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Holman Printmaking

by

Angela R. Skinner

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

**Master of Arts in
Canadian Studies**

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

Spring 1990

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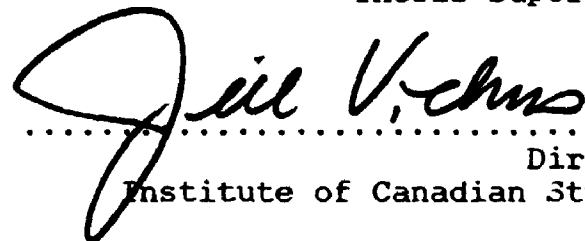
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Abstract

The graphic art of the Inuit is a contemporary, post-contact phenomenon. Introduced into northern communities to relieve economic hardship, printmaking programs were once subject to the approval of a southern advisory board for content and quality.¹ They use Japanese printing techniques and the works are produced for a market outside the culture of production. This thesis examines printmaking in the community of Holman, Victoria Island, Northwest Territories, from 1965 to 1989. While an analysis of formal elements demonstrates that this activity brings the Holman artists and printers into the contemporary art world, the subject matter of the prints is interpreted as a manifestation of a developing 'nativism' in the community. This thesis argues that printmaking functions both as an outlet for aesthetic expression and as an adaptive mechanism for the participants, in a changing society.

¹ This advisory body, the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, was disbanded in the summer of 1989.

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Introduction

Holman is a small community on the Diamond Jenness Peninsula on the west coast of Victoria Island, Northwest Territories. It looks out onto King's Bay and Queen's Bay, inlets of the Amundsen Gulf. The local co-operative oversees several artistic endeavours which include silk screen printing, printmaking and some carving. This thesis investigates printmaking in the hamlet from 1965 to 1989. It will show that this project is important for the Inuit of the community in two ways. It provides them with an outlet for aesthetic expression and it acts as an adaptive mechanism in a changing society.

The art historical literature on contemporary Inuit art has had a very limited focus to date. The emphasis has been more on sculpture than on the two-dimensional graphic arts. The small body of existing works on prints deals with historical developments in the printing process and offers profiles of artists, but not printers. There are overviews of aesthetic developments, but these are restricted to the communities of Cape Dorset, Baker Lake and Povungnituk. The graphic art of the hamlet of Holman has received only brief mention throughout the existing literature with mainly visual references to artists and their works. Short descriptive entries are accompanied by reproductions of the prints and by technical information in the annual catalogues. Little formal analysis is offered. For many of the early works the printers remain unidentified. In fact, except for a brief critical review of each annual collection in the

Inuit Art Quarterly, the graphic art of Holman has all but been ignored in the current literature.

An art historical approach to Holman printmaking is limited in the interpretation of the prints although it is valid in the understanding of the formal qualities of the works. The art historian is interested in the organization and arrangement of forms, how the illusion of space is achieved and how figures relate to their ground. The art historian examines the way artists handle their medium and how the style of a work can identify its maker. The student of art history, then, is concerned with processes and principles, subjects and symbols, descriptions of visual forms and definitions of stylistic categories. Comparisons and parallels of context and historical sequence, however, are made with other developments in art history and not with the culture that produced the works. This linear treatment would restrict the nature of this study as the works are isolated from their enveloping culture of production.

Furthermore, western art historical analysis deals with works created by one person. This individual is responsible for the work from conception through execution to the finished piece. In Holman printmaking, because of the communal nature of the process, more than one person is involved in the production of the work. The critical apparatus of modern art analysis, with its emphasis on the role of the individual artist, is unsatisfactory when applied to printmaking.

The southern artist has an art tradition to absorb and a body of work to imitate. The Holman printmaker has neither. Inuit prints did not

evolve out of a long established two-dimensional graphic tradition. The artists and printers have not received formal training in their art form and are not producing for their own culture. They do not have a tradition of learning from past masters and they have little experience with the content of Japanese woodcuts. Only the technique was introduced to the printshop. The creative flow of the Inuit artists is restricted by the availability of materials and the lack of a base from which to draw inspiration. A traditional western art historical methodology with its well defined categories for analysis, its elevation of the artist and its separation of 'art' from 'craft' is not necessarily the most appropriate method of study for all cultures. It is particularly unsuited to cultures where 'art' production is tied closely to custom and where the aesthetics of the producing culture must be taken into consideration.

The methodology used by a culturally based European art tradition, then, is not the most appropriate critical system to apply to Holman prints. While a western style art historical analysis is of value for discussion of some of the formal aspects of the works, it does not take into account the criteria preferred by the Inuit when making their prints. Neither does it consider social influences. Therefore, this approach alone would offer an incomplete interpretation of the data.

The anthropological literature places contemporary Inuit art with art of 'primitive' societies but because of its origins this categorization is not entirely accurate for printmaking in Inuit. Anthropological discussions, when focussed on the art of primitive societies offer explanations of symbols, rituals and rites, interpret content and postulate meaning. In this form the usefulness of the anthropological view of art of

small scale society is limited in the Holman context. The anthropologist is more concerned with the production of art to support religious beliefs or define cosmology than with the concept that people can express themselves aesthetically without religious influence. Art for art's sake is not considered. The anthropologist, however, has a different perspective of 'art' and works within a wider definition of this phenomenon. He/she accepts 'art' as a product of human activity. His/her definition implies a well developed technical skill which is defined according to the standards of the community in which the artist is working. This thesis adopts the broader concept of 'art' as a phenomenon of culture that is favoured in the discipline of anthropology.

The work of the anthropologist is also suited to the understanding of contemporary social developments in Holman when it is applied to cultural change in the community and when art production is considered within the parameters of contact between two dissimilar groups. In Part Three of this thesis, on the basis of an analysis of the subject matter of the prints, it is argued that a relationship exists between the subject matter chosen for printing and social developments in contemporary Inuit life. Because the recent history of Holman residents is bound closely to contact with a more dominant group of people, it is appropriate to apply the work of anthropologists Wallace, Linton and Krader on the effects on culture of contact between peoples of differing power levels, to the contemporary social situation in Holman. The thesis argues that conditions exist for the development of a nativism movement of some form and that printmaking in the community functions as an adaptive mechanism in a

rapidly changing society, in which some people are interested in the revitalization of Inuit culture.

To gain a deeper understanding of the role of printmaking in Holman it is essential to establish historical reference points for contemporary social and artistic developments. Part One of this thesis presents an historic overview. The founding and development of community life in Holman meant great social upheaval and mental readjustment for the Inuit of the areas from which the settlement drew its inhabitants. Although printmaking was begun in the early years of community existence, artistic activity was present in pre-contact Inuit life. An examination of the social organization of the inhabitants of Victoria Island from the earliest known times, through the period of intermittent contact with non-Inuit, until the present places the developments of today in an historical framework. It is argued that the social organization of the Eskimos has been forced to adjust to external forces which in pre-contact days were the vagaries of the environment and more recently, have been the fluctuating economic opportunities resulting from sustained contact with outsiders. This pragmatic northern people has been forced to make significant social adjustments throughout its history. Contemporary settlement life is an example of the adaptability of the Inuit to changing situations and opportunities and illustrates continuing adaptation to culture change.

Art is produced as a response to social circumstances. To understand the role of art in the twentieth century community, it is necessary to investigate the changing function of art in pre- and post-contact Eskimo existence. Pre-contact Eskimo art is said to be a manifestation of

religious beliefs which had been formed within a specific socio-cultural environment. It was made by individuals of the community for their personal use. In post-contact Eskimo culture, as a response to a changing society, decorated tools for the propitiation of spirits were replaced with replicas of indigenous and foreign implements. Art was now produced for barter with an exterior culture. It is argued here that the reasons for the production of objects of art has changed as the social circumstances of the Eskimos/Inuit have altered. Furthermore it will be suggested that current developments in printmaking show a response through art production to the continuing evolution of Inuit culture.

The general literature on the Canadian north stresses the economic possibilities of the arts and crafts program to the Holman economy. This view is reiterated by Father Tardy and by the present artists and printers of the community who stress the importance of the money earned from this endeavour for participation in a pluralistic, northern economy. This thesis accepts the importance of the income brought into the community by this activity. It argues, however, that it is of fundamental importance for a group of people to make some form of visual statement and that printmaking provides the Inuit of Holman with an outlet for aesthetic expression.

Characteristics of Holman prints have not yet been identified in the literature. Part two of this thesis presents a comprehensive study of the artists, printers and prints of the community. A formal analysis of the manner in which the artists and printers combine their abilities in the production of a work is undertaken. Areas examined include use of space,

composition, colour and texture. It is argued that the formal elements of Holman prints indicate a strong interest among the printshop workers in the elegance of line, interplay of colours, composition and use of space.

The information presented is augmented by biographies of the artists included in the appendix. This section also considers the relationship between the artist (the person who makes the drawing), the printer (the technician who chooses the colours and printing techniques best suited to print the drawing), and the finished collection.

As printmaking was introduced into Holman as a fully developed, non-indigenous activity, this thesis argues that the technical skills that had been necessary for the manufacture of hunting implements, shelter and clothing and the knowledge based on close observation of the land and sea and the life they harboured, were developed by the people during their history of occupation of these northern areas and were brought to the settlement with the newly arriving Inuit. It is shown that these skills were instrumental in the success of the program.

Printmaking began in Holman in 1965 and for each collection an illustrated catalogue of the works printed has been produced. The illustrations are accompanied by technical details, brief biographical information on artists and printers, and a short introduction by an author associated with Inuit art. This person, usually, but not always, comes from outside the community. These catalogues are the main source of data for this thesis. A selection of images drawn from these collections is included in this work as visual evidence to support the written argument.

Other sources of visual information consulted include the slide collection of the Inuit Art Section, the Department of Indian and Northern

Affairs, Hull and the comprehensive print collection of the Ethnology Department, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull. Written information has been gathered from the libraries of Carleton University, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the National Gallery and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. This thesis also draws on fieldwork carried out in the Canadian arctic by the author. Discussions with arts and crafts officers from the Government of the Northwest Territories based in Yellowknife and interviews with artists, printers and co-operative personnel in Holman present information from different perspectives. These sources of primary data are augmented by written communication with Father Henri Tardy, who was responsible for the introduction of printmaking to Holman and for the evolution of the program in its formative years. The thesis is developed, therefore, through a combination of research in visual and written resources and fieldwork.

Traditional research methods are limited in the study of Holman prints and because of the special features that characterize the evolution of printmaking in this community, no single method of research would do full justice to the questions. Therefore, this investigation uses a multi-disciplinary approach to interpret the style, meaning and function of the prints and will call upon both art historical and anthropological considerations in drawing conclusions from the data.

This thesis limits itself to printmaking in Holman although Cape Dorset, Baker Lake, Povungnituk and Pangnirtung are actively involved in this endeavour. The community of Clyde River experimented with such a

program for a short time but is no longer active in this area. A discussion of the similarities and differences of these community programs is beyond the scope of this discussion as is a comparison of the formal aspects of printmaking. This work also limits itself to the study of prints which have been produced in annual collections. Drawings that were not translated into prints are not included in the discussion. They are not readily available for study at this time. Only a small proportion of drawings produced by Holman artists have been translated into prints. Slides of the drawings of Mark Emerak, Helen Kalvak and Agnes Nanogak are on file at the Inuit Art Section, Indian and Northern Affairs, Hull but does not comprise the total output of these artists. Some drawings were available for viewing in the printshop but works from the past were locked in fireproof storage facilities and were not able to be consulted. To what extent the drawings chosen for printing reflect the total output can not be determined at this time.

The findings of this research apply to the prints that have been published in annual editions. Each print pulled has been reproduced in a companion catalogue, yet the works reproduced do not represent the complete body of works printed. Missing are the prints rejected by the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council and the first images which were taken south by Father Tardy and sold to private individuals. The sample of works consulted, although substantive in number, has been restricted to those that have been given the Arts Council's seal of approval. This is not to say that the arguments presented are invalid but rather that they have been limited by the inaccessibility of some data.

Essentially then, this thesis examines printmaking in Holman,

Victoria Island, Northwest Territories, between 1965 and 1989. It places printmaking within an historical framework and in the culture of production. It relates developments in the field of art with activities in a changing cultural context. It explores the art of one people produced for another population and moves beyond the time limits of production. It does not simply describe formal qualities, it relates them to their culture of production. The shortcomings of a single disciplinary approach are overcome by considering the prints from more than one academic perspective. When two distinct avenues of discussion are focussed on the data, a broad base for deduction is presented. The particular nature of the subject matter shows a strong interest in depicting a way of life that belongs to the past. The manner in which the content is given form demonstrates that the artists and printers welcome the opportunity to express themselves visually. The evidence presented supports the thesis that printmaking functions both as an outlet for aesthetic expression and as an adaptive mechanism in a changing culture.



Official Explorer's Map, Government of the Northwest Territories,

Yellowknife.

Part One

Historic Developments

First Peoples of North America

Printmaking in Holman is a part of contemporary settlement life which is the most recent phase of social evolution of the Inuit of Victoria Island. Adaptations to a variable climate and to changing economic opportunities have been consistent features in the history of the people of this area. As the function of art is tied closely to socio-cultural structures, then, as social organization changed, so did the purpose of art. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the role of printmaking in the hamlet, current developments in art must be placed in an historical framework.

The harsh Arctic environment was one of the last areas on the American continent to be exploited by humans. Archaeological evidence suggests that humanity has, most probably, occupied parts of the Arctic regions for as long as 30,000 years.² The first Palaeolithic hunters may have taken advantage of a period of glacial advance which locked northern waters in ice and opened up the Bering Land Bridge. The vast, gently rolling plain created a route into North America for the larger animals and the Siberian

² Knut R. Fladmark, "The Feasibility of the Northwest Coast as a Migration Route for Early Man" in Alan Lyle Bryan (ed.) Early Man in America From a Circum-Pacific Perspective. (Edmonton: Archaeological Researches International, 1978), pp 119-129 Richard Moody, Prehistoric World. The 3400 Million Years Before Modern Man. (New Jersey: Chartwell Books Inc., 1980), pp. 280-300.

hunter. Fossil evidence indicates that large and small animals moved back and forth across this dry land connection. The horse and camel, indigenous to North America, crossed into Asia while big game found from Siberia established themselves on the American continent. Waves of people dependent on these animals for food and clothing may have gradually populated the continent. Little is known about these early inhabitants. Fluctuation in the availability of food must have made human existence fragile. In fact group extinctions may have been frequent when human adaptation to a changing environment was not sufficient to ensure continued existence.

Sometime between 2000 and 1500 B.C., it would appear that these latitudes experienced a climatic warming trend. A corresponding increase in exploitable species and human hunters may have resulted from this amelioration in temperature. Using a micro-blade technology, these early ancestors of the Eskimos hunted musk-oxen for food and clothing and used smaller game such as fox, hare, duck and other waterfowl to augment their diet. It seems that the people lived year round in skin tents, as there is no indication of the use of the domed snow house. From the available archaeological evidence Robert McGhee has suggested that the first Eskimos may have evolved from a people that travelled across the Bering Land Bridge at the end of the last Ice Age, or from a population that may not have crossed the Bering Strait until 4,000 years ago.³

³ Robert McGhee, Canadian Arctic Prehistory. (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1978), p. 25. Throughout this discussion the term *Inuit* will refer to recent northern populations while *Eskimo* will refer to more ancient peoples.

The earliest signs of an 'art tradition' can be found in the carefully manufactured chipped flint tools and weapons associated with these first occupants of the Arctic coasts. The symmetry, balance and incorporation of multicoloured stones suggest an interest on the part of the craftsman that transcends the functional aspects of the artifact.⁴

Pre-Dorset

Between 1700 and 800 B.C. a culture flourished that has been given the name Pre-Dorset and appears to be closely related to the Denbigh Flint Complex, which had its origins in the Bering Strait region. Once again changing climatic conditions dictated an alteration in life style. The earliest known sites from Victoria Island appear during this era and from local archaeological remains it is possible to reconstruct ancient adaptations to available resources. Robert McGhee wrote:

At the Umingmak site on northern Banks Island, the bones of hundreds of musk-oxen are scattered over a large area and occur in conjunction with Pre-Dorset artifacts. These bones must represent many kills, probably by a small band of hunters over several generations. At sites near Wellington Bay on the south coast of Victoria Island, caribou were the main quarry.⁵

⁴ Robert McGhee "The Prehistory and Prehistoric Art of the Canadian Inuit." The Beaver, Summer 1981, pp. 23-30.

⁵ McGhee, Canadian Arctic Prehistory, p. 49.

These camps were probably occupied during the summer and autumn. No winter sites have yet been identified. McGhee argued:

Although it may have been possible for the people of Banks Island to hunt musk-oxen throughout the year, the caribou hunters of Victoria Island and the fishermen of Bloody Falls must have spent the winter on the sea ice, perhaps living in snowhouses. This pattern of life was probably not very different from that of the Inuit who occupied the area in historic times.⁶

Tools from the Pre-Dorset culture exhibit great care and originality in execution and may possibly have been the work of an individual specialized

in his task. The success of the hunter was believed to have been enhanced by the excellence of the manufacture of his tools. Incised surface decoration and geometric patterns decorate these artifacts. People may have believed that the soul of the animal enjoyed being hunted by elaborately decorated implements.⁷

Dorset

The Pre-Dorset way of life evolved into the Dorset culture which flourished between 800 B.C. and A.D.1000. The archaeological evidence suggests that, at their most extensive range, the Dorset occupied most of arctic Canada east of the Dolphin and Union Strait, as far as Greenland. Cultural beginnings may have become established in a core area north of Hudson Bay and spread throughout the Arctic at a period which corresponded with another climatic warming trend. While describing the expansion of Dorset culture from its central beginnings,

⁶ ibid

Robert McGhee identified two waves of Dorset occupation of the islands of the Central Arctic. He wrote:

The first wave, between 500 B.C. and A.D. 1000, occupied sites on King William Island near Cambridge Bay, the Ehalluk River in southern Victoria Island and Prince Albert Sound in western Victoria Island. These sites were occupied by caribou hunters and river fishermen, who must have spent the winters sealing from the ice.⁸

Of the second wave he wrote:

Dorset culture attained its greatest expansion during this late period, when it extended from southeast Hudson Bay to northwestern Greenland, and as far west as Victoria and Melville Islands. It was also during this phase that Dorset art appears to have reached its peak. Small carved objects of wood, bone and ivory are known from Dorset sites of all periods but are most commonly found on sites of this late period.⁹

The 'art' produced by the Dorset Culture is characterized by small, ivory figures in human and animal form. These pieces may either have been personal protective images or have formed part of the shaman's professional equipment which included masquettes, boxes, sucking tubes and miniature harpoon heads. Embellishment was usually confined to such objects and took the form of incised line decoration. Artifacts decorated with the skeleton motif and joint marks may have been objects of magical powers to propitiate evil spirits and influence unpredictable supernatural forces. The success of the hunt and survival of the people then became

⁸ McGhee, Canadian Arctic Prehistory, p. 71.

more likely. Anxiety was an important stimulus for artistic creativity. Naturalistic representations of bears, falcons, musk-oxen and humans also appear during this period, but human and bear forms with holes in their chests suggest that some of these objects may have been used in religious rituals.¹⁰ Pre-contact Eskimo art may not have been stimulated exclusively by religious ideas although it cannot be denied that religion was a powerful stimulus for art production. It could be argued that a delight in ornamentation, inherent in all humans, is expressed through the decoration of articles. Early decoration, therefore, may not have been dedicated solely to religious purposes.

Thule

The reasons for the disappearance of the Dorset culture circa A.D. 1000 are unclear. Once more the continent experienced a warming trend. The mild winters and ice free summers probably assisted in the eastward movement of large whales from their feeding grounds in the Beaufort Sea. These developments might have pressured the Dorsets into changing their adaptive strategies. Additional stress may have been placed on them by another wave of immigrants who moved into the area from Alaska and may either have displaced, or absorbed, the Dorset. The Thule, as these new arrivals are known, seem to have originated in the Birnik Phase of Alaskan development. The archaeological evidence suggests that Thule culture flourished between A.D. 900 and 1200, during which time these people expanded their area of occupation from north Alaska, eastward across

¹⁰ W Taylor and G Swinton, "Prehistoric Dorset Art." The Beaver Autumn 1967, pp 32-47.

Arctic Canada into Greenland. They spoke *inuktitut*.¹¹ Thule culture brought with it a maritime, hunting technology, developed by the Bering Sea hunters, suitable for the exploitation of whales, walrus and seals. These marine resources were augmented by land mammals and fish from inland lakes and rivers, and were found in enough abundance for the establishment of small, settled communities. For the area under discussion Robert McGhee wrote:

Study of Thule sites indicate the use of permanent houses built with stone slabs, boulders and sod. Whale bones were used to support the roof. Thule villages from the Amundson Gulf coasts, Victoria and Banks Islands have yielded up whale bone, baleen, carved ivory harpoon heads, decorated combs, needlecases, showing incised camp or hunting scenes and toys such as bows, dolls, cooking pots.¹²

The major social unit appears to have been a collection of related peoples who congregated in winter in a village and hunted in smaller groups during the summer. Domed snow houses were used when the people hunted out on the ice, while skin tents were used in summer, at which time mammals were hunted from kayaks, migrating caribou tracked and fish trapped at weirs. Evidence, such as tools containing iron, small chunks of which have been found on the tips of harpoon heads, suggests that the Thule people had already made indirect contact with non-Eskimos.¹³ They

¹¹ McGhee, *op. cit.*, Canadian Arctic Prehistory, pp. 83-102.

¹² Robert McGhee, Copper Eskimo Prehistory (Ottawa: National Museum of Man. Publications in Archaeology, No. 2, 1972), p. 130

¹³ R.G. Condon, Inuit Behaviour and Seasonal Change in the Canadian Arctic (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 71

appear to have developed a trading network among themselves and either directly or indirectly, with Europeans.

