions. Because the Orient is first designated as a different place from the West, it is suggested that Oriental Studies constitutes a kind of human geography. It is not a human geography which is informed simply by the recognition of physical or natural formations. It is not a human geography which is informed by the search for phenomenological "life-worlds" of communicative interaction or, alternatively, the structures of political and social practice. It is, rather, all these.

The identification of the "otherness" of the Orient was described by Edward Said as a "willed human work". It takes place within the general parameters of Western Scientific practice, and actually produces the Orient. For example, as Said explained in Orientalism, the project of Napoleon's conquest of Egypt resulted in the production of 23 volumes of studies on Egypt, in order to,

...restore a region from its present barbarism to its former classical greatness; to instruct(for its own benefit) the Orient in the ways of the modern West; to subordinate or underplay military power in order to aggrand the project of glorious knowledge acquired in the political domination of the Orient; to formulate the Orient, to give it shape, identity, definition with full recognition of its place in memory, its importance to imperial strategy, and its natural role as an

appendage to Europe...¹⁴⁰

In other words, Said suggested that, at the level of the accumulation of knowledge, the Orient was subjugated by the parameters of Western Science. Confined within the space where power and knowledge meet, the Orient, in short, was Orientalized.

The next section of this chapter will discuss the broad scope of Said's understanding of Orientalism with the intention of expanding the horizons of human geography and its discussion of the relationship between space and place. The value of this discussion will become more evident as when we return to the North in the conclusion of the chapter.

Orientalism

Language is the armory of the human mind, and
at once contains the trophies of its past and
the weapons of its future conquest.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

In his introduction to Orientalism, Edward Said argued that in order to understand the reality of the Orient, we must

¹⁴⁰ Edward Said, Orientalism, op.cit., 86.

consider it as a discourse created by European culture in order to manage and produce the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively. The motivation for the Orientalist enterprise lies in the demands of post-Enlightenment Europe to collect and codify the divergent cultures that surround it. In short, the creation of the Orientalist discourse was born of the necessity to define the cultural distinctiveness of Europe itself.

Said argued that, as we are responsible for making our own history, we must distinguish between pure knowledge and political knowledge. He engages the reader in a consideration of Michel Foucault's observation, "that power and knowledge directly imply one another, that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, not any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."¹⁴¹ The impossibility for the scholar to detach himself from the circumstances of life proves that the Orientalist is never "objective" in his formulation of Oriental knowledge. Orientalism, then, is a kind of "willed human work", a living creation of Oriental scholars. The Orientalist makes the Orient speak in the language of the

¹⁴¹ Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977.) 27.

Occident. Said's ambition was to present a genealogy of this enterprise. To this end he quoted Antonio Gramsci from the Prison Notebooks.

The starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is and in "knowing thyself" as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces without leaving an inventory, therefore it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory.¹⁴²

In discussing the "scope" of the Orientalist discourse, Said began with the British example and argued that it was in the British interest to collect knowledge of subject races and Orientals in order to make the burden of management easy and profitable. The Empire must be wise to the ways of its subjects so as to facilitate colonial rule. In this way, the knowledge gained from observation actually produced the Orient, it gave a voice to the unfamiliar linguistic and cultural traits exhibited there. Through the construction of an Orientalist archive, a code book for experts and non-experts alike, the Orient was more completely known.

Said posed the essential question of Orientalism in terms of a division of human reality. Is an Oriental human, he

¹⁴² Edwards Said, Orientalism, op.cit., 25.

asked, and is he different from an Occidental human in his humanity? This question raised the issue of intention to another level. In constructing a discourse, or archive, about the geographical area known as the Orient, Western intellectuals have exhibited their own fear of the alien, unpredictable and immeasurable. In this sense, the Orientalist represents an army of sorts, battling to preserve the linguistic and cultural uniqueness of the West in the face of the resounding "otherness" of divergent cultures.

The result is a human geographical knowledge that circumscribes a designated territory in order to keep it from moving into the West. This tendency, argues Said, was especially potent in the structuralist dictum of Claude Levi-Strauss, that to achieve any sense of order we must make an archive or collection of knowledge and put it into a secure and constantly re-definable place. In this context, Said wrote that,

"Space" acquires emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Ibid., 55.

Orientalism, then is a fictionalized account which allows us to see with our imagination something that is not physically present. Without actually experiencing the truth of the Orient, we attempt to re-experience it, so to speak, or remember an experience of someone else-in this case one who writes about the Orient. Our re-experience is nothing more than a fictionalized fiction and is necessarily two degrees removed from the reality of the Orient.

The Orient is a figment of the Western imagination and is presented as a place of mystery that nonetheless serves as the basis for concrete political acts of aggression, pacification and civilizing. Inasmuch as the conquering of mystery is a main theme of modern scholarship, the Orient could never escape close investigation and dissection. As such, "The Orient at large, therefore, vacillates between the West's contempt for what is familiar and its shivers of delight in - or fear of- novelty."¹⁴⁴ For example, in the study of Islam in the West, the prophet Mohammed was consistently represented as the Anti-Christ to a Christian society. Islam and the Orient became an image of debauchery which, according to John of Segovia, had to be guided back into the fold of Christianity. Truth about Islam and the Orient became a function of the learned judgement of the Orientalist. Orientalism, then, becomes a closed system - an

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 59.

ontology or way of being in the world - which is created by Europeans in distinction to their own ontology. At bottom, both the European and the Oriental are subjected to a discourse that defines and circumscribes their distinct lifestyles and cultures.

Orientalism is a topic of learning, a collection of dreams, images and vocabularies about another part of the world. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and later into Syria, was of great significance for this collection. He wanted all of Egypt and so employed an army of Orientalists to "put Egypt into modern French". Said called this enterprise "the collective appropriation of one country by another." The end result was a set of 23 volumes known as Description de l'Egypte. The language of Orientalism, informed with this new spirit of domination, was changed.

Its descriptive realism was upgraded and became not merely a style of representation but a language, indeed a means of creation.¹⁴⁵

By viewing language as means of creation, Said is reiterating the central thesis of the book, that language serves as a means to power. In other words, Said is applying Michel Foucault's idea of the symbiotic relationship between knowledge and power, mediated by

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 89.

language itself, to the appreciation of the technical control or normalization of the geographical area known as the Orient. Moreover, as Said points out, other technical projects, such as the construction of the Suez Canal, illustrate the circumscription of the Orient by Western technical imperatives.

The text of Orientalism allowed the European to know the Orient as it informs the experience of the Orient without ever having to travel there. As such, it acts as a discourse or talk about reality. It is composed from ideas received. In other words, the Orient was silent until the Orientalist made it speak - he gave it a language with which it could speak to the West. In this context, Said writes, ". . . since one cannot ontologically obliterate the Orient, one does have the means to capture it, treat it, improve it and radically alter it."¹⁴⁶ Most often, the Orientalist began his career as a philologist. To philology, the Orient was the source of European language. Following the exploits of Napoleon, societies were formed to study the Oriental roots of language and culture. Also, colonization proceeded on the grounds of re-informing the Orient about its past heritage through which Europe had developed stable political institutions. It seemed fitting, then, that these institutions became part of the Orient as well. People

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 95.

began to travel there to observe Oriental behaviour but refrained from involvement with the "natives". The Orient, says Said, becomes "a living tableaux of queerness. Thus, the circle is complete ; from being exposed as what texts do not prepare one for, the Orient can return as something one writes about in a disciplined way."¹⁴⁷ In this way, the technique of Orientalism is continuously refined or up-dated to conform with the rules of modern progressive scholarship.

In this respect, Said's account of Gustave Flaubert's novel Bouvard et Pecuchet in which the author is presenting the spirit of nineteenth-century Europe as one of re-building the world according to imaginative vision "sometimes accompanied by a special scientific technique", is a telling example of the demands of Orientalist research. Although Flaubert is satisfying this romantic world-view, it is this notion that lies behind the will to re-vitalize Europe through the use of the new textualized knowledge of the Orient. As Said argued,

Knowledge no longer requires application to reality; knowledge is what gets passed on silently without comment, from one text to another. Ideas are propagated and disseminated anonymously, they are repeated without attributions, they have literally become idees recue; what matters is that they are there to be repeated, echoed and re-

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 103.

echoed uncritically.¹⁴⁸

The Orientalist erected a secular tradition of continuity and the brotherhood of Orientalists was based on a common discourse. In other words, Orientalist studies became a legitimate academic pursuit. As such, it demanded a division of intellectual labor which created the various sub-fields of Oriental Studies that deal with the commodities of Oriental culture, economics and language. Furthermore, Orientalism required a "doxology", or a commitment to the purity of the enterprise of examining the fundamental nature of the Oriental space. Finally, to complete the project, Orientalism required the creation of an official or legitimate archive, a library of received ideas that could be catalogued and classified. Through the continuing creation of the Oriental archive, modern Orientalists also created a specific vocabulary and a set of ideas to aid anyone interested in becoming an orientalist. Modern Orientalism embodies a systematic descriptive accumulation of human beings and territories. In this context, Said declared his central thesis once more.

My thesis is that the essential aspects of modern Orientalist theory and praxis (from which present day Orientalism derives) can be understood, not as a sudden access of objective knowledge about the Orient, but as a set of structures inherited from the past,

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 116.

secularized, re-disposed and reformed by such disciplines as philology, which in turn were rationalized, modernized and laicized substitutes for (or versions of) Christian supernaturalism.¹⁴⁹

Said's analysis turned to the two men who formed the core of modern Orientalism, Silvestre de Sacy and Ernest Renan. Sacy dedicated his profession to the creation of a body of texts that made a link between Orientalism and public policy. Orientalism was like a religion to him and his students were his congregation. The Orient, he thought, was to be delivered to the students through an anthology or survey of general principles. The making visible of this material embodied "the construction of a sort of Benthamite panopticon. Scholarly discipline was therefore a specific technology of power." What Sacy accomplished was a compilation of Orientalist literature, a discourse about discourse that allowed the Orient to be seen by a new generation of scholars.

Ernest Renan, an Oriental philologist, used the study of language as a filter through which flowed all the wisdom of Social Science. In short, philology was a meta-language or a discourse about language. Philology attempted to accurately define the human condition through language while at the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 122.

same time "instructing the world in theory." Renan, argues Said, does not speak about philology as a practice, rather he speaks philologically. The philologist argues that language was discovered by MAN and, as such, first language can never be re-captured but it can be re-constituted. We cannot speak it but we can speak about it. Meta-language, then, is almost the invention of a logically perfect form of language. In the process, according to Renan, "Science gives speech to things; better yet, science brings out causes to be pronounced, a potential speech within things."¹⁵⁰

Thus, the science of Orientalism gives speech to the Orient, and, in so doing, controls what it can and cannot say. Knowledge no longer springs from experience, rather it is an invention of man to help him know the world. In this context, and in the context of how languages were "written" by philologists, Renan's treatment of Semitic and Indo-European languages as "types" of language invites their comparison. Said wrote, "The Orientalist's will summons out of the library of language examples of the virtues, barbarisms and shortcomings of the language, the people and the civilization."¹⁵¹ The observed is central, it is placed in the center of the operating theatre, so to speak, and is dissected before the eyes of the audience. It is reduced to

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 140.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 142.

an atomized disconfiguration of its former self. In this sense, science has become a technique of dissection; the will to know the last thing about the object under enquiry. In the process, the scientist-technologist de-mystifies reality and creates a new reality through the discourse about the thing under consideration. Renan was a scientific philologist creating a new world in the "philological laboratory". The drama of Orientalism was thus lost forever, replaced by the expertise of Renan who places the structure of Oriental language in a "doxological straight-jacket". Renan, along with Stacy, attempted to reduce the Orient to "a kind of human flatness, which exposed its characteristics easily to scrutiny and removed from it its complicating humanity."¹⁵²

The library of the Orient becomes a fortress of knowledge that forces the Orientalist to speak in terms understood by the collectivity of experts. Orientalism also becomes an archive of specialized knowledge, "a vast depot of objects of all kinds", similar to a museum. The Orient then became a place of pilgrimage - all major works, argued Said, were inspired by a desire to return to the Orient - ". . . all took their pilgrimage in order to dispel the mustiness of

¹⁵² Ibid., 150.

pre-existing Orientalist archive."¹⁵³ As a technique, Orientalism must re-make itself periodically to affirm its power to create. In the end the Orient remains a problem, "of Liberty they know nothing; of property, they have none; force is their God."

Said argued that the willed division between East and West remained a vital part of the Orientalist discourse. Orientalism, like other sciences, is never an objective illustration of what it describes. Rather it presents a mythology of creation resulting in "a sort of consensus: certain things, certain types of statements, certain types of work have seemed for the Orientalist correct."¹⁵⁴ The Orient remains, in the end, a word, or a logos of the East and an influential academic tradition. According to Said,

My contention is that Orientalism is a fundamentally political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient's in-difference with its weakness.¹⁵⁵

Seen in this light, colonialism is not only a political aggression, but also a manifestation of the will to create endemic to Orientalist scholarship. From a subject of mere

¹⁵³ Ibid., 169.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 202.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 204.

contemplation, the Orient has been transformed into an administrative, economic and military concern. The establishment of departments of Oriental Studies at Oxford University and elsewhere signalled the crystallization of Orientalist scholarship in an institutional form. Orientalism, then, becomes concerned with self-preservation. More to the point, the Orient now accepts the terms of its definition, accepted within the political and social lexicon of the Western Human Sciences.

An appreciation of Said's Orientalism illustrates that the question of the relationship between geography and knowledge can be understood as a complex of forces acting together to form the imaginative and public impressions of space and place. In this context, the definition of spatial meaning is a political action, designed to enhance the will to power of the archivist.

There have been various reviews of Said's work, some complimentary and others polemical. In general, most reviewers seem to focus on the "incompleteness" of Said's Orientalism. He is said to have taken liberties with Foucault's notion of discourse, and used it to conveniently create an overly harsh polemic against Orientalist scholarship. Others argue that he has not done enough, that the project of Orientalism is the correct direction, and

that future generations of scholars will fill in the blanks. Whatever the outcome of this scholarship, what remains is an interesting and provocative text, a political work of the first order that challenges the complacency of contemporary forms of scholarship.¹⁵⁶

Nordicity, Orientalism and Human Geography

I would like to suggest that the ambition of Hamelin to create a new definition of the space called the Canadian North can be investigated in a similar fashion to the way Said understood the Orient. Hamelin operates within the archival space that forms the traditional appreciation of the North in Canada. His concept of "Nordicity" , I suggest, represents an attempt at the refinement of that archive. Moreover, this archive is dependent on the sophistication of the Human Sciences to provide the impetus

¹⁵⁶ For an excellent discussion of the major themes of the reviews of Said's Orientalism, see Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg " The Challenge of Orientalism" Economy and Society, Vol.14, No.2 (1985) 174-91. "Said's Orientalism appears to be a monolithic and uncontested discourse. Needless to say, further studies of specific societies and institutions are bound to call into question Said's characterization. Such detailed and "local" analyses might also produce grounds for Said's Assertions, nowhere argued, that the Orient is a richly differentiated and complex place." 191.

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for change. The measurement of Life, Labor and Language is given a specific territorial representation under the name of cultural anthropology , political-sociology, area studies, etc.. In order to come to terms with the Northern archive it is necessary to trace, as Said did with the Orient, the tradition of that archive and to attempt to mark the significant breaks in practice that allow new perspectives to emerge. When Hamelin attempts to re-define what it means to be polar, he is working within the Northern archive that takes as its purpose the constant definition and re-definition of the North as an objective lived space. Not only are the categories of measurement non-indigenous (the term indigenous is a product of the archival research itself), but they are also an indication of the discourse of power/knowledge that allows the Canadian North to speak to the South. This is indicated by the subtitle of Hamelin's work, Nordicity, It's Your North, Too. Indeed, the North does belong to Canada, but more importantly, it belongs to those engaged in Northern Studies.

The relationship between Canada and its North is, and always will be, defined by power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the conquest involved the search for the Northwest Passage to the East. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries adventurers vowed to conquer the unwelcome environment to reap the fortunes of its natural

resources, and its contribution to the knowledge of Mankind. The Twentieth century has witnessed a change in perspective, with the discovery of oil at Norman Wells in the 1920s, the viability of Northern development beyond the mining of precious metals became increasingly topical. Moreover, a more refined discourse about the North began to emerge. No longer a barren, cold wasteland, the North became part of Canada's destiny as an object of Canadian sovereignty. The new discourse contained the nationalistic myth of Canada's heritage as a northern country. More to the point, this nationalism encouraged the coordination of research and the creation of a lexicon of Northern realities.

Hamelin's attempt to come to terms with what it means to be polar is one expression of the Northern archive in Canada. It represents the convergent fields of ethnology and history, political science and linguistics, geography and biology, physics and engineering. Taken together, these disciplines contribute to the naming of the Canadian North, to the definition of what it means to be northern or polar. Hamelin has simply combined them into a certified text, much like Said had accomplished with Orientalism. The difference lies, however, in their respective motives for publication. While Hamelin refers to the positive and scientific nature of his study, and includes a chapter on the future politicization of the Canadian North and how it must

overcome colonial treatment from the federal government, Said's work attempts to uncover a conspiracy of silence that lurks beneath the benign scholarship of Oriental Studies. Not only is the Orient a fiction, but it also is engaged in self-identification following the norms set out by its lexography. Similarly, the Canadian North is caught in the web of power created by the coalition of academic disciplines in Northern Studies, and struggles to define itself in terms that are recognizable to common sense. The makers of the Canadian North have created an archive of information that acts as a reference point for any inquiry, indigenous or non-indigenous. The use of media to describe the history, the language and the life of the northerner, to collect the culture of indigenous peoples and educate indigenous native children in the ways of their ancestors, enhances the web of power in which the Canadian North is situated. These media are non-indigenous, yet not benign. They orchestrate the new messages that emerge from the Canadian North, forcing it to speak in a new style. Resistance comes in the form of indifference from native populations who prefer their satellite reception to the "cultural" channel. It also comes in the form of native northerners refusing to submit their works to the National Gallery. The definitions of Native rights, of "land claims", of native self-government, are spoken in the technical language of liberalism, the ideological foundation

of the archive. The content of the archive determines the political choices that face the Canadian North. Hamelin politically opposes what he sees as somewhat of a vacuum while Said politically opposes what he sees as a false construction.

Part II

Chapter V

LIFE IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

In our culture, emphasis is placed on the importance of human beings, land and environment, and animals and birds. Without the land and environment and the animals and birds, we could not survive. This realization was not derived from nowhere; it was derived from years of experience and adaptation.

Phoebe Nahanni (1977)¹⁵⁷

Introduction

In this chapter we will begin by recounting how Michel Foucault's analysis of Life as a category within the general practice of the Human Sciences was expressed in the science of Biology. According to the models which were created in practical study of Biology, Foucault concluded that,

...man appears as a being possessing functions - receiving stimuli (physiological ones, but also social, interhuman, and cultural ones), reacting to them, adapting himself, evolving, submitting to the demands of the environment, coming to terms with the

¹⁵⁷ Phoebe Nahanni, "The Mapping Project" Dene Nation-the colony within ed. Mel Watkins for the University League for Social Reform (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) 21-28. 22.

modifications it imposes, seeking to erase imbalances, acting in accordance with regularities, having, in short, conditions of existence and the possibility of finding average norms of adjustment which permit him to perform his functions.¹⁵⁸

For Foucault, the assessment of Man's biological functions, from the nineteenth century onward, was a project that involved the careful survey of habits or behaviours which allowed Man to survive in the world. Moreover, science projected standards or norms that would allow Man to adjust to changing circumstances in his environmental surroundings. Foucault also explained that the measurement of biological function (as well as economic and linguistic) took place within the general practice of Ethnology, or the study of culture. Ethnology showed "how, within a given culture, there occur the normalization of the broad biological functions, the rules that render possible or obligatory all forms of exchange, production and consumption, and the systems that are organized around or on the model of linguistic structures."¹⁵⁹

By discovering the relationship, in all cultures, between "nature and culture", Ethnology endeavoured to produce the regularities of biological function, exchange and consumption and the formation of languages which were

¹⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, op.cit., 357.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 377.

characteristic of any given culture. These regularities were then compared to those of other cultures under the general practice of Anthropology. In our "anthropological sleep", Foucault argued, we have been able to produce a discourse which first, places cultural difference in a universal context of meaning, and then re-evaluates or improves itself as new methods of analysis are invented.

As we saw in the last chapter, Said's analysis of Orientalism as a kind of "willed human work" was presented within the context of the production of differences between the Occident and the Orient, and which allowed the Orientalist to speak about the Orient in scientific terms a reasonably unified totality.

What I propose to accomplish in this chapter is a consideration of the Life of the North, understanding first and foremost that the North, like the Orient, has often been considered as a unified totality, as a product of Biological, Ethnological and Anthropological expertise. The power of these disciplinary sciences to produce standards of measurement in the objectification of the Life of man in the North will then be evaluated through what I consider to be "emerging" points of resistance which are attempting to re-formulate the relationship of Man in the North to nature.

The dimensions of the study of Life in the Canadian North are immense, and for that reason, I can offer only a sampling of what I consider to be paradigmatic references to the activity which produces it as a measurable commodity. I see three "styles" of measurement at work in this field. The first is a kind of paternalistic style, which focusses on the physical and mental traits of the Northern Man and compares them to those of more developed societies. The second is more a developmental style, as it recognizes the need to promote the survival of Northern life under the direction of Southern specialists. Finally, the third style is the progressive one, which actively brings Native Northerners into the process of the classification of Northern Life. All three begin from similar premises, that the environment of the North is fundamentally different, and therefore should be studied for their contribution to the general knowledge of Life.

To begin, a general representation of the study of North American Anthropology will be presented to illustrate the scope of this activity, and to introduce the application of Anthropological fieldwork in the Canadian North.

Early Studies in North American Anthropology

The study of the North in Canada owes much to the work of pioneering anthropologists like Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Kaj Birket-Smith and Diamond Jenness. Moreover, the "New World" anthropology of Margaret Mead, Ruth Bunzel, Alfred Kroeber, Robert Lowie, Clark Wissler and John Montgomery Cooper lends itself to the study of the Canadian North as it sets out the principles of anthropological field work that remain the standards for the researching of tribal societies. In general, anthropological research represents the "scientization" of Life; the creation and application of universal rules of cultural, linguistic, biological, social and economic behaviour to significant populations which share similar conditions of existence. Immediately, one recognizes the requirements of such a practice. In order to remain "scientific" and "objective", these rules must be flexible and adaptable to a variety of "cultural communities", and every anthropologist knows the pitfalls of "cultural imperialism".

Margaret Mead, long recognized as a major figure in ethnological and ethnographical research, argued that the ethnologist can bring to the Social Sciences two important types of data; "...materials for historical description and reconstruction from which it is possible to characterize the

social forms of primitive North America in contradistinction, for example, to Africa or Oceania", and "... data upon the relationship between original nature and social environment, the limits and ways in which the latter can be modified by the former."¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, Mead argued that there is a general method of understanding "culture contact" between the ethnologist and the "natives"; the objectivity of the ethnologist can supply an account of a whole culture, its forms and practices over time, in isolation from the rest of the world, yet, "their [natives'] criteria of reality very usually differ so markedly from our own that native evidence on any point can be accepted only after it has been systematically sifted with the pertinacity and reservation of judgement required of a detective."¹⁶¹ This is undoubtedly evident when we reflect that her account of two types of data would fly in the face of the self-interpretation of her "subjects" in their affirmation of the modern Western bifurcation of nature and culture and the primacy of "social" life as the most significant realm of human exchange. The acceptance of native's "criteria of reality" is made in terms of the ability of the ethnologist to put it in to terms which are understandable and which add to the development of the field.

¹⁶⁰ Margaret Mead, The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe (New York: AMS Press, 1932). 6.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 12-13.

Mead's contribution to anthropology and ethnology is now legend, her studies of the sexual habits of a variety of South Seas cultures are well known. More to the point, Mead's approach to ethnology and anthropology is illustrative of the demands of scientific objectivity. It is this approach to the culture and habits of other societies which has signified studies of Life in the Canadian North. The application of research methods in the study of "native" life in Canada has led to a remarkable collection of data covering virtually every aspect of the Life of "Original Peoples". Whatever their motivation, "native" studies in Canada have coloured the popular impressions of behaviour amongst "aboriginal populations", and it is in this context that the North in Canada has received its closest scrutiny.

For additional background, we must turn again to Mead for a brief account of the origins of North American anthropology. New World American anthropology, according to Mead in The Golden Age of American Anthropology (1960)¹⁶², was responsible for the development of significant changes to the study of "real native populations". Under the leadership of Franz Boas and Edward Sapir, "The men of the golden age of American Anthropology treated with detachment the Indians whom they studied and around whom they built up a great body

¹⁶² Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel, eds., The Golden Age of American Anthropology, (New York: Brazillier, 1960).

of ethnographic fact and basic cultural theory."¹⁶³ This sense of detachment led to the realization that the native populations of North America were in danger of losing their status as "original" peoples, as the elements of progress swept them into cultural atrophy. These pioneers were able to "see the ways of life of each people as variations on universal cultural themes", and suggested ways of saving the uniqueness of native peoples. Henceforth, the scientific practice of anthropology was concerned with the "protection" and "guardianship" of the primitive ways of North American tribal societies.¹⁶⁴

More recently, critics of the temporality of Anthropological discourse have acknowledged the relationship between the collection of Anthropological knowledge and the power to define the Other as an object of scientific inquiry. By universalizing a Western conception of time, anthropological discourse produces the attributes of Other cultures. In other words, "as relationships between peoples and societies

¹⁶³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁶⁴ This does not mean to suggest that the observation of native populations is a recent phenomenon. Early explorers like Columbus and Samuel de Champlain, for instance, returned to Europe with a variety of accounts of native people. Their sense of guardianship, however, was not yet fully developed.

that study and those that are studied, relationships between anthropology and its object are inevitably political..." 165

The political nature of anthropological fieldwork, and the persuant collection and classification of "data", produces the truth of Other cultures. The value of this practice is determined wholly within the gaze of Western science.

Under the leadership of Boas and Sapir, the study of Native life in North America took a direction which valued the Native experience of the land, their economic practices and their languages. This was in sharp contrast to opinions that classified the Native people of North America as heathens and savages.

For example, the information that reached Europe about the character of the North American savages was collected by the Comte de Buffon, who described them in the following manner; "The savage is feeble, has small organs of regeneration, doesn't use his mind, is repugnant to society, has no sense

165 Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) 143. See also The Predicament of Culture by James Clifford. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988). Clifford focusses on the activity of collecting culture as a specifically Western practice. "The collection contains what "deserves" to be kept, remembered and treasured. Artifacts and customs are saved out of time." 231.

of family and represents the lowest form of nature."¹⁶⁶ This opinion illustrates one general attitude of Europeans to the native populations of North America. They were different, of a different nature, from a New World. However, these invocations of savagery eventually gave way to the more pure scientific researches of Anthropology which began in earnest in the nineteenth century.

In the United States, John Bachman, a natural historian, Lutheran pastor, and great friend and admirer of Audubon, attempted to re-assess the possibility of a "theory of species unity among all the races of mankind". He argued that the proof of unity far outweighed the popular conception of a "plurality of species". His criteria included skeletal structure, erect stature, articulation of the head with the spinal column, teeth of equal length, smooth skin and hair-covered head, the same organs and muscle systems, same period of gestation, and the peculiar physicality of women to name a few. As a natural scientist, Bachman's aim was to apply the rigours of botanical classification to the definition of a species of mankind. In anticipating his critics, he argued that,

If an objection is advanced against the rules
by which we have been governed, and we are

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Jefferson, "On the Character and Capacities of the North American Indian" in Mead and Bunzel, op.cit., 74-88. 79.

told that we have been blending specific and generic characters, we answer that in all the genera a species is selected and described as a type of the genus : hence there being but one species in the genus we have, in accordance with the rules by which naturalists are governed, selected the species as a type.¹⁶⁷

The identification of Mankind as a species, in Bachman's estimation, required the separation and identification of the organic structures of the body. The purpose of Anthropology is clearly established as the identification of variations on a theme of a unified species. Whether under the label of race, language or culture, the study and investigation of the different societies of the world was to be conducted with the objective realization that, at bottom, all the people of the world were the same in terms. at least of their organic structuring. Cultural studies, the generic form of Anthropology, was to become centered on the observation and description of behavioral habits . Anthropology seemed to take for granted the category of Life - every human culture had Life, and the preservation of Life, as its prime motivation for continued existence. North American anthropology expanded rapidly in the early twentieth century to include the study of linguistics, and the study of economic behaviour. One of the most important

¹⁶⁷ John Bachman, "The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Pure Science" in Mead and Bunzel, op.cit., 85-88. 88.

American anthropologists, whose work in the North remains revolutionary, was Franz Boas. In Anthropology and Modern Life (1926), Boas outlined what he saw as the main differences between anthropology and other sciences.

There is a real difference between the work of the anthropologist and that of the anatomist, physiologist and psychologist. They deal primarily with the typical form and function of the human body and mind. Minor differences such as appear in any series of individuals are either disregarded or considered as peculiarities without particular significance for the type... to the anthropologist, on the contrary, the individual appears important only as a member of a racial or social group... The distribution of anatomical features, of physiological functions and of mental reactions are the subject matter of anthropological studies. ¹⁶⁸

Obviously, for Boas, the "group" is infinitely more significant than the individual. The social conditioning of individuals follows the general laws "that govern the life of society". The aim of anthropological research was to identify problems that exist within different cultures, and to suggest policy alternatives that would enhance and protect the uniqueness of cultures around the world. This expressly political motivation offers a clue to the nature of anthropological research in the Canadian North, conducted by Boas and others. The protection and enhancement of Native culture is taken to be a fundamental component of a

¹⁶⁸ Franz Boas, Anthropology and Modern Life, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1928). 12.

free and democratic world. Accordingly, in Race, Language and Culture (1940), Boas argued that "Knowledge of the life processes and behaviour of man under conditions of life fundamentally different from our own can help us to obtain a freer view of our own lives and our life problems."¹⁶⁹

Essentially a comparative science, the methods of anthropological research are taken to be universally valid. Physical appearance, language, and customs and beliefs, are the categories designated by Boas as the phenomena observed by anthropologists in the subfields of somatology, or physical anthropology, linguistics and ethnology. For Boas, "bodily form, language and culture are the results of historical processes...To the ethnologist the most trifling features of social life are important because they are expressions of historic happenings. They are part of the data from which the past has to be reconstructed."¹⁷⁰ Boas clearly understands the "progressive" nature of Enlightened scientific research in the Social Sciences: "because it extends the student's view over cultures and civilizations that have grown up uninfluenced by our own."¹⁷¹ The irony in this statement is that the criteria that have been

¹⁶⁹ Franz Boas, Race, Language and Culture, (New York: Free Press, 1940). v.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 632.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 624.

created to understand the "universally valid laws of cultural development", were created within the context of the Western tradition of progressive and "enlightened" science. More specifically, Boas admits that the aim of anthropological research is "the study of the history of mankind; not that of civilized nations alone, but that of the whole of mankind, from its earliest traces found in the deposits of the ice age, up to modern times." 172

The reconstruction of the "history of mankind" , with the purpose of demonstrating the "remarkable uniformity" of cultural development among the variety of "peoples" of the world, is indeed a practice that has known application only in the West. This universalization of knowledge is part of the creation of new categories of knowledge which occurred, according to Foucault in The Order of Things, when the scientific investigation of Life began in the nineteenth century. The creation of the field of knowledge known as Anthropology has, in turn, encouraged the development of "regional" or "areal" studies, whereby environmental conditions have been signified as having a direct influence on the evolution of a variety of differentiated cultures. The penetration of Anthropology, along with its resident subfields of Linguistics and Ethnology, into the language and practice of Geography created the possibility for the

172 Ibid., 627-8.

development of "regional" studies of populations in North America. Referring again to Boas, "The frequent occurrence of similar phenomena in cultural areas that have no historical contact suggests that important results may be derived from their study, for it shows that the human mind develops everywhere according to the same laws."¹⁷³ What this suggests is that the study of any specific region of the world, from an anthropological perspective, will yield similar results in the "structure" of behaviour in spite of differences in form. In other words, the application of universal rules of cultural behaviour to a specific regional environment will produce valuable information about the ways in which the varieties of cultures remain "stable". The criterion of stability is the operative principle of cultural survival - cultures that cannot adapt to changing environmental and social situations will die. These criteria should, by now, be remembered as those identified by Foucault as the "stimuli" which animate the biological functions of Man. The stability of cultures is a function of their ability to adapt to environmental circumstances.

Another example of the nature of Anthropology can be seen in "The Nature of Culture", where Alfred Kroeber argued that culture was very much like life or matter itself. Understood as the material of social life, "it is that which the human

¹⁷³ Ibid., 637.

species has and other social species lack. This would include speech, knowledge, beliefs, customs, arts and technologies, ideals and rules."¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Kroeber identified the "superorganic" elements of culture that are not fully intelligible, for the moment, yet lend themselves to the total understanding of the nature of culture. These are the laws, the generalizations, the collective memory, the values of society, that organization to which Man belongs at all times. And, given the historical nature of the Human Sciences, Kroeber asserts that, "A cultural fact is always a historical fact." Individuals are born into history, into society and ultimately, into culture.

In summary, heredity gives us at birth certain genetic human faculties. How we shall use these, and therefore how we shall mainly live, the culture in which we are launched thereupon decides. But it leaves us, theoretically at least, certain choices between alternatives in its total scheme; and it leaves us also a degree of freedom of departure from its norms in personal mannerisms, innovations, and successes.¹⁷⁵

In other words, Man is conditioned by genetic, social, and environmental factors that have their own histories. This is the key to Anthropological studies, that the common feature of all of the various races of Mankind is an essential "pre-

¹⁷⁴ Alfred Kroeber, "The Nature of Culture" in Mead and Bunzel, op.cit., 477-85. 474.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 484.

conditioning" on these terms. Once this theoretical position is accepted, the rest of Anthropology, or cultural studies, involves the classification of variations on this universal theme. This realization leads to statements on the purpose of Anthropological research. In The American Indian, an Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World, Clark Wissler wrote that,

The ultimate goal of [anthropological investigation]...in the New World is the discovery of the origin of the Indian and the causes and conditions leading to the development of his culture. Though thus simply stated, the problem is truly complex. . . A great array of facts must be considered and one must draw upon the resources of zoology, geography, and geology, [among other disciplines] before the various parts of the problem can be formulated for critical consideration.¹⁷⁶

The proof of Anthropological studies lies in the consistency that various cultures reveal over an extended period of time. The Anthropologist must find these consistencies, and is often forced to "re-construct" the consistencies of pre-historical, and pre-literate "primitive" cultures. To these ends, Wissler invented "the culture scheme", with which he was able to fit cultural traits into "universal" patterns.

In assessing Wissler's achievements, Alfred Kroeber identified the "subject" areas of the universal pattern.

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in Mead and Bunzel, op.cit., 520.