In contrast to the well developed decoration of religious artifacts of the Dorset, those of the Thule lack embellishment. Representational carvings were now rare and shapes were limited to a few standardized forms. Most frequently found are small, simple, silhouette figures, mostly female with uncarved faces. The female torso is also found in bird-shaped figures made of ivory. Utilitarian objects, usually used by women, such as combs, needlecases and pendants are embellished with engraved lines. The development of the bow drill during this period enabled the carver to create patterns of circles. Flowing compositions of dots, hatch marks and motifs in the shape of a 'Y' were applied as surface decoration on the smoothly rounded forms.¹⁴

Between A.D. 1200 and 1500 the Canadian Arctic experienced a cooling trend. Such climatic deterioration also caused a change in available resources. Winters became longer and the sea ice expanded southward, preventing whales from getting to their feeding grounds. The Thule hunter, thus, was forced to make significant adaptations to a deteriorating environment in order to avoid starvation and possible extinction. The settled Thule communities were broken up and, in response

¹⁴ Robert McGhee, "Material as Metaphor in Prehistoric Art." Inuit Art Quarterly. Summer, 1988, pp. 9-11.

to the stress of a changed environment, the Eskimos returned to a migratory existence. Without the whales in the Amundsen Gulf the Thule of Victoria Island had to hunt caribou and fish in winter for survival.¹⁵ Such change in the environment and adaptation of the Eskimos to physical realities must have influenced their social organization and forced cultural readjustment upon them. R.G. Condon described possible changes that could have been experienced by the Copper Eskimos. He suggested:

Cultural adjustments to these climatic changes included the abandonment of the kayak and umiak as hunting instruments and an increased reliance upon breathing-hole sealing. Also, spring and autumn sealing on the ice must have become more important as caribou herds diminished. Winter coastal settlements were replaced by snowhouse settlements on the ocean ice, where breathing-hole sealing could be carried out more effectively.¹⁶

The Thule period illustrates some of the ways in which a group of people experienced stress from a changing climatic environment and the coping mechanisms they adopted to deal with the reality of current situations. A sedentary life based on the hunting of large mammals was supplanted by a migratory existence, which relied on caribou hunting, fishing and hunting of ringed seal at its breathing hole. Small bands of hunters travelled the land in summer and autumn, fishing, hunting caribou

¹⁵ McGhee, Copper Eskimo Prehistory, p. 101.

¹⁶ Condon, p. 27.

and musk-oxen. Early winter was a time for gathering at coastal locations. The people of the winter snowhouse villages were totally dependent on seals.

It was during the decline of the sedentary Thule culture and enforced adaptation to a mixed economy that the Eskimo made direct contact with Europeans. These newcomers believed this migratory life they encountered was an ancient cultural pattern and not a recent adaptation to a changing environment. Robert McGhee suggested a preferable way of looking at Eskimo history. He wrote:

Inuit culture may be better understood by not looking on it as a relic of an archaic and primitive way of life. Rather, it should be seen as the result of recent attempt to maintain the basic elements of a rich and sophisticated culture that could no longer be supported by the deteriorating arctic environment of the past three hundred years.¹⁷

The peopling of the Arctic has been characterized by several successive waves of hunters who moved into the area and spread eastward across the land. Once established these peoples had to adapt to changing physical conditions. Pre-Dorset and Dorset peoples adapted to the rich coastal resources which afforded them a migratory existence. The Dorset were faced with a later wave of immigrants who brought with them a

¹⁷ McGhee, p. 118

superior adaptive technology. The Thule experienced a more secure food supply and were able to develop permanent settlements. Events which took place, however, towards the end of the Thule florescence, forced them to return to an unsettled lifestyle. This social change was accompanied by a decline in art production. Robert McGhee has hypothesized that with the deterioration of the environment the Eskimos were forced to adopt a migratory lifestyle. Hunting and settlement patterns appear that were familiar to the first explorers to meet the Eskimos. This decline in whaling and the disappearance of the settled winter communities seem to have been accompanied by a decline in the decoration of tools and other artistic activity.¹⁸ The first reports of European explorers and adventurers, of a series of peoples who adapted to specific locations with particular resources, can be attributed to the break up of the Thule culture and to local responses as people adjusted to a changing environment.

Inuit

The earliest inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic may not have been destined to become the ancestors of the Inuit. While some archaeologists may not agree with him, McGhee has argued that today's northern inhabitants are descended from the Thule who had spread eastwards from Alaska within the last 1,000 years. The connections between the Inuit and previous inhabitants were described by him this way:

¹⁸ Robert McGhee, "Material as Metaphor in Prehistoric Inuit Art", p. 9.

Both the genetic and cultural heritage of the Inuit is firmly based in that of the Thule people, a population and a way of life that originated in Alaska and was transferred to arctic Canada by a rapid expansion of population about A.D. 1000. It is this recent population expansion and migration that accounts for the genetic uniformity of modern Inuit and for the similarity of all *inuktitut* dialects spoken between Greenland and the Bering Strait.¹⁹

Although similarities appeared among the various peoples that inhabited the Canadian Arctic, sufficient differences occurred to enable the first explorers to identify specific populations. The inhabitants of Victoria Island were closely associated with groups found on the mainland around the Coppermine River area and were thus included as Copper Eskimos.²⁰ These people obtained a precarious living from the environment by operating in small, isolated hunting groups, moving as food needs dictated. They lived in flexible groups and moved frequently. The seasonal availability of food necessitated travelling inland in spring to hunt the migrating caribou. In winter sealing was a communal activity and the abundance of seals in the area made it possible for the hunters to congregate in large groups and secure enough food to satisfy their needs.

¹⁹ McGhee, Canadian Arctic Prehistory, p. 103.

²⁰ K. Rasmussen, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924 The Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimo. Vol. IX. (Copenhagen: Gyldenalske Boghandel, Nordisforlag), 1932. This work remains one of the definitive publications on the Copper Eskimos.

This was the time of greatest social interaction. These groups did not appear to have a chief but usually one man carried more authority than the others. They directed their social organization towards the continued existence of the group. As Robert McGhee wrote:

The social organization of the Copper Eskimo may be interpreted as the product of the same set of influences that are apparent from the examination of the material culture: a Thule base, altered through adaptation to a deteriorating environment, modified by continuing impulses from neighbouring groups, and finally showing a few changes which may be the result of impinging European influence during the 19th century.²¹

The first white explorer to make contact with the Copper Eskimos was Samuel Hearne. With a large group of Indian companions, he descended the Coppermine River in search of copper deposits in 1771. Contact between Hearne's Chipewyan guides and a party of Inuit camped on the river resulted in the extermination of the latter. To this day this area is known as Bloody Falls. When these copper reserves were found to occur in insufficient quantities for economic exploitation, interest in continued exploration of this part of the north dwindled. Forty-eight years later, in 1819, Sir John Franklin also explored the Coppermine river area. In 1846, while searching for a northwest passage, Franklin's ships, the Erebus and Terror, became locked in the winter ice. Franklin perished that same year

²¹ McGhee, Copper Eskimo Prehistory, p. 127.

and his crew disappeared during an attempted overland escape. This malnourished group of sailors perished somewhere along the coasts of King William Island and the Adelaide Peninsula.²² This ill-fated expedition was the object of several rescue missions and between 1820 and 1853, a number of search expeditions were mounted in the western arctic. At this time, the Arctic coastline from the Mackenzie River Delta to the Coppermine River was mapped.

Victoria Island was first sighted by white explorers in August 1826 from Cape Bexley, by Dr. Richardson's section of the 1825 Franklin Expedition. It was then given the name Wollaston Land. By this time, the Hudson's Bay Company was established on the mainland and in 1839 one of its employees, Thomas Simpson, became the first white man to visit Victoria Island. His route took him across the ice from Queen Maud Gulf and followed the coast along Dease Strait.²³ The coasts of the island were visited by Commander McClure and Sir Richard Collinson between 1850 and 1852 while searching for the lost Franklin Expedition. McGhee reported that during this period, people from the Kuptana site met a sled party from the Enterprise on the ice of Prince Albert Sound.²⁴ McClure overwintered in the Prince of Wales Strait, which separates Banks Island

²² Arctic Coast Tourist Association, Northwest Passage Historical Park (Yellowknife: Outcrop Publishers, no date), p. 10.

²³ Indian and Northern Affairs, Holman Island. (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, no date), p. 9

²⁴ McGhee, Copper Eskimo Prehistory, p. 130.

to the northwest and the northwest corner of Victoria Island. Collinson overwintered, 1851 to 1852, in Walker Bay, also in the northwest section of Victoria Island and explored Minto Inlet and the Prince Albert Sound in the summer of 1852. These two expeditions charted the coastline of Victoria Island from Prince Albert Sound in the west around to Wynniat Bay in the northern, central part of the island. They also documented the first contacts made between white explorers and the local Copper Eskimos, who referred to themselves as *Kanghiryuarmiut*, the people of the big sound. Statements made by these people suggested that a number of Copper Eskimos from the Minto Sound area had died in their lifetime, possibly from diseases contacted from the seamen.²⁵ From 1852 until the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913 to 1918, little contact was made between the Copper Eskimos and other peoples.

Because Victoria Island was too far east for the whales and whalers of the Beaufort Sea to penetrate, whaling did not take on the significance it had either for western communities or for the Eskimos of the Baffin Island Arctic region. Marine mammals, in particular the ringed seal, were important to the hunters of this area. The abundant sea life enabled the Copper Eskimos to develop a rich cultural existence. This early period of association between the Eskimos and white explorers is characterized by a lack of intense, direct contact. Outside influence was just beginning to be felt. Trading took place and exchange networks expanded. The Eskimos already exchanged available goods among themselves. For example, Copper

²⁵ Condon, p 31

Eskimos from the Victoria Island area were known to travel great distances to obtain wood, which was crucial for the operation of their sleds and was not available in their treeless environment. European metal goods, especially knives and files were much sought after and large distances were travelled to secure them.²⁶

Even in the early days of contact, the Eskimos were receptive to innovative European technology and were quick to appreciate the possibilities afforded by these new tools for a more efficient resource exploitation. McGhee has suggested that the knowledge of European metal stimulated the Eskimos to make use of local copper deposits and that much of the material culture ascribed to the Copper Eskimos may have developed because of European influences.²⁷ During the twentieth century, contact became more direct as the lands of the Copper Eskimos sustained further exploration. Between 1905 and 1906, Charles Jorgensen Klengenber, a Danish trapper and trader, anchored his ship the Olga off southwest Victoria Island and encouraged the Eskimos to trap foxes, not an indigenous pursuit, to exchange for European goods.²⁸ He did not record any information on the local inhabitants. While carrying out biological and ethnographic duties assigned to the 1913-1918 Canadian Arctic Expedition, Vilheljmur Stefansson, Arctic explorer and ethnographer, travelled to the head of Prince Albert Sound and explored the

²⁶ *ibid.*, p 28.

²⁷ McGhee, p 130

²⁸ Condon, p 29.

Wollaston Peninsula.²⁹ With movement from one group to another by individuals it was difficult to ascertain accurate population figures. He did report the existence of two groups of Eskimos living on the island, each comprising one hundred and fifty members. These people hunted on Banks Island in winter, and in summer, moved inland to hunt the local Peary caribou. They also journeyed to King William Island and to the Back River area to trade.³⁰ Stefansson crossed Wollaston Peninsula from the south to the west, as far as the head of Prince Albert Sound on its south shore. From 1914 to 1916 the southern section of the Canadian Arctic Expedition carried out studies in the biology, geology and ethnology of the Coronation gulf area. The subsequent report produced by Diamond Jenness remains one of the definitive works on the traditional culture of the Copper Eskimos.³¹

The first sustained contact between the Copper Eskimos and non-indigenous peoples began in 1905 with the establishment of a Hudson's Bay trading post at Bernard Harbour, near the mouth of the Coppermine River. In 1923 a post was opened at Alavervik (Fort Brabant), on the north shore of Prince Albert Sound, eighteen miles east of the present site of the community of Holman. This post was abandoned in 1928 and the people moved to Fort Collinson, north of Minto Inlet on Walker Bay. It was

²⁹ Indian and Northern Affairs, Holman. (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, no date), p. 9.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ D. Jenness, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1916 Vol. XVI: Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo, (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1928). Although trading eastwards did exist before contact with Europeans, McGhee has suggested that westward trading had been started by Stefansson. McGhee, Copper Eskimo Prehistory, p. 130.

relocated once more in 1939 to King's Bay.³²

During the early twentieth century a decline in local caribou populations, coupled with increased dependence on trapping to produce the furs for exchange into the cash necessary to support an increasing dependency on supplies from the trading post, made the continuation of a traditional lifestyle impossible. Social organization had to be altered. Traditionally, large groups which had clustered at breathing holes for communal seal hunting had to be split up into isolated family units to work the winter trapline. Social gatherings were now directed by the trapping calendar and became concentrated on the European Christmas and Easter festivities, held at the trading post. The focussing of skills on the fur trade activities also meant a decline in the use of other traditional hunting technology. The people of the north became more and more dependent on the provisions obtainable at the trading post.

In 1939 the Catholic church established a mission in the area, under the care of Father Bruillard, who had already served in the Coppermine River area. Both Copper Eskimos and families from the Mackenzie River Delta area began to move into the settlement. The fledgling community was named after the most prominent geographical feature in the area, Holman Island. This name is often used when referring to the community which should more accurately be called Holman. The small settlement was visited by a shore party from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police patrol ship the St. Roch, in 1940. Captained by Henry Larsen, this ship was the

³² Condon, p. 29.

first to complete the northwest passage from west to east and from east to west between 1940 and 1941.³³

With the 1962 closure of the Hudson's Bay post at Reed Island, the population of Holman increased. This post had been served by one of the most productive fox areas on the island. Traplines had stretched along the coast, overland to Byron Bay and to Prince Albert Sound. With the decline of fur trapping as a viable economic venture, the people moved to the community of Holman. The early twentieth century Inuit hunters, although accustomed to the unpredictable habits of animals while following a traditional hunting lifestyle, were now faced with fluctuating international fur markets.

Further outside influences appeared in 1962 with the establishment of an Anglican church. At this time the Federal government began to take an active role in developments in northern communities and provided funding for a school, subsidized housing and a nursing station. Some jobs became available for local residents and more people were attracted into the community. During this period of intermittent contact, objects of art were made for barter and their creation changed from having religious overtones to becoming secular objects for exchange purposes. In exchange for small carvings, either replicas of traditional objects such as dog teams or local animals, copies of non-indigenous goods such as cribbage boards, salt and pepper shakers and guns, carved in ivory,³⁴ the Eskimos

³³ ibid.

³⁴ Observation of the Historic Collection of Inuit Art, Department of Ethnology, The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

were able to secure European trade goods. Within one generation the Inuit of Victoria Island have changed from a migratory hunting, subsistence, existence, wrested from the land, to a lifestyle dominated by a wage economy and the modern settlement. The stimulus for the production of art objects changed from having a individual purpose for the propitiation of the spirits to the making of objects for exchange purposes.

The present community of Holman nestles on the shores of Queen's Bay and King's Bay, inlets on the Amundsen Gulf, on the Diamond Jenness peninsula of the west coast of Victoria Island.³⁵ Situated at a latitude of $70^{\circ} 43'$ north and a longitude of $117^{\circ} 43'$ west, the community is approximately three hundred and twenty miles north of the Arctic Circle, two hundred miles north of Coppermine, the closest mainland settlement, and two hundred and seventy miles north of the tree line. This places it in an area of continuous permafrost. The Amundsen Gulf to the south, Prince Albert Sound to the east and Minto Inlet to the north are the three most important bodies of water for the community. All provide a rich habitat for sea mammals and are especially abundant in ringed seal. Inland lakes provide excellent fresh water fishing and lake trout are caught mainly through the ice. In spring and fall Arctic char are trapped in the rivers following their seasonal migrations.

The census taken in June 1981 showed the population of Holman to be

³⁵ Government of the Northwest Territories, NWT Data Book 84/85. (Yellowknife: Outcrop Publishers, 1978). Indian and Northern Affairs, Holman. (Ottawa, no date).

around three hundred, forty-eight percent of which is male and fifty-two percent female. Ninety-two percent of the inhabitants are Inuit, while the remaining eight percent are made up of transient workers from the south. Languages spoken are Inuktitut and English. Twelve percent of the population are under the age of four, twenty-seven percent between five and fourteen. Sixty percent of residents are between fifteen and sixty-four while one percent are age sixty-five and over. The community received hamlet status in 1984. Local affairs are looked after by the community council. Major activities include printmaking, trapping, sealing, hunting and fishing. Some employment is offered away from the community, at oil and gas exploration sites in the western arctic. The Inuit name for the settlement is *LILIQSAQTULIQ*, which translates as "the place of the flat stones suitable for making ulu blades."³⁶

Throughout their history the people of Victoria Island have had to make substantial cultural adjustments. At first they had to adapt to changing climatic conditions and available resources. More recently they have been affected by changing economic opportunities which occurred as a result of contact with people from another cultural population. Decorated objects exist from times far back into history, the function of which has changed over time, in response to the stresses placed on the people.

³⁶ Arctic Coast Tourist Association, Holman. (Cambridge Bay: Arctic Coast Tourist Association, 1978).

Part 2

Images as Aesthetic Expression ³⁷

A 1 Development of Printmaking in Holman

During the first half of the twentieth century on Victoria Island, sporadic contact with European explorers gave way to sustained contact with trappers and traders leading to the introduction of a monetary economy. White fox trapping became an important source of income for the residents of Holman. With a decline in world fur markets in the 1950s, this source of cash soon disappeared and it became necessary for the inhabitants of the community to find other sources of income. ³⁸ From the start, printmaking has been closely associated with socio-cultural developments in the community. An experimental program to develop arts and crafts was begun in 1960 by Father Henri Tardy, an Oblate missionary who had come to Holman in 1948 from Viviers, France. In describing the beginnings of his project he wrote that:

The Holman co-operative is living proof that necessity is the mother of invention. We had to keep body and soul together. White fox prices were very low, sealskin had no commercial

³⁷ "Aesthetic" is used here in the dictionary sense of belonging to the appreciation of beauty.

³⁸ Written communication, summer and fall 1989.

value and caribou were few and far between.³⁹

The first sealskin mats produced by members of the co-operative were marketed by Father Tardy on trips outside of the community. These early pieces, however, required reworking as the skins turned yellow after a short time. He explained:

So I realized we had to do something; we ought to tan the skins. However we needed money to do it. Someone talked about a co-op and said if you formed a co-op you could borrow money. So six of us put ten dollars in. On sixty dollars we could not go far but we borrowed from the Eskimo Land Fund. We borrowed \$3,000.00. I remember thinking that it was an awful lot of money, how could we pay it back. But we sent a few first skins to be done and then some mats and within the next two years we were able to pay it back. That was really how it started.⁴⁰

In 1961 when Father Tardy was in Fort Smith, he saw an early print from Cape Dorset, hanging on a wall in the house of the administrator.⁴¹ The economic potential of such an activity for his

³⁹ Father Henri Tardy, Holman 1983. (Holman: Holman Co-operative, 1983), Introduction, no page number. Father Tardy recently reiterated the importance of printmaking to the community as a source of ready cash, so essential for life in the developing settlement. Personal written communication, summer and fall 1989.

⁴⁰ D. Snowden and M. Sparling, Interview with Father Tardy, Holman Island, N.W.T. (Hull: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), first page.

⁴¹ In 1958 James Houston introduced the Japanese learn work method of woodblock printing to artists in Cape Dorset. The community produced its first collection in 1958. For a comprehensive record of printmaking in the Canadian Arctic, see Odette Leroux, "Three Decades of Inuit Printmaking. Evolution and Artistic Trends." In The Shadow of the Sun. Unpublished manuscript, 1988. The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

community struck him. He was also captivated by the power of the image. He realized, "That is our people! I saw in this print the way our people tell our stories, their mimicry, expressions, simplicity and strength."⁴² After his return to Holman he urged two or three of the older boys to try to print designs using a sealskin stencil. First they removed the hair from a piece of sealskin with a razor. Then they cut out a design with a knife and produced their first print on ordinary paper.⁴³ The results of these first experiments were not encouraging. Father Tardy reported that the boys didn't care for this type of work. They got tired of it, and went off to hunt.

During the winter months, when storms prevented the men from going out hunting, Father Tardy resumed printing experiments with some of the older hunters. These efforts met with more success and some of the prints were taken to Yellowknife by him and sold. On his return to the community Father Tardy ordered rice paper and ink. The ink was so precious that it was diluted to produce as many works as possible from the limited supply. In 1963 a small collection was sent to the Canadian Eskimo Arts Committee, later renamed the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, for approval.⁴⁴ These works had been printed using waxed paper instead of sealskin as stencils, because sealskin had proved unsatisfactory as a stencil medium. Father Tardy explained how they were produced:

⁴² Written communication, summer and fall 1989.

⁴³ Helen Burgess, Eskimo Art from Holman. (Hull: Indian and Northern Affairs, no date), p. 14.

⁴⁴ For further information on the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council see, "Printmaking in the North and the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council," About Arts and Crafts. Vol. 11, No. 1, 1980, p. 30.

We asked one man to do the collection. I was going outside which didn't happen very often and we agreed that it was our only chance to bring the collection south. We had very little time so I asked Alex Banksland to do all the printing himself. We couldn't be too particular about the drawings we took, we had only a few. Alex worked night and day to do the collection. He did a few of the drawings and all of the printing himself. We played with the colour and colour variations.⁴⁵

Not one of the works was accepted by the Arts Committee for reproduction. The reasons for rejection are unclear but it would appear that the jury believed them to contain too much non-Inuit influence. Father Tardy expressed puzzlement at the committee's decision. He recalled that his only input was the suggestion to use a stencil, screen and toothbrush for printing.⁴⁶ He explained that:

This first collection was criticized because the south was a strong influence. --- they said there was a strong influence in the drawings. I wondered why. -- I never had anything to do with it. I asked Alex to do it. Alex is an Eskimo and an artist and he did them himself. I tried to explain to the Eskimo Arts Council that I had nothing to do with it; I'm not an artist.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Snowden and Sparling, second page. Alex Banksland is now known as Peter Aliknak, see Biographies, p.132.

⁴⁶ Written communication with Father Tardy, summer and fall, 1989.

⁴⁷ Snowden and Sparling, second page.

Father Tardy also expressed his feelings of inadequacy in leading this program. He said:

It was not my fault; I tried to defend the work but I have not the training or the knowledge of an artist. I was not qualified to help. But I was ashamed to ask the people to keep on trying. I asked the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to send a technical adviser and because the work had shown great promise their request was granted.⁴⁸

In 1963 Barry Coomber, a graduate of the Ontario College of Art, went to Holman as its first art advisor. He was to remain there for over eight years and gradually established quality print production. His role was to advise, not influence. To minimize the possible effect of this person, for some years the co-operative purchased each drawing brought to it for a standard price. No comments were made on the quality of the drawings but interest was shown in the content, whether it illustrated a story or described an event.⁴⁹

Sealskin proved to be unsatisfactory as a printing medium and the first move towards a solution to the printing problem was the introduction of the stonecut printing technique. A source of local limestone was

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Father Tardy continues to express regret and puzzlement at the decision of the Arts Committee. He thought that one of the reasons for the rejection of the prints was that they did not look like the black and white model from Cape Dorset. Written communication, summer and fall, 1989.

⁴⁹ Written communication with Father Tardy, summer and fall, 1989.

located at Fish Bay, sixty miles north of Minto Sound.⁵⁰ Large blocks of this stone were quarried, brought to the community by boat and filed to a smooth, flat surface eminently suitable for receiving the drawing. The image was then cut in relief and subsequently printed. Barry Coomber also instructed the members of the print shop in the cutting technique and brought to the workers a satisfactory printing ink.

Drawings suitable for printing were provided by the people of Holman. Some contributors produced but a few works, while others such as Helen Kalvak, Mark Emerak, Agnes Nanogak and Peter Aliknak became important sources of many drawings. Father Tardy encouraged Helen Kalvak to draw after he noticed her ability when measuring him for a parka he was commissioning. He remembered:

I asked her to make me a parka. Usually they just look at you to size you up but this time she said she wanted to take some measurements. She took a pencil and drew the shape of a parka. I was really struck. You could feel the power of the lines. I asked her if she had ever drawn; she said not really, perhaps a little when she was young. So I said, 'let's try something.' She did a drawing, a shamanic seal. I was interested in using the story of the seal to establish a way of communicating with her and to allow me to practice the language.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Indian and Northern Affairs, Holman. (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, no date), p. 9. Other Inuit printmaking communities use sealife for printing blocks.

⁵¹ Snowden and Sparling, third page.

A collection of prints from early drawings was produced and sent to the Eskimo Arts Committee for approval in 1965.⁵² Thirty of the submitted examples were approved for production and sale. These first, sanctioned prints were put on exhibition at the New Brunswick Beaverbrook Museum.⁵³ The show was an immediate financial success. This prompted the co-operative to establish monetary policies which they did in this manner, explained by Father Tardy:

All profits from the sale of prints go to members of the Co-operative either in dividends or share capital. This profit-sharing is based on the fact that Eskimo art is considered as much, if not more, the property of the community as a whole rather than that of the artist himself. --- No printer works outside the Co-operative. --- The artist has free access to all art materials and equipment at the Co-operative. His drawing is purchased by the Co-operative which then assumed ownership. By verbal agreement, the artist receives a fixed sum of money if his drawing is used to produce prints, and forty percent of the sale price if one of his drawings is sold.⁵⁴

⁵² A large collection of drawings has been gathered since 1962. Helen Kalvak and Agnes Nanogak have produced over 1,500 each. Apart from providing a base from which images to be printed can be selected, it provides an important historical repository of information of a life that has almost completely disappeared. In 1978 John Rose, the art advisor, began to catalogue this collection, which is stored in locked, fireproof storage cupboards in Holman. Mary Sparling, Report To Canadian Eskimo Arts Council Print Shop, Holman Island Eskimo Co-operative, Holman Island, N.W.T. (Hull: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978). Slides of the drawings of Helen Kalvak, Mark Emerak and Agnes Nanogak form part of the slide collection of the Inuit Section of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Hull.

⁵³ Burgess, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Father Henri Tardy, General Questionnaire. (Hull: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1977), p. 2.

These words emphasize the view of the Arts Council who believed that printmaking was a communal activity. Each year since 1965, with the exceptions of 1971, 1978, and 1975/76 and 80/81, when a combined collection of limited edition prints was pulled, an annual collection of prints has been produced. As the program developed, new techniques were introduced. Lithography was begun in 1977 and stencil printing in the following year. In 1984 the first woodcuts were introduced to Holman production.⁵⁵

The co-operative endeavours began to bring some economic assistance to the people of Holman. To Father Tardy it also provided the opportunity to bring the population together, people who had been divided by geographic origin and, more recently, religious belief. He reasoned how this situation had arisen and explained:

..... that was not the fault of the missionaries but just circumstances that people were divided between Anglican and Roman Catholic. I felt that working together was a way to bring back the old community. We started by doing projects and sealskins and little things. We found that the community, the people responded, regardless of their religious or dialect group. Silk-screening was what developed the co-op at the beginning. So after two years we found a great difference in the community; people working together and no longer falling into these divisions.⁵⁶

Once the program had begun, the printshop came under the influence of the

⁵⁵ Holman 1984.

⁵⁶ Snowden and Sparling, first page.

Canadian Eskimo Arts Committee. This group was formed when the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, in Cape Dorset, felt they needed help in the production and marketing of their new product. The first advisory group, set up by Indian and Northern Affairs, was known as the Canadian Eskimo Arts Committee, a body whose mandate was to advise the Department on all aspects of Inuit art. Its immediate concern was the production of an orderly flow of limited edition, high quality prints for southern markets. Approved editions were embossed with a seal of approval. The committee also made recommendations to the governing body for funding. Indian and Northern Affairs described the duties thus:

The Eskimo Arts Council is the advisory group which recommends policies and helps initiate projects to assist the federal government, Northwest Territories government, northern co-operatives and other private and public organizations to achieve the orderly development of Eskimo arts and crafts. The council gives advice on such topics as maintaining high standards of quality in arts and crafts, promotion in present and future markets, introduction of new techniques and copyright protection and compensation to Eskimo artists and craftspeople.⁵⁷

To protect this fledgling art form from commercial exploitation the Arts Council seal was affixed to each approved Inuit print as a symbol of authenticity for the collector. The mark indicated that international standards of quality production had been followed, and that Inuit prints

⁵⁷ Indian and Northern Affairs, About Arts and Crafts: Artists; Supplement. Winter 1977, p. 15.

could assume a place in the contemporary art world. The Council acted as an advisory group to the co-operative in matters of copyright in this way, "Council recommends granting the copyright of print images only in cases where this would enhance the general image of Inuit art".⁵⁸ In this way quality control was carefully maintained from the outset of production.

The council also helped Inuit artists participate in workshops, such as the one held at York University, Toronto in April 1980 where several Holman artists experimented with different media.⁵⁹ The council was concerned with the correct use of appropriate materials. For example BFK and Arches paper were recommended for use because these brands were not treated with acid during production. Over time, these papers would not discolour or become brittle as other brands were known to do. Other concerns included prevention of the growth of mold, proper storage facilities, protection from ultraviolet rays and framing. In establishing a system applicable to the production of Holman prints, suitable for inclusion in the contemporary western art world, and to foster and promote printmaking, the Council established the printing of a companion, annual catalogue. As well as being an important source of documentation, these catalogues are a guarantee to the collector of the authenticity of a work. If a reproduction of a work does not appear in the catalogue, then it is not a genuine Inuit print.

⁵⁸ Indian and Northern Affairs, About Arts and Crafts: News for Inuit Artists, Vol. 1V, No. 1, 1980, p. 30.

⁵⁹ ibid., pp.2-31.

Prints from the community of Holman carry the seal of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, the artists' name, (in later works the name of the printer has begun to be included), the number in the series, the techniques of production and the title of the work. The syllabics of the Council seal translates to, "It is alright [sic] or genuine." ⁶⁰ The Holman co-operative uses the symbol of the Ulu, the woman's knife, as its mark of identification. It "appears either in black on white background or white on black background and is sometimes blind-embossed." ⁶¹ The Council recommended technical advisors to help the Inuit artists. It was at the Council's discretion that Barry Coomber went to Holman to provide the expertise necessary for the successful development of a printing program. The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council also reviewed print collections and made suggestions as to what and how images were to be produced. Communication between the Council and the co-operatives was very important. At a conference in Ottawa in 1978 the Council stated its policy as follows:

The Eskimo Art Market sees a collection for the first time as a "collection" and not as individual works by individual artists. The first visual impact of a collection is of great importance. It should be a cohesive body of work. ⁶²

⁶⁰ ibid., p. 35.

⁶¹ Indian and Northern Affairs, About Arts and Crafts: Artists' Supplement. Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 1978), p. 23.

⁶² ibid.

Lack of understanding between the co-operatives and the council is evident throughout the Holman printmaking project. As already stated, in the early days Father Tardy expressed puzzlement at some of the decisions. Artists and printers also felt confused at some of the decisions made on their behalf. To clarify its views with the community printmaking shops, the Council also redefined its concept of a rejected or withheld print, for co-operative members:

A rejected print is not considered to be up to the general standard (technically and esthetically) of the co-op, and if released would damage the collection and the market for Inuit prints as a whole and seriously impair the reputation of the co-op and the artist. The council advised the co-operative not to market a rejected print.

A withheld print is almost always a print which does not fit into one work cohesively for the entire collection, i.e. a print by a well known artist which does not live up to the artist's established reputation. However this particular print could be important historically within a collection of the artist's work. (One man collection.)

i.e. a print that is important because of its theme, but within a given collection it causes the collection to be uneven and detracts from the body of the work.

Withheld prints may be considered for the future submission to the Council.⁶³

As the program matured, the Inuit reacted more directly to the Council's decisions. In 1987 a portfolio celebrating the work of two recently deceased artists, Helen Kalvak and Mark Emerak, was produced. The

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 25.

Canadian Eskimo Arts Council refused to put their chop on the publication. The co-operative went ahead, however, and issued the edition with only the symbol of the of the Holman Eskimo Co-operative appearing on the works. Since that time two collections have been published without the seal of the Arts Council. This move is significant in that it shows a willingness of the co-operative members to make their own decisions.

Recent dissatisfaction with previous production and marketing strategies has been expressed by members of the print shop through their current co-operative manager, Gordon Peters. In clarifying developments between the shop and the Arts Council, he explained:

It should be made clear that the Holman Eskimo Co-op is not mounting an offensive against the CEAC. Holman has simply withdrawn from using one of the services provided by the Council, that being the annual jurying process and approval of the co-op's print publications. The artists and printmakers at Holman still support the CEAC's effort in mounting exhibitions, convening conferences, sponsoring competitions, acting as a copyright watchdog and their function as a lobby group active on behalf of Inuit artists and their art-producing co-ops. ---- Participation in the CEAC's programs and services has always been an option. The CEAC is an advisory group; the co-ops are not members. It was only after careful consideration of their options that the artists and printmakers at Holman elected to publish and issue prints outside of the CEAC's jury system. To call Holman's withdrawal from the CEAC jurying a critical challenge is not accurate. By supporting the Council's efforts in their many other programs, Holman is clearly giving an indication that its door remains open.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Gordon Peters, Letter to Editor, Inuit Art Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer 1988, p. 2.

The people involved in printmaking in the community feel that they have developed the confidence, knowledge and technical skill necessary to manage their own programs. However, the people of Holman still feel the distance between themselves and their buyers. Presently, marketing is carried out through Canadian Arctic Producers, the retail outlet of the co-operatives. Gordon Peters wrote, "Outside of the opening of our annual collections, I don't have any contact with them, and the artists and printmakers have even less contact."⁶⁵ This isolation from the purchasing public remains a concern of the Holman printshop. Because it is so dependent for survival on the vagaries of the southern market, it must be knowledgeable of and responsive to events taking place there. Nevertheless, the co-operative enterprise in Holman, of which the printshop is one feature, is thriving. Concerns which face all producers of a commodity which is produced for an exterior culture, continue to be addressed by the workers.⁶⁶

Printmaking in Holman has grown from its desperate beginnings, dependent on assistance from southern advisors who were involved in all aspects of production and distribution, into a distinctive art form. Change has occurred and, it is hoped, will continue to add vitality to Holman collections. In this way the community shop will continue to thrive and produce quality work. The evolution of this endeavour parallels the development and growth of the community. From tentative beginnings both have become well established entities.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Communication with artists and printers, Holman, September 1988.

Part Two

Images as Aesthetic Expression

A 2 Influences on Holman Graphic Art

Printmaking was introduced into Holman as a mature artistic technique. Members of the community adopted this activity, having had no former experience and developed their own northern art form.⁶⁷ People were encouraged to submit drawings to the printshop and stonecutters and printers translated these works into prints. To understand this contemporary flourishing of graphic arts in the community, consideration must be given to earlier cultural and artistic ventures. Sources of ideas and the technical skills necessary for the development and evolution of printmaking in Holman must be sought therefore, in the pre-contact lives of the Eskimos and in developments during the period of sustained contact with European explorers and adventurers. Activities of these times undoubtedly contributed to the success of contemporary printmaking.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The communities of Cape Dorset, Baker Lake, and Pangnirtung in the Northwest Territories and Povungnituk in Arctic Quebec also make prints. Mary Okheena, printshop manager, stated that she knew of the existence of printing activities in other communities but she was not closely familiar with them. Personal communication, Holman, September 1988. Holman prints, therefore, although using a similar technique and produced out of a similar lifestyle as are those works of other communities, can be said to have their own characteristics. Inuit prints in general represent a unique, northern form of expression.

⁶⁸ This point of view is not always presented in the literature. In a revised text of *Three Decades of Inuit Printmaking: Evolution and Artistic Trends, 1958-1988*, unpublished manuscript for In The Shadow of the Sun, Gisella Hoffman wrote, "... their creativity is an innate, natural gift, which was first discovered and nurtured by white men." This comment suggests that no artistic activity took place before contact with non-Inuit. Department of Ethnology, The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

The first important source of stimulation for the printmaking program in Holman may be found in the oral tradition, brought to the community by people from the Copper, Alaskan and Mackenzie River Eskimo traditions.⁶⁹ Within these wandering groups information was transmitted orally and was not anchored in a written tradition. The older artists of Holman can remember a migratory existence on the land, and can recall aspects of a cosmology which had been an essential part of survival in the north. These people had experienced a precarious way of life that was similar to that of their immediate ancestors, in a land whose surface was mostly covered in ice, where the sea was frozen for ten months of each year and where hardship was never very far away. They were forced to adjust to the vagaries of their unpredictable environment, in a harsh and cruel land that granted life grudgingly.

People believed that the universe was populated with spirits, some of which could be placated if rigorous human behaviour was followed.⁷⁰ If taboos were broken by inappropriate human actions, then revenge was taken against the group. The uncertainty of their survival filled the people with dread. Arctic ethnographer Knud Rasmussen recorded some of these fears when he was travelling in the north among the Igloodik. The

⁶⁹ For example, Agnes Nanogak is one of Holman's best loved story tellers. Her family moved to the community from the western arctic, bringing with them stories from Alaska and the Mackenzie River areas. See biographies pp. 131-140.

⁷⁰ As well as hostile human and animal spirits, the arctic universe was inhabited by ghosts, one-eyed giants, dwarves, men without bones and giant bears. Marie Françoise Guédon, Shamans and Spirits: Myths and Medical Symbolism in Eskimo Art, (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Producers Ltd. in association with the National Museum of Man (National Museums of Canada) 1977), foreword.

experiences of the Copper Eskimos may have been similar because of because of parallel developments in their environment .

We fear the weather spirit of the earth, that we must fight against, to wrest our food from land and sea. We fear Sila. We fear Takanakapsalik, the great woman down at the bottom of the sea, that rules over all beasts of the sea. We fear sickness that we meet with daily all around us; not death, but the suffering. We fear the souls of dead human beings and of the animals we have killed.⁷¹

Oral expression externalized individual and communal experiences and helped reduce anxieties and fears. Artistic expression was a medium for the solution of unconscious conflicts. It clarified the complexities of life. It was important, therefore, in the ordering of relations between the Eskimos and their universe.

For humans to occupy an ecological niche in the arctic biome the available resources had to be exploited to their fullest. Within this merciless, spiritual environment the Eskimos survived by developing a hunting technology for use in the endless pursuit of food, shelter, warmth and clothing. This essential activity was fraught with conceptual difficulties that had to be reconciled in their minds. Rasmussen was told by an informant that:

⁷¹ Words of an Igloolik Eskimo, no name given. Knud Rasmussen, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924. The Intellectual Culture of the Igloolik Eskimo. Vol. VII, No. 1., (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordiskforlag, 1929), p. 56.

The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls. All the creatures that we have to kill and eat, all those that we have to strike down and destroy to make clothes for ourselves have souls, souls that do not perish with the body and which must therefore be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking away their bodies.⁷²

The animals appeared only with the approval of *Kannakapfuluk*, the most powerful female sea spirit.⁷³ When she withheld her animals from the hunters, it was the shaman who had to persuade her to release some of her charges, for the benefit of his hungry people. Hunting, therefore, was always associated with rituals and the hunter had to be armed with amulets and the knowledge of taboos, to be offered success. Knowledge of this aspect of the oral tradition was brought to printmaking most effectively by Helen Kalvak, whose father had been a shaman and who had passed on some of his knowledge to his daughter. She favoured topics of a shamanistic nature in her drawings and provided a link with past experiences.

The Eskimo world was filled with unstable spirits and an unpredictable food supply. To survive under such conditions the people had to conform to strict rules and regulations. The verbalization of problems and suggested solutions were part of the oral tradition and changed difficult concepts into a format understood by the people. Stresses on the

⁷² As quoted in Rasmussen, p 56.

⁷³ E. Arima, "A Review of Central Eskimo Mythology," *Eskimo Stories*, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1969), p. 113. She was known as *Takanakapsuluk* to the Igloodik Eskimos.

group structure could be endured, changes dealt with and stability fostered.

Agnes Nanogek brought to printmaking a fund of stories about the relationships among people and between humans and animals. Many of these stories were cautionary in nature and may have acted as reminders to humans of the appropriate behaviour toward each other to ensure the support of the spirits.⁷⁴ Dramatic presentations also formed part of the oral tradition and played an important role in the ordering of Eskimo society. As part of the narrative process, songs were inserted into the performances, string figures were woven to illustrate characters, and faces were used to mimic feelings. Dances were performed at the appropriate time in the proceedings. Scraps of hide were cut into fantastic shapes and used for dramatic effect. Visual illustration, thus, has always been an important element of communication among the Eskimos and has helped them toward a better understanding of their social obligations.⁷⁵

While it can be said that the spiritual world of the Eskimos was peopled with unpredictable spirits, the land was viewed as being supportive of humans.⁷⁶ It was all-important. They lived on it, travelled

⁷⁴ A. Kroeber, "Animal Tales of the Eskimos," Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 12, No. 44, 1899, pp. 17-23. Agnes Nanogek has illustrated and told the stories for two volumes, Tales From The Igloo and More Tales From The Igloo. See The Exhausted Raven, Appendix p. 130, for an example of a short story.

⁷⁵ Rasmussen, p. 47.

⁷⁶ Arima, pp. 118-219. *Arima* the land was to be respected and left undisturbed. This concept was codified in rules of behaviour. *Hila* was the world that stretched endlessly in all directions. The *Aman* was the protector of hunters and lived in the sky land.

over it, and depended on its resources for survival. A second possible source for the development of concepts and skills brought to printmaking may have been the intimate knowledge of, and relationship developed, between the Eskimos and their territory. An indication of their feelings for the land they inhabited was well expressed by ethnologist Eugene Arima. He wrote:

... the land in Inuit mythology was a primary entity as the all encompassing world. Being conceptually environmental it was not prominent traditionally, in direct expression, but sufficient allusions exist to intimate its fundamental importance. Nuna was regarded by the Inuit with admiration and joy for its vastness, beauty and bountifulness, with affection as being their home whether comprising a specific dwelling place or as a group territory, and with humble respect to the extent of being against disturbing it, insofar as disturbances to the land are uncompromisingly viewed as negative behaviour. ⁷⁷

The Eskimos needed to be intimately familiar with their physical environment and had to be fully aware of their location in relation to their food supply at all times because they were dependent on land and sea mammals for survival. From childhood they were trained to acquire and retain environmental information and to communicate territorial knowledge to others when needed. Anthropologist Koj Birket-Smith suggested how this was achieved:

⁷⁷ Eugene Arima, "Views on Land Expressed in Inuit Oral Tradition." Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project: Vol. Two Supporting Studies, (Hull: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976), p. 220.

The basis of Eskimo navigational skills lies within the areas of human response to environmental stimuli. Naming and mapping are the end products of such a reaction. The Arctic landscape provides a plenitude of notable features and those were fixed in the memory by the custom of naming and by mapping.⁷⁸

The naming of landforms and places helped memory retention and when this information was incorporated into songs, they became mnemonic devices and reinforced the visual memory. This was all part of the process of passing on information. Communication of territorial knowledge, within the group and to outsiders, was essential for survival; the oral transmission of information could have been reinforced with images sketched on the ground or in the snow. This mental activity developed, in the Eskimos, outstanding visual and oral memories. Information on animal migration paths, routes to the best fishing or hunting locations, food caches and campsites, or location of trade routes, was absorbed in daily activities, committed to memory and communicated orally.

The sky was an important feature in the Eskimo environment. Representations known as sky maps served the northern hunter as navigational aids. This phenomenon appears when conditions are suitable

⁷⁸ Kaj Birket-Smith, The Eskimos, (London, 1959). Quoted in John Spink and D. W Moodie, "Inuit Maps from the Eastern Arctic," Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project: Vol. Two Supporting Studies, (Hull: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976), p. 43.

for the reflection of ice and water on the underlying surfaces of the clouds. It was observed by Stefansson who recorded that:

When clouds of a uniform colour hang low there is reflected in them a map of the earth below them. Snow-free land and open water are shown in black on the clouds; the pure white sea ice appears in white, and land covered with snow soiled by blown sand, etc. is reflected darker than the sea but lighter than snowless land. This sky map is of the greatest use to sledge travellers, always and especially in crossing wide bays from headland to headland; where the landmarks themselves are below the horizon, their position is accurately indicated by their reflection in the clouds.⁷⁹

When the Eskimos first made contact with European explorers, their ability to record aspects of the environment in images, was noted and made use of by the visitors. While travelling in the north adventurer Kaj Birket-Smith recorded that:

Travelling in their own country they almost unconsciously absorb innumerable impressions which serve to guide them. The white man who is not so accustomed to noticing these small differences in the appearance of a monotonous undulating tundra or the direction of the drift of snow over the ice, seems to be witnessing the functioning of a sixth sense, but can of course train himself to do the same.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ As quoted in Spink and Moodie, "Inuit Maps from the Eastern Arctic," p. 43.

⁸⁰ As quoted in ibid., p. 40.