Wissler's system included nine general headings: Speech, Material Traits, Art, Knowledge ("mythological" as well as "scientific"), Religion, Society, Property, Government, and War. Further subdivisions could be included within the general headings. The result, as Kroeber suggested, "is like a table of contents in a book." Virtually every culture could be "written" using Wissler's categories, and although various improvements on Wissler's scheme have been suggested, it remains as a kind of cultural map that can be filled in with the topographical features of any culture. This research, in the end, has value in revealing the history of all Mankind. As Kroeber wrote,

Whenever a cultural fact has significance or historical reference, it also contains a value. Significance must be distinguished from cause - from that which made a cultural phenomenon happen or come to be. Significance must also be distinguished from the end or purpose served; and from organic needs, which in their turn can be resolved either into causes or into ends of culture phenomena.¹⁷⁷

To summarize, the study of Anthropology proceeds from the point of universality of the norms of cultural expression. What this leads to, most often, is the comparison of cultures against each other. Far from the simple "cultural bias" one often hear about in discussions of Anthropological studies, there seems to be a belief that Anthropology is a

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 617.

scientific practice which behaves in a "normal" fashion when meeting a new culture. For our purposes, we are concerned with how Anthropology studies Life in the Canadian North. The application of Anthropological analysis to the life of the Eskimo provides a perfect example of how the universality of the "rules" of Anthropology were freely applied.

The North as the Land of the Eskimo

In the study of the North, the application of Anthropological criteria began with the definition of Eskimology as a legitimate field of study by Franz Boas and Gustav Holm in 1888. The first two scientific monographs on the Eskimo culture appeared in 1888; The Central Eskimo by Franz Boas, a report published by the Smithsonian Institute Bureau of Ethnology, and the Ethnographical Sketch of the Angmagssalik Eskimo by Gustav Holm (both were conducted under the auspices of the German Polar Commission).¹⁷⁸ Both works were "by-products of geographical exploration," and were principally designed to collect ethnographical and cartographical information. More to the point, they were

¹⁷⁸ Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo, (Lincoln, Nk.: University of Nebraska Press, 1964) Reprint of Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington Smithsonian Institute, 1888, 6th printing. Introduction by Henry B. Collins.

both pioneering works in the scientific study of North American "Northern" peoples from an Anthropological perspective. Certainly there had been published accounts of "life with the Eskimo" by various individuals, members of explorations to the Northwest Passage, missionaries and whalers. However, the work of Boas and Holm is recognized as the first application of anthropological rules to the study of a Northern Native culture. For example, Boas goes to great lengths in describing the tools of Eskimo life, the clothing, the religious habits, and social customs. Most importantly, the "mode of life" of all Eskimos is totally determined by the presence of food. He wrote that, "As the inhospitable country does not produce vegetation to an extent sufficient to sustain life in its human inhabitants, they are forced to depend entirely upon animal food."¹⁷⁹ This is an example of how Boas creates the context of the Eskimo "mode of life" as conditioned by the rigours of the Arctic environment. In fact, the fascination with the Eskimo began with the recognition of the extreme nature of his habitat. This element of Eskimology is the most interesting for our purposes as it exemplifies the association of environment or region with a specific type of culture. Boas' classification of the Eskimo lifestyle, his detailed analysis and drawings of Eskimo tools and artifacts, and his comparison of the Eskimos with other "northern" cultures,

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 11.

set the tone for further research. The Eskimo was "forced" to depend on the availability of animals for his survival. This is illustrative of the determination of culture by environment - a theme that continues in the analysis of the North to the present day. Boas' "field research" was unsophisticated according to anthropological standards developed later, and reads as a kind of "cultural travelogue" which is characterized by a curiosity for the mundane. A more detailed investigation of The Eskimos by Kaj Birket-Smith (1936), displays the continuity of "regional" or "environmental" determination of Eskimo culture while at the same time enlarging its comparative context, and presents in the paternal language of a disinterested spectator.

Birket-Smith was a member of the Fifth Thule Expedition that was directed in its exploration of the Arctic by Knud Rasmussen. In the Preface to the first edition of The Eskimos, Birket-Smith outlines the reasons for conducting his study.

In this book I have tried to give a picture of Man as he appears when subject to the severest night to which he has ever been put - in the long and dark winter night when the thermometer falls to 50 to 60 degrees below zero, or on the ice-filled and stormy sea pursuing the monsters of the deep in a

fragile skin boat." 180

Using the techniques of physical anthropology, archaeology and linguistics, the author is able to show that "the apparently closed worlds of isolated Eskimo communities scattered thinly across Arctic North America are thus shown to be ultimately linked to one another but also to the whole northern world by multifarious cultural strands which often extend far into the past."¹⁸¹ Birket-Smith demonstrated that the study of the Eskimo populations displays the "universal themes of cultural development and change - the introduction of new techniques and styles, the continuous adjustment to natural conditions, the mutual adaptation of different cultural elements to form a coherent pattern and the impress of that pattern on social life and ultimate values."¹⁸² In the course of his study of the Eskimo, the author states that he travelled with them and took part in some of their "weird incantations". Moreover, in describing the first days of his exposure to the Arctic, he has "glimpses of the Ice Age". The invocation of the image of the Ice Age is an example of what Foucault referred to as "human development"

¹⁸⁰ Kaj Birket-Smith, The Eskimos (London: Methuen and Co.Ltd., 1936) (re-printed in 1964). ix. Birket-Smith's work on the Eskimos of the Canadian North is by no means the most comprehensive. It has been chosen as an example of a "paternal" type of Ethnography.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., vii.

¹⁸² Ibid., v.

in the study of the life of man. In this case, the Life of Northern man, the Eskimo, has developed uniformly in relation to his environment.

In The Eskimos, Birket-Smith describes the Arctic ocean as a mediterranean sea, and argues that although this type of environment is usually associated with culture contact and exchange, in the case of the Arctic ocean "its importance in the propagation of culture in most cases ceases."¹⁸³ The Eskimos, as an "American polar people" have led an isolated, "stern and Spartan life". In fact, the habitat of the Eskimo is "so far north, it is remote from external culture contact."¹⁸⁴ Birket-Smith consistently invokes the climate as the true source of the Eskimo culture - they are this way, they live this way, they behave as a cultural group, because of the extreme harshness of their environment. They are truly a northern people. Accordingly, "In these regions it is not enough to turn up with two bare hands and a good will."¹⁸⁵ Rather, one must be aware of the restrictions that the environment holds over the "development" of culture. The Eskimo's lack of written language, their hunting economy, and their unsophisticated social organization are all so many signs of a "primitive culture". The use of the word

¹⁸³ Ibid., 11.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 28.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 28-9.

primitive implies more than simple racism. It indicates the evolutionary character of Western Man as a species.

In defining the essential characteristics of the Northern subspecies of Man, Birket-Smith surveys the opinion of various Eskimologists who have, in the past, been perplexed by seemingly different physiologies among the various Eskimo tribes. However, he argues, "As soon as we begin to take exact measurements, the underlying uniformity of the Eskimos becomes unmistakable."¹⁸⁶ This statement underlies the difference between Boas' illustrated history, and the more "scientific" work of paternalistic anthropologists. The correct measurement of the Eskimo physiology reveals that the Eskimo are not a short people, there is a mean height for men of 162 cm and 152cm for women. The importance of such measurements is revealed by Birket-Smith in his summary of the Eskimo physiology.

As a rule the Eskimos are powerfully built and plump without being fat. The trunk is comparatively long and the arms and legs short in relation to the total height. Hands and feet are small and well shaped. The breasts of quite young women are often conical, but soon begin to hang and before long resemble a pair of long, loose bags.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 30.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 31.

The measuring of the physiological features of Northern Man, or rather the Northern version of Mankind, is significant in that it reveals a certain absurd predilection for establishing this research as scientifically based. Moreover, the comparison of the Eskimo skull, which is of definite primitive shape, to that of the Australian aborigine, illustrates the criteria used by anthropologists in their designation of societies and cultures as "primitive". Birket-Smith argues that the conditions of the Eskimo "resemble those of the European Stone Age." Using the "principles of classification" developed through years of anthropological measuring, Birket-Smith has given a definite physiological and social identity to the Northern Eskimo. These principles begin with the hair, which is "almost European", and contrary to popular belief, the Eskimo has, at times, "a fairly respectable beard."

These "phenotypes", or outward qualities, are designated as part of the Eskimo culture, part of the "apparatus" that separates Man from Nature. Therefore, the author concludes that "the racial position of the Eskimo then may be approximately expressed thus, that the face is Asiatic Mongoloid and the brain case of the Lagoa Santa-type, while the exceedingly narrow nose places them outside both categories."¹⁸⁸ A clearer expression of the cultural

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 44.

qualities of the Eskimos requires a consideration of the psychological traits of these people, and Birket-Smith attests to the fact that "personality differs among the Eskimos just as it does in a civilized society."¹⁸⁹

More to the point, the Eskimo's power of perception is "keen and rapid whenever they can be expected to understand what it is they see." However, in the end, the Eskimo are a primitive people on a psychological level as well. Birket-Smith reveals that the Eskimo have an exceedingly difficult time with abstract thought. "There is one point, however, on which Eskimo understanding seems to fail, if not for lack of ability, at any rate for lack of practice. . . . arithmetic. This inability to deal with numbers is connected with the difficulty of the Eskimos to work with abstract notions."¹⁹⁰

The inability to comprehend "abstract" notions is taken to be a sign of primitive culture because , as anthropology has proven, those more developed cultures are capable of measuring and classifying other cultures as "pre-logical". Their thoughts are primitive, their actions are primitive, their language is primitive - in comparison with the "normal" attributes of European or Western culture.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 48.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 49.

It is through analysis like this that "difference" is normalized and produced within the logic of anthropology, it is made to be understood. Henceforth, the Northern man, the Eskimo, would be classified as a "primitive", underdeveloped cultural animal. They have a "restricted horizon" of experience, thus they are primitive. They have a "lack of self-control and a consequent absence of the feeling of responsibility." They are prone to "arctic hysteria", a condition first described by anthropologists as invoked by long winter nights that are "trying to the nerves".

This analysis, in the end, is more of a reaction than a scientific observation; nevertheless it remains a vital component of the Eskimo way of life, according to scientific objectivity. It is geography that is the culprit of their primitive nature.

Geographical and social surroundings naturally exercise a great influence upon the mental disposition of the Eskimos and contribute greatly towards forming their national character. There is no plutocracy whose shameless exploitation breeds envy and hatred. On the other hand, the small size of the communities and the slight sum of their experience draws a narrow horizon about their minds.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 55.

The Eskimos should not worry, says Birket-Smith, they have been praised by many explorers and scientists ; "They are not phantoms on Prospero's enchanted isle...".

The aim of the Eskimo is survival, and to this end, he may appear at times to be immodest in his dress. However, the decoration used for clothing is to be commended as it always "remains within the bounds of good taste", because, as many have pointed out "real primitive taste is never bad."¹⁹² Unfortunately, says Birket-Smith, "cleanliness is no inborn characteristic, but an element of culture that has to be learned gradually. In this direction the Arctic does not offer much encouragement."¹⁹³ Again, the survival of the culture in the face of seemingly insurmountable environmental conditions leaves little time for the finer points of etiquette. They are a Stone Age people, a living fossil of culture, and can illustrate some of the truths of Anthropological theories about the development of culture.

Politically, the Eskimo culture is stagnant ; "even while the Eskimo society nearly everywhere and in almost every respect is at the lowest imaginable level of organization, it does nevertheless exist."¹⁹⁴ Birket-Smith has identified

¹⁹² Ibid., 112.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 117.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 137.

another feature of Northern man, his lack of political organization that would suggest a comprehension of the value of democracy.

If anywhere there exists that community, built upon the basis of the free accord of free people, of which Kropotkin dreamt, it is to be found among these poor tribes neighboring upon the North Pole. There is no rank or class among the Eskimos, who therefore must renounce that satisfaction, which Thackery calls the true pleasure of life, of associating with one's inferiors.¹⁹⁵

It is extremely doubtful that the Eskimo population ever met Kropotkin or Thackery, yet they are said to be aware of the universality of their wisdom. This political mythology remains as an essential element in the "native" political discourse of the Northern people; they are a free and equal people, essentially communistic and sharing. As Birket-Smith is quick to demonstrate, the monotonous lifestyle of the Eskimo, and his obsession with survival, has made cooperation a necessity and "it is clear that violation of the right of possession can never cause much stir in the Eskimo society."¹⁹⁶ The Eskimo is "non-political" and has much trouble reaching a decision when confronted with

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 144.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 149.

extreme situations because of his "primitive, wavering mind that does not willingly take an independent resolution."¹⁹⁷

In their "view of life", these northern people are essentially primitive again. They do not know science, they have "filled the gaps [of their knowledge] with the products of a pre-logical imagination." They have no independent thought, no idea of Creation, they know very little, if anything, of foreign lands and live in a world of mystic fear and wonder. They are descendant from other primitive cultures, the Aleuts from western Alaska, the Greenland Thule culture, and the Pre-Dorset and Dorset cultures.

In the conclusion written for the 1964 edition, Birket-Smith notes the new relationship between Eskimos and whites ;

That the polar countries will in future play a greater part in the world's economy is beyond all doubt, and the last war has shown their strategic importance; but apart from one or two border areas they are still what they were at the time of their discovery : a field of activity for trade and for a very few undertakings as mining, etc., which are only able to hold their own with the whole resources of the modern world at their back. Western civilization can support and raise the culture of the native population, or it can destroy it ...¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 149.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 210.

Birket-Smith's work on the Eskimos of northern Canada illustrates, rather pointedly, one traditional situation of anthropological fieldwork in relation to the North. Moreover, it also illustrates the universalizing practice of describing the functions of existence in the North. The structures of physiology of the Eskimo were described by Birket-Smith as not fully developed in comparison to those of other cultures. Yet the Northern Eskimo lived according to general rules of survival. They reacted to stimuli, adapted themselves, were in a process of evolution, came to terms with the modifications their environment imposed, and functioned according to the limits that their conditions of existence, both psychological and physiological, had genetically prepared for them. As an ethnologist, Birket-Smith had summarized the "broad biological functions" and the general social and political conditions of the Eskimo. His work among the Eskimo was symptomatic of a kind of "racist" Anthropology that has since become discredited within the field of Northern Studies. However, I would argue that Birket-Smith's racism was a product of his application of the rules of Anthropological classification.

The people of the North were systematically brought into the logic of modern scientific practice, they are given a status in the world as it is classified by the Human Sciences, in this case the Human Science of Anthropology. More recent

examples of this scholarship reveal a continuity of thematic expression; the harshness of the climate is consistently invoked as the determining factor in the "development" and protection of Native culture in the North.

Recent Continuities

A more "scholarly" and developmental approach to the understanding of how Native life in the North changed over time and an example of the "normalizing" tendency of Canadian views of the North is represented by a series of essays entitled Cultural Ecology : Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos.¹⁹⁹ In the Preface, cultural ecology is defined as the study of the relationship between environment and culture. In a significant essay on "Environment, History, and Central Eskimo Society", David Damas explains the nature of inquiry in the field of cultural ecology.

One means of discovering possible relationships between social features and environment, or rather exploitative pattern, is through an application of the method of controlled comparison. If one has for the region of his study an area within which there is a general homogeneity of culture and possibly a uniformity of linguistics and physical type, ecological factors can be used in two ways within a close comparative framework. First, if the ecology is also uniform within the area, an additional

¹⁹⁹ Bruce Cox, ed. Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos (Toronto: Maclelland and Stewart, 1973).

constant is provided as background against which the degree of uniformity or variability in social features can be assessed. If, on the other hand, the ecology varies within the area, one can posit the ecology as being a causal factor underlying possible variability in social features.²⁰⁰

Damas uses the geographically uniform Eskimo language as the basis for his comparison of the Iglulik, Netslik and Copper Eskimos, to discover variations of social practices that are due to environmental differences. The "uniformity" of the Eskimo language is treated as a fixed variable in Damas' study. Moreover, Damas appeals to archeological and anthropological evidence to demonstrate that the Eskimos, in general, are descendants of the Thule culture, and the Mongoloid racial type. It is the presumption of this uniformity of culture and language that allows Damas to compare "Habitat and Resources" and "Technology of Exploitation". The Eskimo have, he says, "a highly developed material culture" which follows seasonal economic cycles. In the performance of their economic activity, the various Eskimo tribes under consideration make subtly different uses of their "exploitative zones" and their "dispersal of personnel".

²⁰⁰ David Damas, "Environment, History, and Central Eskimo Society" in Cox, op.cit., 269-300. 269.

Having established the "uniformity" of culture, language and exploitative habits, Damas sets out to compare the three tribes and to discover differences or variations in social behaviour. In terms of social organization, "analysis demonstrates that there is a pronounced slant toward predominance of male-oriented links over female-oriented links between nuclear families."²⁰¹ This analysis proceeds with the evocation of scientific observations of "kinship" patterns; "Norms of kinship behaviour were not highly developed among the Copper Eskimo. At the other extreme each Iglulik Eskimo was governed by directives for behaviour based on closeness-distance and dominance-subordinance axes that extended as far as kinship was reckoned. In the Netslik area the universe of behavioral directives does not seem to have extended much beyond the confines of the extended family."²⁰²

What this language indicates is the definition of Eskimo life in terms of criteria that are established as having scientific value for ethnographical and anthropological research. The purpose of this research, which is taken here as an example of the process of the "scientization" of Northern life, is to explain the differences in Eskimo culture, in all its variations, within the lexicon of the

²⁰¹ Ibid., 278.

²⁰² Ibid., 280.

Social Sciences. The use of terminology such as "kinship system" or "closeness-distance and dominance-subordinance axes" is indicative of a presumed practical universality that this lexicon presents to whatever subject it studies. This does not mean that the "cultural ecologist" does not recognize the potential inaccuracies of his conclusions. Damas explains that,

To the thorough-going ecologically oriented field worker, my attempts to use ecology as a control will seem superficial. The dedicated ecologist would be concerned with an accurate count of game in the area, with calorific intake and output, etc. These approaches are not possible for the areas I have studied, for the Central Eskimo area presents changed cultures and societies operating in changing ecological regions. It appears to be within the realm of possibility that if such a study had been made at an aboriginal period they might have provided material to support the argument that three rather than two ecological zones could be posited.²⁰³

If only evidence for this study could have been collected during an "aboriginal period", or in other words, if only the Native people of the Arctic would have developed the same "scientific" gaze as the rest of the West, or if only it could be possible to recover historical beginnings; the presumption again is one of the universality of knowledge, be it cultural, economic, social, etc.. The purpose of "cultural ecology" seems to be the development of the

²⁰³ Ibid., 292.

ability to make definite links between environment and social and economic behaviour. In the end, what is always needed is more data. Placing Northern Man in the view of the science of Life requires a commitment to the collection of information that will aid in the general accumulation of knowledge of Northern lifestyles, lifestyles that have been conditioned by their environment.

In this example, the Northern environment is said to provide the "conditions" of the Life of Northern Man. Moreover, Northern Man possesses functions that can be easily understood within a logic of regularities. The imbalances caused by natural surroundings causes, in turn, adjustments in the basic patterns that animate social and physical life. "Kinship" patterns varied from study group to study group, but remained patterns which came to terms or adapted to changing circumstances. The changing circumstances of Northern Life have included adaptations to contact with other cultures, and, in general, the Native people of North America have reacted to these contacts. At bottom, then, is the history of Northern life, a history which reveals adaptation and modification.

The following is a general summary of that history and a representation of how Native studies has incorporated a number of diverse scientific approaches and compact them

for its own use. In Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians (1978)²⁰⁴, John Price argues that Native studies is interdisciplinary by necessity; at this time Native people all over North America had begun to demand a greater political voice, and the academic response was to create a variety of centres for the collection and dispersal of information about the Native populations of North America. ²⁰⁵

Centuries of principally a common British-American cultural environment have been producing deculturations, cultural convergences, and new cultural adaptations among the 375 aboriginal societies of this area, resulting in a collectivity of peoples with many ethnic commonalities and a sense of common and exclusive heritage.²⁰⁶

In other words, the Native political history in North America had developed to the point where Native people have realized that academic research could be useful to "foster an ethnic cultural renaissance". The proliferation of "political" treatises on Native organizational behaviour must be linked to the increasing acculturation of Native groups within the logic of Western scientific practice. As

²⁰⁴ John Price, Native Studies : American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978).

²⁰⁵ Ibid., viii.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., viii.

"unified ethnic culture in modern society" the Native qua Native was slowly accommodated within the legitimate social forms of modern Western society. In the words of Harold Cardinal, "Anthropologists do have a meaningful role to play, not as leaders, but as technicians who will help us analyze . . . "207 In other words, the role of Anthropology in the study of Native life in North America was to study and deliver the "history" of Native occupation of the land.

The accepted definition of the Native habitation of the Canadian territory is that humans arrived in the New World "only in the last phase of the Pleistocene Ice Age". Accordingly, says Price,

The difficult crossing conditions [of the Bering Strait] probably biologically eliminated individuals with generic diseases or other problems that made them inferior in terms of the hard physical life of Arctic hunters. Over the tens of thousands of years there was some evolutionary selection and movement away from the broadly Mongoloid racial stock to form an American Indian sub-race.²⁰⁸

This American sub-race of Natives is recognized (and we must remember that this list was published in 1978 !) by a

²⁰⁷ Harold Cardinal, quoted in Price, op.cit., 14.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 18.

variety of differentiating physical and social features. Straight black, hair, very little body or facial hair, brown(not red) skin, a slightly broad face, a tendency toward the Mongoloid eye-fold, little colour blindness, dry, rather sticky earwax, the ability to taste the chemical PTC as bitter, fingerprints with frequencies of loops and whorls similar to those of Asians, a general absence of the RH blood factor, and a high frequency of O and a low frequency of B blood groups.²⁰⁹ Price explains that while physical characteristics are indeed the single most identifying features of the Native populations of North America, more specific studies of "regional" cultural areas such as the Arctic, have revealed startling differentiations amongst Natives in terms of disease.

The arctic has such a unique environment that a special branch of medicine has developed to work with its problems. Exposure to cold is obvious; but the north also has unusual rhythms of light and darkness; isolation; a lack of fresh fruits and vegetables in the diet; and, among the Native people, high rates of certain medical problems such as middle ear infections and dental problems. Siberian scientists are studying what they call the "syndrome of polar tension" that they relate to a greater amount of cosmic radiation, which gives a greater ionization of the oxygen, and thus influences body chemistry.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 18-19.

²¹⁰ S. Itoh and Roy J. Shepard, ed, Circumpolar Health (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) in Price, op.cit., 20.

The inspection of Northern Native populations has revealed a generally low level of nutrition, and the tendency towards obesity and vitamin deficiencies, as well as a tendency to develop pulmonary problems such as pneumonia. In the end, "a healthier diet, home environment and medical services could greatly reduce the number [of these kinds of deaths]".²¹¹ The result of "cold habituation", these various medical problems have been identified as part of the "syndrome of polar tension".

The environment of the North has a definite and understandable effect on health, on the body of the Northern Native. This may go without saying, however, the studies of the relationship of biological function and organic physical appearances, and in general, the studies of Northern populations are other examples of how the North has been circumscribed by the Western sciences of Life. The specificity of environment, like it did for the earlier explorers and scientists, remains the single most important factor in the explanation of differential features of the Life of the North in Canada.

²¹¹ Ibid., 21.

In "Human Geographic Research in the North American Northlands"(1954), Kirk Stone argued that "few people would doubt that northern North America needs more people."²¹² This curious statement suggests an important feature of Northern life; the examination of northern populations, their health, social organization, eating habits and mental dispositions, among other things, will lead to a greater awareness of how the North should be developed.

In assessing the strengths and weaknesses of human geographical research in the North, Stone argued that,

Analysis of population distribution is the core of human geographic research. In Northern North America at least five generalizations may be made about the location of people: much of the population is in the southern parts of the region, settlements are largely on water bodies and primarily on coasts and large rivers, the people are clustered unevenly throughout the region, there have been significant changes in regional population patterns in recent times, and the explanations for the past and present distributions are complex and only partly known.²¹³

In Stone's opinion, the examination of northern settlement patterns, will "help anticipate the population potential of an area under a given culture". As a natural frontier of

²¹² Kirk H. Stone, "Human Geographic Research in the North American Northern Lands", Arctic, Vol.7, No. 3-4 (1954) 321-35. 321.

²¹³ Ibid., 326.

North America, the Northlands need to be more completely understood in terms of the relation between man and the land. Accordingly, this project "requires great breadth of research involving both the physical and cultural elements of a landscape and leading to the total understanding of man-land relations."²¹⁴

The general study of Northern population has led to the initiation of some interesting and provocative lines of research. The International Biological Program-Human Adaptability Project, initiated through the United Nations, began in 1968. Under the auspices of this program, a five year project was undertaken to "elucidate the biological and behavioral processes responsible for the successful adaptation and slow population growth of approximately 70,000 Eskimos in an Arctic environment."²¹⁵ The excitement generated by such a large project was fully supported by a Canadian contingent that studied the health and epidemiology, growth and constitution, population genetics, nutrition, demography and social structure, detention and ecology of the Eskimo population in Canada. The reason behind the initiation of this study, in a Canadian and international perspective came from the fact that,

²¹⁴ Ibid., 330.

²¹⁵ Frederick A Milan, "The International Study of Eskimos", Arctic Vol.21, No.3 (1968) 123-6. 123.

Eskimos, similar in race, language and culture across a distance of over 4000 miles at the top of the world, represent one of the greatest linear dispersions of a group of closely related peoples in the history of mankind...Their long-term occupancy in small, kin-based hunting groups provides human biologists with a marvelous opportunity to study certain aspects of human adaptability in detail.²¹⁶

This justification is indeed reflective of the power of the Human Sciences in the Canadian North. The mapping of the lifestyles of Northern populations added to the general knowledge of mankind. But more importantly, it brought the North into a greater focus for the purpose of development, both of the region and the scientific community. A more scientific rendering of the condition of Northern people will prove valuable in their survival. Accordingly, it was argued that,

These multi-disciplinary studies of the Eskimo inhabitants of four different communities across the Arctic will have at least two immediate and several long term results. For example, they will provide dental and health benefits to Eskimos where they are not readily available. Growth norms will be established. They will encourage international cooperation. They will train future scientists through active participation of graduate students. Finally, they will contribute to the basic knowledge of small group population genetics, human survival in a harsh environment, and

²¹⁶ Ibid., 123.

relations within a small human population isolate between genetics, stress, environment and disease entities.²¹⁷

The long term benefit for Northern people was said to be in the ability of the study to deliver new forms of knowledge that will enhance their survival. Indeed, because the "Eskimos are a remarkably successful group of mankind", and because "no one lives North of the Eskimos", it is important that we know more about their human functions. The immediate benefit for this kind of a study centred on the remarkable ability of Eskimos to survive in a hostile environment.²¹⁸ The general goal of the International Biological Program in the North was to "learn how a group of Eskimos converts animal, fish and bird proteins into more Eskimos who continue to do the same thing. This rather stark phrasing highlights the systems aspect. Our task is to decompose the system so that it can be studied in pieces appropriate to our techniques and disciplines and then reassemble it in a verifiable and scientifically quantified form."²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Ibid., 126.

²¹⁸ William S. Laughlin, "The Purpose of Studying Eskimos and Their Population Systems", Arctic Vol.23, No.1 (1969) 3-13. "Their biocultural patterns of adaptation and expansion have not been determined nor frustrated by environmental diversity." 4.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 7.

The value of this program of biological assessment was to provide the focus for further development of the Canadian North. No longer could development projects be initiated without at least the consideration of biological and environmental impact assessment.²²⁰ What is more important for our purposes, is that the general life of the Canadian North came into sharper scientific focus. The study of Natural Science in the North contributes to the general definition of Northern life.

While the literature in this general field of the Human Sciences is vast, it is important to understand that the measurement of Northern life effectively brings the North into the full stream of Western systems of knowledge. Only recently have scientists begun to realize this and attempted to bring Native northerners into the process. Their participation in the determination of environmental stresses of economic development has proven to be a valuable lesson in the definition of what it means to be northern. At bottom, the question of the ethics of Northern science has

²²⁰ G.G.E.Scudder, "Forty Years of Northern Natural Science", Arctic Vol.40, No.4 (1987) 258-73. Scudder points out that since World War II, after which Canada started to take its North more seriously, there have been a number of general studies that have enhanced our understanding of the plants, terrestrial arthropods, freshwater ecology, marine ecology and terrestrial vertebrates. All of these have taken place within the context of understanding the benefits and detriments to Northern economic development and have resulted in the realization that all life in the North "fit together in the natural ecosystem". 265.

become an important, if not the most important element of the scientific measurement of life in the Canadian North. This is because these investigations have always been a part of the creation of Northern policy, both in the economic and political development of the region.

In 1977, Milton Freeman pointed out that there had been a variety of proposals to create a set of ethical guidelines for scientific research in the North.²²¹ Most of these were designed to bridge the conflicts that always seemed to occur when development projects didn't take into account the values of Native lifestyles in the North. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry had revealed the fundamental distinction between the Native and Non-Native formulations of man's relation to the land. More importantly, the Inquiry gave significant voice to the political and economic aspirations of Native societies.²²²

²²¹ Milton M.R. Freeman, "Science and Ethics in the North", Arctic, Vol.30, No.2 (1977) 71-75.

²²² While there have been many commentaries on the achievements of the Berger Inquiry, a most interesting one was delivered by J.C. Ritchie in "Northern Fiction-Northern Homage", Arctic, Vol.31, No.4 (1978) 69-74. Ritchie insisted that the real problem in Northern science was the scientific community itself. "In addition to losing integrity by lapping up this scientific patronage from federal agencies, the scientific community in Canada has proved inept in its efforts to contribute to the process of environmental protection in the north... the disarray of northern science is simply a clear example of a more general problem, that the community of scientists has been largely helpless in preventing the domination and manipulation of political authority." 70,74. For an interesting response to

The data of scientific observation, the collection of observations of flora, fauna, population, health, etc. were being directed by a general ethic of Northern development which had begun in the 1950s. As Freeman pointed out, "It is now realized, even by academic researchers, that scientific "truths" are less the basis for policy and programme formulation than political and economic expediency. Any scientist offering assurances to people far from the centre of power and decision-making is at best venturing a hazardous opinion, and at worst, engaging in culpable deceit."²²³ Indeed, the Berger Inquiry effectively slowed down the process of development, but at the same time it sped up the political aspirations of Native societies.

The study of Northern Life, in Canada and elsewhere, has proceeded within the logic of the Human Sciences of Life. The integration of Native Northern perspectives into this study is a recent phenomenon, and while one reads of a proliferation of cultural studies that contain a clearer Native voice, it remains to be seen whether or not Native Northerners are willing to take on the complete study of the other side of culture in the physical sciences. The field of

Ritchie's charges see W.A.Fuller, "Of Conservation and Mysticism, Democracy and Things", Arctic, Vol.32, No.3 (1979).

²²³ Freeman, op.cit., 73.

Anthropology, as it has in the past, still leads the investigation of the Canadian North. In the end, this study still follows a logic that is generated outside the North itself because,

...it is necessary to stress that no group's culture can come to be regarded by that group as a private possession, to which access may be denied to those who genuinely wish to understand, marvel at and cherish it too. To be sure, there may be aspects of a culture which are properly secret or access to which may require inherited rights, but such exceptions are usually kept from outsiders without difficulty. Knowledge of another person's culture or language enriches rather than depauperizes, so that the integrity and capability of the individual seeking to transmit that knowledge should be the deciding factor, not that person's ethnicity or professional affiliation.²²⁴

A more recent example of the consistency of environmental factors in the determination of social and cultural, as well as physical practices in the Canadian North comes from R.Quinn Duffy in The Road to Nunavut(1988).²²⁵ This work is a survey of the Inuit people of Northern Canada, and their emergence as a political force in the completion of the territorial project of a Native homeland called Nunavut-the place of the people (in Inuktitut) In the Preface, Duffy quotes liberally from the text of an opinion on the value of

²²⁴ Ibid., 74-5.

²²⁵ R.Quinn Duffy, The Road to Nunavut, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1988).

Native Studies in Canada given by lawyer Marc Denhez, who was at the time working for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

If indeed the future of Canada is linked to the North, then we cannot postpone dealing with their(the Inuit) problems indefinitely. That's the practical reason. From a more intellectual standpoint, how can anyone interested in Canadian culture ignore the possible extinction, under our very noses, of a unique culture which is four thousand years old.²²⁶

Duffy's text is the most recent example of a comprehensive statement on the history of the Inuit people in Northern Canada. He traces the "development" of the Inuit cultural awakening from the end of the Second World War to the present. In spite of the progressive nature of his research, Duffy relies on centuries-old images of the North.

It is a vast, empty, and silent land . . . it is a grey-brown monotone of bare rock and treeless tundra. . . In winter the land and sea both disappear in the palling anonymity of snow and ice. They lose their separate identities. So does the North itself. It merges into the snow-covered south, reminding Canadians that they are all a northern people, inhabitants of a northern land.²²⁷

These images are the standards by which the North in Canada is measured. We should understand, as Canadians, that we are

²²⁶ Ibid., xiii.

²²⁷ Ibid., xii-xiv.

a Nordic people, we should understand the principles of "nordicity". Nowhere does Duffy attempt to explain what this might mean, or how qualitatively different our "nordicity" makes us from other peoples. The emptiness of these images is amplified by Duffy's assessment of Northern life among the Inuit. In the land of Nunavut, he writes, "the Inuit have for thousands of years endured stoically the unkind environment of the region and adapted to it. The first people to do so came from the west four, maybe five millennia ago."²²⁸ First came the Alaskan, then the Pre-Dorset, the Dorset and the Thule, who "made a more effective cultural adaptation to the Arctic environment than the Dorset."

Duffy explains that with the arrival of the white Man in the North, came the destruction of Inuit political independence, "as surely as trapping and wage labour destroyed their economic independence." In the course of their acceptance into the Canadian "mosaic", the Inuit have demonstrated that they are true "survivors", in the Atwoodian sense.

Threatened physically by hostile elements, threatened culturally, linguistically, and spiritually by a people and a government alien to their land, they have hung on, stayed alive, survived, a vestige of a vanished order. They are the Canadian survivors par excellence. This is why a small minority like the Inuit should be of

²²⁸ Ibid., xv.

concern to the rest of Canada.²²⁹

The theme of Duffy's historical account of the political awakening of the Inuit people is "guardianship", "of bringing up children until they are old enough and mature enough to look after themselves."²³⁰ This guardianship is presented in the language that has developed around the North in Canada since the days of Boas and Birket-Smith; the environment is hostile to Life in the North, and so people there need protection and supervision according to the standards developed by scientific practice to control the peculiarities of a unique life-style. A final quotation from Duffy's Preface indicates the scope of the Northern Problem in Canada.

Architects have not yet produced a northern architecture that looks and feels northern, that give the impression of being indigenous, durable and permanent. The Inuit of the Eastern Arctic, the long-suffering citizens of Nunavut, deserve a native architecture worthy of the people : sturdy, adaptable, enduring, able to withstand the rigours of the uncompromising northern environment where they alone are truly at home.²³¹

²²⁹ Ibid., xviii.

²³⁰ Ibid., xxxiii.

²³¹ Ibid., xxi.

What is needed is the production of a "new North" in Canada, one that allows the maintenance of indigenous Northern culture, yet within the framework of a Canadian, and ultimately Non-Native scientific and practical logic. The "uncompromising Northern environment" needs to be protected, developed, and re-shaped to make it more civilized for Natives and Non-Natives alike. This has been the contextual logic for the history of Northern Studies since the inception of Eskimology in the late nineteenth-century.