On contact with Europeans, the making of images took on the additional function of conveying information by the Eskimos to members of a culture distinct from that of their own. Accurate reproductions of topographical features were of importance when maps were produced as navigational aids. While travelling in the north, ethnographer Franz Boas observed the skill of the Eskimos in using images to transmit information. He wrote that:

As their knowledge of all the directions is very detailed and they are skilled draftsmen they can draw very good charts. If a man intends to visit a country little known to him, he has a map drawn in the snow by someone well acquainted there and these maps are so good that every point can be recognized. Their way of drawing is first to mark some points the relative position of which are well known. They like to stand on a hill and to look around in order to place these correctly. This done, the details are inserted. It is remarkable that their ideas of the relative position and direction of coasts far distant one from the other are so very clear.⁸¹

The mobile Eskimos were acutely aware of their environment and used stimuli from their surroundings to aid orientation and navigation. It can be suggested, therefore, that the ability to observe, memorize and later record, geographical information, coupled with spatial awareness, were well developed in pre-contact Eskimo life. After contact they were able to record information on unfamiliar paper and parchment with pencils, ink and charcoal, and pass on information to European explorers.

⁸¹ Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1964), pp. 235-236.

Two-dimensional art in the form of maps became an important feature in communication between peoples of dissimilar languages and cultures. Prints are not maps, but the powers of observation and visual memory, developed in a migratory existence, provided the first generation of artists with skills that could be adopted to the making of drawings and the printing of images for the printshop. Detailed knowledge of the behaviour and characteristics of animals enabled the artist either to capture the essence, or reproduce an appreciable likeness of the creature, on paper. Accurate depictions of people engaged in human activities are retrieved from a well developed visual memory. It can be said, then, that printmaking calls upon the experiences and the skills of observation and visual recall of the migratory Eskimos and that these skills undoubtedly contributed to the success of the program.

A third possible influence on the contemporary print program may be the practice of body decoration. Adornment of the human form directly in the form of tattoos and indirectly through the decoration of skin clothing was practised with considerable skill by the Copper Eskimos before contact. Tattooing held meaning on different levels for these people. When they were communicating with the beings in their universe, body decoration helped to maintain order in cosmic relations by pleasing the spirits. When this practice was associated with other ritual behaviour it assisted in placating the wrath of the souls of the captured animals, and helped to prevent retribution for violation of taboos.⁸² On this level it

⁸² Kristin Rothschild, "Historical Inuit Tattoo Practices. A Preliminary Study," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, 1985, p. iii.

served as a protective mechanism for the group and could be said to function as a bridge between the physical and spiritual worlds. On a regional, human level patterns of tattooing helped indentify the affiliated territory of the wearer, as each region preferred the use of specific symbols. A stranger could be identified as belonging to a specific territory through her facial tattoos. Thus, as part of a larger socialization process, tattooing communicated information about the individual and confirmed her position in the group.

For the Copper Eskimo woman, it was believed that tattooing was helpful during childbirth by lessening the pain of delivery.⁸³ It was also used to enhance her beauty and make her more attractive to a prospective partner. The process used to produce tattooed images required patience and fortitude on the part of the subject. The anticipated results must have warranted such discomfort. On his travels amongst the Copper Eskimos Boas noted that:

The women are in the habit of adorning their faces by tattooing. It is done, when they are about twelve years of age, by passing a needle and thread covered with soot under the skin, or by puncture, the points of the tattooing instrument being rubbed with the same substance in both cases, which is a mixture of the juices of *Fucus* and soot, or with gunpowder, by which process they obtain a blue colour. The face, arms, hands, thighs, and breasts are the parts of the body which are generally tattooed.⁸⁴

⁸³ Rasmussen, p. 269.

⁸⁴ Boas, p. 153.

This process began just before the age of betrothal and was completed after marriage. While some aspects of this practice can be shown to be associated with the Eskimo cosmos, the ordering of human relations through group affiliation, and with the communication of information to other humans, regularity in use of specific motifs in the designs produced, indicates an interest of the people in pattern and design.

In the decoration of outer clothing, the cut of the garment and style of decoration also served as a form of regional identification. Symbolic references existed to the relationships between animals and humans and were manifested in the manner in which colour and texture were juxtaposed in the finished garment.⁸⁵ During his stay with the Copper Eskimos, Rasmussen noted that the women exhibited a well developed interest in the decorative aspects of skin clothing.⁸⁶ Whether the strongest motive for decorating parkas and kamiks was for symbolic considerations or for purposes of social identification, is unclear. Jill Oakes stresses the symbolic importance of decoration. While discussing special costumes worn in a ceremony to welcome visitors to the dance house she wrote that:

..hoodless, short-waisted parkas with long back tails were worn to these dances. A cap made from narrow strips of skins, and stained red with lithage and black with galena (both mineral dyes), was decorated with a loon's beak mounted

⁸⁵ For example, the skin of a young animal would be used to make a parka for a child. For a comprehensive discussion on the symbolic aspects of Inuit skin clothing see Bernadette Driscoll, The Inuit Amautik. I Like My Hood to be Full, (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1981.)

⁸⁶ Rasmussen, p. 269.

on the peak. Lemming tails were sewn to the parka and used as amulets to provide protection from spirits. When a new friendship was formed, two strips of white-haired caribou were tied to the new friend's right shoulder.⁸⁷

Bounded by symbolic restrictions and regional preferences in style, it would appear that the seamstresses had little freedom to indulge in personal preferences as to the style and decoration of the garment. This does not suggest that the overall artistic effect was not important. When new materials such as coloured beads were introduced, the seamstresses were quick to incorporate these into their vocabulary. Beads and imported fabrics gave them the opportunity to experiment with a wider range of colours and because these non-indigenous materials carried no social taboos with them,⁸⁸ they opened up opportunities for the exploration of colour and design, not previously available to them. Jill Oakes explained how new ideas can be adapted to previous practices:

In recent times Kenmek, wife of Danish explorer Charles Klengenber, introduced a clothing style which she had learned from the Inupiat family in Point Hope, Alaska. This garment consisted of an inner and outer parka. The inner lining consisted of a long A-line garment made from caribou skin. The outer shell is made from a brightly coloured, imported fabric with an outer parka of caribou skins, which was decorated with wolverine tassels, differently coloured and textured skin.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Jill Oakes, 'Northern Charms,' *Inuktitut*, Spring 1987, p. 60.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

These 'Mother Hubbard' parkas are a favourite form of outerwear in Holman today.⁹⁰

Contact with Europeans brought new material to the Copper Eskimos which they adopted into their well developed indigenous traditions. At this stage of contact between Europeans and Eskimos the success of adoption of non-indigenous materials into an existing social structure without disruption of that culture could be viewed as an accommodation to the effects of intermittent contact. In the early days of contact, thus, a precedent was set for developments in printmaking in the settled community, where, once more, introduced materials and new printing techniques are adopted into a particular social structure. This activity then becomes an integral part of an evolving culture.

Another activity which may have influenced contemporary printmaking is the engraving of tools. While body decoration was mainly a female occupation and most likely it was the hunter who decorated his tools, engraving pictures of men and animals, hunting scenes, domestic activities and geometric patterns, on pieces of bone and ivory, was not gender specific. Constructing tools from available materials developed ingenuity in the hunter and the manufacture of hunting equipment required considerable fine motor coordination. In their day to day task of providing clothing, women also developed a high degree of proficiency with their

⁹⁰ Personal observation, Holman, September 1988.

hands. These technical skills did not disappear rapidly with the Eskimos but were brought into the settlement where they were put to a different use in the printshop.

On his travels in the north, noted anthropologist Diamond Jenness was impressed with the ability of the Eskimos to engrave pictures on bone and ivory using only flakes of flint or tiny, treasured pieces of iron obtained through trade.⁹¹ He recorded that:

They were perhaps the most skilful of all Canadian aborigines in chipping glassy stones like flint and quartz into arrow and spear-heads, knife blades, saws, drills, and skin scrapers. ... It was in working antler, bone, and particularly, ivory, however that the Eskimo most excelled. Arctic explorers have been astonished at the variety of articles they manufactured from these materials. The majority, it is true, were small, but they were made with great care and skill and in most cases served some useful purpose.

.... But we cannot help admiring their resourcefulness in equipping themselves with so many serviceable articles from extremely limited means, and we marvel that a people subjected to all the hardships and uncertainties of life in the Arctic should foster a genuine love of art and display high talents in sculpture and engraving.⁹²

This artistic talent observed by Jenness, already in existence before contact, was further stimulated by meeting with outsiders who brought with them paper, pencils and even watercolours.⁹³ He suggested a close

⁹¹ Diamond Jenness, "Eskimo Art," The Geographical Review Vol. XII, No. 2, April 1922, p. 161

⁹² Ibid., pp. 174, 415.

⁹³ Lord Tweedsmuir presented Peter Pitseolak of Cape Dorset with a set of watercolours and a painting notebook in 1938. The completed portfolio of watercolours is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull. Information taken from the files of the Inuit Art department of the Ethnology division, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

correlation between engraved work on bone and antler and the Inuit's ability to draw with pencils on paper. He recorded the enthusiasm that the Eskimos showed when introduced to the new materials. He wrote that:

The use of pencil and paper is of course quite modern, but it is merely an improvement on the old Eskimo custom of using native graphite for drawing on wood and skin. The ease and freedom of a pencil, however, has made these paper sketches a popular pastime, and amateur artists are everywhere recording their impressions and adventures in notebooks, on the margins of old magazines, and on any scrap of old paper that they can find.

.... In fact, wherever you wander, if you give a notebook and pencil to an Eskimo, whether he can write or not, he is almost certain to fill the book with drawings of men and animals, hunting scenes, and scenes of social life.⁹⁴

Rasmussen had recorded that occasionally drawings were made on the ice windows and walls of the snow house, with soot from the lamp. It was forbidden to depict the spirits because it was believed that if an image was created it, would come to life. As many of the characters which peopled the Eskimo belief system were malevolent in nature then, if their presences were called up, they could spring to life and bring disaster to the group.⁹⁵

Before contact, the Copper Eskimo women used animal skins and sinew for sewing, bone tools for scraping and stitching and their teeth for softening the hides. Maps were drawn on the ground to help the traveller. Stories were told to maintain order. The way of life of the Eskimos had

⁹⁴ Jenness, p. 162.

⁹⁵ Rasmussen, p. 47.

encouraged the development of excellent oral and visual memories. Technical skill was essential in the production of tools required for hunting and in the construction of shelters and clothing for the people. It appears that at the time when European explorers were making contact with and recording life in the arctic, the Eskimos had already developed visual, oral and motor skills that would prove essential to the success of the printmaking program.

Contact with Europeans presented the prospective artist with new concepts, materials and methods which were incorporated into existing practices. New opportunities for visual expression were opened up. Existing taboos did not apply to the new technology and were set aside. When presented with new materials and the opportunity to use them, the Eskimos responded with enthusiasm. The ability to draw does not seem to have been taught to them but may reflect the depth to which their observational skills had been developed. Drawing pictures also was an effective means of communication between people without a common language. The most recent stimulation for the production of drawings is the printmaking program.

With the introduction of printmaking a new element was incorporated into the Inuit visual vocabulary. This activity did not draw on printing concepts and skills that were already in existence. It drew on the experiences of a migratory people, on the intimate observations of the environment and on the technical skills developed while wresting a living from the land. Such considerations help to explain why the Inuit were able to adopt a non-indigenous technology and from it create a truly northern form of expression.

Part Two

Images as Aesthetic Expression

B Formal Considerations

Producing prints in Holman brings money to the community, via the co-operative. This income provides the recipients with options and choices and enables them to participate in a pluralistic, northern economy. Wage labour, subsistence payments and procurement of food from the land are combined by the people and permit them to experience a reasonably satisfactory life.⁹⁶ While the economic importance of this endeavour is considerable, it can be argued that printmaking also offers members of the community the opportunity for aesthetic expression.

The printshop has been in operation for twenty four years. Even with such a short history, however, it is possible to isolate formal elements in the prints, to investigate continuity and change over this limited productive period and identify the characteristics of Holman prints.

⁹⁶ Father Tardy stresses the economic importance of printmaking in an interview he gave to the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council, (D. Snowden and M. Sparling), in 1978 and again in personal correspondence with the author in 1989. The Data Book for the Government of the Northwest Territories lists printmaking for Holman as the one of the major source of revenue. Artists in the community say that money is one of the most important reasons that they participate in the endeavour. Personal communication, Holman, September 1988.

Printed mostly in a single colour, the first works are comprised of single, monumental figures, or simple elements set on the empty paper surface. No context is suggested. These early prints rely for impact on their basic compositions, general outlines and rounded shapes, which capture the essence of the subject without the use of detailed lines.

The first most striking feature of works from this community is the manner in which the available pictorial space is used by artists and printers. Helen Kalvak and Mark Emerak, two of the older contributors of drawings to the print program, lay out pictorial elements so that the viewer is presented with the information necessary to convey the desired message.⁹⁷ This concept can be found in Making an Atiqi (Fig. 31), drawn by Helen Kalvak and printed by Harry Equvak in 1982 and in the 1970 work, Sealing (Fig.13).⁹⁸ by Mark Emerak. Other artists prefer to use single-figure compositions and illustrate a particular moment in time. Peter Aliknak's work Children Delight (Fig. 4), 1967, adopts this format as does Returning Home (Fig. 5), from 1969. These works show the characteristics of many of the early pieces.⁹⁹ Agnes Nanogak conveys the character of her birds in Famished Owlets (Fig. 3), from 1967. As

⁹⁷ The term artist is used throughout this paper to identify the person who created the drawing for the print. If no name appears after the artist, then the printer is not known. The exception to this rule is Mary Okheena. She usually draws and prints her own works. Titles of works are given with the spelling and punctuation used by the printshop.

⁹⁸ The artist wrote: "Waiting for a seal may be long, but as soon as he comes to breathe, the hunter must lose no time. One of the hunters has had a lucky strike. He has brought his kill into the igloo where the Eskimo woman will cut it up with her ulu." Holman 1970 No.47.

⁹⁹ This work may have been printed by the artist as he was one of the first stonecut printers of the print shop. He translated both his own drawings and the work of others, into prints.

members of the food chain, birds, like humans, can find themselves at the mercy of natural cycles of feast and famine. Nanogak captures the helplessness of the owlets as they turn expectantly toward the mother owl in search of food. She stands outside the protecting, nurturing, circular nest. The simplified, rounded, bottom-heavy silhouette of the mother owl, with her small head and wings, conveys a feeling of hopelessness. Differences in feathers or variety of textures are not shown. The power of the print, therefore, is suggested without the inclusion of specific features.

In contrast to compositions set in the vast arctic land, indoor activities are sometimes shown enclosed within a semi-circular line that suggests the interior of the igloo. This characteristic can be found in Helen Kalvak's Game in Snowhouse (Fig. 1), a 1966 stonecut, printed by Jimmy Memorana. The figures, shown both frontally and in profile, are enclosed within block-like shapes that represent the interior wall. A similar convention can be found in Helen Kalvak's 1970 Attraction (Fig. 14).¹⁰⁰

There may be several reasons as to why Holman prints use this particular way of presenting their images. Elements of a previous way of life undoubtedly were of influence. The early artists had lived on the land, moving when necessary. Memories had been formed from these experiences

¹⁰⁰ The caption for this print reads: "Kalvak always looks back at the time when many evenings were passed dancing to the rhythm of drum beats. 'Even the bears would come to listen,' she says. While drawing her picture she can't help but stop at times and mimic the drum dancer." Holman 1970, No. 8.

and were brought to the community, where they influenced the form of the prints. Marion Jackson has suggested that a possible explanation for placing elements in an undefined space may relate to the physical nature of the northern land. She wrote:

Perhaps the perceptual experience of the Arctic itself parallels and reinforces the stark, isolated images of the prints. In the North where the land is covered by snow and ice for as many as ten months of the year, the diffuse light of an overcast sky often obscures the horizon line, causing white sky to blend into white land, forming an unbroken and undifferentiated visual background against which objects and figures stand out as separate and isolated entities.¹⁰¹

The land was certainly of fundamental importance to the Copper Eskimos and it is reasonable to suggest that it may have influenced visual expression.

Other aspects of a traditional life possibly influence the use of space in the prints. The isolation of compositional elements may be related both to language and the act of story telling. A further consideration has been put forward by Marion Jackson. She argued that:

The agglutinative nature of the Inuktitut language may itself reinforce a mental process through addition of elements. While root stems in Inuktitut are generally simple, they can be modified almost unendingly through the addition of verbal elements.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Marion Jackson, "Inuit Prints: Impressions of a Culture in Transition," LSA, Fall 1985, p. 9.

¹⁰² ibid.

Story telling was a highly developed skill in traditional Eskimo culture, because it did not possess a written history. The building up of oral imagery from a central idea may be carried over to the realm of the visual. In the prints it is certainly the central idea that is given expression. Marion Jackson has also suggested that the preservation of isolated elements, without context or showing relationships to other figures, reflects practices previously used in oral communication. She wrote:

In stories, verbal images create their own space, assert their independent existence without regard for mediating relationships of visual context. The isolated images assert their presence in much the same way the verbal images assert their presence in story telling.¹⁰³

Another aspect to be considered in the division of space is the connection between features of art style and social organization, assuming that people project their society onto their visual arts. John L. Fischer argued that social conditions are determinants of art style and pictorial arrangements are, "-abstract, mainly unconscious representations of persons in the society"¹⁰⁴ If this is so then the connection between the use of space in Holman prints and socio-cultural conditions in the hamlet must be considered as a possible explanation for the style of the early prints. The works are produced in a settled

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ John Fischer, "Art Styles as Cultural Cognitive Maps", in C. Jopling (ed.), Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies., (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971), p.175.

community, yet the oldest inhabitants brought with them the knowledge of a lifestyle which had very different social obligations. Fischer argued that in an egalitarian society, such as was found in the social structure of the Eskimo camp, emphasis was placed on uniformity of behaviour. Individual differences were downplayed as society worked through cooperation between community members. Therefore, such an egalitarian society functioned best when each individual was of similar character and aspiration. Individual independence was not encouraged as cooperation when needed might not be forthcoming.

If, as Fischer suggested, social organization is reflected in art style and if each element of the composition is analogous to an individual member of that society, then visual expression would show simple images or would use repetition of individual elements which are simple in form. This format is found in the first prints and is illustrated in the first fourteen examples. Figures appear without enclosure and are surrounded by a large amount of empty or irrelevant space, to reflect social divisions. This concept is certainly found in many of the early Holman prints, which, although made in the settlement, reflect behavioural patterns of a migratory lifestyle. Conversely in a more structured society where differentiation between individuals is present and very often encouraged, one would expect the compositions to be complex with unlike elements. Fischer argued that in a more hierarchical division of people :

... the more complex the elements in the design representing the members of the society, the greater the possible

differences between elements of the design, and the greater, therefore, the symbolic emphasis on personal differentiation.¹⁰⁵

This was not the way in which an egalitarian society was organized and according to Fischer this form of visual organization should not be found in the first prints from Holman. Indeed, it is not. In the early works, monochromatic silhouette-like images are placed on the paper, with no suggestion of context. This way of using space is characteristic of an egalitarian society. (See figures 1-13.)

Another consideration put forward by Fischer parallels developments in camp life in the north. Strangers were viewed with suspicion and fear. Social solidarity and economic independence could have been totally disrupted by external aggression. People from outside the population were also the focus of hostility generated inside the group. These feelings had to be channelled towards people on the exterior to relieve stress. Fischer hypothesized that this concept is manifested in pictorial art by the empty space found around figures.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that the isolated figures and lack of context of the Holman prints is a reflection of the social organization of the camp and reflects the continuation of the concepts of a people who had grown up in a migratory, egalitarian society where the group achieved equilibrium because of the equality of each person. While

¹⁰⁵ ibid. , p. 176.

¹⁰⁶ ibid.

it can be argued that art style may reflect social organization and can also be said to reflect the stimulus from experiences absorbed from life on the land, some caution must be exercised in accepting these influences as being the only reasons for the production of this particular form of images. The limitations of the available materials and the inexperience of the participants must be considered. Complex, detailed imagery with well defined backgrounds did not lend itself to printing by stonecut, at this embryonic stage of printmaking. Uncomplicated elegant, rounded shapes, devoid of context and detailing were best suited to the stonecut printing technique and the skills of the printers in the first years of production. It may be more accurate to say that a combination of mental processes, social organization and the practicalities of printing, shaped the form of the early Holman images.

Laying out pieces of information was the main concern of artists like Kalvak and Emerak, while Agnes Nanogak and Peter Aliknak set their single figures in an empty landscape, but in some works of these and other Holman artists it can be demonstrated that the pictorial space is divided in three main ways using either a horizontal, circular or vertical format. An occasional triangular composition can be identified and in some later works a diagonal thrust can be observed.¹⁰⁷ In a horizontal division of space, the compositional elements cover the central section of the paper and extend from one side to another, but leave unprinted the white paper at the top and bottom of the sheet. This configuration can be found in

¹⁰⁷ See Table 1A, p. 127.

Napaktaatun (Somersaults) (Fig. 40), drawn by Elsie Anaginak and printed by Susie Malgokok in 1985. Four figures, balanced on their hands, are strung out across the surface of the paper. The careful juxtaposition of the white background and the dark colour of the garments creates a powerful effect. Bent knees, arched backs and curved bodies contribute to the flowing lines of the composition.

This horizontal division can also be found in the 1986 work Kayakers (Fig. 42), a stonecut printed by Louie Nigiyok, from a drawing by Rex Kangoak. The artist uses a straight line to indicate the horizon. Together with the rocky coastline in the background, these two elements extend the full width of the paper. In the foreground the elegant lines of the kayaks reinforce the horizontality of the other features.