Northern Homeland

A variation on the developmental style of representation of Northern life can be called more progressive, because it takes into account the value for non-Northerners of understanding the political position of Native Northerners in a struggle for recognition on their own terms.

In A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada,²³² Keith Crowe attempted to popularize much of the scholarship about the people of the North that had been accumulated. His opening statements display the "guardian mentality" characteristic of new "northern" scholarship, as well as the longstanding Canadian theme of survival. This is reminiscent of Said's argument that Orientalism, especially in the

²³² Keith Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1974).

collection of Egyptian artifacts, was a "resurrection" of an ancient culture which deserved protection by the West.

The protection of culture requires the expertise of Archaeology and Anthropology, because they can provide the data which proves the continual adaptation of Northern Man.

Crowe presents a simplistic overture to the power of modern scientific archaeology and anthropology to understand the complexities of life amongst the Northern peoples of Canada. The study of culture is the most important, as it reveals the uniqueness of the Northern people. Accordingly, "The past and present of northern cultures are not distinct and separate like black and white, but are joined together by history, written and remembered."²³³ The stories of northern people "agree with the evidence of archaeology." Moreover, the "heathen" practices of leaving abnormal babies and aged people to die have subsided. "Such customs were a grim necessity to people without the mental hospitals, orphanages, old folks' homes, and birth control of modern times. When hunger no longer called the tune, they were gladly abandoned."²³⁴ As Crowe suggests, the advances of modern science have allowed the Northern people of Canada to live a more "civilized" life. The variety of Northern peoples have benefitted from contact with the South, because

²³³ Ibid., 21.

²³⁴ Ibid., 24.

their life expectancy and educational levels have increased. More to the point, the people of northern Canada have been re-adjusted to fit the modern methods of life. Their culture has been able to fit into the logic of progressive science. Crowe's real intention was to defend the culture of the Native Northerner from the ravages of southern technology which had, since the southern inspired development of Northern resources, displaced the lifestyle of the Native people there. This new perspective on the North had come after years of neglect and now Northern Natives were beginning to be recognized as legitimate members of the Canadian society. Legitimation, or inclusion, requires the development of expertise in the understanding of how the Northern Man fits into the general scheme of cultural adaptation that characterizes the general development of Man.

In Arctic Alternatives²³⁵, a volume representing the first "national workshop on people, resources and the environment north of 60 degrees", the objectives of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee are stated clearly in response to the "coming of age" of the North in Canada due to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Created by two ecologists and a political scientist, the Committee was responding to the

²³⁵ Douglas H. Pimlott, et.al. eds., Arctic Alternatives (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1973.)

"need to open up decision-making processes and to develop information sources on the North..."²³⁶ More to the point,

The long-term objective of the Committee is to ensure that all interested parties work together to prepare a comprehensive land use plan for the development of the North that takes into account the physical, biological, social and economic aspects of northern development. In this regard, the Committee will actively support the application of an integrated, holistic approach to northern development...²³⁷

To these ends, the Committee organized a seminar on Northern issues that was attended by the interested parties; the federal government of Canada, the developers, ecologists and environmentalists, and representatives of the newly formed Native political organizations. The aim of the seminar was to "assist with developing guidelines and priorities for scientific activities in Northern Canada..." The Honorable Jean Chretien, then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, summarized the goals of the Committee through an elaboration of the federal government's approach to Northern development through a focus on "people, resources and environment". In a keynote speech, he said, " the objectives we choose and how we apply them will govern the kind of North we shall leave not only to future generations of Canadians, but to all

²³⁶ Ibid., 8.

²³⁷ Ibid., 9.

mankind."²³⁸ Thus, the main challenge to Northern development lay in the protection of indigenous physical and cultural characteristics that were part of the general historical description of Mankind.

The Life of the North in Canada was to be understood as a variation on the theme of Mankind, through the appeal to the general objective practices of scientific activity. The representative from Pollution Probe indicated that from a biological perspective,

Canadian ecosystems vary from the prolific deciduous forests in the south to the barren expanses of permanent ice in the far North. In an area close to the northern extreme, there is a zone where a few remarkable species live. Although the species which survive in the arctic may appear to be especially rugged, their tenacity is balanced by the severity of the environment, and the balance is easily upset.²³⁹

The aim of this organization was to indicate to those concerned that there was a need for increased ecological research in the Canadian North because of our "appalling ignorance of arctic ecology" and the appalling lack of research money to carry out such a task. In other words, "in the true Arctic there is not a species we know enough about

²³⁸ Ibid., 27.

²³⁹ Ibid., 48.

and many we have scarcely studied at all."²⁴⁰ The study of Life in the North had to be extended beyond the generalities of cultural, to include an assessment of every living species that survived the harshness of the arctic environment. Moreover, culture and ecology were to come together, since the Native people find the greatest expression of their identity in the land. In the end,

Research on identifying and understanding the problems of northern people and directed towards their practical needs in a rapidly changing social environment has been largely neglected. Major programmes to improve living standards, education and health have been introduced in the North, but the necessary research to guide this work, to monitor and assess its effectiveness and to indicate what additional measures are necessary has been lacking. ²⁴¹ (emphasis added)

This represents what has become a common sense approach to the identification of problems that continue to plague the development of the North in Canada. In order to develop its potential, and the potential of Native people, we must engage in more research, and acquire more data to prove that the conditions of Northern Life have been, and continue to be compromised by excessive southern exposure. The improvement of living standards should remind us of

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 51.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 54, quoted from K.Greenway, Background Information on the Seminar on Guidelines for Northern Scientific Activities .

Foucault's recognition of the activity of the Human Sciences to find the average norms by which Man can be permitted to perform the natural functions of existence. In the North, the adaptation of traditional Northern lifestyles amongst the Native people has meant that they are in danger of losing touch with the principal elements upon which they based their past cultural activity. Thus, the legacy of cultural contact with southern societies, and development strategies, has compromised the naturalness of the traditional Northern lifestyle. This legacy is met with increased funding for projects which will, in the end, "erase the imbalances", to use Foucault's language, which have occurred as Northerners in Canada have submitted "to the demands of the environment" which has changed around them.

The purpose of the foregoing presentation of research in the Canadian North has been to illustrate the relationship that has been established between the North and the scientifically derived category of Life. The proliferation of Northern Studies in Canada has been influenced by a number of related factors; the recognition of different cultural societies; the political requirements of a sovereign nation, in this case Canada; and the general requirements of academic research to find new sources of information about Mankind and its relationship to the world. The variety of research activities is indeed overwhelming,

yet consistent in its assessment of the Canadian North. It is populated by a number of different cultures which must be protected from the exigencies of modern development. Its environment is harsh. Life in the North is hard and short, fragile and precious; the North has become a symbol for the Canadian identity which is fixated on survival. As part of the "mosaic" of Canadian life, the North has been allowed to remain superficially different. This difference, however, is largely conditioned by the language and logic of modern physical and social science. The universal categories of modern scientific practice have been applied in the North in order to understand its Life. Yet, this is more than "cultural imperialism" - the scientization of Life in the Canadian North works at the level of knowledge. The North has become a separate "field" of knowledge, a field that increasingly imposes fundamental scientific criteria on the activities of research.

A more recent essay by Louis-Edmond Hamelin, in which he continues his analysis of "nordicity", represents developments within the study of the North, at the same time as it presents the North as part of the general Canadian Nordic heritage. This time, Hamelin's approach to the North in Canada is more completely interdisciplinary and can be considered as an example of the possible scope and action of northern specialization.

In "A Forward Journey into the Real North". Hamelin alludes to what he calls "nordology", or "knowledge of the North".

...according to our own terminology, wherein words are used as tools, knowledge of the North, or "nordology", enables us to assess our understanding of the North. This gives rises to a mental nordicity that, in turn, indicates the appropriate attitudes we need to arrive at a rational "nordism".²⁴²

The circumpolar North has been established as a fixed geographical zone that covers about one-fifth of the world, and includes a wide variety of "original cultures". Throughout the history of mankind, the North has held some form of fascination for the scholar. Most recently it has been "invaded" by proponents of development and economism. This phenomenon is part of the development of a "mental nordicity" which is "a reflection of concepts that form a basis for opinions and a rationale for activity. Cultural conditioning shows up in many areas; scientific methodology, law, toponomy, political formulas, economic processes, art, literature. This is how an entire culture, developed outside the North, superimposed itself upon aboriginal cultures."²⁴³

²⁴² Louis-Edmond Hamelin, "A Forward Journey into the Real North", Forum, Vol.81 (1988) 66-77. 74.

²⁴³ Ibid., 74.

Hamelin clearly understands the power of the Human Sciences in the circumscription of the Canadian North. The creation of the category of "aboriginal culture" within the schematic lexicon of modern anthropology is a sign of the scientization of Life in the North. Hamelin, in identifying what he considers to be the most pressing problems in the North today, appeals to the "humanitarian" element in scientific research to alleviate the problems of Northern Peoples. He expressly acknowledges the beneficence of modern scientific activity to improve the Life of the North. In the end, Hamelin proposes the adoption of four "fundamental areas of respect" that would improve our chances of understanding the "true" nature of the North in Canada and around the world, and effect a "Northern Renaissance."

The first would be cultural respect for the North...the second objective would be respect for the natural environment...the third objective is a respect for regionality that would foster interdependence amongst the main Northern entities...the last objective concerns the vision of Canada as a whole. Once the North becomes a real preoccupation of the country, Pan-Canadian affairs could no longer be decided on solely by the mainstream of Canadian citizens. Our sense of national(the country a whole) would cease to be confused with mainstream, or the South, where the majority of the influential and electoral population is concentrated.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 74.

What Hamelin's words project is that the respect he calls for involves the increased investigation and scientization of Northern Life. In order to foster this respect Hamelin proposes a "theoretical management grid" to be used to assess the response to these problems. He points out that "as the Human Sciences have evolved, management methods have taken on major importance, be it in areas of resources, personnel, budget, regional development or the environment."²⁴⁵ His theoretical model proposes to map out the differences between reason and emotion in the development of any project in the North. Hamelin argues that if we can reach the left side of the grid, where the number of beneficiaries to a programme or project is of paramount consideration, then we will have reached a greater degree of respect and equity for the people and the environment of the North.

Hamelin's "grid" as a tool for managing the fragility of the North in Canada was developed to respond to the need to identify the various factors in any "Northern" policy-making decision. It could be taught to Northerners and Southerners alike to "create a circumpolar globalism." Following the traditional principles of "guardianship" for the North, Hamelin places himself squarely within the logic of the human and physical sciences that know no "Northern" origins.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 77.

His evocations of a "circumpolar globalism" complete the enigma of Northern Studies in Canada and elsewhere. The "proper and correct" administration and management of the uniqueness of the Northern world requires the acceptance of the "normalizing" practices of a variety of modern social and physical sciences. The preservation of "Northern Heritage" requires the dispersal of techniques of power/knowledge amongst all Northern re-searchers, Native or Non-Native.

The "normalization" of Northern Life in Canada involves the recognition of the value of maintaining traditional lifestyles amongst Northern Natives. This also presumes that Northern Life is an object, a set of inter-related mechanisms which can be system tized into a complete pattern. As Foucault suggested, the study of Life as an object required the Human Sciences to create a variety of techniques in order to understand its dimensions. This amounted to a "spatialization" of knowledge, and the consistent deployment of strategies which allow the Human Sciences to investigate this knowledge. The study of the Life of the Canadian North has become an important element in the survival of traditional Northern societies. More importantly, the study of the Northern Life in Canada produces a more general set of objects which prove to be valuable in the preservation of Northern Heritage. It is

important at this juncture to consider the "paths of resistance" which have been taken in relation to the objectification of Northern Life.

Northern Heritage : A Re-Assessment

The third style of representation of Northern Life in Canada recognizes the need for Native Northerners to actively participate in their own cultural enfranchisement. As such, this is the most enlightened approach to the study of Northern life because it assumes a more complete respect for Northern culture. This does not suggest that the freedom to have culture can be given, rather that the culture is at present contained museologically and that it can be freed from such constraints. The range of programmes that involve the people of the North in their own understanding of their own Life includes: Native Cultural Studies, Native Language Studies, Native Broadcasting, Native Archaeology, Native Toponymy, Native Rights, Native Land Claims, as well as bewildering array of studies which cover everything from entrepreneurship to the creation of a Native educational curriculum. The "progressive" nature of these programmes has been questioned from within by a number of scholars. Instead they present the problems of the description of Northern Life within the context of Northern Heritage, a North-centred appreciation of value and direction.

Northern Heritage, then, has become a complex of scientific activities that proceed from the position of the "guardianship" or "protection" of Northern Life. The collection of Northern Life within the logic of "Southern" science now takes place within the North itself, guided by the expertise of Northern social and physical scientists. This development of the Canadian North at the level of knowledge means that, not only can "it" speak the language of the South, it can use this language to design its own future.

The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife represents just one example of how the North and Northern peoples are taught how to use the language and logic of the South for their own benefit. Its legion of Anthropologists, Archaeologists, and archivists, are carefully preserving what is left of the heritage of the North. Their work is valuable in that it creates a public resource which is in turn valuable for the development of a sense of identity and belonging amongst all Canadians, Northern and Southern. The practice of collecting Northern artifacts is also being taught to Native Northerners, so that they may actually participate for the first time in the valuable practice of cultural survival.

The Heritage Centre is a complex of competing images, it is the largest and most equipped of its kind in the North, it is definitely a southern-styled museum and cultural centre, yet it dedicates itself to the preservation of Heritage from a Northern perspective. This perspective respects the rights and opinions of Native Northerners in the classification of the dimensions of their cultures. The cost of such enterprises, especially in the North, is significantly higher than it is in the South. The sometimes prohibitive costs of initiating new programmes may prove to compromise the project of Northern Heritage, however it is important to remember their purpose, to preserve and promote the Northerness of Canada and to allow Native Northerners a stronger voice in their own affairs. I think that we should also remember the words of Raymond Williams, who said, that "a culture can never be reduced to its artifacts while it is being lived."²⁴⁶

The current trend in Northern anthropology in Canada is actively seeking ways to "bring Native people" into the discussion as much as possible. In this respect the work of Robert Janes and Charles Arnold, among others, is extremely important. Working at the Northern Heritage Centre, Janes and Arnold were able to introduce new programmes of "public

²⁴⁶ Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950, (London: Chatto and Windsor, 1967.).

Archaeology" that seek Native approval and participation.²⁴⁷ In general, public archaeology in the Northwest Territories is cognizant of two important considerations. First, northern archaeology "cannot be separated from the social context within which it is practiced". Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the regulation of public archaeology in the North must be released from the traditional norms of archaeological practice in other societies. For these reasons,

The Northern Heritage Centre promotes heritage awareness through hands on experience, and there are various methods by which this can be achieved within the context of Archaeology. One way is to hire local people to work on archaeological projects... A more formal heritage awareness programme is the archaeological field school... Thus far, thirty-five students, most of them Inuit and Dene, have had the opportunity to participate in investigations at prehistoric sites through the field school, gaining valuable work experience while learning about life in the far distant past.²⁴⁸

In terms of education, these programmes act as brokers between the scientific community and Native communities because, if the people of the North are more aware of their heritage, and understand the nature of the work being done to preserve it, they will be less reluctant to allow it to

²⁴⁷ Robert Janes and Charles D. Arnold, "Public Archaeology in the Northwest Territories", Musk-Ox Vol. 33 (1983) 42-48..

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 43.

happen. This position has been a development of the heightening of Native consciousness about the nature of Archaeological and Anthropological research in the past, the collection and "theft" of artifacts from their communities , and the disturbance of their sacred and ceremonial sites by the over-zealous nature of the southern scientist.

In terms of the dissemination of information, channeling information back to Native people alleviates the distrust that many people have of the work of Archaeologists in the North. The use of travelling exhibits helps people in isolated communities understand the importance of Archaeology in the determination and preservation of their cultural heritage. The importance of preserving cultural artifacts is related to the ability to elicit a collective memory amongst Native societies.

The collection of Archaeological objects in the North is designed to preserve Northern heritage, and a number of problems occur when "objects are removed [from local communities] and become inaccessible to most of the residents". Janes and Arnold recognize this as a fundamental injustice to Native communities, as collections of artifacts are removed from various work sites for storage and analysis at Archaeological museums and depositories, the local people often express anger and frustration over their loss of

identity. In response, however, to current suggestions that artifacts simply be returned to their rightful owners, Janes and Arnold argue that "returning collections to communities that have no resources or commitment to care for them, for the sake of political appeasement, is unacceptable. Even community interest and commitment are not enough..." 249

It is clear that Janes and Arnold are concerned with the practice of Archaeological and Anthropological Science in the North, concerned enough to advocate the active participation of Native northerners in the process of extraction and evaluation of artifacts. But returning these artifacts to their rightful owners can only be accomplished if the right kinds of facilities are present to guarantee their safekeeping. This represents an apparent contradiction in their logic. Not only must Archaeological study be cognizant of the need to include the education of Native northerners in the ways of Archaeology, but Archaeological knowledge and artifacts must remain within the carefully planned structures of the discipline. Not only is this a double standard, but more importantly it demonstrates how the collection of Archaeological knowledge constitutes a form of power. The empowerment of Native people in the collection of Archaeological data is achieved through their

249 Ibid., 47.

inclusion in the process. Nowhere, however, is the process itself called into question.

As the first director of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Janes created an expressly "political mandate" for its operation. The curation of Northern artifacts must remain in the North itself through the development of collections management techniques, conservation, exhibitions, archival storage, and through a "heritage advisory service" that educates other centres which have been created by the Inuit and the Dene.

The "ideology" of the Centre was formed around the belief that "aboriginal cultural history is of paramount importance" and "the recognition that northern native cultures are in process, meaning that they are adapting and evolving in the late 20th century", and finally, "the belief that western methods of scientific investigation and scholarship are essential in fulfilling our responsibilities."²⁵⁰ This "ideology" clearly represents the conditions within which the resistance to traditional Anthropological classifications of Northern Life will take place. The responsibility for the protection of the Northern Heritage of Canada, and of the North itself, has been formed

²⁵⁰ Bob Janes, "Museum Ideology and Practice in Canada's Third World", Muse, Vol.4, No.4 (1987) 33-9.

around the principles of "cultural blending". In the active participation of Native Northerners in the collection and classifying of their own artifacts, the colonialism of past Anthropological and Archaeological research has been effectively challenged. In this process, says Janes,

We are attempting to participate in the cultural enfranchisement of northern native cultures. This process of cultural enfranchisement will only be complete when the aboriginal peoples of the NWT have assumed a full and equal role in the preservation and interpretation of their cultural traditions.²⁵¹

In this sense, cultural enfranchisement translates as political enfranchisement. Native Northerners must take control of their past in order to understand their future. The North, then, has become the site of a political struggle to represent itself as a complex of cultural regularities which are fundamentally different from those adduced in southern Canada. The conditioning of these regularities takes place within the view of the Human Sciences, but the practical activity of collection and classification is performed by Northerners themselves. I am not suggesting here that this activity is wrong or right, rather I am suggesting that the power of the Human Sciences which attempt to understand the conditions of Northern life is

²⁵¹ Ibid., 37.

still pervasive. The cultural enfranchisement of Northern Native people is a necessary corollary to their political awareness and to their survival.

In the conclusion of his assessment of the ideology of the Northern Heritage Centre, Janes points to similar programmes which have been developed at the Dene Cultural Institute and the Inuit Cultural Institute. Both are actively creating archives and collections, and both are being supported in their efforts by the Northern Heritage Centre through the training of museum administrators and Native Anthropologists and Archaeologists who are more sensitive to the needs of their respective communities. For example, Janes cites the Inuit Silittugsarvingat project at the Inuit Cultural Centre. The project uses Inuit elders to recount the traditions of Inuit culture in remote communities, a kind of Native remote sensing. The information is then collated and stored in the Institute's library for future reference. In this sense, the Inuit will preserve their cultural history and identity while actively learning the methods of correct Anthropological classification.

Other recent examples of this practice in the North help to illustrate how the life of the Canadian North is being increasingly managed by Native people. The Inuit Cultural Institute in Eskimo Point is actively attempting to recover

artifacts that have, over the years, been removed to non-Northern sites and museums. The reasons for this political stance should be obvious. As one Anthropologist in the North has argued,

...the expressed needs of northerners conflict with prevailing norms for academic behaviour. We scientists, who have traditionally not been accountable to northerners for work being done in the North, have not yet assimilated two facts. One is that we are ignorant of the skills necessary to participate in cross-cultural contexts, particularly when technical information is communicated. The second fact, perhaps more important for this discussion, is that the changing social context of science may effect the practice of our disciplines, and perhaps even the theoretical foundations of our scientific interpretations, at least in the social sciences. How, then, do we participate in, learn from, and contribute to northern science which responds to human needs as well as to the needs of our own scientific quest for knowledge?²⁵²

The problem of the relationship of northern science to the values and needs of Native northerners is indeed acute, because it reflects past attempts to collect the North as a specialized field of knowledge within the context of the Human Sciences. The solutions to the dilemma of Native or Northern access to or involvement in this collection take

²⁵² E. Bielawski, "Anthropological Observations on Science in the North : The Role of the Scientist in Human Development in the Northwest Territories", Arctic, Vol.37, No.1(1984) 1-6. 2.

the form of programmes of inclusion. In the end , "cross-cultural" knowledge becomes the justification for the continuance of this enterprise. The needs of Northerners are carefully nurtured within the general conditions of scientific practice.

In a recent article which contributes to this discussion, Christopher Hanks and David Pokotylo point to the need to establish "alternative approaches" to Northern Archaeological practice. The new political awareness of Northern Native societies has precipitated the call for new forms of scientific inquiry that satisfy their demands for a stronger political voice. Accordingly,

Increasing self-reflection by Mackenzie Basin Dene and Metis has led them to express their own sense of history in new forms. At the same time, the Dene do not wish to have their current lifestyle, with its ties to traditional land-based subsistence, relegated to museum shelves...Over the last five years, the Dene's role in archaeological and anthropological research has fundamentally changed from that of "objects of inquiry" to "inquirers". The shift to cooperative research is the first step toward self-initiated projects by the Dene that examine their past.²⁵³

²⁵³ Christopher C. Hanks and David L. Pokotylo, "The Mackenzie Basin : An Alternative Approach to Dene and Metis Archaeology", Arctic Vol.42, No.2 (1989) 139-47. 139, 145.

The project of Dene and Metis cultural awareness has placed them firmly within the tradition of the Human Sciences, they undoubtedly will continue to participate in the "discovery" of their culture and traditions. The progressive nature of this activity should not be under-valued, because it does present a significant challenge to the academic and scientific community which has studied the Canadian North from the perspective of the Human Sciences. What remains to be seen, however, is whether or not this process of inclusion is a variation on the theme of the control and management of the knowledge of Northern Life.

The examination and collection of Northern Life under the auspices of a well qualified Anthropological tradition, goes well beyond the classification of culture. It includes the collection of biological, medical, demographic and botanical data which further enhances the knowledge produced by our understanding of Life in the Canadian North. This enterprise is meant to help Native Northerners to participate in the Life of Canada.

The Organization of Northern Life

The study of Northern life in Canada seems to have come full circle from the origins of Northern Anthropology in the work of Franz Boas who offered sketches of Northern life, through

the Anthropology represented by Kaj Birket-Smith, to the questioning of the Human Sciences role in Northern development, to the creation of Native-led cultural institutes in the North. The conditions under which Northern life has been investigated have followed an historical development which is deemed to be progressive, where methods of analysis were challenged and replaced, and where the value of information was continually re-interpreted. There is an underlying unity to this research which understands the North in Canada as a specific environment that imposes certain realities upon the conditions of Northern Life. Northern Man lives according to the stimuli to which he reacts, adapts himself, and submits to the demands of the environment in which he lives. What Hamelin called "nordicity" represents a state of mind focussed on the objects which are presented to it with methods and practices that are firmly implanted in the tradition of the Human Sciences. The value of knowledge of Northern Life was, and continues to be expressed in the logic of Mankind.

The examination of the economic potential of the North has proceeded along similar lines, and the study of Northern Labour, as a means of determining the productive capacity of Northern land and the means of survival of Northern populations, continues the logic that has "nordicized" the North. In the next section, we will turn our attention to

two generally different perceptions of the Northern Economy; the first requires an assessment of the developmental strategy of natural resource production, the second represents an attempt to bring the Native Northerners into the process so that they may learn of the benefits of a planned economy, but perhaps more importantly, to reconstruct their mode of economic behaviour which was lost during the non-Native settlement and development of the Canadian North.

Chapter VI

NORTHERN LABOUR : The Strong North

Besides his ingenuity, the Eskimo is gifted with a positive love of work. He enjoys, to be sure, his moments of relaxation, but idleness for its own sake he never seeks much less does he cultivate it. He can be trusted to work steadily and methodically, without being watched.

Thawing Out the Eskimo²⁵⁴

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the production of a Northern Economy in Canada. This production has taken place within the view of the Human Sciences of Economics and Political Economy. Both understand the position of Man in the contemporary world as a labouring animal, overcoming Nature in the attempt to provide sustenance for the preservation of life. This activity is said to take place within a general condition of scarcity, and the development of economies has

²⁵⁴ Rev. A. G. Morice, Thawing Out the Eskimo, trans. Mary Loughlin. (Boston: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1943.) 63.

the goal of overcoming this state imposed upon Man by his relationship to Nature.

As a Northern country, Canada's economy is focussed most clearly on the production and distribution of natural resources. The description of this production is conditioned by the variety of interpretations of the relationships Canada has with other producing nations within the general world of capital accumulation. These interpretations, in turn, have been conditioned by the acceptance of the rules of Economic behaviour which have a long pedigree as part of the Human Sciences.

In The Order of Things, Michel Foucault pointed to the science of Economics as the principal focus for the determination of the productive capacities of Man. In this context, he demonstrated that,

On the projected surface of economics, man appears as having needs and desires, as seeking to satisfy them, and therefore as having interests, desiring profits, entering into opposition with other men; in short, he appears in an irreducible situation of conflict; he evades these conflicts, he escapes from them or succeeds in dominating them, in finding a solution that will - on the one level at least, and for a time - appease their contradictions; he establishes a body of rules which are both a limitation of the conflict and a result of it.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, op.cit., 357.

In addition to the functions and norms which characterized the Life of Man, represented in the modifications to his environment and which, in turn, were signs of adaptation to changing circumstances, Foucault included the notion of conflict in his interpretation of the assessment of Man's productive capacities in the study of Labour. Labouring was conditioned by certain natural wants and desires which placed Man into competition with himself and with Nature. The resulting conflict was regulated by the establishment of rules that would normalize relations between Man and Man and between Man and Nature. This occurred within the general idea of production; Man is a productive being whose main interest is to continue producing and consuming, desiring profits, making arrangements with others to share, thus avoiding at all costs the natural "scarcity" which limited his chances at survival. This "irreducible situation of conflict" lay at the heart of the study of Man as an economic being. Labour is a struggle for physical survival, and a contest which produces objects that can be exchanged for other objects in the practice of trade.

Accordingly, this chapter will discuss the parameters of Northern Labour, or how the Northern Man's economic activity is conditioned by his environment. The struggle of labour in Canada is conditioned by our natural environment, by what is

"given" as standing reserve in that environment. The transformation of resources into commodities of exchange places the Canadian economy within the trading environment of the Western World. The progress of this economic behaviour has taken a Northward course out of the necessity to find new resources. This expansion has brought the Native economies of the North into greater focus, and in recent years, has been met with considerable resistance. I will attempt to show that there are two Northern economies in Canada; the first takes the form of traditional resource extraction, the second is based on the principle of subsistence. Both, however, are described within a similar set of rules and taxonomic structures which have been produced by the Human Sciences of Labour. Moreover, these descriptions also presume the regional unity of Northern economy.

As Foucault pointed out, in The Wealth of Nations, Adam Smith quoted verbatim a statement made by l'Abbe Raynal from L'Histoire Philosophique et Politique which translates as "there has been no event as important for the human race in general and for the people of Europe in particular as the discovery of the New World and the passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope."²⁵⁶ Smith's contribution to the

²⁵⁶ Earl J. Hamilton, "What the New World Gave the Economy of the Old" in First Images of America Vol. II, ed. Fredi Chiapelli, (Berkely: University of California Press,

general study of economics considered the impact of New World discoveries of commodities such as fur, corn, cocoa, tobacco , etc. in terms of their advancement of the general wealth of organized nations of the Old World. The accumulation of wealth, for Smith, was the operative definition of economic activity, a representation of practical and measurable advancement of European society.

With the inauguration of the Human Sciences in the early nineteenth-century, the elements integral to the accumulation of wealth were transformed into new categories of study. In this context, wealth became "capital accumulation", commodities became "resources" and work became "labor". The combination of these ingredients for economic progress eventually became known as Political Economy, or the study of measurable relationships between capital accumulation, resources and labour that developed in ordered and efficient ways.

As we have seen, the episteme of the Human Sciences required a re-ordering of the criteria for knowledge, and in the new field of economics, exemplified by the work of Ricardo, the meaning of economic activity changed. No longer was wealth to be measured in terms of its representation of the cumulative products of work, rather capital accumulation was

to be measured alongside resource production and labour in a never-ending relationship of economic progress that increasingly became tied to the logic of technical efficiency. In other words, the analysis of wealth gave way to the management of human and physical resources and the calculation of economic futures based on models or hypotheses of social scientific research. As Foucault, in The Order of Things, argued, the Human Science of Economics or Political Economy required a constant re-statement of operational methodology.

The assessment of the potential of Northern resources in this country always has followed the imagination and logic of a Canadian frontier mentality. Following World War II, the Canadian government recognized the importance of the Arctic as a new source of valuable raw materials that would solidify Canada's emerging global status as a young, vibrant nation of hardworking Northern people. Work had to be done to bring the North into the economy of the South, just as the West had been brought into that of Central Canada fifty years earlier. The North was to be settled and developed, indeed, development was a common theme among post-war survivors. The mood was one of re-birth or renewal of our National mandate to fill in all the white spaces on the map.

In the theoretical context of the Human Sciences, Northern Labor is represented by repeated attempts to develop an integrated Northern economy. To that end, Northern labor was identified from the perspective of Canadian Political Economy. Of course, Innis and Creighton had laid the groundwork for the study of the "northern economy"; the Laurentian Shield had provided both the sustenance for and the barrier to Canadian economic expansion, therefore, "economies grew naturally organically out of the very earth of the new world". The "northern economy" then has meant different things to different times. Economies do not really grow "organically", rather they are preceded by a contextual economic discourse, a discourse that preconditions the techniques of land use in any given economy. Canadian economic expansion northward, then, was deemed to be a natural progression of nationhood, but the North itself first had to be qualified as a potential contributor to this greatness. Furthermore, the study of economy required a classification of labor, and a classification of the utility and management of resources. In assessing how such studies came about, we cannot, of course, forget that the identification of phenomena as "resources" is to see the world as object, for a subject willing and able to lay claim to it, to make available and dispose of it at will.²⁵⁷ In

²⁵⁷ Martin Heidegger, The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays, trans. with an Introduction by William Lovitt (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1977) "The

this context, the world was re-created by the Human Sciences of Labour as "standing reserve", waiting for Man to impose the power of his production upon it. This will-to-technology is a product of the re-formulation of Man as a producing, labouring being.

Northern Economic Man

In the study of the economies of the New World, there was an increasing focus placed in the nineteenth century on the relationship between the development of aboriginal cultures and their economic activity. More specifically, in the study of the aboriginal population of the North, the original discussion of what was called the "Eskimo economy" emanated from a discussion of their origins in North America. Based on a comparison of aboriginal resource exploitation in areas surrounding the Bering Strait, it was suggested as early as 1767 that the Eskimos had migrated from Asia through Siberia. However, it was not until 1837 that more detailed studies revealed that this suggestion was based on the environmental fact of land use. Gustav Rink suggested that the Eskimo populations had not migrated from Asia at all, rather they had originally been an inland

current conception of technology, according to which it is a means and a human activity, can therefore be called the instrumental and anthropological definition of technology."

4.

people who migrated to coastal areas because of over-exploitation of natural food resources. This thesis was eventually rejected from a number of perspectives and the majority of Northern researchers have come to accept the original Asian-migration hypothesis. The evidence for this acceptance came primarily from the study of the habits of Eskimo economy with the help of the Linguistic analysis of language types. As the aboriginal economies of the North became increasingly examined, the evidence of Eskimo habits were summarized into three basic positions:

...first, that the Eskimo economy is fundamentally distinguished as an arctic coastal economy specialized in sea-mammal hunting; second, that the basic quality of Eskimo economy is a dichotomy of inland caribou-hunting and fishing versus coastal sea-mammal hunting; and last, that Eskimo culture evolved from an inland caribou pattern or economic polarity to a coastal sea-mammal pattern.²⁵⁸

William Taylor concluded that these three positions were somewhat simplistic, and argued that the Eskimo economies are "omnivorous" and "arctic-adapted", and that "the economies adjust to regional variations in the environment."²⁵⁹ Taylor's conclusions exemplify the

²⁵⁸ William Taylor, "An Archaeological Overview of the Eskimo Economy", in Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic, eds., V. Valentine and Frank Vallee, (Toronto: Maclelland and Stewart, 1968) 3-17. 9.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 16.

methodology or logic used to define the state of Eskimo economic activity; the most important criterion in the determination of economic activity is adaptability to the given environment. In the end, it was their "omnivorous flexible economy" which allowed the Eskimo population to survive the harsh environment of the North. This perspective clearly places the aboriginal population of the North into an economic logic. More to the point, however, the idea that economic success or failure is conditioned by the ability to adapt to environmental determinants has become the sina qua non of the question of Northern Development in Canada and elsewhere. The adaptability of human action to meet the requirements for survival has remained the centerpiece of this discussion.

The example of an archaeological overview of the evolution of an aboriginal economy in the North is only one part of the study of the Northern economy in Canada. Perhaps more important is the "blending" of traditional and non-traditional economic activity in Canada's North. Arguably, this distinction between two types of economic activity has allowed for the greater appreciation of the value of native economies in the North.

In The Eskimos, Kaj Birket-Smith identified the essential nature of the Eskimo economy as the "struggle for food". He

placed significant emphasis on the Arctic environment as the determining factor for this struggle.

The great alterations underlying the rhythm of Eskimo life are those of land and sea, and of winter and summer. The struggle for existence must be adapted to these, and it is worth noticing at once that the means employed are, on the whole, the same throughout the entire Eskimo territory. As one or another set of conditions predominates, particular methods increase in importance, and thus different phases of culture appear ; but the differences are of degree only, not of essential pattern.²⁶⁰

The economy of the Eskimo, then, is conditioned by his environment, and the history of this hunting society has remained unchanged for centuries. That the Eskimo population has been able to adapt to the severity of climatic conditions is "their most distinctive cultural achievement."²⁶¹ More to the point, the Eskimos' economic activity has been unable to diversify itself into more modern forms of activity, development has been retarded by the harshness of the environment. The "domestic Eskimo economy" is conditioned by the resources at hand, a state of static dependency inhibits economic advancement. This theme of dependency is amplified when one considers the economic

²⁶⁰ Birket-Smith, The Eskimos, op.cit., 70.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 71.

"contact period" between traditional and non-traditional economic actors in the North.

The needs and desires of the Northern Man, then, placed him into a conflictual relationship with Nature, one in which he had to establish a recognizable body of rules with which he could adapt to changing circumstances. The survival of Northern Man was a problem which required steady analysis, the calculation of resource locations and the development of efficient techniques to minimize the effort. His dependency upon the land was his most distinguishing feature. As the North became settled and explored, Northern populations came into contact with a new kind of dependency.

The initial contact with European, and then North American whalers set out a new context for this dependency that eventually expanded through the fur trade. Moreover, the fur trade created new contact points between the non-native and traditional economies in other parts of the North. The expansion of the fur trade northward followed a similar trading pattern to that which had been established with more southern traditional societies. According to Keith Crowe, in The History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada, the native conception of the fur trade became part of their explicit social organization, especially in the Western

Arctic.²⁶² This "blending" of economic practices undermined the traditional native economic habits and led to a new form of dependency. The expansion of the Canadian economic empire required the signing of treaties which served to further ensnare native populations in the North in the logic of the South. Moreover, it was accepted that the native was to be an accomplice in the exploitation of valuable resources. In fact, the history of this relationship has been well documented in Canada. More important, however, is how the North became increasingly scrutinized for its resource potential as non-renewable resources in other part of the Canadian territory declined. The economy of the North, then, became the subject of important technical discussions; a whole set of new problems emerged that required the concerted effort of academics in a variety of fields to solve.

As Diamond Jenness argued in Eskimo Administration²⁶³, the traditional economic activity of the northern native had given way to the native as a form of labour for burgeoning extractive industries in the North. The precedent had been set during the days of the fur trade, but by the end of the second World War, the focus was more clearly placed on the

²⁶² Keith Crowe, The History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada, op.cit., Chapter 5.

²⁶³ Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration II: Canada (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964).

integration of the native northerner into the expanding economy of the south. At the same time, academic pursuits qualified the traditional economic activity of the natives in terms of universal economic theories that were derived from the anthropological study of traditional economies around the world.

An interesting example of this occurs in an essay entitled "Animals as Capital : Comparisons Among Northern Nomadic Herders and Hunters" by Robert Paine.²⁶⁴ In setting out the context of his research, Paine points out that "domestic herds of reindeer and wild herds of caribou and moose are evaluated as capital resources of northern herders and hunters ; expertise in the handling of these resources and the rewards arising from the expertise are also evaluated."²⁶⁵ What is extremely interesting here, is how Paine works from a premise that animals, the traditional sustenance of the native economy, are "capital resources". Paine restricts his analysis to "subsistence circumstances" because of the lack of material available on the "market value" of these products. Accordingly, he defines capital as

²⁶⁴ Robert Paine, "Animals as Capital", in Bruce Alden Cox Cultural Ecology, op. cit., 301-26. Reprinted from Anthropological Quarterly, Vol.44, No.3 (1971).

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 301.

"a resource in respect of which one controls its reproductive value."²⁶⁶ Thus, he suggests that,

The first question in the analysis is suggested by our definition of capital : what controls are exercised by hunters and herders over the reproductive value of their respective prey and pastoral species.²⁶⁷

The nomadic qualities of hunters in the North is explained by the fact that the hunter and his prey "have existed in appropriate homeostasis" and move according to the "principle of least effort". On the other hand, however, herding societies follow a different logic. Their main problem is the control of population growth in relation to food supply. "Population growth", Paine argues, "is essentially a density-dependent process; this means that it tends to proceed fastest when population densities are far below the ceiling level, to fall to zero as this level is approached, and to become negative, leading to an actual drop in numbers, if ever the ceiling is exceeded."²⁶⁸ The point of this example of Paine's technique is to show that what was a simple act of survival has become a complex study of economic "data" (i.e. the reduction of lived experience to objects of analysis). In this context, wild animals are

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 302.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 302.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 302.

referred to as a "fugitive meat source", and the aftermath of the kill is not simply sharing, rather it is the "ownership of the function of distribution." Needless to say, native northerners did not use this language. In the end, the traditional northern economy is conditioned by the environment, however this time the "harsh Arctic" has become the "specialized ecosystem of the North".

The salient properties of this specialization include 1) large numbers of relatively few species occupying relatively large niches and 2) relative instability resulting in precipitate changes of energy flow. This instability is due, in large part, to the few interrelations within the ecosystem ; that is few food webs and short food chains, and is exhibited in dramatic fluctuations in animal populations.²⁶⁹

The importance of this kind of analysis is that it sets out to serve the interests of the North. Politically, it is less disruptive than the whaling or fur trade ever was, however at the level of knowledge it exemplifies the conditions of research in the North, which, in the end, exerts a powerful influence on the meaning and expression of the North in Canada. Paradoxically, our consciousness is based on the primacy of self-definition and as the means to define ourselves we master them and don't let them define themselves. In fact, the motivation for Northern research is

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 305.

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always expressed in terms of "development aid", as if the North was a third-world nation.

In the development of an Economic discourse for the North, we consistently project a picture of ourselves upon the image of the Northern Man. We see him having interests, forming rules which determine the level of conflict between himself and Nature, entering into productive relationships with others and, ultimately, acting as if he were conscious of the activity which we ascribe to him. Northern Man is engaged in production, and his survival depends on how well he can adapt to changing circumstances in his environment. There could be a whole set of different reasons for what looks like "economic" activity; a conversation with Nature, a love of gods foreign to our own, a common sense which we have blocked off to ourselves with the adherence to general rules of economic behaviour. Traditional Northern Man did not invent the language of "food chains" or "species" or "relative instability resulting in precipitate changes of energy flow". This is a projected language, a discourse which formalizes the relationships between Man and Nature into a predictable pattern of activity. We must suspect that Native "patterns" are much more fluid, less linear, and derived from a knowledge of the land which is foreign to us.

While this problem is arguably not far from the truth of descriptions of the economic conditions of the Canadian North, it barely scratches the surface of the subtlety of the northern economic discourse. This discourse has increasingly been expressed in terms of a "resource" logic, most specifically after World War II.

Following the war, the Canadian government attempted to address the "policy vacuum" which had existed with regard to the North. As Frances Abele suggests, this vacuum was filled with a new form of the National Policy which has since conditioned the dependency of the North.²⁷⁰ The new National Policy was to deliver the Northern economy into the twentieth century, as it also delivered the Northerner himself. Most importantly, the response to the initiatives of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (1947) and eventually to the "roads to resources" policy explicit in the "Northern Vision" of the Diefenbaker government, took the form of a renewed interest in the economic potential of the North. The blending of traditional and non-traditional economic practices was now to begin in earnest, and along with it, the integration of the Northern population into the social service, educational and cultural milieu of post-war Canadian society. This integration required the services of

²⁷⁰ Frances Abele, "Forty Years of Northern Administration," Arctic, Vol.40, No.4 (1987). 310-20.

more specialized academic pursuits that re-defined once again, the economic meaning of the North in Canada.

The following examples, found in The Canadian Northwest: Its Potentialities²⁷¹, a symposium presented to the Royal Society of Canada in 1959, illustrate this new attitude toward the resource frontier in the North at the same time as re-organizing the priorities of the meaning of the Northern economy.

In a contribution entitled "Minerals and Fuels", the authors suggest that the concern for the resource potential in the North is not that recent, pointing to the voyages of Samuel Hearne to discover the source of copper brought to an HBC outpost, and the discovery of "petroleum" by Alexander Mackenzie. Moreover, the Klondike gold rush in the Yukon, the discovery of oil reserves at Norman Wells and the development of the Giant Gold Mine at Yellowknife provided excellent examples of the earlier context of resource extraction in the North. In emphasizing their concern for the development of new resources, the authors employ a regional focus.

²⁷¹ Frank Underhill, ed. The Canadian Northwest: Its Potentialities, a Symposium presented to the Royal Society of Canada in 1958. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

The completely unrevealed mineral possibilities of this huge region are believed to provide potentialities far beyond those of known deposits and occurrences. The Shield and the Cordilleran region offer thousands of square miles favorable in a general way for the occurrence of mineral deposits. On the basis of present knowledge the Plains region offers fewer, but not insignificant possibilities for minerals. The Innuitian region also has possibilities for minerals, but its remoteness and climate will impede prospecting and development.²⁷²

This text is an example of the projection of resource logic onto a land which, in turn, places it more firmly within the grasp of an economic discourse. The North, in Canada, began to move Northward, and the consideration of new potential took precedence over the traditional relationship with the land observed among Native Northerners.

In another essay entitled "Biological Potentialities", D.S. Rawson argued that "... the values of forests, agriculture, wildlife, and fisheries are not to be measured solely in dollars but in their vital contributions to the settlement and development of the North."²⁷³ Rawson also pointed to the incredible wealth of knowledge that had already been developed by the biological sciences in the North, and how it should be utilized in order to more fully exploit its resource potential. Game management, fur farming, and

²⁷² A.H. Lang and R.J.W. Douglas. "Minerals and Fuels" in Underhill, op.cit., 55.

²⁷³ Ibid., 61. "Biological Potentialities", D.S. Dawson.

fisheries were some examples of how native people could be integrated into the exploitation of resources. The reindeer management experiment which had begun in the late thirties was deemed to be a "scientific" success, even though native herders had abandoned the enterprise; "...it appears that the present social and economic conditions are not such as to lead large numbers of eskimos or others into the life of reindeer herding. An increased human population in the North may well alter this situation in future years."²⁷⁴In fact, Rawson suggests the expansion of scientific activity in the North proceed with the opening of transportation routes to accent the urgent need to investigate "our plans for the economic utilization of biological resources."²⁷⁵Scientific management of resources should be the rule in the New North.

Following this theme, D.B. Turner, in "The Resources Future," cautioned those who were lured by the "romance of the North". In the end, renewable resources will be "the rub of the economy". The careful and scientific management of these resources will prove to be more effective in the long economic run than willy-nilly private resource extraction. Thus, it is the imperative of the Canadian federal government, in close association with its Provincial counterparts who may have an interest in northern resources,

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 66.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 75.

to employ the services of the scientific community to ensure even development.²⁷⁶

The development of the Northern economy from the perspective of resource extraction not only changed the context of native/non-native relations, but also encouraged the development of what has been called a "culture of poverty". This meant literally that the native population of the North was caught within the rapidly changing technological environment without the requisite skills to participate.²⁷⁷ Their traditional economic activity had been increasingly undermined by the disturbance to their settlement patterns which, during the war and with the increasing presence of the South in the North, had changed from a subsistence activity to a dependent one. As Valentine and Vallee argue in their introduction to Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic,

Three major stages can be distinguished in the socio-economy of the Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic. The earliest stage was that of hunting and gathering; the next, that of trapping or whaling combined with hunting and gathering; and the most recent, that in which one of these activities is combined with wage labour in service occupations, dependence on

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 77-89. "The Resources Future", D.B.Turner.

²⁷⁷ James S. Frideres, Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts, (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1988. 3rd Edition) See chapter 11, "The Political Economy of Natives in Canadian Society", for a discussion of the "inner colonialism" in the North.

statutory grants and relief.²⁷⁸

Since the end of the 1950s, it had become clear to social economists that the native populations of the Canadian North were not responding to the growth of resource extractive economic activity in a positive way. Therefore, they came under the increasing scrutiny of the welfare economists who began to categorize their plight within the context of lifestyle economics. Again the intention was to somehow "blend" traditional and non-traditional economic analysis in order to effect a solution to the "native problem". What troubles one about this language is the technique used to determine rates of dependency, standards of living, etc. . In fact, Diamond Jenness in Eskimo Administration attempted to determine the optimal yearly income that an average native family in the North would need to survive.²⁷⁹

Indeed, survival is the operative term in describing the Northern Economic condition. The Native problem in the North was continually expressed in terms of poverty, and in relation to the rules of economic behaviour in the Canadian South, the North was an impoverished place which required a re-organization of economic activity. As the North became increasingly surveyed for the purposes of resource

²⁷⁸ V.Valentine and Frank Vallee, eds.,Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic, (Toronto: Maclelland and Stewart, 1968) ix.

²⁷⁹ Jenness, op.cit.,145.

development, the Native Northerner was brought directly into the middle of the debate.

In the preface of The National Interest, written in response to the increasing possibility of massive oil and gas development in the North following the Prudhoe Bay, Alaska discovery in 1968, Edgar Dosman argued that "the Arctic is becoming harnessed to the North American economy."²⁸⁰ Indeed, by the late 1960s it was apparent that the "northern vision" was becoming a necessity for the expansion of a sluggish Canadian economy. However, as the results of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry revealed, the native populations had discovered that their economic and social advantage lay in the articulation of their concerns, as well defined societies, for participation in the decision-making process. In this sense, the "economization" of the North had come to almost full realization. In order to speak, native organizations began to use an economic and cultural discourse that had been carefully developed within a non-native episteme. In other words, the "blending" of traditional and non-traditional economies revealed a technical dependency on the part of native populations. The response to the demand for legitimacy was the constant re-assessment of the Canadian federal government's role as the

²⁸⁰ Edgar Dosman, ed., The National Interest (Toronto: Maclelland and Stewart, 1975.)

legal guardian of the aboriginal populations in the North, as well as in the rest of Canada. The participation of Northerners in the development of the Northern economy is conditioned by the homogeneous language of economic analysis. Their traditional notions of the land could not compete with the more sophisticated economic discourse of the South. Their willingness to participate in the discussion, however, should not be taken as a sign of failure. Rather, Native Northerners have simply created their own economic agendas to respond to those coming from the South. The discussion of alternatives revealed the "contradictions" between the Native and Non-Native conceptions of the land in the North. The resolution of these contradictions has come in the form of land claims settlements, and the creation of Native Development Corporations (NDCs). I suggest that this has created new "classes" of Native Northerner, the Native entrepreneur, and the Native conservationist.²⁸¹ The conflict between Man and Man, and between Man and Nature, which Foucault pointed to as a product of the discourse of Labour, is now interiorized within Northern Native societies. The competition for resources is now played out in Northern Native societies.

²⁸¹ Doug Daniels, "Dene Government: Middle Class Dream or Working Reality", unpublished. (17 pages) See also, Doug Daniels "The Coming Crisis in the Aboriginal Rights Movement: From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism to Renaissance", Native Studies Review, Vol.2, No.2 (1986) 97-115.

The potential for increased alienation and conflict could, I suggest, eventually produce another situation like that which is currently occurring on the Mohawk reserve at Akwasasne. This event also illustrates the lack of responsibility on the part of the Canadian Federal Government in the discussion of economic development within Native societies in the South and the North.

From the traditional Southern perspective there have always been a series of related problems which have made the development of the region extremely difficult and slow. These include, "high investment and production costs, lack or full absence of labour power coming from other regions, difficulties connected with creating transportation routes, technical complicity of the process of building, utilization of machines, mechanisms and materials."²⁸² When developing the Northern regions of any country, the attitudes and policies of "inhabited middle-latitude territories" should be abandoned. Therefore, in order to stimulate the advance of industry in the North, the federal and territorial governments have been forced to grant special tax privileges to developers. This is not necessarily just a Northern phenomenon, being in large part responsible for the development of the general Canadian economy. In the North

²⁸² G.A. Agranat, "Some General Problems of Northern Development", Inter-Nord, No.11 (1970), 310-6. 310.

the practice is more acute owing to the lack of present and ready capital for investment. This is changing, however, with the creation of Native development corporations to administer the capital and land resources following land claims settlements.

In Canada, the Federal government "retains responsibility for the resources in the Northern Territories and therefore, for the development and exploitation of these resources."²⁸³ In 1971, there was growing interest in the development of oil and gas deposits that were discovered in the Beaufort Sea. The attitude of the Federal Government toward development of those resources and toward the Northern participation in that development was expressed quite perfunctorily by a senior official in the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

If Northerners are to have jobs and income, that is if their standard of living is to be raised and they are to have equality of opportunity, there must be an economic base upon which they can depend. A Resource-based economy may be less attractive nowadays when compared to industry but if we must choose between that and a nomadic hunting, trapping and fishing economy, there is in the long run no real choice.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ W.D. Mills, "Government Policies Regarding Economic Development in Northern Canada", Musk-Ox, Vol.9 (1971) 9-11. 9.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 10.

The under-valuing of the traditional Native Northern economy was a central feature of the excitement over oil and gas development at a time when the world pricing structure for these commodities was out of control. More importantly, this policy opinion was juxtaposed with the recognition that the Federal government had gone to great lengths to ensure that any development would be environmentally friendly with the improvement of the Territorial Lands Act, and the creation of the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act and the Northern Inland Waters Act.²⁸⁵ In order to more effectively exploit the potential resources, departmental coordination among the various Federal government agencies working in the North was essential.

Another policy position was put forward with regard to the construction of a pipeline to deliver the resources south to refineries for processing. In "Northern Pipelines: The Canadian Position", William Fox, of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs recognized that Northerners would be the most affected by the development of the oil and gas fields. In fact, the government had set up the Task Force on Northern Oil Development in 1968 to study the potential impact of development on Northerners. Research was conducted

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 10. The protection of the environment and the basic ecology of Arctic waters "takes cognizance of Canada's responsibility for the welfare of the Eskimo and other inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic."

in the areas of aquatic ecology, wildlife, hydrology, terrain investigations, vegetation, topography, mapping and air photography, pipeline structural safety and land use.²⁸⁶

The information retrieved from these researches was extremely valuable for the recommendations of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger Inquiry), which is now almost a Canadian legend. The attitude toward resource development in the North changed on all sides after the Berger Report highlighted the lack of attention paid to traditional Northern Native land use practices. The moratorium placed on pipeline construction as a result of the Commission's report was indeed prescient, for now the question of a pipeline seems almost obsolete as world oil and gas prices have resumed a more normal course in recent years.

There were two other legacies left by the Berger Inquiry; one was the increased politicization of Native societies in the North and their demands for land claim settlements among other things, the other was the general proliferation of land use planning. According to Julian Inglis, in 1979,

²⁸⁶ Wm.J. Fox, "Northern Pipelines: The Canadian Position", Arctic, Vol.24, No.4(1971), 243-6.

Planning at the local and regional level has been designed to aid the resolution of land use conflicts. In terms of government policy most significant has been the departure from a managed use philosophy to one which includes the notion of preferential land use for large areas of the north. ...It is planning which has come about in response to intense pressure from native organizations and communities against a background of accelerating resource exploitation activity and land claims. ²⁸⁷

After the Berger Inquiry, the trend in Canadian North is the continual devolution of land management strategies from the Federal Government to the Territorial Governments and down to the regional and local level. With the recent settlement of the Yukon Indian, Dene-Metis and Inuit land claims, the responsibility for land use management should devolve even further. Most importantly, each claim contains an "environmental impact" component that will undoubtedly set the tone for future discussions of environmental concerns in this country.

It is clear that the development of Canada's Northern lands, and the political economy of the North, was contained within a logic that saw resources as commodities which were designed to be exploited for the general well-being of the Northern population. During the excitement of the oil and

²⁸⁷ Julian T. Inglis, "Land Management in Northern Canada and Fennoscandia", Polar Record Vol.19, No.123, 1979 543-61. 555.

gas discoveries in the North, it was believed that the Northerner would become full participant in the wage economy that would ensue from these developments. This was an expressly southern attitude. Once the Native Northern perspective was recognized, however, the definition of Canada's Northern economy took a new turn. The respect for Northern Native traditional economic practices encouraged the creation of a new opinion. No longer were Native Northern economic practices deemed primitive or under-developed- they were now a potentially important part of a mixed economy in the North.

In "The Goals of Canadian Resource Development and the Evolution of Policy", Keith Penner argued that it was time to develop a total perspective on Northern development. This meant that development was to proceed in terms of balancing the economic needs of the country with the lifestyles of the Northern people. Accordingly, "it is the federal government's responsibility to sort out those interests, and to decide their relative importance and priority, in choosing policies affecting them."²⁸⁸ The economic trauma caused by massive re-structuring of the priorities of Northern development had to be offset with new and improved

²⁸⁸ Keith Penner, "The Goals of Canadian Resource Development and the Evolution of Policy", in Northern Change: The Canadian Experience/Implications for Alaska (Calgary: Arctic Institute, 1976.) 1-8. 1.

social and economic recovery programmes for displaced native populations. Moreover, the environmental lobby had begun to organize alongside native organizations to sustain the traditional economic environment of the North. Again, however, the language and logic used was a modification of the economic discourse that was definitely not of Northern origin.

The exploitation of natural resources in the North led to the dependency of the native northerner on the exigencies of the wage economy. According to Ian Creery, the traditional northern economy was organized in camps and "the harshness of the environment was a factor in the egalitarian character of the society..."²⁸⁹ As the native northerners had moved into "non-traditional" settlement patterns, a new form of dependency had emerged: the "individualization of poverty". The dependency of native populations on welfare had broken the cultural bonds of the traditional society and have undermined "the tradition of sharing". The creation of a northern welfare economy, along with the expansion of northern administration has brought the North into greater focus in the South. As Michael Whittington has suggested, "The North (and its people), traditionally ignored by southern politicians, has become economically significant to

²⁸⁹ Ian Creery, The Inuit (Ottawa: DIAND, 1984.) 13.

the rest of Canada."²⁹⁰The question of economic survival of the North became increasingly intertwined with cultural survival.

In the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, native organizations which were created to respond to the rapid expansion of resource extraction have actually entered the field themselves. The Inuvialuit Development Corporation, the Denendeh Development Corporation and the Inuit Nunasi Corporation, among others, have become full-fledged actors in the discussion of the economic development of the North. Therefore, in terms of economic discourse, the distinction between the North and the South has become blurred by a dependency on a certain logic of action and method of expression. Increasingly, then, the "economization" of the North has been achieved through the application of rules of technical procedure that are a far cry from the intention of "blending" traditional and non-traditional economies. The tone of economic and cultural development has become one which couches the dependency on economic and cultural "knowledge" in a rhetoric of freedom, rights, self-expression and survival. In fact, from a Northern perspective, economic freedom equals political and social freedom.

²⁹⁰ Michael S. Whittington, "Canada's North in the Eighties" in Canadian Politics in the 1980s, eds. M.S. Whittington and Glen Williams (Toronto: Methuen, 1984) 70.

Economic development, when measured by the ever-changing standards of economic logic, is caught on the rhetorical loop of progress that has changed the meaning of the North as it was required. A most astute statement of this reality was expressed by K.J. Rea in The Political Economy of the Canadian North (1968).

The Canadian North is remote from the markets and industrial centres of the world. Economically, it is characterized by the presence of large stocks of land resources and the absence of any significant supplies of skilled labour and capital, both of which must be imported from distant centres.²⁹¹

In many ways the economy of the Canadian North is a "false economy", dependent on massive injections of federal or foreign capital for the realization of "real" economic development, and dependent on the rest of Canada for the development of social and cultural criteria that allow it to have a sense of identity in the modern age. As Rea suggests in the conclusion of his work,

Given the economic condition of the territories, it is hardly surprising, in retrospect, that the justifiably enormous expansion of public welfare programmes in the

²⁹¹ K.J. Rea, The Political Economy of the Canadian North, An Interpretation of Development in the Northern Territories of Canada to the Early 1960s. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968). 63.

area should have been accompanied by the rapid increase in the rate of natural population growth...Given the length of time required for the reform of education in the area to show results in the form of increased mobility in the territorial labour force, it would seem that the problem of unemployability in the area would become more rather than less serious. 292

This is the dilemma of the Northern economy in Canada. Having followed the dictates of the modern economic discourse, the North has become increasingly defined as a place of hidden poverty. There has been a movement, however, towards a re-definition of the economic reality of Northern life. Through the work of Michael Asch, among others, the "culture of poverty" has been reassessed as a new version of the traditional subsistence existence and thus something which defies the economic logic of development. Whether this method of economic expression will constitute a real departure from the rhetoric of progress remains to be seen. In Asch's own words,

The stereotyped image of contemporary native peoples is inaccurate. The fact that these societies exhibit continuities that clearly link their present institutions, values, and other aspects of their lifestyle to a history that reaches back to an aboriginal past establishes firmly that native societies continue to survive, at least in some significant respects, as autonomous entities. 293

292 Ibid., 355.

293 Michael Asch, Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution (Toronto: Methuen, 1984) 25.

The stereotypical image of the Northerner was originally supplied by a European consciousness which determined the context of economic activity and the evaluation of traditional and non-traditional activity.

The evaluation of the Northern economy has taken two distinct directions; on the one hand the Canadian North has traditionally been exploited for its renewable and non-renewable resources. The extraction of base metal ores, oil and gas, follows the well formed pattern that managed the development of the southern Canadian economy. In fact, one could argue that the North in Canada has moved Northward in response to development initiatives.

In contrast to this tradition, the development of Native economies in the North has come into sharper focus in recent years. The participation of Native Northerners in the resource exploitation of the land has been challenged by the revival of interest in "subsistence" economies. In many ways, the encouragement of the return to traditional Native economic practices is a positive step in relieving the dependency of Northern Native people caught in the net of welfare programmes. It remains to be seen whether or not the settlement of Native land claims with the Canadian federal government will change this encouragement.

What is most interesting is that either expression of the Canadian Northern economy is spoken of in terms of development; traditional economic development from a Southern perspective, or economic and political development from a Northern perspective. Far from being mutually exclusive, each approach relies on the definitions of economic habits and practices that have a legacy as part of the general practice of the Human Sciences.

While it is obvious that the resource development policies of the past were dependent on the tradition of the Human Sciences of Economics and Political Economy, it remains to be proven that the new interest in the expression of Native Northern economic practices is part of the same logic. As we saw earlier, descriptions of Native subsistence economic habits were deduced from an Anthropological expertise that regarded these practices as part of the cultural ecology of Native societies.

Northern Economy From a Northern Native Perspective

The persistence of hunting, trapping and fishing as components of the Native economies in the Canadian North is testament to their importance for the survival of Northern

Native culture. During what is known in Anthropology as the pre-contact period of the history of the North, Native economies acted and reacted in response to the natural cycles of animal migration that they had observed for centuries. With contact came trading, and the introduction of more sophisticated forms of material culture to Native ways of life. Contact also brought religion, and the belief that traditional Native practices had to be reformed. As Northern territories came increasingly under the control of national administrations, the Native economy was eventually replaced with a mixed economy of welfare and wage labour. This is especially true in the Canadian North during and after the Second World War, as the number of settlements in the North began to expand in response to military action and natural resource development. Finally, with the "renaissance" of Native societies in the decade of the 1970s, the political ambitions of Northern Native organizations became focussed on the control of resource exploitation and the legal recovery of traditional lands. Concomitant with this was a return to traditional Native subsistence economies as a means of relieving the dependence of Native Northerners on the welfare and wage economies that had been initiated in the South. The "mix" of the mixed economy began to shift towards traditional practices and away from wage labour and welfare dependency. Currently, as land claims are settled, Native Northerners are investing

their settlement monies in the future of their land and society.

The result of this story is that the Northern Native economy is "mixed up". There is no general pattern, rather there are a variety of economic actors who each speak with a Native voice. The explanation of this situation usually invokes some version of "dependency theory", or that explanation of economic relations which sees one side of an economic equation overly dependent on the other. More importantly, to present a more complete story of the Canadian Northern economy, we must acknowledge another kind of dependency which exists at the level of knowledge.

The classification of Native economies is itself a part of a logic that presumes the economic function of any people is a fundamental aspect of their existence. Therefore, Native economies are oriented toward the consumption of commodities, their resource exploitation practices are measurable and their techniques are definable - all in comparison to other forms of economic practice. More to the point, Native economies, in the North and elsewhere, are continually judged in terms of their productive capacity. As such, Native economies are said to operate within the universal exercise of what Foucault referred to as the logic of labour.

In 1964, James Vanstone completed a study of "Changing Patterns of Indian Trapping in the Canadian Subarctic"²⁹⁴ with the general conclusion that,

...it can be said that in most subarctic communities there are, at the present time, factors operative which tend to reduce the reliance on income derived from trapping. These factors, which for the most part involve additional sources of income, have also been effective in developing tendencies toward sedentary community life. The Indians are turning increasingly toward wage employment and dependence on various forms of government assistance as they attempt to achieve a higher standard of living. It is not surprising, therefore, that both Indians and white administrators are agreed that one of the most important problems facing the people of subarctic communities today is the need to achieve financial stability and to be free from the uncertainties of an economy based on trapping.²⁹⁵

Vanstone's analysis clearly showed that the traditional forms of Native economy in the subarctic, which depended on the marketability of trapped furs, was giving way to the desire for a safer form of income. At the same time, Vanstone argued that "it is unlikely that very many Indian groups will desire, or be permitted, to live entirely on

²⁹⁴ James W. Vanstone, "Changing Patterns of Indian Trapping in the Canadian Subarctic", Arctic, Vol.16, No.3 (1963) 159-74.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 173.

unearned income..".²⁹⁶ In other words, the desire to free Indians from the "uncertainties" of a trapping economy was met with some precaution from Band leaders and administrative officials. In the end, the likelihood of a massive rejection of trapping as a way of life would probably be inhibited by "developed patterns" that had been important for over three hundred years.

Vanstone's analysis of a traditional Indian economy was dependent on the use of a language that allowed the analysis to occur. Without the lexicon of economic analysis, Vanstone would not have been able to understand Indian motivations or practices. The patterns of Native trapping, well documented in the analysis of Native economic practices, were put to the test.

Perhaps a more telling example of this phenomenon can be seen in a report on the "Canadian Eskimo Co-operative Movement", by P. Godt.²⁹⁷ He pointed out that the Eskimo population had become dependent, during and after World War II, on new bases which had been constructed to aid in the Allied war effort. Accordingly, "the Eskimo were caught up in a new era, jumping literally from the Stone Age to a

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 171.

²⁹⁷ P. Godt, "The Canadian Eskimo Co-operative Movement", Polar Record, Vol.12, No.77 (1964) 157-60.

highly developed industrial society." After the war ended, and bases were left, it was difficult for Eskimos to return to their traditional economic habits. Comparing the Canadian Arctic to an under-developed country, Godt pointed out the advantages of a co-operative economic movement in the North. The idea of cooperation "was not new to the Eskimo", because in their traditional economy, sharing was indeed the norm. The experiment was entirely successful and relieved the pressure of the welfare agencies that had been established to deal with the Eskimo problem following the war. While the success of the experiment should not go unnoticed, what is interesting was Godt's insistence that the Eskimo was naturally suited to such an enterprise.

This assertion underscores the interpretation of Native economies in the North within the general economic discourse. In this case, the Eskimo economy had to have developed a concept of sharing because of the scarcity of resources. Another story, one which interpreted the Eskimo and land as inseparable realities provides a better description of "sharing". From this perspective, sharing is not a function or resolution of conflict in a harsh environment. Rather, it is a consequence of the recognition that the Inuit and the land are not mutually exclusive, they are the same thing. They "share" the land and the things

found there because it is part of their nature. As Kevin McMahon argues in Arctic Twilight,

To listen to Inuit describe their life, then to read the libraries of anthropological reports, is to realize that, even in the fifties, we might as well have been living on different planets. This is a banality of course, but it is too easily overlooked. Everybody knows aboriginal people have a different relationship with their environment but none of the terms that trip easily out - a closeness, a bond - quite suffice. Intuitive processes operate that our science can't understand and our language can't explain. Details can be listed endlessly, but only a leap of imagination, a leap within, can provide an inkling of a hunter's perception of being, a perception European culture submerged long ago. Life is life. Biological pathways, obviously, never vary. But consciousness makes all the difference.²⁹⁸

McMahon captures an essence of the situation; the Western or European language of survival is predicated on a recognition that we are in general conflict with Nature because the objects of Nature are in a state of potential scarcity. This conflict requires the ordering of our economic practices which allows us to predict the potential yield of our economic practices. In the end, profit from accumulation serves as insurance against an unpredictable economic future. This linear progression of interests was unknown in the Inuit society until we taught it to them.

²⁹⁸ Kevin McMahon, Arctic Twilight, (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1988.) 21.

According to another assessment of the "development and evolution" of Eskimo economy, "Prior to contact, apart from the natural constraints of the area, it was particularly the technological equipment of the Eskimo which decided the yield capacity of the individual branches of the economy."²⁹⁹ It is doubtful that the Inuit population would ever have described the pre-contact period in this way. After contact, with the introduction of various new means by which Eskimos could hunt, the populations of animals sharply decreased because of over-hunting. As a result of declining Caribou stocks, "there had to be, of necessity, an intensification of seal hunting, and both a temporal and spatial expansion of this branch of the economy."³⁰⁰ It is also doubtful that the Eskimo people had any conception of their participation in an economy of any sort. In this case, economy is taken to be a universal phenomenon. What is more important, is that eventually the Eskimo people were "economized" by processes that were far beyond their control. In this sense, the development of the Eskimo economy was dependent on the definition of the productivity of their labour for survival. Once disturbed, a Northern Native way of life seems to be changed forever. The

²⁹⁹ Erhard Treude, "Studies in Settlement Development and Evolution of the Economy in the Eastern Central Canadian Arctic", Musk-Ox, Vol.16 (1975) 53-66. 53.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 53.

introduction of forms of wage labour and social assistance were necessary for the survival of the population. While this is an end worthy of just means, the means have the affect of altering forever the existence of Northern Native societies.

The fact that Northern Native people participate in economies is not in question here. The problem under consideration is whether or not it is possible to reconcile the logic of the Human Science of Economics with what are called "traditional" economic practices. Peter Usher provided some valuable insights into the resolution of this problem in an essay entitled "Evaluating Country Food in the Northern Native Economy" (1976).³⁰¹ He argued that,

The economy of the Canadian North has for many years been noteworthy for its duality: it has two coexistent sectors - one modern and industrial, and the other traditional and domestic. The view is widely held in southern Canada that the traditional sector is rapidly and inevitably declining in favour of the modern one and, indeed that the change will in the long run benefit the North. There is growing evidence, however, that those engaged in traditional activities do not share this view, and hunting and trapping especially remain of vital, though altered, significance to native people who are in the majority in

³⁰¹ Peter J. Usher, "Evaluating Country Food in the Northern Native Economy", Arctic, Vol.29, No.2(1976) 105-120.

most parts of the North.³⁰²

Usher argues that economists and planners fail to recognize the value of "country food" because it not measured in terms they can understand. More to the point, he wished to suggest that it is not possible to create "cash values" for this kind of production. This would correct the belief that the modern economy was the most important to the North.

Usher proceeds to argue that with the proper terms of measurement, country food can enter the economic discourse of the North on an almost equal footing with more modern economic forms, at least from a Native perspective. The main reason for the lack of attention paid to this vital component of Native lifestyles in the North is "the fact that most studies of the traditional economy of the North have been carried out by geographers and anthropologists without any special knowledge of economics."³⁰³ Country food, therefore, must be understood as a form of income in kind. Furthermore, it is more nutritious, and represents a element of traditional Native culture. In the end, country

³⁰² Ibid., 105-6. A reference to Usher's previous work indicates his general concern with the impact of the burgeoning industrial and resource economy on traditional Native economic practices. For example see "Hinterland Culture Shock" Canadian Dimension, Vol.8, No.8 (1972) 26-31.