A second format favoured by Holman artists is the circular shape which Agnes Nanogak uses in Hunting Canada Goose (Fig. 41), printed by Mabel Nigiyok in 1985 and in Four Winds (Fig. 43) 1986, printed by Mona Ohoveluk. The first work is a visual depiction of one aspect of the spirit world, while the second is illustrative of an everyday event. It was believed by the Copper Eskimos that the principal powers of sea, moon, air and water could be influenced by human behaviour, provided that an individual acquired the knowledge necessary to persuade the spirits to release some of their power to humans.¹⁰⁸ In this forceful statement,

¹⁰⁸ The artist included the following written explanation to augment the visual image: "West wind, North wind, East wind, South wind. The east and north winds are together. The north wind told a story about three rocks. One large rock, the east wind, medium rock the west wind and the small rock the north wind. When he was born his parents made him eat three rocks so when he grows up he has power." Holman, 1986, No.22.

two bird-like and one animal-like representations of the wind surround the central figure. They force their attention on this character, so that it can grasp the spiritual power that is being offered by stretching out one hand. By clasping the other hand tightly to its chest, power is drawn into its body and is preserved for all time. The sweep of the appendages of the figures and the curvature of the creatures' bodies, coupled-with the circular format, conveys a feeling of movement.

Used less frequently than either the horizontal or circular arrangement of figures is a vertical configuration.¹⁰⁹ In Left Behind (Fig. 15), drawn and printed by Peter Aliknak in 1970, the main elements of the story are placed one above the other. The tent shape at the top of the picture is reflected in the space given to the ground on which the figure is seated. The age of the woman, alluded to in the oral version of the story, is suggested visually by her static position and is reinforced by her facial tattoos. A vertical orientation is also used by Agnes Nanogak in Land Mark of the North (Fig. 55), a 1987 stencil printed by Elsie Anaginak.¹¹⁰ Single elements of the subject matter are united and restrained by the outline of

¹⁰⁹ See Table 1A, p. 127. The artist explained his ideas: "This print is inspired by an Eskimo legend. It is the story of an old lady who could not follow the rest of the family. She went on a cliff and was taken care of by a seagull who would bring her fish, and a bear who stayed close by her until the family returned." Holman, 1970, No. 36.

¹¹⁰ The artist explained her idea thus: "People used to make inuksuks on the shores of the lakes they fished in. This inuksuk has kudlik (stone lamp) eyes. Its eyebrows are the flames. Snowhouses are the bow and the tattoos arrows. They used inuksuks to show people where to go." Holman 1987 No. 18.

the inuksuk. With the focus of this piece being contained in the top section, the work needs the wide shoulder-like, horizontal elements to give the composition stability.

An occasional triangular composition can be isolated in Holman prints. In Helen Kalvak's Angakok in the Tent (Fig. 33), a 1983 lithograph printed by Peter Palvik, the breadth of the image at the bottom of the page anchors the work firmly in space. The interior of the tent is suggested by curved lines, which meet at the top centre area of the picture space and form two sides of the triangle. Cold and Hungry (Fig.44), drawn by Stanley Klengenber and printed by Mary Okheena in 1986, also uses the triangular format to root the isolated figure in a timeless space.¹¹¹ The upthrust position of the figure's legs adds breadth to the base. The forward positioning of the arms appears to narrow the width of the shoulders. The apex of the triangle is formed by the head, sunk in the hood. The eyes and sunken cheeks reflect his lack of success in the hunt.

Diagonal compositions are rare in early Holman works and are just beginning to appear in some of the more recent prints. In the 1973 work Bird Tracks (Fig. 21), Agnes Nanogak uses two sets of diagonal groupings to illustrate her story.¹¹² The figure of the woman and the

¹¹¹ The artist explained: "The hunter has camped. He knows he must find game. His family and friends are waiting and are just as cold and hungry as he is. He fights sleepiness. Tomorrow he hopes to get lucky." Holman 1987, No. 18. In the catalogue this work is attributed to Mary Okheena. The drawing, however, was executed by Stanley Klengenber and printed by Mary Okheena. Personal communication with Mary Okheena, Holman, September 1988.

¹¹² She explained the story as follows: "During a storm, an old sorcerer sets out to look for her lost children. By some magic power, her canes guide her to the footprints." Holman 1986, No. 24.

footprints move diagonally from the top right corner of the paper to the centre bottom, the two figures of the lost children extend from the top centre of the page diagonally to the centre left side of the pictorial space. These two separate sets of visual elements are united by their parallel configuration which adds vitality and movement to the composition. This work is one of few from this period that uses such a format. A strong diagonal composition also appears in the 1986 lithograph Pulling Up The Whales (Fig.59), drawn by Rex Kangoak and printed by Peter Palvik. The viewer's eye is drawn to the lower left hand quarter of the paper in which the hunter's quarry is found. Fanning out from the tail fluke of the whale are two human figures and ten canine assistants. A parallel directional alignment is given to the kayaks found in the upper left quarter and reinforces the strong diagonal thrust. Not yet found in Holman prints is a format using a combination of strong vertical and horizontal lines. These examples demonstrate the favoured formats for the division of the pictorial space. They illustrate the fact that the Holman artists are familiar with several of the possible ways open to two-dimensional artists for general compositional structure.

The early images from Holman can be said to consist mainly of simple, gently curved, static images, set in an undefined space showing a strong contrast between figure and background. Ground lines do not anchor the figures in space and horizon lines are not used to orient the compositions. Human figures are presented frontally or in profile and their proportions do not correspond exactly to those of the human body.

Emphasis is thus focussed on the main elements of the composition. These conventions continue to be found in works from recent collections, alongside compositions which show a change in spatial organization.

One method employed to indicate location is the use of a simple horizontal line to suggest separate physical realities. This concept can be found in the 1972 work Devil Fishes (Fig. 18), drawn by Peter Aliknak. Using a thick, black line to suggest the edge of the ice, the artist offers the viewer a cross section of the upper and lower worlds. This division is seldom applied to the realms of earth and sky, indicating how important the undersea life was to the Eskimo hunters. The separation of the worlds is further emphasized by the contrast between the smoothly printed upper figure and the rich texture given to the fishes. The 1986 lithograph Whaling by Kayak (Fig. 45), drawn by Rex Kangoak and printed by Peter Palvik, also divides the available space in half and presents an above and below view of the sea. The hunter in his kayak is poised, ready to thrust his harpoon into his quarry. Visual emphasis is concentrated on the lower half of the composition which shows the partially submerged beluga whale and the shadow it casts on the bottom of the shallow water. Lack of depiction of the upper, spiritual world by these artists could be a manifestation of the continuation of ideas from camp life in which creation of images of the spirits were expressly forbidden.

The artists who produced the drawings for the first prints and the printers who created the finished works were older members of the

community. These people had grown up following a nomadic hunting and fishing, and adaptation to a harsh physical world. This environment not only provided them with the means of survival, it directed their thoughts and influenced their concepts of the world. Contact with outsiders occurred after these thought patterns had been established. Most likely they continued to influence their visual expression in settlement life. Contact did open up new areas for making images, such as drawing maps on paper with graphite pencils, and brought new materials, such as beads and duffle cloth to them. Sustained contact opened up new opportunities for self-expression.

Younger artists have lived in the community all their lives and spend only a limited time hunting out on the land. Their life experiences and worldly constructs are markedly different from those of earlier generations.¹¹³ Traditional Eskimo society was assured stability by an equal sharing of food and goods. If one accepts Fischer's argument that social conditions determine artistic style, it would be expected that changes in life experiences would be reflected in the visual arts. Extensive change, should be found in some of the later works by all artists but especially by the younger ones. One manifestation of such change can be found in the 1986 lithograph and stencil Morning Hunt (Fig. 46), Agnes Nanogak uses a horizontal line to divide earth from sky and places her action in a defined setting. This is one of the earliest examples of images placed in a context to appear in Holman prints. Earth and sky

¹¹³ See R.G. Condon, Inuit Youth Growth and Change in the Canadian Arctic, (Rutgers: The State University), 1987.

are further differentiated by the printing of a dark foreground and lighter background by Peter Palvik. Setting activities in a defined landscape has become a strong feature in the most recent Holman collections. Mary Okheena's Travelling by Moonlight (Fig. 60), printed by a combination of lithographic and stencil techniques, by the artist and Peter Palvik, illustrates well the anchoring of elements in a defined space. These figures, on their journey, are no longer set in an empty landscape. Large bluffs, reminiscent of rock formations in the Holman region, contain the figures on one side, while smaller hills in the background give the work a feeling of distance. These figures are very much part of their physical surroundings, not distinct from it. The landscape did not feature in the Eskimo oral tradition. Perhaps the absence of defining boundaries for images is a reflection of this concept and it is only with the influences of settlement life and the emergence of a new relationship with the land that this new concept is included in the prints.

Another change found in later Holman works is the beginnings of spatial depth. A hint of perspective appears. Western perspective is defined as being:

The representation, on a two-dimensional surface, of three-dimensional objects in space. The term is sometimes restricted to the particular method of spatial representation developed during the fifteenth century, in which all parallel lines and edges of surfaces receding at the same angle are drawn, on the *picture plane*, in such a way that they converge toward a single *vanishing point*.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ James Smith Pierce, From Abacus To Zeus A Handbook of Art History, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1977), p. 41.

This concept is not found in the early prints, most of which are visually flat and show little recession into space. Foreshortening of images does not appear. Distant objects are shown in the same proportions as those nearby. Size reflects the importance of the characters rather than suggest distance. The freedom of vision of the first artists includes the horizontal stacking of images and the occupation of parallel planes by individual elements. Some artists do show a slight suggestion of depth by placing one figure in front of another, but the overall effect remains flat. This can be seen in Fight for a Wife (Fig. 22), 1973, by Helen Kalvak. Parallel lines converging towards a vanishing point are not apparent in the later works, but how far the reproduction of spatial depth has developed in Holman prints can be seen in the 1989 lithograph by Peter Palvik In Search of New Camping Ground (Fig. 61). The picture surface is divided into three parts: foreground, middleground and background. The heads of the two figures, seated in the centre foreground are silhouetted against the light-coloured lake. The body of water that occupies the middle ground is partially surrounded by a stylized, hilly landscape, but the opening, left of centre, is separated from the sky by a narrow horizon line. The hills, with which the human figures appear to be closely associated, are given volume through use of shading on their sides and their bases. This feeling of spatial depth is reinforced by the low height given to the distant hills in comparison to the height of land in the middle ground. The lightness of the sky and the partial intrusion of the colour formed by the setting sun, on the far area of water, reinforce the sensation of recession into space.

Holman society is moving away from an egalitarian structure to one in which individual members have increasing status.¹¹⁵ Inuit are occupying positions of authority and guide the direction of events in their community. The developing complexities in the prints may be a reflection of the evolution of a more hierarchical form of social organization. It may be that the introduction of a context in Holman prints reflects changes in community life, such as the appearance of political leaders, co-operative managers and government employees. If, as suggested by Fischer, design elements are symbols of members of the society, where "harmony is promoted by every member keeping his place and having his own distinctive paraphernalia",¹¹⁶ then increasing complexity of social organization is being reflected in art style. In two-dimensional compositions complex elements are enclosed in a well defined background, with little irrelevant space showing. This differs from the visual evidence of an egalitarian society where figures are presented without enclosures and with a large amount of space around them.

Another reason for the use of spatial depth may be influences from other areas of social life in the hamlet such as television and comic books, or art lessons at school. Increasing social stratification may be paralleled in the increasing complexity of composition. If current developments in social life are reflected in the graphic arts, then

¹¹⁵ Communication with employees in the hamlet office, Holman 1988.

¹¹⁶ Fischer, p.177.

increasing interest in participation in their own governmental affairs may be reflected in developments in the printing program. Members of the print shop have decided to operate outside of the protection of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council. They feel they are ready to assume the decision making themselves on the choice of works and techniques used in printing, in the maintenance of the standards of quality expected of Inuit prints and in bringing about changes deemed beneficial to the group. On the level of the individual, interest is becoming focused less on the community collection than on the work of individual artists.

Another striking feature of Holman prints is the adoption of an unusual viewpoint from which the artist bases his or her composition. This format recurs throughout the history of Holman print production. In the 1969 work First Sign of Spring (Fig. 7), by Peter Aliknak, the viewer appears to be at the same elevation as the early spring arrival.¹¹⁷ The tundra offers a variety of ecological niches, to nest and rear offspring, of which at least one hundred migratory species take advantage. A most pleasing sound to the Inuit is that of the first migratory flocks of geese to arrive in spring. Aliknak's work illustrates how important these first arrivals are to the people. The upward position of the human faces conveys a feeling of excitement and expectancy. The foreshortened bodies and the placement of one symbolic bird relieves the otherwise flat composition. In 1984 Rex Kangoak's drawing Blanket Toss (Fig.36), was printed on a lithographic press by Eddie Okheeno. The viewer

¹¹⁷ Douglas Wilkinson, The Arctic Coast, (Ottawa: The Natural Science Institution of Canada, 1970) p. 92.

is positioned above the action, as if he is the jumper. This same artist uses an unusual viewpoint in Pulling up the Whales (Fig. 59), a 1988 lithograph printed by Peter Palvik. The people, animals and tools used in the whale hunt are carefully illustrated.

While the Holman artists show preferences in the manner in which they divide up their available pictorial space, they also indicate, from the earliest works until prints from the current collections, interest in composition. One of the first prints produced in 1966 was River Fishing (Fig. 2), by Victor Ekootak. The drawing for this print must have been made in the early days of community life when outside influences were still indirect.¹¹⁸ This work is split into three horizontal sections. The area at the top of the paper represents the far side of the river on which two tents, two figures and a rack of drying fish are shown. A parallel horizontal line at the bottom of the page represents the other bank of the river. Between these two horizontal divisions the artist has created a circular composition, joined to the top and bottom by geometrically shaped stones. This configuration draws the eye of the viewer into the centre of the paper where the action is taking place. Four fishing figures, spears and fish are arranged to form a pleasing composition, captured at a specific moment in time. Exciting use is made of the white background paper. As a back drop it sets off the individual elements of the composition and is effectively used to indicate details on clothes. A white

¹¹⁸ Father Tardy, written communication, summer and fall, 1969.

line around the figures seated in front of the tent make them stand out, while the skin markings on the tent are also illustrated with white lines. The separate elements are combined to form a pleasing overall composition.

An early work by Peter Aliknak from 1975/6 called Seagulls (Fig. 25), illustrates this artist's interest in the arrangement of components. Two birds with elegantly stretched wings and gracefully stretched necks flank a third diving figure. The curvilinear shape of the birds is echoed in the shapes of the even number of fish. Fish is an important source of food for Holman residents but in his 1987 work Children Playing (Fig. 57), the same artist incorporates a tree-shape in his composition. Trees do not grow on Victoria Island but Aliknak has chosen this shape as his base. The central trunk divides the pictorial space vertically, while the stylized spreading branches divide the page horizontally. Seven birds, each assuming a different posture are arranged rhythmically in the upper, horizontal layer. Three children occupy the lower space. One holds on to the tree trunk while the other two look up and stretch their arms up towards the birds, uniting all pieces of the composition. Stanley Klengenber uses bird heads to form his pleasing composition in Shore Birds (Fig. 47), 1986, printed by Mabel Nigiyok, while Mary Okheena uses the shape of musk-oxen in her rhythmical composition Musk-ox waiting for the tide to cross water (Fig. 48), 1986.

In the 1980/81 collection an unusual element appears in Peter

Palvik's lithograph Hunting Seals (Fig.30). The artist uses a horizontal composition with a separation between the upper realm of the fishermen and the undersea world of marine mammals, a feature that has been used in other works. In a departure from the rounded forms found in most of Holman images, the artist has used sharply pointed triangles to represent chunks of broken ice. Sharp angles and geometric shapes are also used by Rex Kangoak in Tingmiakhuitok (Hunting Ducks) (Fig. 32), a 1982 lithograph and stencil printed by Peter Palvik. These stylised shapes contrast dramatically with the rounded forms of the birds, hunter and sun. Sharp angles rarely occur in Holman compositions where most of the works use gently rounded, curving forms. The inclusion of two works from a close time period showing a departure from the normal procedures suggests exterior influence. Could it be that both artists were responding to a concept introduced by the current art advisor? The inclusion of angular forms certainly adds a dramatic note to the otherwise rounded contours of the other prints. It also demonstrates the willingness of the Holman artists to incorporate new concepts into their repertoire. Yet, this stylized form does not reappear in later works. This suggests that the artists themselves, or their market, or both, prefer softly rounded lines.

The printers of the early years of production at Holman favoured a limited palette which was eminently suitable for the reproduction of the simple line-drawings of the artists. The resulting prints were stark, static, forceful images. This may also have been due partly to the lack of colours available to the printers. This method, however, continued to be

employed even when a greater choice of colours and alternative printing techniques became available. Monochromatic images set on an empty background favoured by the early production teams appear throughout the twenty-four year history of Holman printmaking. Although they have been featured less frequently in recent collections, this type of print was produced until very recently. Its persistence when other options became available indicates an affinity between this style and the wishes of the artists and printers.

With stonecut printing it is possible to create works other than monochromatic images, if a choice of coloured inks is available. Colour combinations can be skillfully presented as is dramatically illustrated in Peter Aliknak's 1972 work Sliding in the Sun (Fig. 19). The power of the red sun contrasts with the black figures and reflects the exuberance of the joyous children. Another work by this artist from the same collection illustrates the versatility of the stonecut in its potential to suggest texture. In Devil Fishes (Fig. 18), the economical outline of the fisherman and the flat application of colour contrast with the white circles and v-shapes used to suggest the texture of the fish scales. The smooth, rounded volumes of the fisherman contrast with the sharp points of fins, tails and teeth. Suggested texture of animal skins is found in the 1984 work Juggling (Fig. 35), drawn by Agnes Nanogak and printed by Louie Nigiyok. Smooth areas are used to illustrate hair, the inside of the hood, trousers, boots and the inside of the sleeves. These flat areas contrast with regular rows of incised lines on the woman's outer garments to represent the

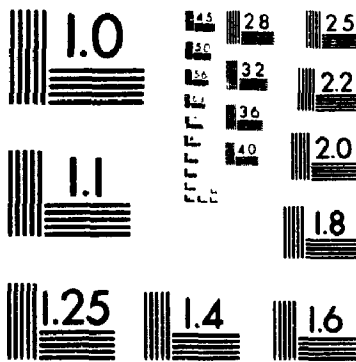
texture of the animal skin.

With the introduction of felt tipped pens to the community the drawings of artists such as Agnes Nanogak exploded with colour.¹¹⁹ Although printing in several different colours is possible using the stonecut, it was with the introduction of lithographic and stencil printing methods that use of colour and colour relationships became important. In printing the works of artists such as Agnes Nanogak the technicians made a determined effort to replicate the original colouring of the felt tipped drawing, encouraged by the availability of an enlarged selection of printing inks.¹²⁰ In Kanguak Flying (Fig. 49), drawn by Agnes Nanogak and printed by Mona Ohoveluk in 1986, solid areas of light and dark colours capture the vibrancy and immediacy of the artist's drawing. Imagination and humour can be found in the adoption of an upturned kayak as a flying machine which is given the appearance of having a head and a tail. Although the overall presentation remains flat, some suggestion of depth is obtained from the appearance of a foot on the far side of this conveyance. Shading on the outer edges of the kayak helps define its

¹¹⁹ Coloured slide of some of the work of Agnes Nanogak are on file at the Inuit Art Section, Indian and Northern Affairs, Hull. Father Tardy described how she preferred to use coloured pens for her drawings. He also mentioned that Helen Kalvak used colour to express character, more than to create a realistic representation. For example a bear could be shown using a clear green which represented white to the artist and stood for kindness. If a dark green was used then the bear was mean or bad. Written communication, summer and fall 1989.

¹²⁰ Communication with printers Peter Aliknak and Harry Egutak in Holman, September 1988.

2



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

shape and gives it a subtle suggestion of depth. Simple outlines are used to delineate hands and feet and are balanced by the large volumes of the garments. The general, curvilinear outlines, with wings and legs merely suggested, capture the essence of the bird. The shape of the owl is reflected in the form of the girl and in the heads of the children, drawing the separate elements into a cohesive composition. This work clearly illustrates the appropriateness of the vibrantly coloured drawings for the stencil printing technique. Together the efforts of the artist and printmakers result in an image bursting with vitality and drama. Stencil printing can also produce colour with translucent qualities. The 1986 work Ancestor's Song for Survival (Fig. 50), drawn by Stanley Klengenbergs was printed by Mary Okheena in soft shades of green. The sensitive composition of rounded, bulky forms conceals anatomical structure and the stillness of the figures is enhanced by the skill of the printers in handling the printing medium.

Lithography produces the most accurate rendering of an artist's drawing as the images can be applied directly by the printer on the printing surface. The lines, shading and details of the original drawing may be best reproduced by this technique. This power of lithographic printing can be seen in the 1989 work In Search of New Camping Ground, (Fig. 61), drawn and printed by Peter Palvik. The background of the sky, the figures, hair and the trim of their garments are given a smooth finish, while the hilly landscape and human clothes show texture. Lithography may be partly responsible for the development of printed backgrounds in works of the last few years and for the more liberal use of colour. Full

application of colour to the available picture plane can be found in works such as Travelling by Moonlight (Fig. 60). This work was printed by Peter Palvik and Mary Okheena in 1988 using a combination of lithographic and stencil processes. The black background creates the atmosphere for a more equivalent translation of the text which reads, " In the winter months when the moon is full you can see the hills a long way off. People would use this light to travel across the land."¹²¹ This work illustrates the power of the combination of techniques and the expertise developed by the Holman artists.¹²² Smooth areas of stencilled colour are balanced by sections showing texture and detail, made possible by the use of lithography. Colour contrast is striking in the use of yellow for the moon and reflections of light on the landscape. Contrast also exists between the rounded shapes of the people, the sled and the moon, and the jagged pools of light around the sled. The artist also juxtaposes black areas on white colours and white on black to produce an interesting visual effect.

Woodcut printing has been included in Holman productions since 1988 as an alternative to stonecuts and Louie Nigiyok is experimenting with its compositional and textural possibilities.¹²³ This technique is still in its infancy and the results problematic.

¹²¹ Holman ,1988 No. 32.

¹²² Other combinations include stonecut and stencil, and silkscreen and stencil.

¹²³ Stonecut printers Peter Aliknak and Harry Egutak, who are not presently active in the printshop, both said that they might return to printmaking if the stonecut technique was reintroduced. Personal communication, Holman, September 1988.

From beginnings using only the stonecut and a limited range of colours, the Holman printers have turned to an expanded range of techniques and technical skill in the application of colour. They have given an enthusiastic welcome to new technology and media introduced into the shop and have developed considerable skill in the application of colour to the drawings and in the technical skills of printing.