³⁰³ Ibid., 109. Usher identifies himself as a "socio-economic consultant".

food cannot and should not be understood in terms of the regular discourse of economics.

Usher's analysis is encouraging; he attempts to disengage the native lifestyle from obviously biased accounts of economic activity. In concluding his argument for a re-assessment of the "power" of income from a traditional practice, he pointed out that "Modern industrial society commonly fails to distinguish between peoples' livelihood and their ways of life, too often supposing that compensation for loss of the former is sufficient for the loss of the latter as well."³⁰⁴

In spite of Usher's assertions, the traditional economic activity of Native Northerners continues to be undervalued by economic analysis. Perhaps more importantly, the process of the "economization" of the North, and Northern Natives continues. With land claim settlements has come the increasing use of Southern style developmental strategies by

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 119. For an interesting and important assessment of the relationship between industrial development and local communities in the North see Hugh Brody, "Industrial Impact in the Canadian North", Polar Record, Vol.18, No.115, (1977) 333-39. Brody argues that Southern conceptions of "classic colonialism" do not apply in the North because the interest there is not with the exploitation of wage labour, rather, Arctic colonialism involves "what lies under the ground". Nevertheless, Brody does invoke the sociological, political and economic analysis of "small communities" to assess the impact of industrialism in the North.

traditional Native societies in the North. While this is not necessarily a negative situation, it does indicate that Native societies are quite willing to participate in their own economic development by employing the services of economic consultants and planners.

The mixed economy remains the central feature of the Northern way of life; from an economic perspective. The Native side of the equation is almost always described as a "subsistence economy". In fact, the "resources" of the subsistence economy are consistently valued alongside the developmental potential of northern lands.

While acknowledging Usher's valuable contribution to the study of Northern Native society, Bruce Cox invokes a more common description of the "non-monetary subsistence economy" and the "resources of the bush economy". Cox's discussion of the "prospects" of the Native economy in the North is indeed valuable to the general welfare of the Native Northerner in advocating the recognition of the income security programmes currently in place in Quebec and the Northwest Territories. However, while Usher seemed to suggest that the traditional economy of Native Northerners must be understood as fundamentally different from the common interpretations of economic behaviour from a Southern perspective, Cox retains the "mixed economy" approach. The difference between the

two is subtle, but Usher's approach is politically motivated and thus more important for the liberation of the North from southern style economic analysis.³⁰⁵

A recent evaluation of the Berger Report by Michael Asch serves as another indication of the application of traditional categories of economic analysis to the description of the Northern economy.³⁰⁶ He criticizes the Berger Commission's assessment of the traditional native economy in the Mackenzie Valley. Indeed, if Berger's plan for the development of the Mackenzie Valley is followed, it "will lead to the destruction of the native economy, and its replacement by a renewable resource sector based on the capitalist mode of production."³⁰⁷

In general, Asch agrees with the long term goal of the Commission's report - the development of the Native economy in the North should be a "matter of public policy". Asch also agrees with Berger's assessment of the current status

³⁰⁵ Bruce A. Cox, "Prospects for the Northern Canadian Native Economy", Polar Record, Vol.22, No.139 (1985) 393-400. A revised version of this article appears in Native People, Native Lands, ed. Bruce Alden Cox (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987) 256-63.

³⁰⁶ Michael Asch, "Capital and Economic Development: A Critical Appraisal of the Recommendations of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Commission", in Cox, ed. Native People, Native Land, op.cit., 232-40.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 222.

of the Native economy as fundamentally weak in character. Where they part company, says Asch, is in Berger's failure to acknowledge the importance of the institutional apparatus that obtains with a capitalist mode of production. Asch argues that Native Northerners are involved in two economies - the bush economy and the capitalist economy. Following Berger's advice, that the economy of the Mackenzie Valley emphasize increased production of renewable resources traditionally associated with the bush economy, and then introduce wage-oriented industry, including tourism, would prove to be disastrous.

In the end, says Asch, Native people would be forced to accept the legitimacy of the capitalist mode of production as the more efficient means of maintaining their well being. The traditional bush economy will atrophy under the pressure of the apparatus of the capitalist system. A better solution to the problem of Northern Development is the allowance of Native societies to gain needed capital from rents and royalties, thus avoiding the problems associated with capitalist modes of production. Asch believes that the acceptance of the capitalist lifestyle will cause Native societies to break down their traditional communal nature, as they become enmeshed in hierarchical social divisions, as well as divisions of labour. In this analysis, and for that matter in the analysis of the Berger Commission, we see the

consistent application of economic discourse that is not only non-Northern in origin, but is doubtless not part of the traditional Native way of life, in speech or thought. The real dependency in the North, I suggest, is found at the level of knowledge.

It is appropriate here to engage in a short discussion of dependency theory, because this was, at bottom, Asch's main concern; that Native economies will become dependant on the institutional trappings which accompany capitalism for the generation of capital. Briefly, dependency theory was initially formulated in response to the developmental models applied to the underdeveloped economies in the third world. While development models presumed that the answer to underdevelopment was to establish a capitalist mode of production, dependency models emphasize the relation between developed nations and underdeveloped nations as essentially colonial. In this context, a recent attempt has been made to compare the dependent economy of Brazil with that of the Canadian North.³⁰⁸

Whether or not these models "work" in and for the North is somewhat irrelevant for our purposes. The main argument of this section is that the North in Canada has been brought

³⁰⁸ Michael Pretes, "Underdevelopment in Two Norths: The Brazilian Amazon and the Canadian Arctic", Arctic, Vol.41, No.2 (1988) 109-116.

into the discourse of labour, a discourse that assumes the universality of relations of economic exchange, the productive capacity of the land in terms of "resources", the measurement of activity in terms of labour, and the recognition of consumption of commodities. In short, the description of the economic life of the North places it squarely within the discourse of the Human Sciences, from an Economic and Anthropological perspective. In the final analysis, Northern labour is not a sign of difference, rather it is contained within the inclusive logic of scientific economic analysis. The measurement of difference in this way reveals more about the tools of measurement than it does about the fundamental or experiential difference of being Northern.

However, the distinction itself is made from the perspective of an economic logic that has no origin in the North itself. Developed within the language of survival and protection, the study of traditional or aboriginal economies continues under the auspices of Northern experts who speak on behalf of the North, and supply it with a new form of speech. This speech began in the area of Anthropology and has become increasingly specialized as the Northern agenda has changed.

The economy of the Canadian North is indeed a "false economy" for two reasons. First, it is enmeshed in a

discursive practice which understands its value in terms of production, and as such, cannot compete with more sophisticated economies to the south and must rely on injections of capital for it to survive. In this sense, the Northern economy is not only a part of the Canadian economy, it is the Canadian economy. The predicament of Canadian dependency on foreign investment is played out in the North to a lesser degree but within the same language.

The second reason stems from the acceptance of the general discourse of Labour, described by Foucault, which places the North on the "projected surface of economics". On this surface, Man operates in terms of conflict and establishes rules which regulate the contradictions which threaten his economic survival. While this language can be applied to the Canadian experience as a Northern country, it doesn't allow us to completely understand the Native experience of the land. Economic analysis has produced the Northern economy in its own image.

Images of the North are continuously captured in the language which has been created to describe its potential for the West. There have also been many attempts to capture the spirit of the North through the translation of the languages which have originated there. In the end, the most powerful expression of the meaning of the North is achieved

at this level in two important ways. First, the North is produced in the interpretation of the structural elements of Northern language systems. Secondly, the definition of the North is appropriated for inclusion in the Canadian passion for identity.

The next chapter is devoted to an assessment of how Northern languages are studied. Again, we will see that the essence of Northern language is in its capacity to be analyzed in terms of Linguistics and Philology. The application of rules of evidence in the determination of incipient structures to Northern languages presumes a universality of linguistic expression. Just as Northern Life and Northern Labour were made to fit into the well formed structures of a universal scientific analysis, Northern Language is stripped of its difference through the careful dissection of its parts.

Chapter VII

NORTHERN LANGUAGE : The Silent North

Hidden in wonder and snow, or sudden with summer,
This land stares at the sun in a huge silence
Endlessly repeating something we cannot hear.
Inarticulate, arctic,
Not written on by history, empty as paper,
It leans away from the world with songs in its lakes
Older than love, and lost in the miles.

This waiting is wanting.
It will choose its language
When it has chosen its technic,
A tongue to shape the vowels of its productivity.

A language of flesh and roses.

Now there are pre-words,
Cabin syllables,
Nouns of settlement
Slowly forming, with steel syntax,
The long sentence of its exploitation.

The first cry was the hunter, hungry for fur,
And the digger for gold, nomad, no-man, a particle;
Then the bold commands of monopoly, big with machines,
Carving its kingdoms out of the public wealth;
And now the drone of the plane, scouting the ice,
Fills all the emptiness with neighborhood
And links our future over the vanished pole.

But a deeper note is sounding, heard in the mines,
The scattered camps and the mills, a language of life,
And what will be written in the full culture of occupation
Will come, presently, tomorrow,
From millions whose hands can turn this rock into children.

"Laurentian Shield" F.R. Scott

Introduction

This poem exemplifies the Canadian passion with its North, which has silently imposed its language on the advancement of Canadian culture and on the expression of Canadian identity. It is this kind of language, and its "steel syntax" which has circumscribed the North and produced its meaning. It is the language of settlement and expansion, of resources, of sovereignty.

In this chapter, I will attempt to understand how the indigenous languages of the North are circumscribed by two kinds of analysis. The first involves the general description of the unity of these languages from the perspective of Linguistics and Philology. The second involves the translation of Southern meaning into "new" words which fit the new experiences of the indigenous Northerner. Both, I will argue, fit into a pattern which allows the North in Canada to be known, to have meaning. In the conclusion of the chapter I will suggest that this may be an impossible yet inevitable enterprise. As was evident in previous chapters, I will rely on sources which present themselves as paradigmatic statements on the nature of Northern languages and how they have been translated.

The language of the North is no longer silent, it emanates from the voices of the Northern Man who has learned to translate the meaning of the North into speech which is valued for its ability to speak coherently about the completeness of the Northern experience. This homogeneous experience of language was explained by Foucault in The Order of Things,

Lastly, on the projected surface of language, man's behaviour appears as an attempt to say something; his slightest gestures, even their involuntary mechanisms and their failures, have a meaning; and everything he arranges around him by way of objects, rites, customs, discourse, all the traces he leaves behind him, constitute a coherent whole and a system of signs.³⁰⁹

For Foucault, the study of Man's languages, as part of the development of the Human Sciences, involved the creation of systems of analysis which revealed the universal practice of signification. The sciences of Linguistics and Philology demonstrated a structural coherence in all the languages of Man. In short, they created a "meta-language" which described the syntax, grammar, etymology, verb construction, etc. , of all languages and language systems. At the level of knowledge, then, the world was criss-crossed with a grid which joined all languages together in systems which allowed

³⁰⁹ Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, op.cit., 357.

for the translation of the meaning of one language to another.

Northern language completes the trilogy of the Human Sciences in the North, and completes the Northern Man. To be a Northern Man is to be aware of culture and history, of natural right and freedom, of progress and development. The creation of the Northern Man began with the definition and classification of Northern languages. The prelude to this creation began in the study and classification of "aboriginal languages" of North America. The ordering power of language has, of course, a long pedigree.

Early Descriptions of Indigenous Languages

In 1599, Samuel Daniel's Musophilus expressed in poetry an attitude that has to a large degree remained the focus for the study of aboriginal languages.

And who in time knowes wither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue, to what strange
shores
This gain of our best gloria shal be sent
T'inrich unknowing Nations with our stores?
What worlds in th'yet formed Occident
May come refin'd with th'accents that are
ours?³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the 16th Century" Chiapelli, op.cit., 561-80. 561.

For Daniel, the dispersal of the English language was the perfect goal of empire, not merely an instrument. The planting of European languages in the New World was the requisite "partner of empire". A kind of linguistic colonialism accompanied the voyages of Columbus, who, in his journals described his attempts to teach the natives how to speak. When Antonio de Nebrija presented his Grammatica to Queen Isabella she asked its worth. He replied that language so designed and ordered was the "perfect instrument for empire."³¹¹ The appreciation of native or aboriginal languages was considered to be a sign of a heathen mind. Indeed, Martin Frobisher was convinced that the natives he encountered on his northern journeys had been taught to speak by the devil.

The study of New World languages obviously began with the discovery that it was inhabited by human-like creatures who had a method of communicating. The acceptance of the legitimacy of aboriginal languages took some time to develop. At first, the European experience in America was conditioned by the need to survive, and it was important to "distinguish the lethal from the benign."³¹² To achieve a degree of understanding, the phenomenon of "linguistic

³¹¹ Ibid., 562.

³¹² Edward F. Tuttle, "Borrowing Versus Semantic Shift: New World Nomenclature in European Languages", in Chiapelli, op.cit., 595-611. 599.

borrowing" occurred, and so the nomenclatures of the Old and New Worlds began to mix. The shift from survival to acceptance came with the settling of the Americas. Even then, however, the attitude that aboriginal language was uncivilized remained paramount in the minds of most Europeans. Paul Le Jeune, an early pioneer, wrote on the language of the Montagnais savages.

All the words for piety, devotion, virtue; all terms which are used to express things of the other life; the language of Theologians, Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Physicians, in a word, of all learned men; all words which refer to the regulation and government of a city, Province, or Empire; all that concerns justice, reward and punishment; the finite number of flowers, trees and fruits; the names of an infinite number of arts which are in our Europe; of an infinite number of animals, of thousands and thousands of contrivances, of a thousand beauties and riches, all these things are never found either in the thoughts or upon the lips of the Savages. As they have no true religion nor knowledge of the virtues, neither public authority nor government, neither Kingdom nor Republic, nor sciences...³¹³

Indeed, the "savages" of America lacked the experiential references to talk to the European discoverer, they had no

³¹³ Paul Le Jeune, "On the Language of the Montagnais Savages", in The Golden Age of American Anthropology, eds, Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel (New York: Brazillier Ltd., 1960) 61-64. 63-4.

written language, no sense of differentiation of grammatical forms, no subtlety.

The extensive study of aboriginal languages in the North came with the first attempts to delineate specific cultural traits in northern aboriginal societies. Through the work of anthropologists like Franz Boas and his student Edward Sapir, the North American aboriginal languages gained a legitimacy only in the twentieth century. In fact the first linguistic conference on the Indian languages of North America took place in 1966. By then it was accepted that the principal aboriginal language systems of the North, Eskimo-Aleut and Na-Dene, were "the youngest families of languages to spread over sizable parts of North America."³¹⁴ Recognizing their "youth" is an indication of the role that History plays in the development of language systems. All languages have a history, and therefore an origin. The task of the Ethnologist was to discover the roots of historical experience which gave rise to the formation of words.

On language, race and culture, Edward Sapir wrote that "language has a setting" within a culture, within an identifiable race of people. Language can never exist in a vacuum, it is the vehicle of culture. Anthropology helps to

³¹⁴ John A. Price, Native Studies, op.cit., 23

identify linguistic "stocks" in less civilized parts of the world. In relation to Northern languages, Sapir wrote that,

The Athabaskan languages form as clearly unified, as structurally specialized, a group as any that I know of. The speakers of these languages belong to four distinct cultural areas - the simple hunting culture of Western Canada and the interior of Alaska (Loucheux, Chipewyan), the buffalo culture of the Plains (Sarcee), the highly ritualized culture of the southwest (Navaho), and the peculiarly specialized culture of northwestern California (Hupa).³¹⁵

The distinct cultural area of Western Canada was home to a sub-phylum of Athabaskan languages called the Na-Dene, to which belonged Loucheux and Chipewyan. These languages were thought to be unsophisticated when compared alongside the more developed languages of German and English, for example. This attitude belies an ethic of beneficence and the discovery and classification of unsophisticated languages could save them from extinction. Indeed, if it was not for the pioneering work of Boas and Sapir, the indigenous languages of the North may have by now disappeared. For Sapir, language was the key to the culture of any society, and the development of grammatical form, syntax, etc. were so many signs of a language's maturity. The experience of the speaker is revealed by the structure of his language,

³¹⁵ Edward Sapir, Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1921) 213-14.

and so, the limited experience of the Na-Dene speakers was reflected in the limited use of words to describe experience. According to Sapir,

There is no more striking general fact about language than its universality. One may argue as to whether a particular tribe engages in activities that are worthy of the name of religion or art, but we know of no people that is not possessed of a fully developed language. The lowliest South African bushman speaks in the forms of a rich symbolic system that is in essence perfectly comparable to the speech of the cultivated Frenchman. It goes without saying that the more abstract concepts are not so plentifully represented in the language of the savage, nor is there the rich terminology and the finer definition of nuances that reflect the higher culture.³¹⁶

Clearly, Sapir believed that in spite of the fact that savage languages are "poorer" in their vocabularies and abstract expressions, it was still possible to compare them in a general Linguistic field to those more developed languages of Europe. It is not that the savages do not have language, rather, they have not been exposed to the same historical and cultural conditions that informed the logic and structure of European languages. Given that these languages also contain the abstract idea of linguistic structure, then the application of the rules of linguistic analysis constitutes a form of power.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 22.

In "The Grammarian and His Language", Sapir argued that, at bottom, the grammarian is "in charge of grammar", he investigates, through the use of informants, the "formal completeness" of any language. The philological practice in the study of aboriginal languages in North America had been stunted for years by linguists who approached them with the attitude that they were not "rational". As Sapir and others argued, however, there is a universal pattern in language development, centred on a series of linguistic forms. The job of the Anthropologist/Linguist was to understand the "submerged formal systems" that appear in any language. Every language had a grammatical structure even though it did not express itself like the European languages. Unsophisticated native speakers had no reason to think on the nature of something like causation, but they did experience causation. Accordingly, Sapir argued,

It would be absurd to say the Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" could be rendered forthwith into the unfamiliar accents of Eskimo or Hottentot...what is really meant is that the culture of these primitive folk has not advanced to the point where it is of interest to them to form abstract conceptions of a philosophical order...it is not the languages that are to be blamed but the Eskimos and the Hottentots themselves.³¹⁷

³¹⁷ Edward Sapir, "The Grammarian and His Language", in Mead And Bunzel, op.cit., 443-50. 444-5.

Indeed, this statement summarizes the level of power that linguistic analysis can attain over more "primitive " forms of language. The silent truth of this position is that linguistic analysis, and for that matter the general study of language, is itself the product of "abstract conceptions of a philosophical order". Therefore, the study of aboriginal languages begins from the premise that what these languages need in order to be more thoughtful about the world is the development of a codified expression of their structure. Similar to the logic of Life which required the classification of culture, and the logic of Labour which required the classification of economic activity, the logic of Language requires the classification of linguistic structures into an abstract system of thought which was taken to have universal value.

Franz Boas, Sapir's mentor, created the International Journal of American Linguistics in 1940, a journal "devoted to the study of American aboriginal languages". His purpose was to encourage the more systematic study of these languages through the adaptation of oral legends. The main problem was that these languages had not been recorded by their speakers. Added to this were the problems of small study groups, the inability to construct an adequate genealogical series, rampant "borrowing", late assimilation,

and a wide distribution of morphological traits. The first task of the linguist was to classify languages, then to study first hand the use of those languages by recording tales and stories in their original form. Wherever possible, Boas argued, it would be advantageous to have native writers trained to take dictation in an objective manner. "Where a native alphabet exists, as among the Cherokee, Fox and Cree, and where for this reason many persons write with ease, a serviceable variety of stylistic and syntactic expression may be secured."³¹⁸ Boas' advice was that linguistics should be a science which compares the three fundamental aspects of human speech - phonetics, grammar and vocabulary.

Sapir, following Boas' direction, classified "about 55 stocks" of American aboriginal languages which differed greatly from one another. The distribution of the stocks was uneven, and some languages were "polysynthetic" which "indicates that the language is far more than ordinarily synthetic in form, that the word embodies many more or less concrete notions that would in most languages be indicated by the grouping of independent words in the sentence."³¹⁹

³¹⁸ Franz Boas, Race, Language and Culture, op.cit., 200.

³¹⁹ Edward Sapir, "Central and North American Languages", in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality, ed. David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.) 173.

The northern languages were of this nature, and Sapir was led to make the following statements about the Na-Dene and Eskimo-Aleut groups.

The Eskimo-Aleut languages are polysynthetic and inflective, use suffixes only, never prefixes, reduplication, inner stem modification, or compounding of independent stems; have a great elaboration of the formal aspect of the verb structure, particularly as regards mode and person; and make a fundamental distinction between the transitive and intransitive verb, to which corresponds the nominal case distinction of agentive-genitive and absolute(or objective).

The Na-Dene languages, probably the most specialized of all, are tone languages and, while presenting a superficially polysynthetic aspect, are built up, fundamentally, of monosyllabic elements of prevailing nominal significance which have fixed order with reference to each other and combine into morphologically "loose" words; emphasize voice and aspect rather than tense; make a fundamental distinction between active and static verb forms; make abundant use of post-positions after both nouns and verb forms; and compound nominal stems freely. The radical element of these languages is probably always nominal in force and the verb is typically a derivative of a nominal base, which need not be found as such.³²⁰

Sapir's own language is that of the scientific linguist, and imposes itself on the languages of Na-Dene and Eskimo-Aleut stock as a mechanical structure or methodological framework which has no basis at all within the languages themselves. After all, the structure of all languages is universal, it

³²⁰ Ibid., 174-5.

is only the vocabularies and meanings which differ. The origin of linguistic stocks is part of the general study of the origin of culture, and so the Anthropologist/Linguist uses structural analyses to determine the linkages which exist between aboriginal societies and creates a new science of aboriginal language, of which the study of northern languages is a vital part.

In 1933, Diamond Jenness, the first comprehensive Anthropologist working in the Canadian North, argued that "it is useless to seek the parentage of the Eskimo language until we discover some at least of the changes that it has undergone during the centuries, until we understand its morphology more fully and have reconstructed some of the original word stems."³²¹ Jenness was responsible for advancing the general study of the Canadian Northern population, and this included, although it came later, a general study of Northern languages. Jenness noted in Eskimo Administration, that the introduction of the syllabic script among the Eskimos was "unfortunate" because it forced them

³²¹ Diamond Jenness, "The Problem of the Eskimo", in The American Aborigines: Their Origin and Antiquity, ed. Diamond Jenness, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933) 375. Jenness pointed out that the Eskimos are pure, that the environment had influenced the formation of their physical features like a powerful jaw, mongoloid eyes and a narrow nose. "Presumably in pre-Eskimo times some family developed a tendency to modify in these directions, and the tendency, establishing itself as a dominant factor, became heritable in an entire group that ultimately grew into a separate people". 375.

to recognize the power of the written word, and more firmly situated them in the European sense of meaning.³²²

Jenness' remarks in this regard were illustrative of the power of linguistic analysis to interpret man's behaviour as completely embedded with meaning. As Foucault pointed out, the general study of language took as its point of departure the recognition that all languages are "traces" of customs and rites which require systematic analysis. This notion that a language was a system of signs, when applied to the experience and language of the Northern Native, attempted to discover what it meant to be Native, and therefore Northern. And, as Said argued in Orientalism, the "Orientalist's will summons out of the library of language examples of the virtues, barbarisms and shortcomings of the language, the people and the civilization."³²³ In this sense, the study of languages circumscribes the study of culture and economy. It allows the culture and economy to speak to the Human Sciences. Before it can speak, however, it must be codified and translated into a language which the Human Sciences understand.

³²² Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration: II Canada, op.cit. 121.

³²³ Edward Said, Orientalism, op.cit., 142.

Fridtjof Nansen expressed this sentiment in his work on Eskimo Life (1893) when he assessed the Eskimo's capacity to count. Their conception of numbers was directly related to their bodies, and the many Eskimo encountered by Nansen could only count up to twenty, using all of his fingers and toes. The word for twenty, according to Nansen, was inuk navdlugo, or "the whole man". Only the adventurous could go beyond this and include the appendages of other men to count higher. While Nansen lamented the inability of Eskimos to derive more "abstract" arithmetical axioms, he argued that their ability to differentiate numerical values was indicative that,

This primitive Eskimo method of numeration answers to what we find among most primitive peoples, the fingers and toes having been from all time the most natural appliances for counting with; even our forefathers no doubt reckoned in the same way. Imperfect though it be, however, this method is a great advance upon that of the Australian tribes, who cannot count beyond three, or in some cases not beyond two, and whose numerals consist of: "One, two, plenty". That the forefathers of the Eskimos, as of all other peoples, at one time stood on this level appears from their original grammar, in which we find a singular, dual, and plural, as in Gothic, Greek, Sanskrit, the Semitic languages, and many others.³²⁴

In the translation of Eskimo "counting", Nansen presumes an affinity between Eskimo languages and their more developed

³²⁴ Fridtjof Nansen, Eskimo Life, trans. William Archer (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893) 195.

counterparts. The history of language then, as the differentiation and naming of objects can be applied to the languages of the North as well. This history also contained the principles of the Christian message of a unity of experience in the world, and it was Christian missionaries who were responsible for inventing the syllabic script which allowed Northern Eskimo populations to understand this message through the power of a written symbol.

The Application of Meaning

The initial approach to Northern Native languages came from the Missionaries in the travels across the North. The identification of aboriginal vocabularies in the North was aided by the creation of a syllabic writing system for the Cree Indians by James Evans in 1840. Indeed, Boas mentioned the value of his meeting with the Rev. Peck, who used Evans' script to teach the Eskimos of the Central and Eastern Arctic the power of the Christian message. From the beginning, the creation of writing systems for aboriginal languages was designed to enhance the missionary purpose, the translation of the Bible for the benefit of heathen native peoples. In the long run, these systems came to be officially recognized by the aboriginal societies

themselves, and allowed them to communicate more freely with the written non-native cultures.

As Kenn Harper pointed out in 1985, the commonly held belief among scholars studying Northern languages was that the introduction of the Cree syllabic orthography to Inuktitut was achieved by the Reverend James Peck shortly after his arrival in the Diocese of Moosonee in 1876.³²⁵ In reality, said Harper, the process had begun much earlier, with the work of two other missionaries, John Horden and E.A. Watkins at James Bay in the 1850s. The Church Missionary Society was responsible for initiating this orthography in order to translate the Bible more easily to an untrained Native ear. The reason that a syllabic script was chosen was because "their polysyllabic cast has made them extremely difficult to reduce to Roman characters."³²⁶ Indeed, the Eskimo language was so foreign that the Missionaries feared that they would not be able to translate the wisdom of Christianity to the heathens.

The syllabic script spread throughout the North with the missionaries and was used in early attempts to educate

³²⁵ Kenn Harper, "The Early Development of Inuktitut Syllabic Orthography", Etudes/Inuit/Studies, Vol.9, No.1 (1985) 141-162.

³²⁶ Ibid., 142.

Native Northerners.³²⁷ In fact, the study of Northern Native languages has almost always been precipitated by the desire to educate the population. This education was prepared in relation to the perceived needs of Natives. As Robert Johns illustrates in his "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T."³²⁸,

From the establishment of the first boarding school, by the Grey Nuns in Fort Providence in 1867, through the 1930s, church missions offered the only formal education to the indigenous population of the Northwest Territories. Education was directed toward agricultural and manual training. By 1960, goals for northern schools were aimed in a new direction: the assimilation of native into non-native society.³²⁹

Prior to 1921, when the first Territorial Department of Education was created, the control of Native education in the North was left to the wisdom of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England. Johns describes the "race" to convert Native souls between Archdeacon Hunter of the Church of England and Father Grollier of the Oblates and

³²⁷ Actually, as Raymond Gagné pointed out, "The syllabary, because of its relative simplicity, eventually spread to all parts of the Canadian Arctic with exception of the Mackenzie River area and Labrador where only the alphabet is taught." Raymond Gagné, "In Defense of a Standard Phonemic Spelling in Roman Letters for the Canadian Eskimo Language", Arctic, Vol.12, No.4 (1959) 203-14.

³²⁸ Robert E. Johns "History of Administration of Schools, N.W.T.", Musk-Ox, Vol.18 (1976) 42-60.

³²⁹ Ibid., 42. Abstract.

their eventual creation of schools designed to "save the native from his heathen and uncivilized ways, and redeem his eternal soul. Further impetus for rapid expansion and consolidation of the mission came in the need to protect as many natives as possible from the false teachings of the rival denomination."³³⁰

The attitude toward native Northerners and their language and customs was fully developed with the advent of the boarding school. In order to correctly civilize the native children, they had to be removed from their homes, "from the disgusting influences of their own homes and parents". They were to be taught survival skills, farming, the Bible and English. This situation continued even after the Department of the Interior took over the administration of the Northwest Territories in 1921. In fact, it was only in response to the realization that many of the children at church-run native schools were orphans, did the Canadian federal government begin to act to create a specific curriculum for Northern Native children, and this was not until 1944.³³¹

The education of Native Northerners was centred on Biblical studies, and since there was no Native "literature", the

³³⁰ Ibid., 44.

³³¹ Ibid., 45-46.

only exposure that they had to the Eskimo syllabics was through the Churches' teachings. In the opinion of Linda Tschanz,

In the broadest sense, the purpose of educating Native people has been to replace their culture with the culture of the dominant white society. This has accompanied a policy of replacing traditional hunting and fishing economies with those based on agriculture and trades, replacing indigenous religion with formalized European education, and replacing indigenous languages with English.³³²

The replacing of culture and economic activity which occurred with the study of Native Archaeology and Anthropology was complemented by the replacing of Native languages; first by the syllabic script, which allowed them to write, in their general education in English and French.

In the Canadian North, this practice began with the work of anthropologists such as Boas and Sapir, who drew upon the Greenland Eskimo orthographies of Kleinschmidt and the collections of Rasmussen and Birket-Smith.³³³ It is

³³² Linda Tschanz, "Native Languages and Government Policy: An Historical Examination", (London, Ont.: University of Western Ontario, 1980) 1-2.

³³³ For a discussion of Kleinschmidt and especially Rasmussen in this regard, see "Thule and Back: A Critical Appraisal of Knud Rasmussen's Contribution to Eskimo Language Studies", Michael Fortescue, Etudes/Inuit/Studies, Vol.12, Nos.1-2 (1988) 171-92. "Although Rasmussen lacked the formal training in linguistics, the material brought back by him from the various groups he worked with

important to consider more recent developments in the study of Northern languages.

In 1959, Raymond Gagne called for the adoption of a Roman phonemic spelling system for the Canadian Eskimo language. The retention of the old syllabic system of writing among the Eskimo was largely due to the fact that it allowed an easier translation of the various dialects of Inuktitut.³³⁴ However, as he explained,

The growing contact between the Eskimo and the Whites in recent years makes efficient communication between them a matter of necessity. The adoption of a standard medium of written communication is of fundamental importance in achieving this goal, but above all, a standard spelling is imperative for the Eskimo people, not only to enable all their members to attain literacy in a common style of writing, but also to make it possible for them to share their thoughts and feelings with each other, either in the form of simple correspondence or in a literature yet to be born.³³⁵

represents a rich source of primary data for continuing linguistic research." 171. Another interesting and important analysis of Kleinschmidt's work is found in, Dermot Ronan F. Collis' "Etudes Philologique et Linguistiques Des Langes Esquimaux", Inter-Nord, No.11(1970) 263-80. He quotes E.Holtved as observing that "Kleinschmidt etablir le systeme phonemique groenlandais bien avant le concept de phoneme prit place dans la pensee linguistique". 271. This suggests that the general study of linguistics and philology benefitted greatly from the early collections of Northern languages.

334 Raymond Gagne, op.cit., 203.

335 Ibid., 204.

The efficiency of the relations between Whites and Eskimos is said to be the by-product of the scientific development of a standardized orthography because it was "more economical". The then current practice of Eskimo writing was deemed to be defective, there were too many letters in use. Indeed, if a small nation wants to be able to communicate with a larger society, it must compromise if it wants to preserve its culture. Gagne invokes the well-known example of modern Turkey "which adopted the Latin alphabet some thirty years ago when it wanted to strengthen its ties with the western world."³³⁶ The bottom line for Gagne, was that if the Eskimo did not adopt the roman orthography they would be denied access to literature, both their own and from Greenland, to better education and employment, and to power.

Gagne's ambitions are motivated by the same kind of humanism that caused early missionaries to develop the syllabic script for the Native population of Canada. The basic premise is that a culture cannot survive without a written account of its past.³³⁷ Currently, the Inuit of the Canadian North are using both the old and the new orthographies.

³³⁶ Ibid., 209.

³³⁷ This sentiment was shared by Lucien Schneider in "Les Dialectes Esquimaux. Feronts-ils Obstacle a la Survivance de la Langue?", Inter-Nord, Nos. 13-14 (1974) 205-215.

The effects of the transformation of an oral culture to a written culture have never been adequately assessed in the Canadian North.³³⁸ In fact, with the advent of more sophisticated technical means of communication in the North there almost seems to be a renaissance of orality amongst Native Northerners. Access to radio and television is now widespread across the Canadian North.

In 1972 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation began to transmit directly to the community of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) on Baffin Island. CBC Radio had been active since the 1950's in local AM stations , and in the CBC Northern Broadcast (shortwave from Sackville, New Brunswick). In studies that were done in Frobisher Bay and Fort Chimo, Quebec, Sheldon O'Connell observed that, "Despite lack of knowledge of the world outside their own areas, the indigenous people of both communities revealed great powers of perception in their contemplation of mankind's problems."³³⁹ In general, the Native people were attracted to the television as a source of entertainment. They

³³⁸ To my knowledge, that is.

³³⁹ Sheldon O'Connell, "Television and the Eskimo People of Frobisher Bay", Arctic, Vol.28, no.3 (1975) 155-8. 157.

preferred live action programming to information and news programming.³⁴⁰

In 1973, Robert Mayes argued that,

Mass media such as radio, television, books, and newspapers are among the most effective means of disseminating the information that Eskimos need to participate actively in the processes of decision making and policy formation that affect them. Only with access to such information will the Eskimos be able to understand and participate in the Canadian society of which they are a part.³⁴¹

The present day Eskimo was an uninformed, poor, unemployed and sick individual. The use of various mass media would aid in the recovery of the population and the survival of the culture. It was observed that there was very little, if any "Eskimo content" in any of the forms of mass communication listed. The idea is that social and political relations

³⁴⁰ Another study was done in Rankin Inlet that observed similar results. See "'Television And Its Early Social Effects Among Rankin Inlet Inuit", Linvill Watson, Musk-Ox, Vol.27 (1980) 60-66. The influence of "stereotypical" rich white southerners on programming became a source of concern for the community. The recommendation is that the use of television should not replace other media that could possibly transmit the culture of the Inuit more effectively.(eg., writing and radio).

³⁴¹ Robert G. Mayes, "Mass Communication and Canada's Eskimos", Polar Record, Vol.16, No.104 (1973) 683-90. 683. He also explained in a footnote that while this article is about the Eskimo population in the North, it could also apply to Indian populations as well.

among Eskimos and between Eskimos and the South with the development of new access points to informational systems. Undoubtedly, access to communications media would allow people of the North to "speak" directly to the South, and indeed this has been the case to a large degree since 1973. The development of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in Iqaluit, the Inuvialuit Communications Society in Inuvik, CBC North in Yellowknife, a number of satellite radio and television stations that benefit from the current "cable revolution", the publication of Northern Native newspapers, Journals, etc., has brought the Northern Native population into sharper focus in the South. All of this is said to have had a positive educational effect on the lives of Northern Native people. However, if, as McLuhan has suggested, the medium is the message, then we might be witnessing a more sophisticated form of acculturation. There seems to be a straight line of delivery from the early message of the Bible to the House of Commons channel. Native Northerners indeed, have more control over their future than they ever had before. Their language is almost flourishing again, they have entered into the political discussions that make this country, they are becoming economic actors to an extent never before thought possible, and they are beginning to fiercely protect their culture.