In discussing the formal aspects of Holman printmaking one must keep in mind that the completed work is the production of more than one person. The creation of the drawing and the selection of the printing technique, choice of colours and use of texture and the selection of drawings to be released in limited editions have traditionally been carried out by several people. The role of the printer in the production of Holman prints has not always been fully acknowledged. In the first print catalogues, the printer was seldom identified. Importance was given to the person who created the drawing, although it was the decision of the printer as to how, for example, Helen Kalvak's simple line drawings would be best translated into printed images. Gradually, the contribution of the printers has gained some recognition and their role in the choice of technique and use of colour has resulted in the inclusion, on the finished print, of the printer's name, after that of the artist.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ This aspect of printmaking is not yet given due credit in the literature. For example in a revised text for "Three Decades of Inuit Printmaking", Gisella Hoffman, when discussing the work of Mark Emerak, talks about Mark's palette. The colours used to print the artists' drawing is the choice of the printer, not the artist. Father Tardy explained that the person who made the drawing left the choice of colour to the printers. They did not interfere with, or make suggestions to, the printers. Personal written communication, summer and fall 1989.

This team method of creating a work may have been admirably suited for the beginnings of Holman printmaking. This event coincided with the development of settlement life and the introduction of the co-operative system of business management and was reinforced by the ideology of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council. With the 1989 collection a philosophical shift is apparent. Of the twenty six prints making up the production, twenty works feature the artist as printer. This shift in focus may herald a new direction in the community's print production and may be better suited to the realities of northern life today. The emphasis on the work by one individual away from the co-operative endeavour may reflect changes in other areas of the community. Individual wage employment is a firm feature of Holman although the co-operative remains strong and productive.

Questions on the communal nature of Inuit printmaking have been raised by Japanese woodcut artist Noburo Sawai after he had conducted a workshop in the north and reviewed the Inuit printing process. He stated that the *Ukiyo-e* system of printmaking has been replaced in Japan by the *Sasaka Hanga* method in which a print is produced from conception to finished product, by one person. The *Ukiyo-e* tradition of woodcut printing had been developed in seventeenth century Japan and such an evolution might be appropriate for Inuit prints. He describes it thus:

The traditional *Ukiyo-e* method of woodcut printmaking was developed in the 17th century in Japan in response to demands made by the newly emerged middle class homes.

Their favourite images included flowers, animals, familiar landscapes and portraits of actors and actresses. *Ukiyo-e* prints were produced by a publisher who commissioned popular printers to make sketches. The artisans then carved woodblocks from the sketches and a skilled printer made impressions on paper from the blocks. They worked as a team, which was possible because the families of the painters and artisans had known one another for generations. The painters knew what the woodcarvers and printers were capable of and valued their interpretive contribution to the work. Likewise, the artisans knew what the painters had in mind and would refine the images as they worked. Producing pictures through the collaboration of painters and artisans under the direction of a publisher was a concept that though foreign or even unacceptable in the modern art world, was quite amenable at the time. The *Ukiyo-e* method of printmaking was consistent with a tribal type of society.¹²⁵

This process may have been appropriate for the co-operative nature of traditional and early communal life in the arctic, when a communality of purpose was necessary for survival. It may be less satisfactory for contemporary settlement life where individual achievement is possible outside of the co-operative system. In Holman printmaking today, perhaps there is a place for both methods but, in the future, the concept of artist as printer may take hold and be more in keeping with developments in the wider Inuit society.

From this discussion on the formal elements of Holman prints it can be

¹²⁵ Noboru Sawai, "Japanese Artists on Inuit Printmaking," Inuit Art Quarterly, Spring 1986, p.

seen that the artists employ a wide range of compositional structures to divide up the available two-dimensional, pictorial space. They show an interest in composition throughout the life of the project. The stark, monumental, flat images set on the white background of the paper, favoured in the early years of development, are being replaced with works showing a landscape background and an increasing appearance of spatial depth. Careful juxtaposition of colour has become a significant feature of Holman works as has the incorporation of new printing technology. Artists and printers illustrate their knowledge of the characteristics of their materials and of the limitations of their technology. Together they organize line, mass, colour and form into powerful prints. The Holman style is expressive. Tension is built up through use of line and colour. Separate elements are united through action and meaning is conveyed through generalized forms. As symbols the forms establish emotional associations. They enlist the participation of the spectator. They arouse emotion and evoke a response in the viewer.

The Holman artist or printer regard a work as being well done if it has reached a high standard of excellence in production and shows skill in the use of line, mass and colour. An unclear or poorly pulled print would receive the laughter of its audience. ¹²⁶ An increase in individual expression has not yet reached the level of the artist in western society, but a move in that direction is evident in the latest collection. There is no

¹²⁶ Written communication with Father Tardy, summer and fall, 1989.

move toward abstraction of images or any other movement that has characterized the development of western art. Holman prints show change over time and a willingness of the participants in incorporating new ideas and techniques into this endeavour.

As discussed earlier, the impact of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council on the Holman aesthetic remains unclear. Although the Kalvak/Emerak portfolio and the most recent annual productions have been produced without input from this body, there is no significant change in either the subject matter produced or in the style of production, except for the emphasis on the artist as printer. If the Holman aesthetic is a reflection of the wishes of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council then once its restrictions were removed it would be supposed that Inuit artists and printers would show change either in subject matter or style. This has not been the case and raises three possible interpretations. First it could be said that what has been expressed in the images over the years reflects the desires of the printshop workers. Or, secondly, the impetus has come from the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council and print producers agree with the Council as to what was to be printed and how it was to be done. A third possibility is that the artists and printers recognize the success of the previous print productions and will continue in this fashion until forced to change by market forces. If the market changes in the future the content and style of the prints would alter to meet the changing tastes of the consumer.

Part 3

Images as Information

Subject Matter

The analysis of formal elements of Holman prints indicates a well developed interest by the artists and printers in aesthetic expression. An examination of the content shows that substantial information on Inuit life is being presented in these works. The subject matter can be divided into six general categories: Animals, Traditional Activities, Cosmology, Hunting and Fishing, Birds and Social Interaction.¹²⁷ Each is represented by a significant number of prints and the categories are presented here in numerical order, the smallest collection first.

The animals in the first group are part of the Holman environment, but do not represent a major source of food for the inhabitants, and are not frequently hunted. In Sculpin Hiding 1986 (Fig.51) printed by Mabel Nigiyok, artist Stanley Klengenbergl illustrates his interest in creatures of his environment.¹²⁸ He wrote:

At the seashore, animal life is there. I used to grab kanayoks hiding in the rocks. Sometimes though, the kanayok would change its colour to hide and I would miss it and it would get away.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ See Table 10 p 129. Because each edition of prints is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue, a complete record of published works is available. Prints rejected by the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council will not be included in this investigation because of their inaccessibility.

¹²⁸ Stanley Klengenbergl is the grandson of Captain Klengenbergl. See biographies of artists, p 136. This artist expressed his strong interest in the natural world, to the author. He stated that he liked to watch the animals on land and in the sea. Personal communication, Holman, September 1988.

¹²⁹ Holman Co-operative. Holman 1986. No. 7

Musk-oxen are also residents of the Holman region and because of strict hunting quotas the population is on the increase.¹³⁰ Now they can be found relatively close to the community and their characteristics are captured by Mary Okheena in Musk ox waiting for the tide to cross water 1986 (Fig.48).¹³¹ Peter Aliknak illustrates other very real creatures in Summer Curse 1986 (Fig. 52) while Agnes Nanogak shows the interaction between creatures in Morning Hunt 1986 (Fig. 46), printed by Peter Palvik. The natural life that shares the Holman environment with the Inuit and does not represent a food source, is important to them. They express this interest in their imagery.

The second category, traditional activities, includes cleaning skins, gutting fish, sewing clothes and cutting up seals and is associated with migratory camp life and survival by hunting and fishing. Peter Aliknak illustrates an important activity in Preparing Dry Fish, 1977 (Fig.28), as does Agnes Nanogak in Cutting Fish 1983 (Fig. 34). Making an Atigi (Fig.31), drawn by Helen Kalvak and printed by Harry Egutak in 1982, lays out for the viewer the individual pieces needed in the making of this inner garment. This work demonstrates the Eskimo aesthetic described by George Swinton with the term 'sananguaq', which he defines as a presentation of information in a realistic manner.¹³² In Summer Storage 1969 (Fig.9), Agnes Nanogak illustrates a traditional method of provision

¹³⁰ Condon, Inuit Behaviour and Seasonal Change, p.23.

¹³¹ This is the spelling given by the artist.

¹³² George Swinton, Sculpture of the Inuit, (Toronto: Mc.Clelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 129.

preservation where food was stored inside an animal skin. For example, birds, caught in large numbers during the summer, were marinated for the coming winter months in a seal skin which retained its blubber. When the contents congealed into a gelatinous mass, it was considered to be a delicacy.¹³³

The third category, labelled Cosmology, includes shamanic activities of an ancient belief system, aspects of the spiritual world and stories. Helen Kalvak was the daughter of a shaman and was said to have practised shamanic activities herself when young.¹³⁴ Shaman's Ritual, a 1970 work (Fig. 16), illustrates part of the ritual that attended some shamanic activities. The commentary accompanying the work reads, "When the seal hunting was poor, the shaman was called upon to calm Arnakafoluk, the goddess of the sea. For this, she would use a sculptured head, and a seal flipper, while chanting at the breathing hole."¹³⁵ Once again the imagery is presented in a way that conveys the maximum amount of pertinent information.

The spiritual world is represented by Helen Kalvak's Sea Goddess, 1975/76 (Fig.26). It was believed that an underwater spirit controlled the supply of sea mammals from her home under the sea. If her world was well ordered then the supply of food to humans was ensured. If, however, her environment was in disarray, then she had the power to withhold the animals and cause starvation. Therefore it was essential to placate her at

¹³³ Fred Breummer, The Arctic, (Scarborough Prentice - Hall, 1974), p 62

¹³⁴ See biographies of artists, p 135

¹³⁵ Holman Co-operative, Holman 1970, No 5

all times.¹³⁶

Agnes Nanogak's Blind Boy, 1975/76 (Fig. 27) illustrates the story of Lumak. This is one of the major stories from the Inuit oral tradition and various versions of it are found all over the Canadian Arctic.¹³⁷ Although titled The Right Dream (Fig. 53), this work, drawn by Agnes Nanogak and printed by Mabel Nigiyok in 1986, illustrates the importance of the physical environment to a people closely associated with it and some of the beliefs that grew up around it. The artist explained:

When you sing to the Northern Lights they get closer and when they're close, they are danger. They can cut a person's head off and use it for a ball. When ducks are flying on their path, they use them for a ball and their feather's burn.

There was a shaman that could turn himself into an owl. He was taking a walk and the northern lights came close. He grabbed the northern lights and they got dim- then the shaman grabbed the duck that was all burned up and that's how the northern lights stopped cutting people's heads off.¹³⁸

Agnes Nanogak also illustrated many stories, an example of which is found in The Exhausted Raven (Fig. 37), printed by Elsie Anaginak in 1984. The story tells of one of the exploits of Raven, a character in the trickster genre.¹³⁹ Kangyak Flying (Fig. 49), from 1986, drawn by the same artist

¹³⁶ For a more complete version of this story see Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), pp. 175-183.

¹³⁷ For a more complete version of this story see Boas, The Central Eskimo, pp. 217-219.

¹³⁸ Holman 1986, No. 20.

¹³⁹ See Appendix 2, p. 130 for a complete version of the story.

and printed by Mona Ohoveluk, illustrates the importance of dreams in organizing human experiences. Messages from them were seen as indicators of future events or as signs for the direction of behaviour. Frequently they were externalised and incorporated into the oral tradition. The explanation reads:

A girl boating with her twins. When the girl wants an owl in her trap, she dreams about it, and when she wakes up she knows she has an owl in her trap. The girl dreams she made wings for her boat and a basket for her twins. She sits her twins in the basket and flies with them in the boat following the owl.¹⁴⁰

The fourth category in Holman prints is concerned with hunting and fishing, activities which are still carried out today. The ringed seal was the single most important sea mammal to the hunting Eskimo of this area. Mabel Nigiyok shows part of the hunting process in Setting Seal Hooks, a 1987 work printed by Mary Okheena (Fig.56). Her comments read:

Long ago people used to set seal hooks in a breathing hole to catch seals in winter. People still set seal hooks today. They would bring one or two dogs to sit beside the breathing holes, then the hunter would set 4 or 6 hooks. They would look around for more breathing holes. When they found more they would open the surface so that the seals would go to the breathing holes with the hunters. When a person goes looking for breathing holes without his dogs he would use his oonak (spear shaft) to look for breathing holes.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Holman 1986, No. 21

¹⁴¹ Holman 1987, No. 20

Fishing is also an extremely important activity in Holman today. One method of catching fish is found in Spearing Fishes (Fig.8), by Peter Aliknak, 1969. Lake trout and char are both found in the area. Several lakes provide a source of fish and when one becomes depleted, another is available. Char are fished through the ice in winter, and in summer are caught in the ocean after their seasonal migration.¹⁴² Rex Kangook illustrates another source of food in Tingmiakhiutok (Hunting Ducks) from 1982 (Fig. 32). Happy Hunter, Peter Aliknak 1974 (Fig. 23) captures well the pride of the successful hunter. A satisfactory hunt meant food for the entire group and the promise of a good feast in the near future. Rather than portray want and starvation, the older artists chose to celebrate success, as is illustrated by Mark Emerak in After the Hunt (Fig.17), 1970. The commentary tells us that, "The hunters return exhausted but happy after a successful hunt. The women serve their delicious caribou on a stone table. The whole camp is united for the feast."¹⁴³

Birds represent the second largest category of subject matter in the Holman prints. In June the west coast of Victoria Island becomes a major flyway for species that have migrated north along the Mackenzie corridor as far as Banks Island and then proceeded south to the Prince Albert Sound area.¹⁴⁴ First Sign of Spring 1969 (Fig. 7) by Peter Aliknak, captures the excitement when the first birds arrive in the north. It is a sign of

¹⁴² Condon, Inuit Behaviour and Seasonal Change, p. 24

¹⁴³ Holman Island 1970, No. 39.

¹⁴⁴ Condon, p. 24.

rebirth and rejuvenation, expressed in the following poem:

<p>There is fear in Feeling the cold Come to the great world And seeing the moon -Now new moon, now full moon - Follow its own footprints In the winter night.¹⁴⁵</p>	<p>There is joy in Feeling the warmth Come to the great world And seeing the sun Follow its own footprints In the summer night</p>
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In summer the landscape erupts with noise and promise as land and sea birds arrive in enormous numbers. For three months birds are everywhere, full of vitality, energy and urgency, as if they know that there is little time to be lost. These visitors provided the Eskimo with a fresh source of food, and technology was developed to catch them.¹⁴⁶ Mona Ohoveluk shows one method in Duck Hunt 1975/76 (Fig.24). Birds are still caught by the Inuit today and appear in many of the Holman prints such as Shore Birds 1986 (Fig. 47), drawn by Stanley Klengenber and printed by Mabel Nigiyok, and Children Playing 1987 (Fig. 57), drawn by Peter Aliknak.

The sixth, and by far the largest category identified, deals with the interaction among humans; people visiting and travelling, playing games, participating in athletic competition, or people in social disharmony. Mary Okheena illustrates the joy in travelling when the sky is

¹⁴⁵ Knud Rasmussen, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924: The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture, (Copenhagen: Gyldenalske Boghandel, Nordiskfolaq, 1931), p. 25.

¹⁴⁶ Arnailok Ipeelee, "The Old Ways of the Inuit," Inuktitut, Spring 1980, pp. 55-56.

dark in Travelling by Moonlight 1988 (Fig. 60). She recorded that, " In the winter months when the moon was full you can see the hills a long way off. People would use the light to travel across the land." ¹⁴⁷ She also captures sadness in Departure, 1987 (Fig. 58). She explained that, " Long ago when families were going to another settlement it was hard saying goodbye because they may never see each other again." ¹⁴⁸

Distant Mirage of Travellers 1986 (Fig. 54), drawn by Stanley Klengenberk and printed by Elsie Anoginak, also shows the ways of the migratory Eskimos. The artist wrote:

From stories, legends, and present day life, Inuit travel from hunting place to hunting place, most often on foot. With heavy loads, no matter the distance, they followed the seasons in search of food. Still today, the Inuit hunt, but are more equipped and must wonder at the strong will of our ancestor's struggle. The spears, water bucket, bow and arrow suggest summer. The snow goggles are a protection from the glare of spring sun. ¹⁴⁹

Social interaction also took the form of dancing, with the drum dance the best loved performance. It provided an occasion for the women to wear their most distinctive and elaborately decorated clothes. Agnes Nanogak captures the spirit of such an occasion in the 1969 work Drummers and Dancers, (Fig. 6), while in 1977 Helen Kalvak illustrates a similar occasion in Dance, (Fig. 29), printed by Mona Ohoveluk.

¹⁴⁷ Holman 1988, No. 32.

¹⁴⁸ Holman 1987, No. 26.

¹⁴⁹ Holman 1986, No. 9.

Games were also extremely important in Eskimo life and form an important component of this category. Children at play are shown by Peter Aliknak in the 1972 work, Sliding in the Sun (Fig. 19), in which he captures the exuberance felt on the return of the sun in early spring. Adult games took many forms and were held for many reasons. Blanket Toss 1984 (Fig.36) by Rex Kangoak and Eddie Okheena, shows a very old type of game, while High Kick, 1984 (Fig.38), printed by Harry Egutak and drawn by Agnes Nanogak, captures the pleasure taken by the participants in physical activity of an acrobatic nature, as does Helen Kalvak in Acrobatics 1972 (Fig.20).¹⁵⁰ Manual dexterity was crucial to survival in a hunting community and also appears as the subject matter in social activities. The artist describes how, " On a cord strung across the igloo, a young man performs an act to the rhythm of the drum. His actions are dictated by the words of the song. " ¹⁵¹ In Gambling Game (Fig. 39), 1984, printed by Eddie Okheena, Mark Emerak illustrates such an important pastime. He wrote:

Agility and manual dexterity are important survival skills in Inuit culture. The survival theme is often reflected in traditional games, offering the opportunity through play to hone and refine necessary skills. This particular game would call for a keen eye, steady hand and patient perseverance. Everyone who participated in this game would contribute a prize. Each person would want his contribution to be highly regarded so, to the best of his ability, he would offer something precious.

¹⁵⁰ See F. H. Eger, Inuit Games, (Vancouver: X Press, 1984), p. 46.

¹⁵¹ Holman 1972, No. 1.

The first person successful at spearing the target would have his choice of the prizes and thereafter he would be eliminated from the game. Honour would be given to the first eliminated player.

The game continued until all players had been eliminated. Everyone, of course, would win a prize, but the gamble, the part that made the game exciting, was to strive to be the best.¹⁵²

In traditional Eskimo life, songs and song contests were essential in the execution of public justice. Many confrontations were settled amicably in the song house. Knud Rasmussen, during the Fifth Thule Expedition, recorded the Eskimo reaction to the world of contests. Igpakuhak informed him that:

I long for contests in the feasting house
 the little feasting house of Bony One:
 the one I always challenge to a sing
 and yet I don't forget
 how thoroughly one pities
 the victim of the fight,
 made lonely by the song of mockery,
 immediately the contest finishes...¹⁵³

In this way, using ridicule, reconciliation between opponents was achieved. As Swinton explained:

the whole complex of combat-festivity-mockery-victory-

¹⁵² Holman, 1984, No. 42.

¹⁵³ As recorded by Rasmussen. Quoted in H. Collinson, Inuit Games and Contests. The Clifford E. Lee Collection of Prints, (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Collections, 1978), p.6.

compassion-reconciliation is indicative of a very high level of morality and humour. As is, of course, the concept - and the act-- of achieving justice through festive singing, companionship, contests and laughter. ¹⁵⁴

Traditional methods of social control focussed on the enforcement of culturally acceptable and socially obligatory behaviour. Group norms had to be respected by the individual members to ensure the survival of the community. Repeated violations were deemed detrimental to the welfare of the entire group and, depending on the severity of the infraction, were punished with mockery, ostracism, physical expulsion or homicide. In this way disputes were settled in the absence of a formal legal system and institutionalized law enforcement. Unacceptable behaviour elicited different responses depending on the severity of the behaviour. Battle (Fig. 11), from the 1970 collection by Mark Emerak, and Fight For A wife (Fig.22), a 1973 work by Helen Kalvak, illustrate aspects of social behaviour, while Vengeance in His Mind (Fig. 10) by Mona Ohoveluk, 1969, and A Trap For Death 1970 (Fig. 12), by the same artist, indicate the punishment for a serious infraction of the rules. These examples show that many aspects of social interaction are covered in the subject matter of the prints.

In examining a representative sample of prints from the Holman collections, it can be seen that the animals sharing the environment with the settlement population, but who do not represent a food source, remain

¹⁵⁴ George Swinton, Introduction to H. Collinson, Inuit Games and Contests.

important to the Inuit. Other subject matter is drawn mostly from a way of life that no longer exists, except in the memories of the older artists. Although fishing and hunting are still important activities for the population today, they are illustrated in the prints with the tools and techniques of the past. This suggests that the artists are remembering a time long past, as fishing and hunting equipment used in Holman today is of modern manufacture. Camping out on the land in summer is still part of community life but accommodation is provided by canvas tents or wooden buildings.¹⁵⁵ Games and dances illustrated are also of the past, though sports, in the form of hockey and basketball, are enjoyed by many today in the hamlet.¹⁵⁶ Modern technology such as snowmobiles, guns and motor boats, without which hunting activities could not take place, are not represented. The artists and printers are recreating an idealized lifestyle that exists mainly in their cultural memory. They express admiration for the strong spirit of previous generations, a past heritage. The subject matter of Holman prints is separated from current life experiences and the realities of change. It does not express life as it is now being experienced. Conspicuously absent are references to contemporary settlement life.

Reasons for the rooting of the subject matter in the past are extremely complex. On one side of the discussion is the very powerful non-Inuit contribution to the project. Printmaking is not an indigenous art form. Neither is it a changed product of a long established art tradition,

¹⁵⁵ Personal observation, Holman 1988

¹⁵⁶ See F.H. Eger, Inuit Games, (Vancouver: X Press), 1984

altered through contact with a more dominant social group. Technique and media have been introduced from a foreign culture. External standards have been set and enforced through the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council. This organization was responsible for the creation of an artificial, external market and also provided the funding necessary to operate the program.¹⁵⁷

In purchasing selected subject matters, the southern market is undoubtedly exerting influence on the contents of the prints. The importance of their audience is well understood by the Inuit artists and its effect on the subject matter of the prints should not be underestimated. The economic importance of this endeavour to the artists should not be trivialized either. Father Tardy recently reiterated the practical importance of the activities of the co-operative. He wrote, "In the Eskimo's country, in the early years, that was the struggle for life—the whole Eskimos life is marked by that. They do things for practical purposes: tools for hunting, statuettes for shamanistic purposes, carvings, drawings or prints to make money for their living."¹⁵⁸

In their choice of topic to be printed the Inuit artists may be responding to pressures of the southern market which are telling them that these are the kinds of images that they wish to see coming from the north. It is possible that they are perpetuating a stereotyped, southern

¹⁵⁷ For a history of the involvement of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Inuit art see Helga Goetz, "Inuit Art". In the Shadow of the Sun. Unpublished manuscript. Department of Ethnology, The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull

¹⁵⁸ Written communication with Father Tardy, summer and fall, 1989

notion of northern Inuit life. If the artists and printers are catering solely to this market then the Inuit themselves are helping to preserve on paper a lifestyle that no longer exists.

In an extremely complex southern social structure the market may be trying to perpetuate the idea of a northern culture which lacks the complexities and frustrations of life in southern cities. Thus idealized images of a perceived romantic, unrealistic way of life are preferred. For example in Ancestor's Song For Survival (Fig 50), a 1986 work by Stanley Klengenberg, printed by Mary Okheena, a central figure is shown on his knees, holding a traditional fishing spear upraised in his hands. Clusters of faces flank the central fisherman. Each face shows a traditional style of tattooing. The work exudes a feeling of antiquity and the visual message is reinforced by the written commentary which reads:

Our ancestors struggled through life. Hardships were ever present. Through good times, when food was abundant, great feasts were held, songs were sung, but soon, as always, game was scarce. Then the songs of rejoice turned to wailing. The hunter is reluctant to strike knowing there's a chance of a miss. The faces are his elders, long past singing.¹⁵⁹

From the visual imagery and written text, it would appear that the thoughts of the artist were rooted in the past. It transpires, however, that the artist was not thinking about the Inuit when he drew this subject matter,¹⁶⁰ but was responding to events currently taking place in

¹⁵⁹ Holman 1986, No. 10.

¹⁶⁰ Communication with the artist, Holman 1988.

Ethiopia, where thousands of people were starving. This is not the message that is being marketed.

Stanley Klengenbergl also draws a cartoon strip called Fish and Snips, for northern newspapers and magazines, in which his characters blend aspects of a traditional lifestyle with modern technology and incidents from present daily life. They ride snowmobiles, travel by aeroplane and live in wooden houses. They are not the victims of culture shock but have fused the best from both worlds and have created a satisfying existence.¹⁶¹ It would seem that this artist is drawing for two different markets, that of the print-buying public, found mainly in the south and that of the cartoon strip viewers who reside in the north. The differences between the subject matter in the prints and that of the comics suggest that the Inuit artists are very well aware of the preferences of the market place and aim their images and commentaries directly at this audience. Printmaking brings to the artists much needed ready cash, which enables them to purchase materials so necessary for life in northern life today.

Settlement living is the result of change forced on the Eskimos from outside the group. The old belief system of the migratory camp was inappropriate for community life. Although the artists living in Holman today draw support from a belief system more suited to their current

¹⁶¹ R. McGrath, "The Influence of Comics On Inuit Art and Literature," The Inuit Art Quarterly, Spring 1988, p. 7.

social conditions, stories from the cosmology of their ancestors remain in their memories and are given expression in the prints. Printmaking for these artists offers an outlet for the recording of aspects of the past.

Theoretically prints could be said to build on and enrich the oral tradition but it would appear that the telling of stories to placate fractious spirits, or to regulate human behaviour, has little place in a settled community, which offers two churches for religious observance, and a hamlet council and other government institutions to oversee community activities and regulate human behaviour.¹⁶² There is little evidence to suggest that the oral tradition survives as an active, vital element of Holman life. Some artists spoken to showed little knowledge of characters from the oral tradition, such as *Kannakapfaluk*. Some of the older artists did remember having heard of her, but it was a long time ago.¹⁶³ It would appear that the printmaking program uses the oral tradition as a source of information and may be helping to preserve part of a tradition which no longer serves to satisfy the compelling needs of a migratory lifestyle. If, in contemporary settlement life, immediate survival is assured and the traditional forms of story-telling hold little place in maintaining social order, then perhaps printmaking provides the Inuit with the opportunity to recreate a traditional world that survives

¹⁶² Communication with members of the the general population, Holman, September 1989 R. Condon makes little reference to story telling in his works on Holman. He stresses the importance of activities such as hockey, games of strength and basketball for the younger residents. During school some stories are heard. The older members of the community do not appear to participate in story telling. Condon, p. 44

¹⁶³ Communication with artists and printers, Holman 1988.

only in memory. If this memory is to survive, it must be recorded and reinforced. Printmaking captures some aspects of the oral tradition and prevents its loss to the community. For the younger Holman residents, having some aspects of their oral tradition preserved in images may provide an important source of information on their heritage for future study. Explanations of stories and descriptions of a past way of life, however, may disappear with the older generation.

As a means of passing on information, the oral tradition had played a seminal role in organizing behaviour in pre-settlement life. With the changed circumstances of community existence, in which story telling has become less important, and where an expressive written language has been available for a relatively short time, the printmaking project presents a unique opportunity for self expression for the producers.

This endeavour has been influenced to a large extent by outside pressures. On first examination it would appear that the non-Inuit influences are overwhelming and the artists are producing works that are guaranteed success in the market place, to secure the flow of cash back to the community. Yet there exists, most certainly, an interior influence, provided by the Inuit themselves. Making prints gives a significant satisfaction to the people of Holman. The enthusiasm for the endeavour and their interest in the nature of the finished print show that participation in the program satisfies their need for aesthetic expression and attends to some of their economic requirements. Because of the collective cultural nature of print production, where the finished work is

the result of the efforts of more than one person, it would appear that what is being manifested in Inuit prints is some kind of community statement. If one accepts the fact that the final product is a truly northern art form, which is a synthesis of Inuit and non-Inuit concepts, it remains to explore what the choice of subject matter may mean to the Inuit. The choice of subject matter suggests that an additional function may be served by this project.

The current way of life places much stress on the inhabitants of Holman. Although many features of a southern culture are extremely welcome, community life has also brought problems and complications to the inhabitants. One reason for the choice of subject matter that must be considered is nostalgia for a way of life, now gone, but which remains in the memories of the people. Memory is selective. Hardships can be forgotten and good times remembered. If the contributors to printmaking were restricted to artists and printers who had personally experienced the traditional life portrayed in the prints, then perhaps it could be said that these people are expressing nostalgia for the past. Younger artists, however, who were born in the community and who grew up in the settlement environment, and who have not experienced the wandering ways of their ancestors, are also selecting their subject matter from a past era. This suggests that although nostalgia can not be overlooked as a partial reason for the choice of subject matter, other explanations must be equally relevant in the Holman situation.

To investigate the significance of what is being expressed in the

Holman prints, it is necessary to move beyond the surface explanation of nostalgia and take into account other social happenings in the community as printmaking is bound closely to development in the settlement. A society is made up of individual parts, which, when coordinated in action, work to maintain the equilibrium of the social structure. Events in one subsystem affect the working of another. When societies and ultimately individuals experience stress, change must occur to relieve these pressures. Contact, first with European explorers and adventurers and then with southern inhabitants brought profound change and cultural disruption to the Inuit of Holman. They have exchanged their migratory existence for settlement in a community. A subsistence living from the land has begun to be augmented and, in some instances, replaced by a wage economy. Decisions previously made by all group members are now made by agents outside the extended family.¹⁶³ These cultural changes pressured the Inuit first to acculturate into the dominant society and more recently, to fight for self determination.¹⁶⁴ Because the evolution of the community has been greatly affected by the presence of non-Inuit, it is appropriate and essential to examine printmaking within the boundaries of contact between two distinct cultural populations.

¹⁶³ Communication with hamlet officials, Holman, September 1988.

¹⁶⁴ See Peter Ittinuar, "The Inuit Perspective on Aboriginal Rights," in M. Bold and J.A. Long (eds.), Quest for Justice, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, pp. 46-53.

Part Three

2 Nativism

In investigating change in socio-cultural systems throughout the world brought about by contact between differing groups of people, anthropologist Anthony Wallace has suggested that innovation in cultural systems can be characterized by a uniform process of development. In his first stage *Steady State*, "For the vast majority of a population, culturally recognized techniques for satisfying needs operate with such efficiency that chronic stress within the system varies within tolerable limits." ¹⁶⁵ His second category, *The Period of Increased Individual Stress* is a time when members of a group, " -- experience increasingly severe stress as a result of the decreasing efficiency of certain stress-reduction techniques." ¹⁶⁶ This is followed by a *Period of Cultural Distortion* in which, " -- The prolonged experience of stress, produced by failure of the need satisfaction techniques and by anxiety over the prospect of changing behaviour patterns, is responded to differently by different people." ¹⁶⁷ His fourth category, *The Period of Revitalization*, can halt, or postpone the deterioration of a culture. ¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements." American Anthropology, No. 56, 1956, p. 268.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 269.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 270.

If Wallace's ideas are applied to the situation in Holman, then it could be said that his first step in cultural change, the *Steady State* has appeared at different times in the history of the Eskimos. Dorset and Thule cultures were characterized by the organization of populations into distinct groups. Economic viability was based on a relatively stable socio-economic adaptation to the physical realities of an extremely harsh environment. Both cultures experienced periods of stability when techniques for coping with physical pressures were sufficient to ensure a stable socio-economic organization. Art, in these stages, was produced mainly for communication with the spirits of the universe and was a vital part of the culture. It was aimed at the ordering of life's opposing forces. It attempted to extract order out of chaos, to enhance the chances of survival of the group and ensure its continued existence. The people were able to participate in a way of life that was, to a limited degree, predictable. When extreme, sustained pressure disrupted social structures the Eskimos were forced into adaptive strategies. For the Dorset the extraordinary stress on their culture was provided by contact with the more technologically advanced Thule, while the Thule, in the later stages of evolution were faced with extreme pressures of dwindling resources from a physically changing environment.

Control of internal elements was arranged through a social structure organized by a system of rules and regulations.¹⁶⁸ In this way individual

¹⁶⁸ Many of the stories found in the oral tradition are in the form of cautionary tales, in the style of Aesop. Although characters often take the form of animals, the message contained is aimed at humans. For example see A.L. Kroeber, "Animal Tales of the Eskimo," Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 12 No. 44, 1899, pp. 17-23.

behaviour was rigidly controlled and was reinforced by the oral tradition. Thus internal stress, defined by Wallace as "-- a condition in which some part, or the whole of the social organization is threatened with more or less serious damage,"¹⁶⁹ was addressed with some measure of control. External stress, such as a changing climate or alteration of animal migration patterns, was counteracted by human movement or a change in hunting techniques. If the external pressures become too severe, as for instance, in the case of extreme climatic change, then the group's present techniques for stress management would be effective no longer. Extreme difficulties experienced by the people would eventually lead to their demise. If preventative action was initiated, however, then the people would survive but with an altered social organization. For example, the Dorset were most likely absorbed by the Thule. The Thule were forced to change from a sedentary existence to a migratory camp life to ensure biological viability.

The period of intermittent contact, spread over approximately one hundred and forty years, from first contact with Samuel Hearne until the establishment of the Hudson's Bay post at Holman in 1940 shows parallels with Wallace's second step in cultural change, the *Period of Individual Stress*. This stage of development is characterized by its effect on individuals in the population. In order for the society to function satisfactorily, the needs of these individuals must be satisfied. If mechanisms to reduce stress lose their effectiveness then the pressure

¹⁶⁹ Wallace, p. 265.

on individual members increases. On first contact between groups, Wallace argued that stress can be tolerated and habitual behaviour maintained. For the Copper Eskimos, change to their culture was at first slow and manageable. European tools and technology were introduced into the migratory culture without significant impact on the Eskimo way of life. After a period of sustained contact, increasing pressures, such as the adoption of trapping as the major economic activity, made significant cultural adaptation essential. This change in occupation necessitated alteration in camp organization. The socio-cultural environment of the hunter was no longer suited to the life of the trapper. Trappers had to adjust to the demands of the trapline. For example their visiting schedules were rearranged so that they coincided with the European Christmas and Easter festivities. Art production at this time no longer functioned exclusively as a mechanism for the propitiation of unpredictable spirits. From this point on it was aimed at the members of another culture and gradually lost its religious stimulus. It eventually became secular in function and assumed its place as a commodity in the society.

To some extent this exterior stress was dealt with by the existing social organization but, with an intensification of this pressure, in the form of the demise of the fur trade, social arrangements could no longer satisfy the needs of the people. Groups were forced into settlements. They did not return to a hunting life on the land. This option was not readily available to them as many of the skills necessary for survival had not been retained.

For the Inuit of Holman, stress on the culture was further intensified during the time of settlement expansion. Systematic adaptive changes in individual cultural perceptions had to be made. Behavioural patterns were radically changed as people responded to stress in different ways. During such a period Wallace argued that the culture can respond in two different ways. It may remain unchanged or it may experience dramatic change. Neither method provides a satisfactory solution to the problem and the society is not able to attend to the needs of the individual. The Inuit of the settlement have experienced cultural distress. With the failure of the society to satisfy the needs of its members, the individual elements are not in harmony, and the culture suffers distortion. Outward manifestations of this state can be disillusionment and apathy. Life assumes a purposelessness.¹⁷⁰ The individual response by members of the group can take different forms: alcohol abuse, indolence, passivity, violence or rejection of the culture. If not addressed, and conscious effort directed to effect change, these extreme pressures will lead to cultural disorientation and disintegration of the community. If concerns are addressed, however, and the people accept the changed circumstances and decide to make the best of the current situation, then the process of cultural disintegration can be arrested.

The older Inuit of Holman have changed their way of life from that of the hunting camp to the settlement. Younger people have lived there all

¹⁷⁰ See Hugh Brody, People's Land, Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic. (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1975)

their lives. Social structures suitable for the organization of small, migrant groups have been replaced by ones more suitable for current conditions. Some signs of stress are evident in the community today. Alcohol does represent a problem in Holman, but most likely because of its size and continuing close ties to the land, social adjustment has been fairly successful.¹⁷¹ Many members appear to have adapted well to this latest form of society. The current interest in the preservation of language, their involvement in management of their own affairs and their participation in political discussions indicate a willingness of the people to accept the complexities of modern life and participate in its direction while maintaining ties with their past. Participation in the modern world reflects the extent to which the Inuit are being assimilated into a southern culture, yet some aspects of their culture, such as language, are being revitalized. Wallace suggested that to instigate any form of culture change:

.... the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this culture system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discreet items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well, in some cases, new traits.¹⁷²

Printmaking is part of a cultural response which is slowly evolving in Holman society today.

¹⁷¹ Condon, 1981 and 1987 Communication with community members and government officials, Holman, September 1988.

¹⁷² Wallace, p. 265.

The cultural situation of the contemporary Inuit and their response in other areas of society, such as their struggle to preserve their language, suggests that some kind of resurgence of Inuit culture may be stirring from within the community. Printmaking is one aspect of Inuit culture. The prints represent a link between past and present. With roots in the old ways the Inuit might be able to function better in the new, foreign settlement culture which shows no sign of being abandoned. The Inuit show a desire to remain a distinct cultural entity. They are showing pride in their cultural roots and are taking appropriate measures to slow the trend towards cultural assimilation.¹⁷³ In their search for a place in Canadian society, looking towards the past may help to balance the trend towards integration with the need for cultural preservation. The prints may function, then, as an aid in reducing the stress associated with acculturation and ease the process of social change.

Wallace's concept of culture revitalization is based on the idea of deliberate efforts made by the members of the society to protect their culture. It is difficult to determine how deliberate are the actions of the artists and printers. Certainly there is a conscious effort to protect Inuktitut from being replaced by English¹⁷⁴ but in the case of printmaking the process may have more of an unconscious nature. His concept of revitalization, subsumed under the broader question of acculturation,

¹⁷³ Father Tardy, written communication, summer and fall, 1989

¹⁷⁴ See J. Iain Prattis. "Minority Language Bilingualism. The Case of Inuktitut in the Canadian North." Unpublished manuscript, Departmental Paper 84-3, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1984

is useful in understanding the nature and evolution of culture change in Eskimo/Inuit history. His fourth category, *The Period of Revitalization* contains a strong religious element which in the context under discussion is not entirely suitable for the clarifications of developments in modern Inuit society that are expressed visually in the prints. It would be more appropriate to apply them to an investigation into current religious practices. Although he does suggest that revitalization can be divided into subclasses, one of which is nativism, his emphasis is on revitalization in a special religious sense. Aspects of contact between Europeans and Inuit suggest that conditions exist in the north for the evolution of some form of nativism.

Because anthropologists Ralph Linton and Laurence Krader focus more closely on nativism it is appropriate to use their work in the further investigation of Holman printmaking.¹⁷⁵ The contact situations they describe provide sympathetic models with which to compare the visual evidence presented in the Holman prints but are most powerful when placed within Wallace's structures of social change. When concepts from all three authors are combined they offer better models for understanding printmaking.

Linton defined nativism as, "Any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."¹⁷⁶ Krader argued that native peoples responded to the impact of

¹⁷⁵ Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, No. 45, 1943, pp. 230-241.
 Lawrence Krader "A Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia" American Anthropologist, No. 58, 1956, pp. 282-29.

¹⁷⁶ Linton, p. 238

a more technologically advanced culture group, " ... by making a cult of its own past prior to contact, and venerating this past for itself. " He concluded, "The cult of the native way and rejection of the alien way is nativism."¹⁷⁷ As some aspects of both concepts can be isolated in the prints it is of value to use a combination of the definitions in the examination of the message of the subject matter.

Both authors hypothesized that a nativistic movement usually arose in a situation of acculturation. Examples of these types of cultural developments have been identified in different parts of the world and appear as a response to the effect of a foreign culture on that of the local population. For the Inuit, this could be considered to be the impact of a southern culture on a northern way of life. Krader further suggested that nativism was not a primary response to initial interaction between groups but was likely to evolve late in the ongoing contact situations. On first meetings between Europeans and Copper Eskimos there would appear to be no reluctance on either side to borrow cultural elements. This period began in the late eighteenth and continued until the early twentieth century. For approximately one hundred and forty years, which was the period of intermittent contact, the local inhabitants were not reluctant to borrow elements, such as metal pots, knives and guns, from the more convenient European technology. Conversely, the incoming explorers, missionaries and traders adopted indigenous clothing and hunting methods

¹⁷⁷ Krader, p. 290.

better suited to the local physical conditions they experienced and relied on the knowledge and experience of the local hunters to secure food. Cultural interaction was of benefit to both groups.¹⁷⁸

After a sustained period of intermittent contact concentrated interaction took place in settlement life. During the 1960s and 70s southern amenities came to the community. Medical facilities, schools, housing and churches were followed by the introduction of utilities such as hot and cold running water and electricity. Traditional hunting tools were discarded in preference for the more complex European technology. These events echo Krader's findings in another contact situation when he investigated nativism under the broader problem of acculturation. He suggested that when two populations meet, the smaller group would appear eager to assume some aspects of the culture of the more dominant group, such as a more advanced technology, with an accompanying devaluation of the indigenous culture. This process parallels the evolution of events in the recent history of the Holman Inuit. Settlement life has meant the partial disappearance of a migratory life and the skills associated with it. Guns and motorized vehicles have replaced the traditional hunting and travelling technology. Story telling is not needed to while away the long winter nights. Games have changed and social organization has altered.

Perpetuation of a particular culture is usually an unconscious process and is part of normal cultural development. Societies are made

¹⁷⁸ See works of Rasmussen, Jenness and Stefansson.

up of separate elements, which react as an homogenous group to external influences. Linton argued that a nativistic movement can evolve after continued close contact between groups, when one culture becomes conscious of another and feels threatened by this new, potentially dominant population. Although power is not necessarily a function of population size and a smaller group need not be subordinate to its larger neighbours, contact between Inuit and non-Inuit cultures illustrates a sequence of events similar to those described by Krader. While the Holman residents have embraced some features of southern culture, they have begun to express anxiety about southern influences and the effect of these on their culture. Although they accept many of the comforts brought from the south, they are concerned with the negative impact of certain introduced elements such as alcohol.¹⁷⁹ The situation in Holman shows parallels with some of the aspects of nativism as described by Krader. It does not, however, illustrate such a complete rejection of alien ways as Krader's model suggests. His definition, therefore, must be taken with some reservation.

Linton argued that nativism concerns itself with particular elements of a culture, not the whole culture, and develops out of frustration with the current social situation. Holman residents are not entirely content with current life.¹⁷⁹ Conditions in the community are conducive to the beginnings of a movement to counteract unwelcome influences. Linton identified the stated aims of such a movement as being to perpetuate the

¹⁷⁹ Communication with the inhabitants of Holman, September 1968.

current culture or to revive the past. Neither aim may be realized, he suggested, because whereas the present day society is not viewed as being completely satisfactory, some aspects of the past are recognized as being inferior. Neither culture appears satisfactory. Politics may take on a new meaning in such a situation because the incoming people are not going to go away. Under such conditions, it is realized that members of one culture will, "emphasize the institution of customs, values and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present."¹⁸⁰ What appears to develop then, is an effort to perpetuate selected elements of the past and recreate aspects of the ancestral situation which appear desirable on reflection.

"The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures with which the society is in contact, the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character."¹⁸¹ The images in the prints are certainly distinctively Inuit in form and both the people who buy the prints and the artists and printers who make them are emphasizing aspects of a culture now gone. They are stressing the differences between the two cultures. They are favouring statements of cultural distinctiveness.