All of this is laudable and extremely important for the well being of people in the North. The question remains, however, as to how this change has affected the ability of Native Northerners to express their Northerness in a way that articulates the implicit difference in their values and institutions. There is nothing sinister in this question, only a fear that the line that connects the North to the outside world continues to be manipulated from the South.

By the 1970s, the resurgence of native politics in the North, encouraged by the expansion of economic development, had encouraged northern native organizations to study their own languages. The understanding of a "circumpolar North" required a universal system of linguistic expression. I wish to suggest that this need advances the scientizing we have been examining, for science puts forward an agenda - a mandate of universalization and homogenization. Experts expressed the desire for an "auxiliary writing system" that would allow northern people from all over the world to converse freely with one another. Furthermore, both the Dene and Inuit peoples have attempted to create standardized orthographies to aid in the development of northern native curricula for educational purposes.

In 1986 the Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages advised the Government of the Northwest Territories on the

status of aboriginal languages in their part of the North. The report recommended that eventually northern aboriginal languages attain the same status in the North as English and French, wherever necessary. The main concern was in the loss of language itself given the influx of more complex and abstract notions about government, economy etc. from the South. Accordingly, "the major task is to develop technically accurate systems of translating one language to another."³⁴² More to the point, however, was the need to develop standardized writing systems for the Inuit and Dene languages. As one participant to the discussions stated,

It doesn't just mean being able to speak. Its knowing who I am that makes me that much more powerful, because language does that to you. It enables you to have power. The ability to communicate with both worlds is power; the ability to speak history is power."³⁴³

Among other things, the task force recommended the creation of "northern society courses" that would reflect "the history and background of aboriginal cultures as well as contemporary social, political and economic issues facing

³⁴² Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1986) 17.

³⁴³ Ibid., 17.

the aboriginal peoples, and in the higher grades, the philosophy of aboriginal cultures."³⁴⁴

The most consistent image derived from the discussion of the development of languages in the North is that they need for their expression and refinement, the tools and techniques of a non-traditional science of linguistics, as well as the expertise of translation services that allow "abstract" ideas to be rendered understandable to northern native speakers. The development and constant reformulation of northern native languages is taken as a sign of cultural and economic development as well. The new Northern Man speaks about the world in his own language, but uses the abstract ideas developed within the context of "expert" practices shielded by the advancement of the Human Sciences.

Examples of this can be seen in the activity of the Government of the Northwest Territories Language Bureau in Yellowknife. In the 1960s and 1970s, linguistic experts began to work with the Native Northerner to create words that covered the new reality of the North. In all the languages of the North, standard systems of translation have been used to express the abstract concepts of the South which had become a major part of the Northern way of life.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 42.

In describing the purpose of Dene Yati, a publication of the Bureau, Philip Howard pointed out that,

An important function of Dene Yati will be to provide every three months a list of terms that have been produced by Dene people involved in native language development-terms needed in various areas of specialization such as the Legislative Assembly, the courts, medical services, and technology... Those specializing in native language development(interpreters, educators, media personnel, linguists, and others) will, for a long time to come, be working, not only to develop the terms, but to correct, revise, abbreviate, and refine them as much as possible.³⁴⁵

The first edition of the Dene Yati Annual contained translations of well over 100 abstract as well as simple words that would be sent to Dene communities for clarification. Each was translated into the five official aboriginal languages of the Dene Nation, Chipewyan, Dogrib, Loucheux, North Slavey and South Slavey. Obviously, some words are more easily understood, such as the names for the parts of the body, already part of these vocabularies. However, when one moves into more abstract ideas, the situation is not as clear. Words had to be created for English words such as "boundary", "government", "land claim", "development", "natural resources", "political", "western arctic". The meanings of these words are not meant

³⁴⁵ Philip G. Howard, "Introducing the Dene Yati Annual", Dene Yati Annual, Number 1 (1986). 1.

to be exact, but are designed to create a sense or nuance of what they mean for Native speakers. The word Scientist was translated as "one who teaches people" (Chipewyan), or "they really know things" (South Slavey). The need to develop this translation is important, because it allows Native Northerners to speak in some way about new things, and things which affect their everyday lives.

The study of Northern languages continues through the expert practice of aboriginal linguistics. The creation of "new" words for northern languages signals the participation of "real" northern people in their own development. For example, attempts have been made to create a common media dialect for intercommunication among the Inuit people across the north; a kind of northern Esperanto. Accordingly,

It is because aboriginal people live and work within non-aboriginal institutions that certain technical terms need to be developed. The challenge is not simply to develop better interpreter/translator systems, but also to allow aboriginal peoples to make these institutions their own.... If native children/students are not taught or do not learn about the history of their people, their culture, traditional values and customs and their language, then they will never really know themselves or their potential as human beings.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 21, 42.

Their potential as human beings rests in their ability to appropriate the correct words, in their own languages, that would allow them to freely participate in the human community. This in turn will lead to the development of aboriginal political and social institutions as well as to the creation of an aboriginal literature.

In 1984, Robin McGrath's Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition, was published. This work represented an attempt to describe the transition of Inuit from an oral to a written culture. In support of the expansion of an Inuit literature, McGrath argued that,

Although writing did not develop indigenously within the Inuit culture, written Inuit literature is a normal and desirable development in their history. As long as Inuit were isolated and nomadic hunters they had little use for a written language, but as soon as they began to absorb philosophies and information from outside the culture, as soon as they expanded their social units beyond the boundaries of the extended family, as soon as they had a desire to record factual reality as well as mythic reality, they quickly began to fix words on paper.³⁴⁷

According to McGrath, the development of a written account of Inuit life and culture is necessary for their survival. Indeed, the publication of Inuit stories enhances the general understanding of the nature of the North in Canada.

³⁴⁷ Robin McGrath, op.cit., 24.

It is through such a literature, I suggest, that the Inuit will establish their own terms of reference. The Native people of the North have developed their own voices.

Conclusion

I have neglected, until now, to enter into a discussion of the terminology which has been used to describe the people of the North as "indigenous", "native" or "aboriginal". In standard dictionary descriptions, all three point to a special relationship with Nature. These are Western terms, however, which allow us to position, in our minds, groups of people in specific areas. As such, they were created to describe "other" experiences of the world. They are compact significations which have the power to invoke certain images of how these people live, closer somehow to Nature than us. They also seem to share with the words "savage" and "primitive" a kind of historical situation. They remind us of our past and are almost representations of ourselves in some kind of original form. As Stanley Diamond pointed out, there was no reason to abandon the word "primitive" because of alleged pejorative overtones. Rather, he argued, the words "primitive" (from the Latin primitivus meaning "in the first place") and "savage" (from the Latin silvaticus meaning "living in the woods") simply refer to first experiences

with Nature.³⁴⁸ As such, Diamond continued, they represent an historical difference, a simplicity which was un-fettered by technological language and "civilization". In this, Diamond followed Rousseau and Marx, who saw in the primitive the possibility of true enlightenment.³⁴⁹

Diamond's re-valuation of the primitive was designed to critically assess the role of the Anthropologist in modern society. The word "indigenous" has received a more recent treatment in the work of Terry Goldie. Goldie argues that the "indigene is often used to preserve the possibility of nature in a human form. In the same way, the indigene's closeness to nature is used to justify an emphasis on the indigene as the land. In the one, nature becomes human, in the other, human becomes nature."³⁵⁰ Goldie's study of the "images" of the indigene in the literature of Canada, Australia and New Zealand reveals a "semiological field" in which these images operate. In other words, what Goldie has shown is that we can speak about the indigenous, but we cannot speak the indigenous. We can "place" the indigene in a semiological field which, in turn, acts as a form of power

³⁴⁸ Stanley Diamond, In Search of the Primitive, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1974) 124-5.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 100-115.

³⁵⁰ Terry Goldie, Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1989) 19.

and "indigenizes" certain groups of people. This circular logic, I believe, comes into play when we use the terms "aboriginal" and "native".

The field in which these terms operate belies a certain linear conception of history. We can value the language of the Native speaker, we can appropriate it to explain our current historical condition, but , I believe, we cannot speak it without destroying its message. In 1973, Edmund Carpenter observed that,

Language is the principal tool with which the Eskimo make the natural world a human world. They use many "words" for snow which permit fine distinctions, not simply because they are concerned with snow, but because snow takes its form from the actions in which it participates: sledding, falling, igloo-building. Different kinds of snow are brought into existence by the Eskimo as they experience their environment and speak; words do not label things already there.

The environment encourages the Eskimo to think in this fashion. To Western minds the "monotony" of snow, ice and sky can often be depressing, even frightening. Nothing in particular stands out. There is no scenery in the sense in which we use the term. But the Eskimo does not see it this way. They're interested not in the scenery, but in action.³⁵¹

³⁵¹ Edmund Carpenter, Eskimo Realities, (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973) According to Carpenter, "Thought, to the Eskimo, is not a product of mind, but the forces outside man." 44.

Carpenter was suggesting that the application of Western forms of logic to the situation of the Eskimo is wrong. Theirs is a fundamentally different experience of the world that cannot be understood, but only watched. This sentiment was echoed by Hugh Brody in The People's Land and, more recently by Barry Lopez in Arctic Dreams. The Eskimo language, as Carpenter observed, was always oriented toward some action. Moreover, as Lopez points out, "The Eskimo language is seasonal...whole areas of the language are starting to disappear because they refer to activities no longer practiced."³⁵²

The reason that Northern languages have changed is because they are describing new actions, actions which are political, territorial and, ultimately administrative. The nature of these changes owes much to the power of the Human Sciences to suggest appropriate courses for this new action. In the following chapter, we will survey the public administration of the Canadian North in order to understand how the North has remained at the centre of the Canadian imagination and how Native societies of the North have learned how to represent their own interests as Northerners.

³⁵² Barry Lopez, Arctic Dreams, op.cit., 248-9.

Chapter VIII

CANADA'S NORTHERN DESTINY: The True North Strong and Free

We are the Northmen of the New World.
R.G. Haliburton (1869)

Introduction

In this chapter I intend to bring together the discussion of the Human Sciences in the North and the administrative development of the North in Canada. I will argue that the administration of the North occurs at two levels. First, at what Foucault called the "juridico-political" level, the North has been covered by institutionalized forms of power which are immediately recognizable. The complex of political and administrative authority in the North is characterized by the creation of laws, regulations and political practices which have responded to political and social pressures both in the North and the rest of Canada. At this level, the politics of power takes the form of a struggle to affirm the political and constitutional rights of the North.

There is another level of administration in the North, one which meets the juridico-political level at various points, yet seems to have the capacity to operate on its own. I suggest that at the level of knowledge there is a form of administration which regulates the activity of the Human Sciences. Here, another model of power must be invoked in order to give it a clearer expression. In Discipline and Punish, and in Power/Knowledge, Foucault spoke at great length about Jeremy Bentham's invention of the Panopticon, a building which was conceived to maximize the surveillance of prisoners, and whose principles were applied in the construction of prisons, hospitals and other institutions which required surveillance in order to treat their subjects. The power of the Panopticon was that it provided an enlarged view for the "overseer". According to Foucault, this idea informs the character of the accumulation of knowledge in the nineteenth century. In Power/Knowledge, he argued that it constituted a new form of power.

One doesn't have here a power which is wholly in the hands of one person who can exercise it alone and totally over others. It's a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised. This seems to me to be the characteristic of the societies installed in the nineteenth century. Power is no longer substantially identified with an individual who possesses or exercises it by right of birth; it becomes a machinery that no one owns. Certainly everyone doesn't occupy the same position; certain positions preponderate and permit an effect of supremacy to be

produced.³⁵³

This image of a machine which operates on its own, without anyone totally controlling it or directing its use is an image which I think aptly describes the Human Sciences in the North. There is such a wide variety of research being carried out in the North, that it is impossible to define who is controlling it at any given time. In this sense, the Human Sciences are positionless in the North, yet the machine of which they are a part gives them a sense of focus.

Both types of administration are directed by a vision of the North, and periodically they come together to solve one of the myriad of problems that characterizes Northern development. Here one is tempted to employ Hannah Arendt's notion of "rule by nobody", which she aptly coined to describe the modern activity of the bureaucratized state.³⁵⁴ This does not mean that there is no direction to research in the Human Sciences or in the development of political institutions in the North. Rather, it means that the direction is always experimental in nature and continues the theme suggested earlier that the North was a "living

³⁵³ Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power", in Power/Knowledge, op.cit., 156.

³⁵⁴ Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition, op.cit., 40.

laboratory" or a "mirror to the nation" where ideas are being tested. In other words, what I am attempting to show in this chapter is that a variety of projects have been created which attempt to locate the true meaning of the North in Canada.

Political Administration

The evolution of the administration of Canada's North has often been described as one that followed a path from complete dis-interest on the part of successive Canadian governments to seeing the North as a site where national conflicts are fought out. By this it is understood that the Northern territories of Canada, those above the 60th degree parallel, have experienced varying degrees of colonial institutional and administrative control from the south. More to the point, the impression that the Northwest and Yukon Territories make in the minds of most Canadians often does not fulfill the requirements of the Canadian national mythology. Both territories are underdeveloped politically and economically, and in the "geography of the mind" still represent vast wilderness. In fact, if the territories participate at all in the national question in Canada, it usually takes the form of a reminder of Canada's past rather than a component of any current discussion. The predominant themes in the North recall the settlement of Canada, and the

need to develop institutions of responsible government and solid economic foundations are reminiscent of the first National Policy articulated by the followers of Sir John A. MacDonald.³⁵⁵ There is, however, a profound difference between the imperialist motives behind the settlement of the West and the frontier mentality which now prevails in the North.

Beginning with the Yukon gold rush in the late nineteenth century, the North has remained Canada's only real frontier. From a political perspective, the settlement of Western Canada followed an orderly pattern engineered from Central Canada. In 1870, when Rupert's Land was renamed the Northwest Territories, the imperialist impulse lay claim to the transfer of Canadian sovereignty westward but not northward. When the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created in 1905, an event which followed rapidly upon the decline of the Yukon gold fever, the Northern component of the Northwest Territories was severed from the West. By 1912, the 60th degree parallel formally separated the two northern territories from the rest of Canada. While the Western provinces began to generate an official opposition to Central Canada, the North fell into a period of silence, administered almost entirely by the Department of the

³⁵⁵ Frances Abele, "Canadian Contradictions : Forty Years of Northern Political Development", Arctic Vol.40, No.4 (1987) 310-20.

Interior and the R.C.M.P.. This history was initially coloured by the frontier sensibilities of the Canada First Movement, which consistently advocated the settlement of Canada's Northwestern Territories.

The political ambitions of the Canada First Movement, which were in large part responsible for the creation of the first National Policy, were initially motivated by a mythology of Northern greatness, a desire to express the position of Canadians as the "Northmen of the New World". As the movement eventually became splintered by the exigencies of political pragmatism, their rhetoric became the property of the dominant federal parties. The Northern element of their mythology was eventually overshadowed by the pragmatism of nation building. Their dream of a uniquely Canadian and Northern literature and culture, however, became the centerpiece for discussions of Canadian identity. The legacy of the Canada First Movement is periodically revived in appeals against continentalism. More importantly, the Northern element of their rhetoric continues to provide the perspective for political discussions of the greatness of the Canadian North.

In 1970, Carl Berger revived interest in the Canada First

Movement with the publication of The Sense of Power.³⁵⁶ One of the early members of the movement was Robert Grant Haliburton, son of Thomas, who was described by Berger as being "deeply interested in science, a member of the Danish Society of Antiquaries and fascinated by the current revivals of interest in the sagas of the Northmen and myths of primitive people..."³⁵⁷

Equating the adjective northern with toughness, strength and hardihood, he argued that the diverse nationalities within Canada all shared a northern ancestry, and that the climate tended to instil and maintain the strenuous attributes of the Nordic races. Because of this racial heritage and their stern environment, Canadians were destined to assume in the new world the dominant role played by the northern people in Europe, and to preserve their vigour and cherish their institutions of liberty.³⁵⁸

Along with journalist Henry Morgan, Charles Mair (the "Canadian Keats"), and Father Dawson, chaplain to the British troops in Ottawa, Haliburton founded the Canada First Movement in Ottawa two days after the assassination of D'Arcy McGee. They were motivated by the fear of American invasion following the "Fenian" action that had undoubtedly

³⁵⁶ Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 51.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 53.

been inspired from south of the border. Their primary concern was to delineate the parameters of a Canadian culture that could be expressed in a national literature.

Charles Mair became associated with the Canadian Northwestern expansionist movement, led by John Christian Schultz, and agreed that it was loyal English Canadians who were destined to exploit the natural resources of the northwest, and not the more backward French. He argued that the action taken against Louis Riel was necessary because the settlement of the West by Frenchmen would encourage American expansion there, the French "lacked the dynamic impulse which made for material progress."³⁵⁹ During the rebellion, the membership in the Canada First Movement grew and centres were established in Halifax and Toronto.

Eventually, they were joined by Colonel George Denison who believed in a more systematic and pragmatic approach to the development of an imperialist Canadian nationalism. In Denison's eyes, the movement became centered on the question of Canada's involvement in the British empire. Canada was to be treated as an equal partner, the defender of the empire in the New World.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 58.

The "new nationality" of Canadians was aptly expressed by William Foster in an essay entitled "Canada First : or Our New Nationality."

The old Norse mythology, with its Thor hammers and Thor hammerings, appeals to us, for we are a northern people, as the true out-crop of human nature, more manly, more real, than the weak marrow-bones superstition of an effeminate South.³⁶⁰

The influence of the Canada First movement was felt in a variety of areas. The adjective northern came to mean energy, strength, self-reliance, health and purity, while its southern antonym was translated as effeminate, decadent and diseased. Governor-General Dufferin referred to Canadians as having "a constitution nursed upon the oxygen of our bright winter atmosphere [which] makes its owner feel as though he could toss about the pine trees in his glee."³⁶¹ William Hingston, in The Climate of Canada and its Relations to Life and Health (1884), noted that as one moved northward, the occurrence of infectious disease decreased. Canadians would be a taller and leaner people, with better musculature, etc., than their southern neighbors. In fact, the United States became portrayed as Canada's "safety-valve" for decadent and lazy elements of society. Through a kind of natural selection, the cultivation of thrift and the

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 62-3.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 129.

predominance of liberty occurred in the North. There were no "negro problems" here, and therefore no threat of civil war. Eventually, French Canadians became recognized as part of the Northern blood, because the original inhabitants of New France had come from Brittany and Normandy. According to Berger,

So recurrent was the northern theme in the imaginative literature published in Canada during the early twentieth century that one critic was moved to complain that the 'whole of Canada has come to be identified with her northernmost reaches' and that in "modern folk-geography Canada means the North."³⁶²

The movement was joined by Principal George Munro Grant of Queen's University, who argued in favour of the Christian missionization of the Northern society, and by Sir George Robert Parkin, teacher and writer.

From 1869 until 1882, the Canada First Movement evolved from an expression of a nationalist culture to embrace the tenets of imperialism in the settlement of the Canadian Northwest, and eventually became a federal party. But their fortunes were limited. By 1882, Macdonald's Conservatives had seized the mythology of the movement for its own, extolling the virtues of a united Canada, joined from one end to the other

³⁶² Ibid., 133.

by a national railroad. In fact, Haliburton's pamphlet on Intercolonial Trade : Our only Safeguard Against Disunion, is taken to be the rudimentary form of the first National Policy. Regardless of their practical political aspirations, the members of the Canada First Movement thought they were creating the context for the development of a truly Canadian culture. Most importantly, their use of northern or "nordic" themes to express the singularity of the Canadian experience has remained a central feature of Canadian literary expression.

As the Canada First Movement's popularity became increasingly overshadowed by the National Policy, the Northern element of their rhetoric became increasingly obscured by the exigencies of joining eastern and western Canada. The settlement and development of Western Canada severed the North and the West from the Northwest, and while the West continued its evolution, the North became almost forgotten. It wasn't until the Yukon gold rush that interest in the North as a theme of national greatness re-emerged.

The settlement of the Yukon territory, given separate territorial status in 1898, followed much the same pattern as had the settlement of the West. In fact, it can be argued that the Yukon is very much an extension of the province of

British Columbia, a sort of "buccaneer capitalist" haven.³⁶³ Indeed, the political party system that has developed in the Yukon resembles the "left-right", development-conservationist continuum which makes B.C. politics so unique and progressive in Canada. Yukon politics is fully embroiled in the question of large scale renewable and non-renewable resource development, although the role of the territorial government is prescribed to a much greater degree from Ottawa. The mythology of Northern greatness remains very much a part of its political culture. According to Ken Coates and William Morrison, "To Yukoners, southern Canada is "the outside" and its residents are "outsiders"."³⁶⁴ As a result, the Yukon has retained its own version of Northern development.

The Northwest Territories, or what remained after the Western provinces were extracted in 1905 and the borders of Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec extended, is dominated in the Western half by debates over non-renewable resource development, and in the East by the definition of the cultural homogeneity of the Inuit population. This

³⁶³ This description is borrowed from Martin Robin in "British Columbia: The Company Province" in Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces, Bellamy, et.al. (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1978) 2nd edition. 28-40.

³⁶⁴ Ken S. Coates and William R. Morrison, Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon, (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988.) 2.

assessment is not meant to suggest that concerns over resource development do not exist in the East, nor does it suggest that the political and social concerns of Natives in the West are muted by southern style development. Rather, the distinction between the East and the West in the North is meant to suggest that, like the Yukon, the Northwest Territories has been influenced by the extension of "corridors" of political and economic activity from southern Canada northward. In the West, the politics of oil and gas development resembles that which has dominated the political and social life of the province of Alberta. (In fact, it would be interesting to apply the political and social analysis of Alberta, created by C.B. Macpherson, and others, to the non-native population of the Western Northwest Territories. Perhaps this would explain the lack of party politics in the West as an "ideologica' consensus" and the party system as a "quasi-party system". On the Native side, amongst the Dene and the Metis the essential political question resembles that posed by the more "democratic socialist" political cultures of Saskatchewan and to some extent Manitoba.) In the East, the homogeneity of the Inuit population lends itself more easily to the question of Nationalism based on language and cultural heritage, similar to that found in the province of Quebec.

This story of Northern political development is meant to be taken as an indication of the extension of the mythology of Northern destiny to the resource frontiers of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. The consistent expression of the riches of the North still maintain a presence in the minds of most Canadians. I believe that the majority of Canadians in the South still view the North as a resource frontier in the spirit of the "northward course of empire".

A more progressive interpretation of the pattern of the administration of Canada's northern territories has followed a course of devolution from direct colonial rule inherited from the Hudson's Bay Company and Great Britain, to the present attempts at establishing a more representative and indigenous political and bureaucratic infrastructure that reflects the values and ideals of Northerners. In the process, so it goes, the North has evolved or developed from its initial caricature as a political and economic wasteland, to become an identifiable region within Canada. In Canadian terms, then, the North has come of age. More specifically, the people of the North have accepted, for the most part, inclusion and regionalization. To the outsider it seems to be only a matter of modernization that stands ahead of the Northern territories in their often stated ambition to achieve provincial status within the Canadian federation. Of equal importance is the arrival and

acceptance of Native organizations as legitimate and powerful political actors in the North. Through the negotiation of land claims settlements, affirmative action in northern bureaucracies and a general increase in educational and economic opportunities, native northerners have become an official part of the Canadian demographic map.

Another way of defining the administrative sophistication found in the Canadian North is to understand it as a process of what Hamelin called de-nordification. The institutions of de-nordification include federal and territorial government departments, regulatory commissions, and political parties which bring the North under more direct political and administrative control. In other words, an apparatus and strategy for Northern political, economic and cultural expression.

The political "civilization" of the North in Canada has created an identifiable geographic region, complete with the requisite disparities and vague generalities that are used in the definition of other Canadian regions, eg. the Maritimes, the West. The regional evolution of the Canadian North also includes the incremental devolution from colonial power in Ottawa to the Governments of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Programme delivery, policy

alternatives, political representation, etc., are now discussed in the North itself. The sparse population distribution, as well as the overwhelming political presence of the Native element of that population have required that southern style institutional forms take on what is called a more northern character. Frequent attempts have been made to define this uniqueness about Northern politics and administration, but the underlying fact is that the uniqueness is simply a variation on the theme of Western style liberal-democratic political culture.

The regionalization of the North in Canada attempts to emphasize a uniformity of perspective - the North is different from the South, it requires an informed expert opinion on the character of the northern political and social experience. In the Canadian context, the constitutional evolution of the North has provided a focus for the collection of the northern experience. In other words, the nordification of the North has required a social and political context, a location for information storage and retrieval, and a site for the articulation of the Northern political culture and its management. The entire northern political and administrative archive is managed by a number of institutional forms - formal government structures, Native organizations and institutions. Those involved in the process are developing a network of

information that delivers administrative sophistication which will, if not solve the Northern problem, at least recognize the requirements for its future study.

The Administration of Northern Political Culture

It is important to understand that the administration of space is the closest thing to an essential character of public activity that remains in the twentieth century. This administration includes everything that it is possible to explain through the practice of modern expert information retrieval. The possibilities are limitless, research is endless, because it is all a necessary element in the definition of the good life. The practical diversity of an awesome variety of research tasks requires the creation of a mental artifice to circumscribe the collected information and to focus on an identity that remains constant.

In the case of the Canadian North, the constancy of focus and the mental circumscription has changed to meet the needs of hypothetical models and methods of analysis. The North, in other words, does not speak as much as it is spoken about. The autochthonous speech of the North has most often been a variation of the Canadian speech. In fact, the distinction between the North and the South in Canada is itself part of this speech. More to the point, it is the

administration of this speech which constitutes the northern political culture and, in turn, perpetuates the distinction between North and South. As a recognized political field the Canadian North is given a specificity that guarantees its identity, not only as a region among many, but as a objectified space within which everything matters. From constitutional and legal research to research about the character of Inuit art, from oil and gas seismology to land claims negotiations, the North is covered by a network of informational lines that constitute a web of power falling under the general name of northern administration. In other words, the administration of the North in Canada is the administration of information about the northern political cultures and contained within a political order that is discernible in the effects that it produces and the struggles against these effects.

In the following pages I will present the evolution of the Northern political culture through the eyes of three Northern specialists who cover the territory of Northern political and administrative history in a general way. The point is to understand the political devolution from "colony to region". This will be followed by a discussion of current paradigms which have been proposed for the development of the North.

In the 1950s in Canada it became increasingly fashionable to speak of Canada's northern vision, a speech identified with the Right Honorable Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, but practically accepted by a wide variety of research activities. Among the publications pursuant to this cause was The Canadian Northwest : Its Potentialities ³⁶⁵ , a collection of perspectives on the Northwest Territories compiled by Frank Underhill. The collection included assessments of the economic, scientific and political potential of the territory in the post-war age of Canadian society. Morris Zaslow was charged with the task of evaluating the political and administrative history of the territory.

Beginning with the formal admission of the territory into the Canadian Dominion in 1870, Zaslow discussed the evolution of the administrative structure of the Territorial Council, first elected as a responsible government in 1887 and radically altered in 1905 and 1912 with creation of the new Western provinces and the extension of provincial borders. As the 60th degree parallel became the recognizable border that marked the new beginning of the territory, it was "reduced to a status inferior even to that

³⁶⁵ Frank Underhill, ed. The Canadian Northwest: Its Potentialities, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.).

of 1870." ³⁶⁶ Under the direction of the federal government in Ottawa, the administration of the territory became the general responsibility of the Federal Department of the Interior, as had the original territory in 1870. Essentially, the new council, first chosen in 1921, a full sixteen years after the creation of responsible governments in the Western provinces, was an "inter-departmental advisory committee." As Zaslow points out,

Down to 1947 this government was manned entirely by senior federal civil servants, drawn mainly from the Department of the Interior and its successor, the Department of Mines and Resources, but including also Royal Canadian Mounted Police Commissioners, Superintendents-general of Indian Affairs, and ,after 1938, undersecretaries of the Department of External Affairs.³⁶⁷

It is obvious that, from the outset, the administration of the new Northwest Territories was focussed on the questions of constitutional sovereignty, natural resources and the life of Native people. By 1939, Zaslow argued, the question of Native education, traditionally administered by the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionary churches, had become part of this focus. In this we can discern the beginnings of the Northern political agenda.

³⁶⁶ Morris Zaslow, "A Prelude to Self-Government : The Northwest Territories, 1905-1939" in Ibid., 90-104. 91.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 91.

As the population of the town of Yellowknife increased, due to increased mining interests, so did demands for a more localized control of administrative activity. However the Council "defended the existing system on the grounds of economy, efficiency, and its disinterested concern for the welfare of all the inhabitants."³⁶⁸ As entrepreneurial interests grew, and as the strategic importance of the North came into play during the second World War, efforts to reform the political and administrative institutions of the North increased. The question had moved from the general definition of Canada's northern territories in the accepted language international relations, to a more specific definition of the internal elements of the Northern experience.

In concluding his remarks on the evolution of territorial government, Zaslow pointed out the worthiness of the Canadian North in the general expression of Canadian identity, and as part of the Canadian constitutional family.

As the population of the North increases and as the natives become more truly part of its new economic, social and political life, the progress towards full self-government may be expected to continue....The writer's main justification in reducing this tale of constitutional evolution to paper has been that it merits examination because of the vitally significant historical category of

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 99.

which it is a part...is the story without its own rationale, its own integrity in terms of the primitive environment in which it occurred ? Rather it is to the credit of both sides that a conflict waged under such circumstances was resolved, not in accordance with planners' blueprints or idealistic theories, but in conformity with the economic, social and cultural maturing of the Territories themselves.³⁶⁹

It is difficult to understand what Zaslow meant by the economic, social and cultural maturing of the Territories. Was it that the concerns of administrators really conformed to a present and identifiable set of northern facts, or was it that they finally recognized the need to engage in more research to define these facts ? What does he mean by "its own rationale", or "its own integrity" and "primitive environment" ? In commenting on the haphazard administration of the Canadian North, Zaslow has placed the responsibility for the definition of the North into the hands of experts who will be needed to define how these principles are to be applied in the North. In short, Zaslow appears to be one of the first "northern specialists", cognizant of the requirements of northern scholarship and the ever widening field of "northern political studies".

Louis-Edmond Hamelin's Nordicity, cited earlier for its account of the dimensions of the general northern

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 103-4.

experience, also contained a section describing the development of administration in the North and shall serve here as a complement to Zaslow's earlier work. He argued that the general characteristic of political evolution in the Canadian North until 1950 was "tardiness" and "...a grave administrative inexperience, together with the absence of a body of objectives properly adapted to the North."³⁷⁰ Hamelin, a human geographer, noted that there were three themes that were advanced after 1950 in the expediency of Northern administrative development. The first theme was Canadianity or Canadianization, which focussed on the sovereignty of the Canadian government in the North when faced with increasing international pressure and the advancement of the Cold War. Hamelin was one of the first northern specialists to observe that "unconsciously the traits of the South become the yardstick of the North."³⁷¹ Pursuant to this observation he argued that,

...the limited nordicity, the profusion of parallel departmental administrations, the ambiguity of attitudes, the inappropriate developmental models, and, in particular, the inadequate recognition of the fact that the indigenous people are different; all of these find their roots in this homogenizing and self-important southernness, with its

³⁷⁰ Louis-Edmond Hamelin, Canadian Nordicity : It's Your North, Too., op.cit., 90.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 92.

5

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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exaggerated notions of its own superiority."³⁷²

Along with the theme of Canadianization, Hamelin identified "federality" as the constitutional logic which maintained the North as a ward of the federal government. As such, "federality is a legal attitude that allows little flexibility in internordic negotiations."³⁷³ Finally, Hamelin argued that the third main theme of northern administration since 1950 has been led by the "primacy of the private economy" which neglects the human needs of the indigenous population and which keeps them in a "natural state".

Hamelin argued that it was possible to identify the political elements of "nordicity" that would provide for more comprehensive "political adjustments to northern conditions." He called for "operational models" or a "complete long-term plan that would be applied to the whole of the North..."³⁷⁴ An adequate sense of "nordicity" would include the introduction of Native northern ideas into the future administration of the North, but most importantly, a sharing of the "legislative function" attached to administrative fairness. It is here that Hamelin makes his

³⁷² Ibid., 93.

³⁷³ Ibid., 94.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 109.

most strident statement of purpose when describing the inadequacy of the Legislative Assemblies in both the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

The elected members have a very understandable tendency to be close to the daily realities; these preoccupations are transferred to council...in the Chamber, long monologues are sometimes heard on a very minor question...Electoral success is not a mark of competence. It is difficult to tackle a study of the Ordinances without training, information, and administrative experience. A minimum knowledge of law, current parliamentary procedures, the constitutional history of the nation, the geography of the entire territory, and even a minimum of ideas on complex questions such as ecological equilibrium, development models, public finance, and indigenous land claims would appear to be necessary.³⁷⁵

In the end, Hamelin called for a greater number of "northern consultants" to aid in the sophistication of administration in the North.

This condemnation of the inadequacies of the Territorial Legislative Assemblies appears to be contradictory in that, while earlier Hamelin had argued for a limited "southernness" in the North, he now seems prepared to prescribe a thorough training in the logic of southern administrative development. Like Zaslow, Hamelin has created an interesting logical problem : How does the North express itself without

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 132.

using the logical administrative categories that have animated the development of southern institutions ? The short answer to this question is that the North had to learn the southern political practices, but express itself differently within these practices. The long answer involves the recognition of an indigenous northern political culture which is itself different from that expressed in the south. If the future of the North in Canada is to be, as Hamelin suggested, "indigenous led", then there has to be some expression of an indigenous northern political cultures which would prove to be essential to the political future of the northern administration. The first step is to distance the North from the traditional expression of Canada's northern destiny.

One such effort can be seen in Frances Abele's 1987 study in which she provided a glimpse at comprehensive indigenous Northern political and social development. In "Canadian Contradictions : Forty Years of Northern Political Development"³⁷⁶, Abele argued that traditional expressions of Canada's northern destiny failed because they didn't "accommodate the recently developed views of native people in the North."³⁷⁷ More to the point, she argued that,

³⁷⁶ Frances Abele, "Canadian Contradictions", op.cit..

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 310.

Native peoples' political mobilization, their communication of their own interpretation of northern reality and their plans for the North's future have fundamentally changed the way in which the North is comprehended.³⁷⁸

Abele correctly identified the history of Northern development as a simple continuation of the "national policy". Led by resource development, the national policy continued in a pattern of economic expansionism and the displacement of indigenous populations in the North. This displacement was encouraged through the post-war physical re-location of "nomadic and scattered Native societies" and as a result, "the population was brought together to facilitate delivery of educational, medical, and social services."³⁷⁹ Social welfare programmes, trap line registration, agricultural skills, and housekeeping skills for women, etc. - all were based on a perception that native northerners were "disadvantaged".

The administrative infrastructure which developed following World War II was meant to facilitate the claiming of the new resource potential of the North, and indigenous populations were brought under closer scrutiny as inadequate participants in the capitalist oriented wage economy. The reform of native northerners displaced by the economic

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 310.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 312.

imperatives of this economy involved the consolidation of northern policy in an Advisory Committee on Northern Development (1948), the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1954) and, finally the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1966).

As Abele and others have argued, the discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska in 1968 and the subsequent acceleration of oil exploration and processing throughout the North brought the development question and the native question together at a new level. The politicization of Native northerners was mobilized by the Berger Inquiry in Canada concerning proposals to create a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. In order to facilitate the expression of northern Native concerns, native organizations such as the Dene Nation, The Metis Association of the NWT and the Inuit Taprisat entered the discussion of northern policy alternatives for the first time in a concerted way. According to Abele, the general goal of these organizations was to consolidate the interests of their members and actively participate in the inquiry. Operational funding came from all levels of government, and the context of Northern Affairs changed forever. It seemed that an indigenous northern position was coming into focus, and in fact the North has since been more "indigenous led" through the negotiations of land claims, discussions of Native rights and the development of native-centred

political and administrative institutions. What remains to be discussed is whether or not the impact of Native or indigenous politics has changed the expression of policy alternatives in as fundamental a way as Abele has suggested it has.

Zaslow, Hamelin and Abele represent three levels of complexity about the comprehensive position of the North in Canada. Each expressed concerns over the haphazard nature of Northern administration, each isolated the thoughtless displacement of indigenous populations in the North, and each recommended a closer look at the components of a specifically Northern political, social and economic experience as might be expressed by more "conscious" southern academics and researchers in conjunction with more "conscious" indigenous organizations.

In general, they all mentioned, either explicitly or implicitly, the development of the social, political and economic values of Northern Canadians. But, it is this development process which needs to be described in some detail in order to assess the difference between Northern and Southern administrative parameters. What follows is an attempt to understand where we are in the North.

In the Preface to the report of the Eastern Arctic Study, A Climate For Change : Alternatives for the Central Eastern Arctic(1984)³⁸⁰, it is stated that "Canada's northern regions are vast, and hold a great wealth of potential mineral resources." In the Foreword, Katherine Graham, Principal Director of the study, writes that, "for those interested in the subject, research on Canada's North is seductive."³⁸¹ These two preliminary remarks are meant to put the study into a recognizable context, and they reveal a continuity in the way the political development of the North in Canada is still approached as a research topic. That the North contains vast resource potential is reminiscent of the "northern vision" of the post-war period. The North may be seductive, but the important purpose of this study is stated as,

...to identify alternative approaches to political development and land claims settlement in the land claim area of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) and to assess these alternatives in terms of their implications for local government and for those interests involved in industrial development.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Katherine Graham, et.al., A Climate for Change: Alternatives for the Central Eastern Arctic, (Kingston: Centre for Resource Studies, 1984).

³⁸¹ Ibid., iv.

³⁸² Ibid., ix.

The study centred on the question of development, both political and economic, within the Eastern Arctic. At bottom, it is a study of policy alternatives expressed in a way that appeals to the sensibility of northern specialists. And, as such, the study presumes a degree of familiarity with this language amongst northerners and non-northerners. For the purposes of clarification, it begins by defining its terms.

Political development is defined as "the evolution of public structures" at the local, regional, territorial and federal levels of government, and which deal with questions of "division", responsible government, division of powers between levels of government, claims policies and industrial development policies. These categories will be applied in turn to the specificity of the Northern experience to illustrate identifiable northern alternatives. What is interesting in this case is not the application of the categories, it is the categories themselves. These represent the new character which the discussion of political development in the North takes. Obviously, the political culture of the North has changed to include more sophisticated forms of political expression.

In defining Industrial development, the report states that,

In the broadest sense, development refers to the process by which people, as individuals and communities, change their lives in ways which better meet their needs in all fundamental areas of human concern (such as nutrition and health, shelter and culture).³⁸³

This definition is meant to provide a context for the acceptance of a new northern political vocabulary that recognizes that all humans share a certain set of values about "fundamental areas of human concern". Northerners have learned to accept these categories as the focus for discussions of policy alternatives. Even though the categories don't originate in a specific northern experience, they have become an integral part of the network of the northern political discourse which is drawn over the northern political and social experience.

As the study sets out the context for political and industrial development, it begins with a discussion of the Drury Report on Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories (1980). Drury argued that division of the territory should not take place before the long term effects of division were understood. He recommended a devolution of authority and responsibility to the local level, given the vast distances between communities that makes generalized planning more problematic. In other words, territorial

³⁸³ Ibid., 7.

division, or the division of space into separate political and economic zones is now an option for the northerner that is fully understood. This recognition represents a political and social awareness that is far removed from past images of Northern politics. More to the point, the northerner, native or non-native, is familiar with the history of legal, constitutional and political practices which include options such as the division of geographical space, or, for that matter, the concepts of "authority" and "responsibility".

The Study's "Consideration of Northern Circumstances" in the area of industrial development is most revealing of this logic. It states that there has not been adequate communication to and with northerners about the goals and practices of industrial development.

Many northerners have limited familiarity with the wage economy, southern business practices, and the nature of industrial development where time is often of the essence. On the other hand, communication about company or government plans does not always fully consider cultural differences, such as Inuit preferences for consensus-style decision making and for extended rather than fly-in visits from outsiders, permit full exchange of views rather than one-sided briefings.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 69.

A full exchange of views requires a full exchange of definitions, and a full exchange of experiences. The average northerner does not know the history of, or the economic and political ramifications of the wage economy, nor does he/she know about southern business practices. But the northerner does know, and in this case it is the Inuit who know about their "preferences for consensus-style decision making." In most studies of the North in recent years, the question of "consensus-style decision making" has become an accepted definition of northern-native political culture.

The Eastern Arctic Study proved that the Northern political agenda was formed around principles which were developed in the North itself. The question of Territorial division was a product of the political awareness of Northern Native organizations, as was the need to express a political will for the settling of land claims. The development of a political and economic will is relevant for a number of reasons. First, it marks an end to the acceptance of a colonial style of development that had plagued the North for many years. Secondly, it expresses a willingness on the part of resident Northerners to take control of their own political destiny and to attempt to design political structures which meet their immediate needs. Finally, this will forms the outlines of a political culture which has

gained recognition in the South. The federal government's desire to settle land claims in an expedient way in the past four years is testimony to the persuasiveness of Northern political culture.

A more recent study indicates that similar developments in the definition of a Northern political culture are taking place in the Yukon. In 1986 a conference entitled "Knowing the North : Integrating Tradition, Technology and Science" was held in Edmonton to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies. It covered a wide variety of topics that dealt with the specificity of the Northern experience in Canada. One of the volumes that was published from conference proceedings dealt with the general subject of Northern Communities : The Prospects for Empowerment³⁸⁵, which included a preface by Gurstan Dacks and Ken Coates. They argued that, "in general, the political culture of aboriginal northerners emphasizes the local over the regional"³⁸⁶, meaning that Native northerners, if not non-Native northerners, valued the experience of their local community involvement in the delivery of social programmes, economic development and political empowerment. In addition, they recognized that

³⁸⁵ Ken Coates and Gurston Dacks, eds. Northern Communities : The Prospects for Empowerment (Edmonton: Boreal Institute, 1988).

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 7.

local empowerment was occurring and that the papers in this collection, "began with the assumption that the means by which a people satisfies its basic life needs will profoundly affect its culture and self-definition."³⁸⁷

In "Upsetting the Rhythms : The Federal Government and Native Communities in the Yukon Territory, 1945 to 1973"³⁸⁸, Ken Coates argued that since the decline of the fur market after World War II, a "reorganization of native life" has taken place. The requisite native problems are listed : alcoholism, economic despair, welfare dependence, "culturally insensitive health care", a "culturally assimilationist educational system", and the resultant tensions in family and community relations.³⁸⁹ Coates challenges the assumed position of the federal government in the Yukon by stating their goal to "break the rhythms of native life".

As a nomadic, family oriented people, the Yukon indians lacked internally generated hierarchical controls; as with other hunting and gathering peoples, decision-making came through an egalitarian system of largely

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

³⁸⁸ Ken Coates, "Upsetting the Rhythms: The Federal Government and Native Communities in the Yukon Territories", Ibid., 10-22.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 11.

consensual, informal authority.³⁹⁰

This lifestyle changes first with Christian missions, and then with the introduction of welfare from the federal government. The dependency created "a great irony in the Indians' acceptance of the community as the basic unit of culture and law in the new North."³⁹¹ More recently, the Yukon Native Brotherhood and the Council for Yukon Indians were created to respond to needs for local empowerment, Native educators, social workers, economists, etc..

Again we can see the definition of a "consensual style" of decision-making as the accepted form of a Northern political culture. The evidence is supplied by an anthropological study of Native culture, and the Yukon Indians are placed within the category of "hunter-gatherer", sharing similar characteristics of other such societies. What does this tell us about the specificity of a northern experience? It tells us that the recognition of "consensual" decision-making will eventually lead to local empowerment in a modern or "new North".

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 12. Quoted from Thomas Stone, "Flux and Authority in a Subarctic Society: The Yukon Miners in the Nineteenth Century", Ethnohistory, Vol.30, No.4. 216.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 20.

Another approach to the nordification of the Canadian North can be taken through an assessment of the current discussion about northern sovereignty. In Northern Provinces : A Mistaken Goal, Gordon Robertson, former Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, attempted to describe the political evolution of the Canadian North while focussing on the questions of "division" of NWT, and the economic and political prospects for self-government in the North.³⁹²

In the 1970's direct colonialism from the south began to slowly recognize the needs of more politically conscious native societies. In fact, by this time the Canadian federal government had committed itself to the devolution of administration from Ottawa to Yellowknife and Whitehorse. While this phenomenon proceeds, and while self-government in some form is accepted by all sides in the debate, what is needed is a blueprint that will take into consideration all of the peculiarities of the Northern political and social experience. In the Northwest Territories, the main question, and it has been debated since 1962, is division. A variety of political actors have arrived on the scene to discuss the context of this division. Among these are the Nunavut Constitutional Forum, the Western Constitutional Forum, and the ever-changing NWT Constitutional Alliance, along with

³⁹² Gordon Robertson, Northern Provinces: A Mistaken Goal (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1985.)

COPE (The Committee for Original People's Entitlement). Each group has developed its own agenda, and all are concerned with the establishment, in a divided territory, of province-like administrations. The Inuit want Nunavut, an eastern territorial Inuit homeland, the Dene and Metis want Denendeh, a similar homeland in the Mackenzie Valley, and the Inuvialuit want a Western Arctic Regional Municipality. The question of division, even though accepted in principle through a 1980 territory-wide plebiscite, is intertwined with land claims, resource development, environment and culture. In the Yukon, the substance of self-government has been present since 1898 when the territory was separated from the Northwest Territories. However, since the organization of the Council for Yukon Indians, created in 1973 to respond to the political, economic and social needs of the Native population of the Yukon, the question of provincial status for the territory has become equally complex.

It is important to concentrate on Robertson's criteria for the creation of Northern provinces. He identified three related factors that would mitigate against the creation of fully-empowered provincial administrations in the North. First, the Canadian constitutional regime does not provide constitutional guarantees for the creation of northern provinces. The Territories are essentially different from a

constitutional perspective - there is no constitutional basis for powers and methods of governmental operation of northern territories. Yet, there is the conventional devolution of administrative authority from Ottawa to Yellowknife and Whitehorse which seems to have been conveniently forgotten by Robertson.

Secondly, the financial regime of the territories differs so radically from that of provinces because of the lack of power that territorial administrations have over natural resources. More importantly, perhaps, is the inflated per capita income in the territories, caused by the enormous cost of the delivery of services. With the territories' dependance on the federal government for financial responsibility, any northern province would not be able to participate in "fiscal federalism" in its current form. This leads to the third factor, that being a province in Canadian Confederation requires membership in a club that has six general rules. Each member has an independence guaranteed by the constitution, each has a more or less equal status with each other, each has a relationship with the federal government on the basis of difference not superiority, each participates in an equitable formula to achieve equality of services, each has a status that cannot be changed easily, and each has the power to influence the

acceptance of new members to the club. Under these rules, Northern Provincehood is a mistaken goal.

The logic of Robertson's assessment of provincial type empowerment for northern territories can be questioned on the grounds that his interpretation of federal-provincial relations in Canada assumes a striking degree of inflexibility. The "rules" for provincehood in Canada have proven to be entirely flexible. Most important, though, is his use of categories that are southern in orientation to express the desires of northern political actors. They seem to be more reflective of an official government position, rather than one that takes into consideration the entire range of possibilities, given the agendas of native organizations in the North. If, however, Robertson is responding to political aspirations that are part of the discursive strategy of nordification, aspirations that have been conditioned by exposure to the logic of political development as it is understood in southern Canada, then Robertson has succeeded in unconsciously identifying a vital component in this discursive strategy. If northerners wish to have province-like administration in their quest for empowerment, then they must learn to play by the rules. In this case, the rules prescribed by Robertson are merely another example of the more general rules involved in nordification. Empowerment comes in many forms, and in the

case of nordification, it involves the application of southern-style categories, re-worked to reflect the political will of Northerners.

Another example that will help explain this phenomenon is the Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (1977) Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland,³⁹³ otherwise known as the Berger Report. At the outset, Berger argues that treaties signed in the 19th century with Mackenzie Valley Indians were not considered "social contracts", rather, Natives considered them an opportunity to ensure the survival of their traditional ways of life. The purpose of the Inquiry was to determine the social, economic and environmental impact of the proposed pipeline in the North, because, by this time,

Their [northern natives] concerns begin with the land, but are not limited to it : they extend to renewable and non-renewable resources, education, health and social services, public order and, over-arching all of these considerations, the future shape and composition of political institutions in the North.³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1977-8).Vol.1

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 581.

Their new social and political awareness was a product of their own recognition that they represented a larger proportion in the population of the North than did native people in the southern part of Canada. Moreover, the respect for traditional use of land, potentially disturbed by a pipeline of the magnitude that was planned, had a basis in the Canadian legal tradition. Therefore, "the claims of the Dene and the Inuit of the North derive from their rights as aboriginal peoples and from their use and occupation of northern lands from time immemorial."³⁹⁵ All treaties, including Treaty 8 and Treaty 11 which had been negotiated in 1899 and 1921 respectively, respected the traditional hunting and fishing rights of native people.

By the time of the Berger Inquiry, the stakes had become more acute, if the original spirit of Canadian Confederation had been in the recognition of pluralism, then it was time to empower northern natives in the North by extending it to them. A different style of government would have to be created. As Berger suggested,

In developing institutions of government in the North, we have sought to impose our own system, to persuade native people to conform to our political models. We have not tried to fashion a system of government based on the Dene and Inuit models of consensus, or to build on their traditional forms of local

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 561.

decision-making.³⁹⁶

As James Wah-Shee pointed out, "native leadership can come only from only from the native people, and the reasons for this lie deep within man's soul."³⁹⁷ Indeed, the Dene were the first native organization that had defined themselves as a "nation" because they shared a commonality of tradition and experience as a northern people.

That the traditional political culture of native northerners was "consensus-oriented" and that their "traditional forms of local decision-making" were the operational methods used in this political culture suggests a number of things. First, there is the recognition that the past experiences of Native Northerners, even in the "pre-contact" period, have gained a new sense of legitimacy and awareness.

Secondly, the notion of "native leadership", eloquently and passionately expressed by a variety of native and non-native commentators, represents a unity of identity among natives, or at least among different native organizations. The nature of that identity follows the recognition of a well-travelled path, because identity and unity are based on

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 580-81.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 575.

similarity of culture, economic conditions and linguistic tradition.

Finally, just as in the question of Canadian identity, the recognition of a Northern identity requires education and a degree of political propaganda. That Northerners have been able to develop such an awareness is further testimony to their ability to learn the value of a well developed sense of political culture in expressing the needs of their communities.

There is an important problem which remains to be discussed in the development of Northern political institutions. The expression of Northern political culture has created separate political movements in the North. While these movements have shown the ability to create a unified voice over questions like the Meech Lake/Langevin Accord or the inclusion of Aboriginal rights in the Canadian Constitution, they are not always united in the North itself. Attempts have been made to create models which "accommodate" the divergent views on the future of Northern self-government.

In a recent article by Gurston Dacks, "consensus" is given a more significant treatment. "Politics on the Last Frontier :

Consociationalism in the Northwest Territories"³⁹⁸ was an attempt to prescribe a "model" to the northern political experience among native people. Again, the main theme was empowerment and that "more power in the North will give the ideological basis and the structures of northern government an importance which they have not held..."³⁹⁹ Here we see the use of the term "ideological", perhaps one of the vaguest of generalities remaining in modern political discourse. Indeed, Dacks suggests that standard models of political organization that are used by southern intellectuals are not operable in the North because of the native self-consciousness of native culture. Aboriginal rights have become part of the Canadian political discourse, and, for example, the Dene are fighting for "a political system that will embody Dene values, [and] that will reflect the Dene style and form of political organization."⁴⁰⁰

The Dene have developed a self-consciousness of their ideological commitment to consensus-style decision-making, and wish to have this system replace the hierarchical structure reminiscent of colonial authority. At this point Dacks appeals to a definition of consensus written by Edward

³⁹⁸ Gurston Dacks, "Politics on the Last Frontier: Consociationalism in the Northwest territories", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol.24, No.2 (1986) 345-61.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 345.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 366.

Shils for the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences(1968).

The application of this definition to the Dene is now attempted.

For the Dene, consensus represents a collective understanding reached by applying profoundly accepted, shared values to an issue. Dene tend to presume that a single correct response to a problem exists and can be identified if the wisdom of the acknowledged and full discussion are applied to the issue. Fundamental here is the assumption of underlying social unity rather than fragmentation. In such a social setting, decision-making involves the collectivity pursuing its common good, not factions pursuing particular interests. The shared values underlying decisions, the legitimacy of the leaders and the process of discussion ensure, if not unanimous agreement, at least acceptance of and commitment to decisions taken.⁴⁰¹ (emphasis added)

Dacks argues that this form of consensus, while similar to that of the Inuit, is not a model that can be applied to the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. The consensus of the Assembly is really caused by the absence of party politics. In the end there are two distinct types of consensus, the Dene variety is more authentic, while the consensus of the Assembly "refers to the absence of formal party organization". Therefore, Shils' definition cannot be

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 349. Dacks makes reference to Lesley Malloch's Dene Government: Past and Future, (Yellowknife: Western Constitutional Forum, 1984) 11-15.

applied to the whole territory, rather it can only be applied to native political culture.

Dacks has applied a social science definition of consensus to native political culture. The real political culture of the whole territory is one that resembles the Canadian plurality more than ever thought before. The characteristic feature of the political culture of the whole territory is inter-ethnic interest relations. Consensus in the Assembly comes from coalitions between these regionally interested ethnic communities. For Dacks, the answer to the problem of northern politics is not division, rather it is consociationalism, a model that has had a coloured history in the definition of Canadian political culture. A Charter of Rights in the North could set out the parameters for this consociationalism.

The acceptance of consociationalism in the North will require a transformation of its political thinking and organization. For their part, native people will have to satisfy themselves with guaranteeing traditional political practices only in their own institutions, while territorial institutions will continue to operate on a non-aboriginal pattern. They will also have to accept a further erosion of consensus politics as bargains among cultural communities are negotiated at the elite level. For such a system to work, they will have to give their leaders more independence than they have traditionally.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² Ibid., 359.

There are a number of problems with this model. First of all, giving native leaders more authority to act as elites might compromise their understanding of consensus. Dacks acknowledges this but argues that the Dene are "politically adaptable". Secondly, Dacks assumes that consociationalism is a model that can be applied to "create" a consociational society. The arrow of causality was meant to go in the other direction - consociationalism was discovered to be the method by which societies that were stable in spite of profound ethnic, regional or linguistic differences, remained stable. Those societies did not call themselves consociational, the term came after the fact, so to speak. Dacks is saying that the only way to accommodate profound differences in Northern Canada is to create consociational institutional frameworks, similar to those found in southern Canada. This will, in turn, preserve the uniqueness of traditional forms of native political culture in a modern setting. The final "frontier" in the Canadian territory will finally fit in. The most blatant assumption made by Dacks is that native organizations and societies will accept this process as one that preserves their uniqueness. He began with an appeal for a different political system for the North, one that would reflect its uniqueness, and in the end chose an organizational form that originated in a non-

northern setting.⁴⁰³ A more appropriate position is one which recognizes the ability of Native societies to work out their own "models". In describing Northern political development, Thomas Morehouse argued that,

Firstly, political development involves conflicts over control of land and natural resources and over the general issue of Native autonomy within the dominant political system. Secondly, the most important unresolved issues of political development in the North are the degree to which Natives will control their own futures and the mix of indigenous community and Western economic values that they pursue. Thirdly, political development does not necessarily mean that Native people, in seeking effective forms of group and institutional integration, must inevitably undergo assimilation into the dominant society as well.⁴⁰⁴

The conditions for this integration have been formed by Northern Native organizations. To set this stage we will return momentarily to the ideas of Gordon Robertson. In "Political Development for the Northern Future", the 1987

⁴⁰³ For an equally problematic solution to the "problem" of native self-government see Menno Boldt and J. Anthony Long, "Tribal Traditions and the European-Western Political Ideologies: The Dilemma of Canada's Native Indians", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 27, No. 3 (1988), 537-53. They argue that Native self-government is best served by a model of "ethnic" nationhood within the Canadian State instead of the creation of Native statehood which might compromise the non-hierarchical values of traditional Native societies.

⁴⁰⁴ Thomas A. Morehouse, "The Meaning of Political Development in the North", Polar Record, Vol. 23, No. 145 (1987), 405-10. 406.

Boreal Lecture at the University of Alberta, he stated that,

To the average Canadian the North is largely a blank : white, cold and virtually unpopulated. It occupies no space in our thoughts and little in our interests ...Aboriginal self-government can be made a reality north of 60 degrees. If that happens, it will indicate to the native people that there is both hope and substance in the commitments that have been made to them...What it comes down to is really two questions. The first is whether we want the North to continue to be a part of Canada. If the answer is yes, the second is whether we are prepared to do what is necessary to provide the circumstances, economic and political, in which the people who are native to the North, and others who go to live there, can govern themselves as the Canadian presence in that enormous area.⁴⁰⁵

Robertson, like Dacks, indicates that self-government in the North is something that is to be "provided" for northern natives, and for this his approach may be dismissed as a colonialist reminder of the past relationship between the North and South in Canada. Indeed, his speech highlighted the role that aboriginal self-government could play in the definition of Canadian sovereignty in the North. In other words, the establishment of Nunavut or Denendeh could make it easier for the Canadian government to make sovereign claim to the arctic islands and waters. For that matter, so

⁴⁰⁵ Gordon Robertson, "Political Development for the Northern Future", The Boreal Lecture, University of Alberta, January 28, 1987. unpublished. 17-21.

would the creation of northern provinces similar to those in the South. This reveals a fundamental distinction between aboriginal self-government in the North and aboriginal self-government in Canada. If the latter proves to be the chosen course for political development for Northerners, then the form of this development will reflect the political culture of the South. If the choice is the former, aboriginal self-government in the North should be fundamentally different and reflect the political values and culture of the North itself. This does not rule out the possibility of hybrid forms of administration.

The question of aboriginal self-government seems to be focussed on the definition of aboriginal rights and land claims. Once defined and settled, so it goes, these fundamental differences between the North and the South will form the basis for a truly Northern administration. On the question of aboriginal rights, John E. Kersell attempted to liken native cultures in Canada to those of ancient India, China and Africa. He argued that the traditional "communal consensus" of ancient non-Western peoples taught them "how to seek harmony in the reality that surrounds them. By contrast our adversarial individualism produces conflict and dominant by the strong rather than the wise."⁴⁰⁶ This

⁴⁰⁶ John E. Kersell, "A New Approach to Native Rights", Policy Options, January/February, 1989. 7.

consensus remains in spite of the application of Western rule of law. Canadian Inuit and Indian cultures act in much the same way, and in the determination of the future of Native rights in Canada we should look at the viability of consensus as an alternative to adversarial individualism. In the end, he argued that,

We should be generous as well as confident in returning to the people of native ancestry an economic base comparable in adequacy to the one we took from them...this would be a better way to spend public money than in subsidizing the rape of our resources or the building of nuclear submarines...our native peoples would have living room and an adequate economic base upon which they could establish truly independent educational and other social economic and governmental programs of their own design and administration.⁴⁰⁷

The accepted wisdom on the settlement of land claims in the North and in other parts of Canada, is that, once settled, prosperity, cultural preservation, and ultimately some form of independence for aboriginal people will ensue. This is no more evident than in the initial statement of the Nunavut Constitutional Forum in Building Nunavut.

Building Nunavut : A Working Document with a Proposal for an

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 9.

Arctic Constitution⁴⁰⁸ was first published in 1983 as a reaction to the 1982 decision of the Canadian federal government that "Nunavut could be created" following an acceptable definition of the boundary between the Western and Eastern Northwest Territories. In the document, Nunavut is translated as "public government", however, it is "not a government only for Inuit, but a government firmly founded on the Canadian political tradition of public services and the power of participation for all people who live in a geographical area."⁴⁰⁹ The justification for the building of Nunavut is that , while in the rest of Canada, the concept of Nunavut may seem strange, "to those of us who live in Nunavut, geography, climate, history, language , culture, economics and the way we live have made us a natural region with a clear community of interests for as long as anyone can remember."⁴¹⁰ Nunavut will not be an ethnic government, but a plural government in the spirit of Canadian Confederation. Nunavut will attempt to be the "finest flower of federalism" in Canada, and will focus on political development and not on administrative re-organization. There will be a Nunavut Bill of Rights that will include fundamental freedoms and rights; legal rights,

⁴⁰⁸ Building Nunavut, (Ottawa: Nunavut Constitutional Forum, 1983.)

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

social and economic rights, political rights and cultural rights. Inuktitut will be the official language of Nunavut, with the use of French and English allowed "where numbers warrant". The culture of Nunavut must be preserved under the headings of language, education, communications, cultural property, science and research and the administration of justice.

This proposal for an "arctic constitution" emphasizes that a constitution is a living document that must always focus on the fundamental values of the regional society. Scientific research must be regulated to service the interests and needs of the Inuit people. In the area of cultural preservation, the document states that,

There are many precedents for management of cultural property around the world, and like Egypt, the Inuit homeland feeds a considerable collection of study centres and museums in Canada. The interests of all parties would be best served by a predictable and efficient management regime.⁴¹¹

Land use and environmental concerns in Nunavut recognize the European tradition of land management but adds the traditional native varieties of land use in "natural conservation". Conscious of the need to foster better

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 23.

intergovernmental relations, nevertheless, the document asserts that social policy for Nunavut must be controlled by Nunavut residents because,

Inuit differ from other Canadians in their sense of what is public business and what is properly dealt with through the traditional social order of extended families and other relationships, and have different notions of need and sharing. Much of this social structure is invisible to outsiders who, in most cases, have devised the social programs on southern models.⁴¹²

This entire document suggests the possibility of the creation of a hybrid type of administration that takes the form of southern institutions, and southern categories, but is filled with northern and Inuit substance. The anomaly of this hybridization could be in the realization that the substance, to a large degree, depends on the form. A Nunavut justice is still justice, a Nunavut social policy is still social policy, and so on. In other words, the categories or commodities named by the document as fundamental to its political development, are the same as those found in the South.

For further clarification of this case, we can turn to an assessment of the 1982 Plebiscite on Division of the Northwest Territories written by Frances Abele and Mark O.

⁴¹² Ibid., 36.

Dickerson. They argued that the results of the plebiscite were "consistent with the broad goals of Native groups- namely, establishing government in smaller territories, preserving cultural identity, and generally assuming greater control of their own affairs."⁴¹³ Initiated by the Government of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly, the plebiscite recognized the maturation of the political aspirations of Native northerners, but more importantly it was a collective decision favoring the real division of the territories into more natural regions. At bottom, they argued that,

The movement toward improving this situation is complex, and it involves a number of interrelated goals. The first is the preservation of aspects of the native cultural heritage. Native people do not want to assimilate totally into the southern environment. On the contrary, they will integrate, using aspects of modern industrial society as they see fit....In effect they will try to have the best of both worlds, the Native and the southern worlds.⁴¹⁴

The results of the plebiscite had a decidedly racial tone, natives voted overwhelming in favour of division while non-natives did not. The political direction of the North, after

⁴¹³ Frances Abele and Mark O. Dickerson, "The 1982 Plebiscite on Division of the Northwest Territories: Regional Government and Federal Policy", Canadian Public Policy, Vol.11, No.1 (1985) 1-15. 1.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 12.

the plebiscite, was to be determined by the settlement of land claims through negotiations between the Canadian federal government and the various NATive organizations.

The division question, as it has come to known, is really a natural question. The Northwest Territories combines two very distinct areas separated by the tree-line in the North. According to Peter Jull,

North and east of the line is Nunavut with its maritime orientation, unique Arctic climate and geography, and its Inuit(Eskimo) majority with their distinct language and culture. South and west of the line live the Dene indians in a society strung along the Mackenzie River system and with several development towns populated largely by "new northerners" from southern Canada.⁴¹⁵

Concurrent with this natural division are the opinions of the Dene Nation and the Metis Association of the Northwest Territories in Public Government for the People of the North(1981). The basis for national status is given in a description of the origin of the Dene Nation logo from a traditional story passed down through generations. Having invoked the legend of Yamoria as "the sign set on the land for us as our symbol", the document sets out the goals of Denendeh as a public government in the North for Northern

⁴¹⁵ Peter Jull, "Next Steps for Nunavut", Policy Options, September, 1982, 6-10. 6.

peoples, that does not follow southern styles. Accordingly, the document states the aspirations for Denendeh that resemble those expressed in Building Nunavut.

We will have the power and responsibility to make and implement decisions regarding social, economic and cultural matters. We will decide on public services. We will make the critical decisions on the use of land and resources. And it is we who will have to live with results of our decisions...Denendeh will provide a political system that will reflect the Dene style and form of political organization, and that will provide a just and efficient government for both Dene and Canadians in the western part of the Northwest Territories.⁴¹⁶

A government of Denendeh would entrench native languages and English as the official languages of the "province-like" homeland, environmental laws, "preserve and develop historical Dene work styles", and ensure religious freedom as long as it doesn't interfere with "public safety, order, health or morals or the fundamental freedoms of others."⁴¹⁷ Careful economic planning would devote 10% of all resource revenues to a Dene Heritage Fund (this resembles the dedication of Alberta's resource revenues to the Alberta Heritage Fund). Most important is their commitment to the

⁴¹⁶ Public Government for the People of the North, (Yellowknife: Dene Nation and Metis Association of the NWT, 1981). 2-3.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 5.

Dene principles of consensus decision-making, because, as the document states,

There is no reason why discussion cannot replace debate. Discussion, underpinned by the concept of a respect for rights and recognition that differences are a fact of life, make it possible for everyone to contribute, to share, to learn and, on this basis, reach decisions. There may, and likely will, be disagreements but the chances of disagreements reaching discord and open hostility are minimized because if nothing else, people will at least have an understanding of the reasons why people decide to do certain things.⁴¹⁸

In the end, the document invokes the Declaration of Principles for the Defense of Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The principles established by this document are meant to provide a framework for the discussion of land claims, the development of resource industries and the preservation of the Dene culture and values. In fact, the political aspirations of the Dene had been expressed as early as 1975 in the Dene Declaration which first defined the Dene as a people or nation. As Frances Abele has pointed out, "The Dene speak five related Athapaskan languages. It is only during the last fifteen years that members of these language

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 22.

groups have come to define themselves as one people - the Dene -and to emphasize the similar rather than the different aspects of their traditional cultures."⁴¹⁹ The Dene are in reality a "regional" people, a fact they share with the Inuit. There are indeed five related Athapaskan languages spoken by the Dene people, and there are an equal if not greater number of dialects of Inuktitut. The history of the Dene, like that of the Inuit, has to be re-told to allow the wisdom of both societies to become the basis for the settlement of the political and administrative questions in the North. This is a truly political ambition. More importantly it represents the resistance to the strategic intervention of the Human Sciences in the North.

The political and administrative development of the Canadian North has meant that Canadians have had to recognize the ability of people and organizations in the North to express their own sense of political and economic will. In the sense of "juridico-political" power, then, the Canadian North has been able to establish new political and administrative relationships with the Canadian South. The extension of political rights to Northerners represents a "nordification" of the North in terms of the liberal-democratic

⁴¹⁹ Frances Abele, "Dene-Government Relations: The Development of a New Political Minority", in Minorities and the Canadian State, eds. Alan Kornberg and Neil Nevitte (Toronto: Methuen, 1983.) 239-56. 239.

institutional forms in which the public administration of the North takes place. The "difference" between the North and the South in Canada is expressed by the regionally specific content of this administration. At another level, the level of knowledge, the Human Sciences continue their homogenization of the meaning of the North in Canada. The "panoptic" power of the Human Sciences intersects with the "juridico-political" power in the form of philanthropic "expert analysis".

The Eye of Power in the North

The "nordification" of the North continues to take place at the level of knowledge. The well-fashioned techniques of the Human Sciences will remain a part of the Canadian North because they serve as an agency to the definition of Northern political culture. We must, however, be careful to describe rather than prescribe. The creation of "models" for the analysis of distinctly different practices of Northern cultures should be tempered with the recognition that they are products of the Human Sciences. The following examples represent scientifically derived observations of the North which continue, rather than question the legacy of the Human Sciences in the North.

In "The Changing Situation of Dene Elders, and of Marriage, in the Context of Colonialism", Lynda Lange recognizes that the traditional Dene society is hunter-gatherer, but that tradition has accepted a kind of natural gender-role analysis. Lange's approach "treats gender roles and family forms as largely historically determined", and in a footnote she explains that,

Unlike some, however, my approach does not uphold a dichotomy between biology and the historical/material conditions of life. It seems to me, rather, that the biological differences between the sexes are one aspect of the material conditions shaping human societies.⁴²⁰

Lange is assuming the completeness of a logical structure to the relationship between "human societies" and gender difference. Furthermore, she recognizes that a kind of "internal colonialism" results from the intervention of capitalist practices into the traditional economy of the Dene. This internal colonialism has not allowed native women to participate fully in the universal "women's movement". Lange has challenged the traditional anthropological definition of gender-relations in hunter-gatherer societies as sexist, but has not necessarily revealed anything

⁴²⁰ Lynda Lange, "The Changing Situation of Dene Elders, and of Marriage, in the Context of Colonialism : The Experience of Fort Franklin 1945-1985.", Knowing the North: Reflections on Tradition, Technology and Science, ed. William C. Wonders (Edmonton: Boreal Institute, 1988) 23-32. 23 (footnote 2.).

specific about the Northern experience. She has simply replaced one set of categories for another.

John D. O'Neil, a representative of the Department of Social and Preventative Medicine at the University of Manitoba, achieves similar results in "Self-determination, Medical Ideology and Health Services in Inuit Communities".⁴²¹ His paper is influenced by a "perspective [that] examines the social relations of sickness in order to understand both the meaning of illness and to explore the structure of society."⁴²² In describing the ambivalence of Inuit people to medical institutions, O'Neil argues that the "medicalization" of Inuit life was really an agency for colonialism. He isolates four phases in this process. First, the "commodification" of health services allowed early missionaries to more easily convert the Inuit to Christianity by denying services to those who were slower to leave their traditional religious practices. Second, the full wave of colonialism destroyed the traditional family patterns caused a significant amount of social damage. Third, in an effort to redress this condition, the "nursing station phenomenon" occurred, and allowed the retrieval of information through an assessment of personal hygiene,

⁴²¹ John O'Neil, "Self-determination, Medical Ideology and Health Services in Inuit Communities", Ibid., 33-50.

⁴²² Ibid., 33.

morality and industriousness under the general auspices of Public Health. Finally, during the mid-seventies, the health care system began to take a "self-help" approach. This approach currently remains and places emphasis on individual responsibility for health care and "victim-blaming". Accordingly, "the self-help emphasis in current northern health care ideology lacks serious political theory and is distinctly victim blaming."⁴²³

In short, O'Neil has identified the phases in the creation of a "medical dialogue" between Inuit and southern-oriented medical authorities that does not recognize the nature of Inuit culture, and more importantly, the nature of traditional medical practice. The colonialism of the non-Native medical practice has undermined the more "natural" Inuit approach to health care. The problem here is that O'Neil, while criticizing the power of southern style medical practice, replaces its logic with one that is again not specifically northern, rather it is one that appeals to the anthropological claims about traditional hunter-gatherer societies.

What is most important about these "studies" of northern empowerment is that the assessment of Northern societies continues to take place within a southern logic that is

⁴²³ Ibid., 40.

taken to be universal because it satisfies the current demands of the Human Sciences. At bottom, the "nordification" of the North sets out to understand specificity but concludes in turning the North through the intellectual mill that has few entrances and exits. Empowerment, as Foucault suggested, takes place within the site of power/knowledge relations in the form of resistance against discursive strategies. What we see here is nothing more than a continuity of the discursive strategy that makes the North in Canada a unified object for Northern Studies. If the North is truly different from the south, would we not encounter a wholly different logic that distinguishes it from the Human Sciences themselves, rather than modifications of categorization that "fit" the North into the Human Sciences so that it may be released from colonialism? Would we not hear words different than "consensus style decision-making processes" or "traditional hunter-gatherer" societies, or "political evolution" and "political culture"? Does the posing of the "northern question" in these terms not place the North squarely within the universality of the Human Sciences which emphasizes the uniformity of the experience of the world? It may be that this is as far as we can ever travel in the North.

At the level of knowledge it seems abundantly clear that the North, its peoples, nations and governments in Canada,

expresses itself in the language of the South. If it did not, then it would be constantly misunderstood. Instead of the translation of the Northern epistemological field into the language and experience of the South, the reverse is more true. To some this is merely another form of geopolitical colonialism, but more importantly, it involves the administration of the North in Canada as a specific element in the epistemological field created for it by the Human Sciences, and more specifically by the epistemological field of Northern Studies.

William Wonders expressed the aspirations of this field in the Introduction to Knowing the North : Reflections on Tradition, Technology and Science (1988)⁴²⁴. He made reference to the site of the 25th Anniversary Conference of the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies in Edmonton as a city that displays a great degree of "northernness" because of its contribution to the opening of the North to future scholarship and development. Edmonton is the home of Athabaska University, a northern university dedicated to "the development of this final frontier". That Wonders could have expressed this sentiment about the North being Canada's last great frontier of knowledge in 1988 reminds us of how great the acceptance of nordification has become. A

⁴²⁴ William C. Wonders, ed. Knowing the North: Reflections on Tradition, Technology and Science (Edmonton: Boreal Institute, 1988).

brief survey of the essays in the collection will illustrate the ambitions of Northern Studies as well as the "northern jargon" that gives voice to the difference in the administration of the knowledge of the North.

In "The Sea in the North,"⁴²⁵ M.J. Dunbar admits that as a dedicated member of a corps of Arctic marine biologists, "we love the sea, especially in the North" because of its uniqueness when compared to the warmer oceans of the world. That the Arctic Ocean is "low in biological production" has been well documented by such research projects as AIDJEX, POLEX, MIZEX and BIOMASS, to name but a few. (the author presumed a great degree of familiarity with these projects from the reader.) The slowness of the polar ecosystem results in a number of interesting phenomena:

Polar environments, because of their clear and large scale cooling in the Miocene, offer a space-time laboratory which is unique, in that the response of the ecosystem can be studied in comparison with the ecosystem response in the warmer climates....Life spans of poikilothermal (cold blooded) animals were lengthened and the breeding cycles had to be adjusted...there would also be expected an altered plankton/benthos biomass ratio, probably to the advantage of the benthos.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ Ibid., M.J. Dunbar, "The Sea in the North", 1-8.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 5.

In "Climate in the North : Prospects for Change"⁴²⁷, F. Kenneth Hare argued that "the geographical Arctic lies below the core of the vastly wind vortex that encircles the Pole... the Arctic surface is the radiative heat sink for the atmosphere."⁴²⁸

In recognizing that the "greenhouse effect" will hit the Arctic hardest because of the fragility of its weather systems and ecosystems, Hare pointed out that more work needed to be done in the understanding of the uniqueness of the surface climate in the North.

Considered as an element in the human environment, it is the surface climate that matters most - yet the dynamic meteorologist can summon up little enthusiasm for an interface that is ...largely inert, low-energy and rather homogeneous.⁴²⁹

In these two cases we can see how the nordification of the North takes place in "knowing" the North. As in the case of the political and social development of the North, the study of biology and climate are placed in a comparative context. More important, however, is that the information collected

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 9-14. F.Kenneth Hare, "Climate in the North: Prospects for Change".

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 9-10.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 10.

that gives the North its distinctness as a region is expressed in a language and in the creation of categories that are definitely foreign in orientation. In order to understand these criteria, a northerner would have to be educated in the logic of the south. Difference is really a difference in degree, and uniqueness only makes sense in comparison with other more general observations about the world.

In "New Technologies in Studying and Managing the Taiga"⁴³⁰, Ross W. Wein expresses a similar sentiment towards the life of the "circumpolar coniferous forest" which represents 11% of the earth's terrestrial surface.⁴³¹ As a "biome" that has received little coordinated attention, this life element of the North could come under greater scrutiny through the use of remote sensing and more sophisticated landscape maps and become part of a "computerized geographic information system" like the Canada Land Information System.

One of the most important characteristics of northern biological systems is their stochasticity (randomness). The literature abounds with examples where wide population extremes, large population fluctuations or/and extremes in environmental conditions have affected northern ecosystems...One basic management goal common to experienced and

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 15-22. Ross W. Wien, "New Technologies in Studying and Managing the Taiga".

⁴³¹ Ibid., 15.

newer landowners alike is to avoid surprises or problems that might arise from the lack of an ecosystem management program, or perhaps more importantly, the intervention of poor management strategies.⁴³²

Understanding management techniques and increasing the efficiency of data retrieval will greatly benefit the application of appropriate models for the efficient exploitation of resources in the North. Adequate personnel must be trained in the correct methods of land use planning.

Thomas Nudds, in his paper on the "Effects of Technology and Economics on the Foraging Behaviour of Modern Hunter-Gatherer Societies"⁴³³, begins with a distinction between those scientists who study wildlife management for the purpose of manipulating Nature, and those who pursue "basic research" about "how nature works"; the former being "mission-oriented" and who can "be influenced more by socio-economic and/or political concerns than by biological concerns."⁴³⁴ His ambition is to study Nature in the North, not for exploitation, but rather "to understand the mechanisms of ecosystems and to fit [humans] into the

⁴³² Ibid., 17.

⁴³³ Ibid., 23-35. Thomas D. Nudds, "Effects of Technology and Economics on the Foraging Behaviour of modern Hunter-Gatherer Societies".

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 23.

resources available...".⁴³⁵ In his analysis , Nudds pointed out that Native populations in the North were varied in their ability to practice a rudimentary form of the "conservation ethic". Therefore, the variable response of renewable resources to increased levels of technological expertise in methods of exploitation led to inequalities.

The solution appears to lie in adherence to strictly enforced hunting regulations regarding quotas and allowable use of technology if northern peoples really desire lifestyles that incorporate both sustainable harvests of wildlife and the amenities of other cultures that only money can buy. Because of factors like the energetics of foraging and the economic value of non-nutritional parts of prey, it would seem otherwise to be wishful thinking that northern peoples (or any humans!) might somehow "intrinsically" regulate harvests of wildlife in the absence of regulations.⁴³⁶

In "Self-Management and State-Management: Forms of Knowing and Managing Northern Wildlife"⁴³⁷, anthropologist Harvey Feit encourages the local management of wild game because it is based on "community-based systems of knowledge, values and practice." The problem exists in the misunderstanding between Native northerners and state managers - highly

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 23.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 32.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 37-50. Harvey A. Feit, "Self-Management and State Management: Forms of Knowing and Managing Northern Wildlife".

professionalised administrators and scientists. Feit advocates local, and co-management because all Native societies have displayed a capacity to classify their surroundings and their world in the same way as Western Science. Accordingly, he argues that,

Research on northern North American indigenous communities has examined culturally distinctive social methods of regulating access to resources, sustainable yield harvesting strategies, social systems of production, distribution and consumption affecting resource use practices, customary law and systems of rights regulating decision-making and access to resources, and the systems of language, ritual and spiritual beliefs which shape the interpretation of environmental experiences and knowledge.⁴³⁸

The preceding studies, like those on the Life of the North from a biological and climatic perspective, use a kind of specific jargon when commenting on the economy of the North. Northerners are meant to be placed again into a comparative framework that gives light to their economic experiences in the form of Labor in relation to their environment. Management of resources, hunting and gathering in highly transitional environments, and the "conservation ethic" are said to make up the economic repertoire of the Northern Native. The use of "traditional" knowledge can help develop a mutually beneficial regime of land-use planning, which, in

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 39.

turn will lead to a greater harmony of interests in the development of the North. The conservation of wildlife populations will enhance the economic potential of the North while supplementing the Native wage economy and re-enforcing the traditional culture and values of the Native.

To bring an end to this barrage of information about the North, we will examine "Inuit Art, the Past Twenty-Five Years : Aesthetics, Transformations and Categories"⁴³⁹ by Nelson Graburn. He attempted to understand how we in the South interpret the language of Inuit art. He invoked a distinction between those who see art as the satisfaction of a spiritual need and thoroughly non-commercial in orientation (Lewis Hyde) and those who see art as "a conceptual category restricted to stratified societies" (Jacques Maquet). The Inuit language has no word for "art", rather they speak of what we call art as inuit sanasimajanga or "things made/done by Inuit". In the end, Inuit art behaves in a certain way to reflect the expectations of Western middle class values which yearn for knowledge of the past. In reality Inuit art is a functional part of the Inuit culture that has been appropriated as art by the South. Indeed, "outside our showcases, there is no primitive art, particularly in the non-literate societies where museum and

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 61-72. Nelson H. Graburn, "Inuit Art, The Past Twenty-Five Years: Aesthetics, Transformations and Categories".

gallery objects have been created."⁴⁴⁰ Presumably, as societies become literate, art figures in their speech. Native northerners have been developing a language that understands the Southern pre-occupation with the past, and that they sell in the form of art. More importantly, the study of the language of the Northern Native reveals comparative discontinuities with the South, and further illustrates a specifically Northern experience. Just as in the study of Life and Labor, the study of language, and its forms of expression, relies on comparative information that is gathered within the logic of the non-Northern Human Sciences. That Native northerners accept and understand the complexity of these comparisons is presumed -that the North understands itself in these terms, terms that have no origin except in a non-Northern geographical locale, should be the true subject of analysis. The administration of the North is in reality the administration of knowledge about the North in comparison to the South from any number of academic perspectives that fall under the general heading of Northern Studies and the Human Sciences.

In 1987, Lynda Lange published the findings of "A Report From the Native Groups of the Northwest Territories on their

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 61. Quoted from Jacques Maquet, Introduction to Aesthetic Anthropology (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1980) 16.

Situation with Research".⁴⁴¹ The project was designed to inquire into how Native groups viewed research ; "on how research has been conducted in the North, for their grievances about it, for their recommendations, and for their present objectives in the area of research."⁴⁴² What follows is a shorthand account of the research needs of these groups.

In general, the groups expressed the need for more documentation of "traditional knowledge" that could be more efficiently transmitted to young people. This would enhance Native expertise in the articulation of the characteristics of their culture, economy and language. Research was needed in the area of "social structure" prior to European contact, the history of economic planning and wildlife management, the collection of data for the Dene Nation library, comparative public administration in circumpolar societies, political opinion, Inuit foreign policy, relevant educational curricula for the transmission of native values, and the list goes on ad infinitum.

The underlying premise of these requests for research activity on the part of Native northerners is an explicit

⁴⁴¹ Lynda Lange A Report From the Native Groups of the Northwest Territories on their Situation with Research (Edmonton: Boreal Institute, 1987.)

⁴⁴² Ibid., 3.

acceptance of the principles of research itself - they are in many ways fully participating in the nordification of the North. More importantly, this research, done on behalf of the North and Northern peoples is representative of what Said called an "archive" of knowledge. As we saw in earlier chapters, the scientization of the Life, Labour and Language of the Canadian North was a function of the homogenizing effects of the Human Sciences. The continual experimentation on the contents of knowledge effectively produced the "image" of the Canadian North in the minds of those actively participating in the Human Sciences. The positivism associated with such an enterprise was seen to constitute a form of power. As Peter Emberley has explained, the combination of "values and technology" in the contemporary age of scientific practice is the result of the combination of "knowing and making".

As a way of knowing, rather than simply an intermediary means, making is an experimental effort at disclosing reality. Each effort at knowing requires an appropriation, in the interests of clarity and certainty, inspired by an enthusiasm to reconstruct the ambivalence and ambiguity of appearance...A complex intertwining of the will-to-knowledge and the will-to-power ensues, permitting the human sciences to compose and re-compose their own objects and subjects.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ Peter C. Emberley, "Values and Technology: George Grant and Our Present Possibilities", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol.21, No.3 (1988) 465-94. 473-4.

The ambiguity of experience in the Canadian North is played out in the formulation and re-formulation of the projects of the Human Sciences. The will-to-know the North has provided the context for the understanding of "nordicity" or "nordification". The North becomes a kind of "willed human work" which works on behalf of the emerging political reality in the organization of Northern political culture. We describe the Northern reality in terms which are fully recognizable to our own well-developed systems of thought. The practical application of this knowledge can serve the political and social interests of Northerners in Canada, but I would argue, that more often it satisfies the requirements of the Northern "archive". We must consider that the source of this archive is not physically or mentally located in the North. It exists in the institutions which collect, disseminate and ultimately control the knowledge of the North.

In describing the purpose and function of the Arctic Institute, E.M. Smith wrote that "the Arctic provides a great natural laboratory for basic studies which can affect Man everywhere."⁴⁴⁴ During and after World War II, scientists were becoming increasingly aware of the strategic importance of the Canadian Arctic; the initial impetus came

⁴⁴⁴ E.M. Smith, Arctic Bibliography, (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1970) Occasioanl Paper No.79. 1.

from the American Arctic, Desert and Tropical Information Centre which operated under the auspices of the U.S. Army. Meetings were held to secure the future of organized Arctic research, and the end result was the creation of the Arctic Institute of North America, located in Montreal as an adjunct to McGill University, with offices in New York and Washington. As a "private, international and non-profit organization", its objectives were,

...to initiate, encourage, support and advance...the objective study of arctic conditions and problems ...; to collect, arrange and preserve records and material relating to the arctic regions...; to make such records and material available for pure and applied scientific use by qualified individuals and organizations...; to arrange for or assist in the publication of reports, maps, charts, and other documentary material...; to establish and maintain close contact with other Polar Institutes and Organizations engaged in similar or related fields of study." ⁴⁴⁵

Thorough research was stated as the main function of the Institute, other activities would include the appraisal and development of new research areas, and the training of Arctic researchers. One of the most ambitious projects ever attempted by the Institute was the collection of the Arctic Bibliography. Using a "time-line" drawn at 1800 AD, and a "space-line" drawn to include the "middle North" and exclude

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 2. Quoted from John Reed, "Yesterday and Today", Arctic, Vol.29 (1966), 21.

Iceland, the Bibliography swelled to 15 volumes. The first volumes dealt with early Polar expeditions that sought the fabled Northwest Passage, more current entries include references to work on "locating and developing natural resources(e.g. oil and diamonds); reporting on field studies, and laboratory research relevant to northern countries (e.g. food packaging, fabric testing, vehicle performance); adapting to environmental conditions; studies of life, health, skills, and economic welfare of Eskimos and Indians".⁴⁴⁶ Most importantly, the Bibliography was taken to be a symbol of international scientific cooperation;

Arctic Bibliography is a splendid example of international cooperation, and the result should be useful not only to the United States and Canada, but to all countries with interests in the Arctic. Professional cooperation is also demonstrated by the fact that scientists, librarians, and linguists work together to produce this useful tool. Only by the pooling and exchange of knowledge can such minute, comprehensive, and accurate bibliographical control of a vast literature cutting across subject disciplines and national boundaries be accomplished.⁴⁴⁷

The Arctic Institute is only one of the depositories for research on the North in Canada. More to the point, it represents the coordination of the North in Canada as an

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 14.

object of study; through the collection and distribution of Northern information, and the training of Northern experts, the Institute is the apparatus through which the North is given an increasing array of meanings, corresponding to the disciplines of modern scientific enquiry. It was created in response to the activity of other non-Canadian Institutes which operated quite freely in Canada's Arctic. The Scott Polar Institute at Cambridge University and the British Museum represent the traditional British interest in the North, while the Smithsonian Institute in Washington holds archival material on the American North.

At the University level, Northern research in Canada has become increasingly complex. A recent count showed that in 42 Canadian post-secondary institutions there were 800 northern specialists.⁴⁴⁸ They include, geologists, geographers, biologists, oceanographers, meteorologists, anthropologists, sociologists, community planners, etc.. There is Le Centre d'Etudes Nordiques at Laval University, The Centre for Cold Ocean Resources Engineering at Memorial, The Centre for Northern Studies and Research at McGill, The Boreal Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Alberta, the University of Saskatchewan Institute for Northern Studies, and the Arctic Institute now at the

⁴⁴⁸ Trevor Lloyd, "Canadian Universities and Arctic Research", in Living Explorers of the Canadian Arctic (Yellowknife: Outcrop, 1986)

University of Calgary, among others. Most of these have located research facilities in the North for the training of new "northern specialists". These new northern specialists have now gathered twice in Ottawa to present their research activities under the auspices of The Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS), in 1986 and 1988. The scope of research activities represented at these Conferences is astounding and far too detailed to describe here.

The creation of Canadian Institutes for Northern study was a response to the presumed international nature of Arctic research, which it is continually argued, compromises Canadian sovereignty in the North. The subjects and objects produced by the study of the Canadian North are said to be the cultural property of Canada, and are to be shared in the effort to advance the goals of the Human Sciences. The entire enterprise takes place within the justificatory language of ethics and values. All of these, as Hubert Dreyfuss and others have pointed out, are signs of the essential nihilism of the contemporary world. In describing what he called the five features of nihilism, Dreyfuss pointed to the objectification of knowledge, in the activity of positing ideal objects against a subjective knower. In the attempt to "make everything explicit", theories are constructed which decontextualize these objects and

reproduce them within "systems" or "wholes". This practice results in, as Heidegger explained, "seeing the world as a picture". The flatness of contemporary Human Science is spread over the entire world to create a "moment" of idealized enlightenment. What we need, said Dreyfuss, is what Kierkegaard called a "commitment" to living life as it is presented to us. In other words, what is required is a leap of imagination in order to re-enact the nature of Being. In this, the people of the Canadian North, when stripped of the trappings of the Human Sciences, may be able to help.

In Arctic Twilight, Kevin McMahon pointed out that "all things originate in the Arctic for the Inuit - even the white man - and there is a tale that can explain whatever can be known."⁴⁴⁹ The real nature of the North in Canada can only be told in the tales of the people who have lived there and continue to live there. The "value" of the land and the people lies in their expression of what it means to them. As the Inuit understand their relationship with the land, "Nature has all the ideas, humans are interpreters and mouthpieces as it talks to itself. To have a fixed thought, in a sense, is impossible."⁴⁵⁰ The Inuit language does not separate time from space; it does not objectify them into

⁴⁴⁹ Kevin McMahon, Arctic Twilight, op.cit., 7.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 83.

"solids" which can be arranged and rearranged on a grid of knowledge. Their world is mapped by their relationships with the land. This is a concept which we in the South are just beginning to comprehend. The North is covered by what McMahon referred to as "lifestreams" which define the space that the Inuit use to hunt. Providing the basis for the new language of land claims, these "lifestreams" are beginning to lose their initial significance. They are learning the "possessiveness of our Arctic Sublime", as Franklyn Griffiths has discussed. With the creation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference in 1977, "the people of the borderless expanse now sat, like everyone else, in their anchored boxes surrounded by a concentric array of boundaries. And these, to varying degrees, have been internalized."⁴⁵¹

The political reality of the North is represented by the production of "marginalized" populations. The Inuit, as well as the Dene and the Metis, understand this well by now. As McMahon concludes, "The emergent class of educated Inuit, from politicians to broadcasters, are engaged in a furious process of trying to hang on to what they have, to keep from being further marginalized, and have been forced to appropriate whatever methods they can, be they drawing

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 126.

borders, creating corporations, or making television."⁴⁵² In the North there is a constant feeling that they are rapidly losing ground. If our agency in the North is to have any "value" it must involve the recognition and acceptance of cultural traditions which can never be our own, this is what is meant by a commitment.

Epilogue

In the course of my journey through the Canadian North I have encountered four significant signposts which have encouraged and motivated my imagination about the true nature of the North. The first was Hugh Brody's The People's Land (1975). Brody captured the essence of the experience of the Canadian North which obtains from the expression of a colonial mentality. He alerted Canadians to the dangers of using an administrative logic in the management of the North. The stifling of the Inuit voice for Brody was tantamount to cultural genocide. This warning has not gone unheeded.

Arctic Dreams (1987), by Barry Lopez, combined philosophical introspection with a wealth of information on the nature of the Arctic landscape and animal life. He expressed the natural "motion" of the North in a way which valued the

⁴⁵² Ibid., 237.

richness of its environment without ruining it in a parade of jargon. Like Brody, Lopez found the essential balance which is required of the traveller in a foreign land.

Kevin McMahon's Arctic Twilight(1988) followed the spirit of this tradition by recognizing that the traveller must befriend the people he or she meets. While recognizing that the "old ways" of life amongst the Inuit have been compromised by their political and economic ambitions, McMahon was able to understand that the future of the North in Canada must belong to the people who continue to name it.

The last work does not emanate from a Northern experience, but rather from travels in Australia's "outback". Some may question its value for a Northern audience. The marginalized experience of the Australian Aboriginals clearly resembles that of the Native people in the North, and strong similarities exist between Canada and Australia in terms of their colonial settlement. On these and other grounds, Bruce Chatwin's The Songlines(1987) deserves the special attention of all those who are interested in the position of Native cultures in the world. It is more than a description of the Aboriginal tradition of "Dreamtime" and the Songlines which criss-cross the entire continent of Australia, it is a studied account of reminiscence.

Chatwin reminds us that "Aboriginal Creation myths tell of the legendary totemic beings who wandered over the continent in the Dreamtime, singing out the name of everything that crossed their path - birds, animals, plants, rocks, waterholes - and so singing the world into existence."⁴⁵³ For the Aboriginal people, the earth gives life, food, language and intelligence. And "to wound the earth is to wound yourself, and if others are wounding the earth, then they are wounding you."

Chatwin explains how the Aboriginal is initiated into a specific Songline at birth, and spends the rest of his or her life literally singing the tradition of the land. In this way they know where they belong, they can wander across all of Australia following their Songline from one end to another. When a woman is about to give birth, she wanders out onto the land, and when she feels the baby's first kick, its first movement, the spot is marked and the Songline which belongs there becomes the baby's Songline. The memory of the Songline does not require a specific lyric, rather, as Chatwin explains,

Regardless of the words, it seems the melodic contour of the song describes the nature of the land over which the song passes. So, if the Lizard Man were dragging his heels across

⁴⁵³ Bruce Chatwin, The Songlines, (New York: Viking Press, 1987). 2.

the salt-pans of Lake Eyre, you could expect a succession of long flats, like Chopin's "Funeral March". If he were skipping up and down the MacDonnell escarpments, you'd have a series of arpeggios and glissandos, like Liszt's "Hungarian Rhapsodies" An expert songman, by listening to their order of succession, would count how many times his hero crossed a river, or scaled a ridge - and be able to calculate where, and how far along, a Songline he was.⁴⁵⁴

Chatwin's account of the Songlines is reminiscent of Edmund Carpenter's descriptions of the Inuit perceptions of time and space in Eskimo Realities. However, Chatwin goes further and juxtaposes the singing quality of the Aboriginal with Western memories of movement and motion. He suggests that the Classical movements of the Gods, described in the Greek and Roman mythologies, "could all be interpreted in terms of totemic geography." I suggest that Chatwin's point was to remind us of our origins as nomadic people. This is also the premise, I would argue, for our continual fascination with cultures which do not objectify space and time on a linear progression.

The Songlines is a story about an encounter with another expression of the land, one that has become foreign to the Western world. Chatwin's adventure also includes meetings with the representations of how this past has been

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 108.

forgotten. As he travels, he meets missionaries, Marxists and Anthropologists. He also meets a number of "community advisors", one of whom is his guide. The following passage, which recounts a conversation with a community advisor named Kidder, illustrates very pointedly the relationship between Aborigines and their sacred rites.

"Aborigines are sick and tired of being snooped at like they were animals in a zoo. They've called a halt."

"Who's called the halt?"

"They have", he said, "And their community advisors."

Kidder, expanding to his theme, said that sacred knowledge was the cultural property of the Aboriginal people. All such knowledge which had got into the hands of white men had been acquired either by fraud or force. It was now going to be de-programmed.

"Knowledge is knowledge", I said, "Its not that easy to dispose of."

He did not agree. To de-programme sacred knowledge, he said, meant examining archives for unpublished material on Aborigines; you then return the relevant pages to the rightful owners. It meant transferring copyright from the author of a book to the people it described; returning photographs to the photographed (or their descendants); recording tapes to the recorded, and so forth.⁴⁵⁵

The Songlines sets out a radical political agenda which could be employed in the North. Chatwin privileged his

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 43.

ability to walk with the Australian Aboriginal, to follow his moves without disturbing the path. This is the approach to the Canadian North that I would like to pursue in the future.

CONCLUSION

The project of mapping the intellectual contours of a geographical region has proven to be a dangerous exercise. It is dangerous because it questions the boundaries and limits which have been placed on the imagination of that region. What I hope to have accomplished in this dissertation is the bending of those boundaries and the opening of new doors in the tradition to which I belong. By questioning the purpose and content of this tradition I have discovered some of my own prejudices and limitations. I am not an Anthropologist, an Economist, a Geographer or a Linguist, nor did I wish to become any of those things. However, I am fascinated by the ways Western culture has chosen to search for ways to define space and time.

Edward Said argued that Orientalism was an ideology which was responsible for the creation of popular and scientific opinion about the Orient. In Orientalism he attempted to describe how various academics and intellectuals were engaged in the creation of the Orient as an object. He insisted that to fully comprehend the scope of this project, one had to study not only how the object of the Orient was formed, but also the person or subject doing the studying. What Said meant was that the Orient was not discovered as a

natural phenomenon, rather, it was created from the imagination of those who chose to name it and then study it. In other words, the division of the world into areas or regions is a political act of the first order. It is so fundamental to the way in which contemporary social and physical science operates that we take it for granted. Said taught us that what is most important to look at when we encounter the term region or area in political and scientific discourse, are the ways in which we measure what is valuable to know about this or that region or area.

The North is a region which has often been taken for granted. In fact, the North and Northerness have always been a part of the Canadian vocabulary, a vocabulary which we have inherited from our European ancestry. The "true North, strong and free" has always described the fundamental vision of Canadian sovereignty. Most of the time we focus on the strong and free parts of that phrase when we debate about the essential qualities of the Canadian identity, sovereignty, economic development and defense. In this dissertation I have attempted to focus on the "true" part of this phrase.

I have argued that, like the Orient, the North in Canada is a fact which has been produced by human beings. In other words, there could be no North without the continuing

practice of Northern Studies, and there could be no North without the identification of Northerners. To understand the North in Canada I have attempted to understand how the North and Northerners have been measured. To more clearly define the methods which are employed to affect this measurement I ventured to include the writings of Michel Foucault.

Foucault's rendition of the story of the Human Sciences was used as a guide to understanding the North at the level of the production of knowledge. In The Order of Things, Foucault argued that the Human Sciences, sciences which produced Man as a living, labouring and speaking being in the nineteenth century, formed the general paradigm for knowledge in the contemporary world of scientific practice. He identified an epistemic rupture which occurred at the level of Western thought, and which re-ordered the relationship between words and things. His conclusion was that with the creation of the Human Sciences a new kind of power was deployed which traversed the entire domain of Western Man. In general terms, Life, Labour and Language formed the trilogy of the modern episteme, and their resident representatives in the social and physical sciences created new possibilities for knowledge, and new objects and subjects that could be studied in an authoritative way. The development of specialized academic disciplines is testimony

to the power of these new sciences to be strategically deployed over an ever broadening spectrum. In this sense, Foucault argued that power was no longer centred, rather it was dispersed across a wide field and could be represented as a grid which was superimposed over the culture of Western Man. The meaning of this culture was given over to the discursive practice of experimentation and production.

Edward Said used Foucault's notion of discursive production to describe the ways in which the Orient was measured by Orientalists. Applying this framework to the Western imagination about the North, and more specifically the Canadian North, required a preliminary description of the mythological images which had accompanied earlier and later exploration. In so doing I hoped to set the stage for a more intensive analysis of the role which the Human Sciences played in the creation of the North.

The ancient and early modern images of the North were presented in a summary fashion in order to invoke the power of suggestion in the reader. The Northern mythology from Arktikos to the search for the Northwest Passage presented the possibility of a general disposition about the North from a Western perspective as an "other" to the Western experience of space and place. Strong traces of this "otherness" remain in the imagination of the West. After

the nineteenth century, however, the "otherness" of the North also became increasingly scrutinized for its potential contribution to the general knowledge of Mankind. The people of the North, presented themselves to the Ethnographer, et.al, as specimens of the origins of Man.

Through a discussion of Human Geography I ventured to bring together the activity of the Human Sciences and the North, to show that the creation of regions and areas in the world was an example of the deployment of the discursive power of the Human Sciences. The conflation of Foucault, Said and Human Geography was meant to create a unity of focus which became centred on the North and in the attempt of Louis-Edmond Hamelin to measure the essential qualities of what it meant to be Northern. The identification of space and place required tools of measurement which not only described regions or areas, but also produced them as totalities. Once produced, as Said argued, the area is researched for the essence or its meaning. His study of Orientalism was an attempt to come to terms with a sampling of the produced "commodities" of the Orient.

In the chapters on Life, Labour and Language in the Canadian North, I attempted to come to some understanding of how these commodities were produced by specialists who delineated the conditions of Northern Man, through a

sampling of their works. I also suggested that what Foucault called "points of resistance" to the pressure of these discourses were beginning to take shape as Northern scholars came to terms with the consciousness of Northern peoples. In the Anthropological and Ethnographic description of Northern Life I demonstrated an adherence to the rigours of the field which required the steady and painstaking collection of objects. The organization of this empirical data also required an institutional apparatus in which it could be situated. It was also demonstrated that at these sites themselves resistance to control was beginning to form. Northern based archives and collections were created to ensure that cultural artifacts would remain where they belonged. Moreover, the training of native Northerners in the practice of Archaeological and Anthropological studies was presented as another potential form of resistance. The control of artifacts, however, represents only one small, yet important, part of the scientization of Life. The data which has been collected on Northern populations, flora and fauna is still beyond the grasp of the Northerner.

In the chapter on Northern Labour I suggested that the inspection and codification of economic habits and lifestyles represented another form of the power of the Human Sciences in the North. The discussion of "resources" in the North indicates the Western predilection for the

control of nature. Moreover, attempts to bring Northerners into the discussion have created the language of "cultural ecology" which attempts to understand the experience of the Northerner with the land. The power of this technique was seen in the under-valuing and reduction of the Native experience in the North to a generalized pattern of behaviour. Points of resistance to the discourse of Labour were indicated in the work of Peter Usher who argued that it was difficult, if not wrong, to attempt to evaluate the economic dimensions of country food. Finally, the language of "dependency" was questioned and presented as a corollary to and not an opposite of the general discourse of Labour in the North.

The discussion of Northern Language was presented on two levels. First the presentation of Linguistic analysis suggested that Northern languages were classified and contained within a grid of knowledge which had assessed their value in terms of their structure. Far from revealing the meaning behind these languages, linguistic and philological analysis of the structure and origins of language codifies them so they may be compared to others. Secondly, I attempted to discuss the creation and discovery of meaning in Northern languages. The example of the Northwest Territories' Language Bureau was used to demonstrate the changing circumstances of meaning in the

Northern experience which required the creation of new words to describe these circumstances. A more thoughtful approach to Northern language attempts to understand the experiential referents which accompany the speech of the Northerner. The work of Edmund Carpenter was cited as having achieved a point of resistance to the practice of codifying and classifying Northern languages.

The conclusion of this sampling of the life, labour and language of the North can be said to be the creation of an archive of knowledge which circumscribes the North in Canada and gives it meaning. In this sense, it must be understood that the accumulation of knowledge is never a value-neutral enterprise. Rather, following Foucault and Said, it is considered as a form of power which is invested in the practice of accumulation and dissemination of the objects of that knowledge. In the study of the North, the North is created as a specific site, like the Orient, of power/knowledge relations. In the end, this power/knowledge relation informs the political culture of the area. The North, in other words, was nordicized or produced by the systems of knowledge which traversed its artificial boundaries.

In discussing the terms of empowerment of the North in the final chapter of the dissertation, I argued that empowerment

worked on two levels. At the "juridco-political" level, the empowerment of Northerners in Canada was conditioned by an acceptance of the liberal-democratic traditions which operated in the South. The notions of rights and representation were expanded to include the positive involvement of Native and non-Native Northerners in the Territorial Government structures and at federal level in terms of the discussion of aboriginal constitutional rights. This was presented as a positive development in the struggle for political recognition. What remains to be seen is whether or not Southern style institutions can accommodate the consensual orientation of Northern people. They must be able to control their physical territory in order to more effectively resist the power which works at the level of the accumulation of knowledge. In the end, the cultural blending of Northerners and Southerners effectively seals the nordicity of Canada into an homogeneous expression of Canada's character as a Northern country. This tautology will form the character of the North from a Canadian perspective.

This dissertation is presented as an introduction to a process which has involved successive generations and regeneration of knowledge. As such, it can only serve as a signpost for further study. A comprehensive analysis of the creation of the North as an identifiable object will require

an amount of study tantamount to that achieved in The Order of Things. The genealogy of the North will take a lifetime to complete.

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