Recent northern history shows that on first contact between the dissimilar populations, there was pressure on the Inuit to adopt the culture of the dominant society with a parallel devaluation of native

¹⁸⁰ Linton, p. 238

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

culture.¹⁸² Later, when it became apparent that there was to be little improvement in social conditions and distribution of power, frustrations in the community increased. A desire for social equality in organizing social life remains unfulfilled. Fundamental cultural values appear to be threatened. Under such conditions where a situation of inequality is seen to exist, with its attendant attitudes of superiority and inferiority, Linton argued that aspects of the superiority of the old culture will be emphasized. Current conditions in the north demonstrate that external elements are reshaping native culture. Government is dispensed from Yellowknife and carried out by resident officials. Positions of authority are occupied by southern incomers. Politics are taking on new meaning and traditional cultural values appear threatened. Old ways are being revered and specific aspects of the traditional culture given attention. Perhaps, then, the subject matter found in the Inuit prints is a visual manifestation of the beginnings of nativism, as it is defined by Linton and shows some aspects of nativism as described by Krader.

Similarities of developments are evident between contact situations described by Wallace, Linton and Krader and happenings with the Inuit of Holman. Wallace's theory of cultural innovation is useful in understanding developments in Eskimo/Inuit history up to the time of settlement expansion. In a discussion on religious developments in the community his concept of revitalization, which contains a strong messianic element, would be entirely appropriate. With printmaking, however, more useful models are provided by Linton and Krader. They

¹⁸² See Brody. 1975.

advance concepts which parallel more closely developments in the north, but must be viewed with reservation. By applying the ideas of all three anthropologists, each of which best describes particular stages in Inuit culture change, a more satisfying explanation of the function of printmaking in Holman can be postulated.

The foregoing discussion assumes that the dominant culture is that of the contemporary, southern Canadian. This view, although legitimate in some instances, shows ethnocentric bias and may not correspond with the opinions of some Holman residents.¹⁸³ If one assumes that the Inuit do not regard their culture as being inferior to that of the south then the strong influence of the external market is partly explained by Linton when he wrote:

In cases where the dominant group concurs with the dominated in considering certain aspects of the latter's culture superior but will not grant the superiority of the culture as a whole, this attitude will stimulate the dominated group to focus attention upon such aspects of its culture and endow them with added symbolic value.¹⁸⁴

The subject matter of the prints is northern in form, the images unique to the Inuit.

From this overview of topics chosen for printing it seems that while the printmaking program provides an outlet for aesthetic expression and is a very important source of cash income essential for the

¹⁸³ Mary Okheena, who has visited the south, intimated that she preferred the way of life in the north to that of Toronto. Personal communication, Holman, September 1988.

¹⁸⁴ Linton, p 238

recipients to participate in a pluralistic northern economy, it also offers psychological aid to the artists and printers. It can be argued that the subject matter of the prints is a visual manifestation of a blossoming sense of nativism in the north. The prints help the artists and printers by providing a base from which to comprehend and evaluate the changes they have undergone. The expression of this fund of common knowledge, exclusive to the Inuit, helps set them apart. The prints provide the opportunity to create feelings of self worth and pride in Inuit traditions, to regenerate respect for this inheritance and to affirm the validity of Inuit tradition. The Inuit are better able to function in a changing culture if they possess some roots in their own. In the search for a place in Canadian society, recording the past helps the people to balance the trend towards integration with the need for cultural preservation. It may help reduce the stress associated with acculturation and ease the process of social change. Inuit printmaking is part of a wider movement that is exploring traditional values and reiterates the relevance of its culture. It is a celebration of community identity. It is an aesthetic manifestation of the creative spirit of a people reawakened to its cultural heritage.

Linton and Krader's definitions of nativism require the participation of the majority of members of the group. In Holman at this time only the members of the printshop are involved in the process. The visual message of the prints is aimed at the members of the southern market and so far not directed to northern residents.¹⁸⁵ Once the print collection has

¹⁸⁵ Personal observation, Holman, September 1988.

been completed, the artists have no further contact with it. The older artists of Holman spent much of their lives living the traditional lifestyle of their ancestors. They now find themselves members of a materialistic, competitive, modern world. In this community there exists a healthy respect between generations, which is due, in part, to the continued importance of hunting and fishing to the community. At the moment, Inuit prints, being too valuable as a market commodity, are not to be seen in northern households. Neither are the artists familiar with printmaking in other communities. The dialogue between generations on the subject matter in the drawings and prints is only just beginning. Inuit youth are being caught up in the process of modern day settlement life.¹⁸⁶

Printmaking demonstrations have been carried out in the local school to stimulate the interest of the younger members of the community in the project. In the future the drawings and prints will provide, for the interested student, a fascinating storehouse of historical documents of a people who have few written records. When this dialogue begins between generations and among all the members of the hamlet, as it possibly will, the missing section to Linton and Krader's definitions of nativism will be completed. All interested members of the community will be involved.

Cultural developments in the community are important for deciphering and understanding the messages in Holman prints. It is easy to

¹⁸⁶ R.G. Condon, Inuit Youth Growth and Change in the Canadian Arctic, (Rutgers: The State University, 1987).

assume that exterior influences on the prints are of overwhelming significance and that the Inuit have little input or power in this project. This would imply that the artists and printers are totally submissive to the wishes of these external influences. This is not the case. The Inuit contribution is substantial. It is clear that the subject matter found in Holman prints shows a positive response to a contact situation. It reveals an attempt by the artists and printers to evaluate and comprehend recent experiences and in the process affirm aspects of Inuit culture.

Stress was not a phenomenon unique to the period of contact. Throughout Copper Eskimo history change in cultural patterns has been dealt with by traditional mechanisms. Contact with Europeans changed the manner in which stress was felt. This in turn forced the Inuit into adaptive cultural strategies. Printmakers are responding in one way to the problems of life in the community today. The prints seem to function as an adaptive mechanism in a changing society.

Part Four

Conclusions

Printmaking in Holman is a post contact phenomenon and is not the product of a lengthy indigenous tradition. It is not an age old art form which has undergone change on contact with a more dominant society. It is not a form of expression that once held religious meaning and has had its spirituality removed. Printmaking is a regional art form, grown out of distinctive circumstances of production. It is a contemporary, secular, phenomenon produced by one culture for consumption by another. It is a new enterprise which draws upon the skills of a generation of people whose environmental observation, memory development and technological skills were highly developed. These attributes have been put to use in a new manner.

The artists who made the drawings for the first prints and the printers who produced the finished works were older members of the community. These people had grown up following a migratory hunting and fishing adaptation to a harsh physical world. This environment not only provided them with the means of survival, it dictated their thoughts and influenced their concepts of the world. Contact with outsiders occurred after these thought patterns had been firmly established. Contact opened up new areas of visual expression, such as drawing maps on paper with graphite pencils, and brought new materials such as beads and duffle cloth to them. Sustained contact further opened up new opportunities for self

expression through settlement life and the printshop.

At present, most works contain the input of several people, including the person who made the drawing, the printers, adjudicators and the buyers in the market place. As a result, the finished work is a communal expression, not that of a single individual. Over the years the Holman printers have given an enthusiastic welcome to new technology and media introduced into the program and have developed considerable ability in the selection of colour for the drawings and in the technical skills of printing. Younger artists have lived in the community all their lives and spend a limited time out on the land. Their life experiences and worldly constructs are different from those of earlier generations. It would be expected that change in life experiences would be reflected in the visual arts. This is what the visual evidence shows. While some artists continue to produce images devoid of context, others have begun to introduce spatial depth, perspective and setting into their work. A few artists have begun to include landscape as part of the composition. Many images remain static throughout the history of the workshop, but others are beginning to indicate compositional change which imparts a dynamic element to the work. There is no indication of a move toward the development of abstraction, cubism or any other movement which has characterized the development of western art.

The function of art in Eskimo/Inuit history has changed with the social circumstances of the people. Periods of artistic activity have been interspersed with spells showing little creativity. The earliest arctic

inhabitants decorated their artifacts to propitiate the spirits of their universe so that a flow of animals might never cease and their immediate concerns could be satisfied. In association with other rules and regulations, the decoration of tools strengthened the religious rituals necessary for securing food. These decorated tools, as well as being functional implements, could also be said to be works of art. During the contact period cultural interaction brought about new attitudes to art and trade. A subsistence lifestyle now became reinforced by a barter economy. Art for trade became established and a secular, commercial production of art, stimulated by the establishment of a market exterior to the Inuit culture, evolved. This paved the way for artistic activities in contemporary settlement existence.

In present day Holman the printmaking program appears to be functioning as a visual affirmation of cultural identity in an increasingly complicated settlement existence. The Inuit express a fondness for romanticizing the past in contrast to a complicated, problem plagued present. This concept is reinforced by the demands of a market which still retains romantic ideas of life in the north. Although isolated from this market, the printshop workers undoubtedly are aware of its strong influence.

The foregoing discussions show that in spite of the nature of this project and its history of development, printmaking is an important endeavour for the Inuit of Holman. On the one hand it provides them with the opportunity to express themselves visually and to establish an artistic

tradition in keeping with the evolution of settlement life. On the other hand printmaking offers the participants engagement with the dominant society and assistance in understanding cultural change. The prints define the Holman population as being distinct from the culture of contact and are important in the preservation of cultural identity.

Holman printmaking presented special problems and difficulties for research because it did not lend itself to the accepted investigative processes of either art historical or anthropological research. This thesis not only described the formal qualities of the prints, it interpreted aesthetic manifestations in terms of culture and culture change. Using this method of research explicit and implicit meanings were ascertained.

Inuit culture is demonstrably different from other Canadian cultures just as contemporary Inuit art differs from mainstream North American art. Prints are not made for Inuit society. They are part of an exchange process between the Inuit and non-Inuit worlds and fulfill a set of values that are different from the culture of production. The Inuit are dependent on their audience for the continued success of this venture and they understand how their art fulfills a set of expectations of a non-indigenous value system, although the market confirms stereotypes by influencing the process through its particular view of art.

While Inuit prints evoke a response in the market place, they also hold an important function for the members of the printshop. The prints communicate meaning through their visual form and through their content. Although the prints are not made for local consumption, the Holman artists

and printers gain satisfaction from the use of line, colour and shapes, from the technical excellence of the finished work achieved through control of technique and skill in the printing process. They rejoice in the excellence of their own creations. The artists and printers receive satisfaction from the expression of beauty and from the acceptance of their work in another culture. Aesthetic pleasure continues to be renewed through the prints. An analysis of Holman prints, based on form alone, provides some explanation of the explicit meaning contained in the prints. It does not reveal the implicit meaning hidden in the content.

Form and content have a symbiotic relationship. The Holman prints communicate meaning through their visual form and through their subject matter. The aesthetic appreciation of a work is enhanced when implicit meaning is revealed. Form and content are inseparable and both aspects must be considered if a full understanding of the prints is to be reached. In this thesis visual forms are described but are also related to Holman society. Aesthetic inspiration and technical abilities are affirmed while at the same time cultural usefulness and uniqueness are stressed. The twofold research approach adopted in this work not only explains the nature of the prints and the artistic process used in their production, but also presents a cultural dimension not immediately obvious. Explicit meaning is identified and implicit meaning revealed. A formal analysis of the works reveals that the participants find this project an excellent outlet for visual expression. From concentrated investigation of the subject matter one can say that the printed images express some features of nativism,

not the revivalistic religious form favoured by Wallace, but the cultural revitalization aspect which was the focus of studies of Linton and Krader. The principal conclusion arising from this research is that printmaking in Holman serves a double function. It can be said, then, that this activity functions both as an outlet for visual expression and as an adaptive mechanism in a changing society.

Conclusions reached throughout this discussion must remain tentative because of the nature of the enquiry. Alternate interpretations of the data are certainly plausible. As there has been little discussion of Holman printmaking in the existing literature, the results put forward here can not be compared with any previous interpretations of the data. In covering new ground this work fills a void in the literature on Inuit printmaking. It complements work carried out in other communities and adds a cultural dimension to the study of contemporary Inuit art.

The main implication of this research is that "art" should be examined within its culture of origin. In this way, images are related to cultural developments. An interdisciplinary approach allows the researcher to examine the questions from a broader base than the confines of a single discipline. Conclusions are drawn from many sources rather than from one academic area. Deeper insights into the subject of discussion are possible.

With the base on Holman printing that this thesis has assembled it would be possible, once a significant body of works has been established for any one artist, to begin the study of the individual artist in Holman

art. Investigation into the printers and their role in producing the finished works would provide an other interesting avenue for exploration. It is also now possible to compare and contrast developments in Holman with printmaking in other arctic communities. Printmaking, as part of the community social structure, puts forward a message about the settlement and its people to members of another culture. The process appeared as the result of culture contact and is closely associated with culture change. Printmaking in Holman raises questions on the effect of a majority culture on a minority art. Points raised here also suggest that an in depth study of the role of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council in northern printmaking is needed. This thesis does not cover the extraordinarily large collection of drawings stored in the co-operative vaults. They would offer a further dimension to this study on printmaking. One other interesting areas which was beyond the scope of this thesis is the role of the women in Holman art. In particular, it would be interesting to study the effect of the money earned from her participation in the project. Surely printmaking has opened up new opportunities and presented new choices for women in the community.

Appendices

- 1 Table 1A Division of Space**
 - 1B Printing Techniques**
 - 1C Subject Matter**

- 2 The Exhausted Raven**

Table 1A

	Year	Total	Horizontal	Circular	Vertical	Triangular	Diagonal
1	1966	20	17	2	1	0	0
2	1967	20	14	3	3	0	0
3	1968	37	27	6	4	0	0
4	1969	47	21	18	8	0	0
5	1970	48	32	12	4	0	0
6	1972	32	16	12	4	0	0
7	1973	28	12	7	9	0	0
8	1974	10	8	0	2	0	0
9	1975/76	29	16	9	4	0	0
10	1977	28	19	7	2	0	0
11	1979	24	17	5	2	0	0
12	1980/81	25	15	9	0	1	0
13	1982	24	12	11	1	0	0
14	1983	20	11	7	2	0	0
15	1984	26	16	6	3	1	0
16	1985	25	16	7	1	1	0
17	1986	27	12	10	4	1	0
18	1987	25	11	9	5	0	0
19	1988	35	20	8	5	0	2
20	1989	26	17	7	1	0	1

Table 1B

	Year	Total	Stonecut	Stencil	Lithograph	Woodcut	Combination
1	1966	20	16	2	0	0	2
2	1967	20	20	0	0	0	0
3	1968	37	37	0	0	0	0
4	1969	47	47	0	0	0	0
5	1970	48	48	0	0	0	0
6	1972	32	32	0	0	0	0
7	1973	28	28	0	0	0	0
8	1974	10	10	0	0	0	0
9	1975/76	29	29	0	0	0	0
10	1977	28	17	2	3	0	6
11	1979	24	16	4	0	0	4
12	1980/81	25	6	11	3	0	5
13	1982	24	9	7	5	0	3
14	1983	20	1	11	3	0	5
15	1984	26	13	4	7	0	2
16	1985	25	12	7	5	0	1
17	1986	27	1	17	1	0	8
18	1987	25	0	23	1	0	1
19	1988	35	0	22	3	5	5
20	1989	26	0	18	3	4	1

Table 1C

Year	Total Animal	Trod Act	Cos	Story	Hunting	Fishing	Bird	Dance	Game	Social
1966	20	3	0	1	3	2	5	2	0	3
1967	20	2	2	0	4	0	6	0	0	4
1970	48	9	2	3	6	1	9	5	1	6
1988	35	9	2	6	6	1	1	0	1	6
1986	27	6	1	6	0	6	3	0	0	1
1968	37	6	3	6	1	4	4	4	1	2
1969	47	8	7	0	3	4	5	3	7	3
1980/81	25	2	2	0	5	1	6	1	0	5
1972	32	2	1	2	2	4	13	2	3	2
1973	28	7	4	1	0	3	7	1	1	0
1974	10	1	0	0	0	0	6	1	1	0
1975/76	29	4	3	1	3	3	8	1	2	3
1977	28	4	2	2	3	4	4	0	2	3
1979	24	4	0	3	5	3	4	0	0	3
1982	24	1	0	1	3	1	6	0	2	2
1983	20	2	1	3	1	2	1	0	2	3
1984	26	2	1	3	1	2	3	0	6	1
1985	25	2	3	2	1	1	4	2	1	1
1987	26	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	3
1989	26	3	1	2	4	1	4	0	0	1

Appendix 2

The Exhausted Raven

The Raven was known to be a thief and, because of that, he had never been able to find a wife. One day the Raven asked some ducks swimming by if he could marry into their family. Knowing him to be a thief, the ducks said no. Later, some Canada Geese came by and they agreed to let him marry a young goose from their flock.

When the time came to migrate south, the Raven flew off with his new family. He could not fly as well as the geese, so, when he was tired, he would fly on the back of his young wife. This greatly tired his wife and eventually she had to leave her husband behind because her family was by then far ahead.

The Raven, now very tired indeed, saw nothing but sea for miles around. Suddenly, he saw a shape and dived towards it. When he came close he saw that it was a whale, but by then he couldn't stop and so he flew right down the blow-hole. Inside the whale it was nice and warm and there was much to eat, so the Raven happily stuffed himself.

When the whale felt Raven inside his stomach he said, " don't touch THAT! ". The Raven obeyed the whale for a long time but finally his curiosity became too great and he touched "THAT". The whale then died because it was his heart that the Raven had touched. Soon there was no food left for Raven.

The dead whale finally washed up on shore and the Raven heard people shouting as they began to cut up the carcass. The Raven knew that he was in danger so he flew out the blow-hole, so fast, that no one saw him. Later, in human form, he returned to the beach. He asked if anyone had seen anything coming out of the whale. One man replied that he had seen a dark flash.

The Raven told the people that the dark flash meant that the whale meat was bad, and that they would die if they ate it. Frightened by this warning, the people left. The Raven, returned to his bird form, remained behind and ate happily ever after.

Biographies

The following biographies were compiled from the files of the Inuit Art Section, Indian and Northern Affairs and from the files of the department of Ethnology, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

Peter Aliknak (Alex, Aliknok, Alec Banksland)

Peter Aliknak was born in 1928 on Baillie Island, in the western Canadian Arctic, close to the Alaskan border. His father, William Natkuksiak, had been born in Nome, Alaska and had been guide and companion to Vilhjelmur Stefansson during his northern explorations. His mother came from the Mackenzie Delta area. Because his father was too old for prolonged hunting trips during his youth, Aliknak learned to set traps and to contribute to family food supplies from his sister, Agnes Nanogak. Both parents provided their children with a rich store of stories from the western arctic.

Peter Aliknak now lives in the community of Holman and has been involved with printmaking activities since their beginnings in 1965. His drawings have been translated into prints by other printers and he also prints the works of other artists, being most proficient in the making and printing of stonecuts.

Elsie Anoginak

Elsie Anoginak is the widow of Patrick Akovak (1944-1976) and mother of Stanley Klengenberq (1964-). All three have had their work featured in Holman collections. Born in 1946, she is best known for her stencil printing of the drawings of other artists. Her work has appeared regularly in the Holman productions.

Harry Egutak

Harry Egutak was one of the founding members of the Holman printing program and was the author of the first significant sealskin stencil produced by the co-operative. He developed skill in making and printing stonecuts and has printed the works of many Holman artists, including Helen Kalvak, Agnes Nanogak and Mona Ohoveluk. In the 1977 collection, he was the largest contributor of stonecut prints. Occasionally he also carves.

Born in 1925 on the east coast of Banks Island, Harry Egutak has lived in the Minto Inlet and the Prince Albert Sound areas. His mother Flossie Papidluk (1916-) has also drawn works that have been produced by the print shop. His father Akoarsiun died when he was eight years old. He was taught to hunt by his stepfather Niakroaluk. From him, he also heard stories of the Copper Eskimos.

Victor Ekootak

Ekootak was one of the first artists to work in the Holman printshop. He was born in 1916 near Prince Albert Sound and died in Holman in 1965. As well as contributing drawings to the program, he became a skilled stone cutter.

Mark Emerak

As a young man, Mark Emerak lived a migratory hunting and fishing life on the west coast of Victoria Island. Here he hunted for seals through the ice in winter, chased caribou in the summer and early autumn and fished in the rivers and off the coast in spring and fall. He was born on the east coast of the island, near the community of Cambridge Bay, in 1901. His early life on the land provided the subject matter for his drawings. In 1950 he moved into the community of Holman where he resided until his death in 1983.

Helen Kalvak

From the time when Father Tardy first encouraged her to draw, until her death in 1984, Helen Kalvak produced over three thousand drawings, a very small proportion of which have been translated into prints. These works document a way of life of the Copper Eskimo that no longer exists in the north. An only child, she was born in 1901 to Aluksit and Ingataomik, from whom she learned not only sewing skills and Eskimo legends, but the knowledge and experiences of shamanism. Her husband was also a shaman and was a powerful and respected man in the community. Later in life she converted to Christianity.

In 1960 she moved into the community of Holmen where she recorded over three hundred stories for Father Tardy and, when printmaking activities were begun, her drawings provided an invaluable source of printing material. From that time, until her death, her work has appeared in every Holman production. The University of Calgary's Department of Communications made a film about her in 1975 and that same year, she was elected to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. In 1979, the print made from her drawing The Dance was used as the illustration for a seventeen-cent stamp. Also, in 1979, she was appointed a member of the Order of Canada. In 1987 a portfolio was issued by the co-operative commemorating her work and that of Mark Emerck.

Rex Kangoak (Goose)

Rex Kangoak was born in 1965 in the community and has lived there all his life. He is the son of Billy Goose and grandson of Agnes Nanogak. At school he learned to draw and recently has begun to carve. His drawings have been translated into prints since 1982.

Stanley Klengenber (Elongnak)

Both parents of Stanley Klengenber produced drawings for the Holman co-operative. The work of his father, Patrick Akovek (1944-1976) appeared in the collections until his death. His mother, Elsie Anoginak continues to work in the print shop, printing by stencil. Born in Holman in 1964, Stanley travelled with his family as they trapped foxes in winter and caught seals in the summer. From 1970 - 1973 the family lived in Coppermine. While attending school in Holman he learned how to draw and during his high school years in Yellowknife he took several art courses. His work has been featured in the Holman collections since 1982 and in 1986 six of his drawings were chosen for the yearly production.

Jimmy Memorana

Father to Mary Okheena, Jimmy Memorana was born in 1919 near Tuktoyuktuk. His family came from the Mackenzie Delta area. In 1936 he came to the northwest coast of Victoria Island and moved into the community during its early days. As a stonecut printer he translated some of the earliest drawings into prints.

Agnes Nanogak

Agnes Nanogak's father, William Natkuksiak, travelled in the Canadian Arctic as companion and guide to the explorer, Vilhjelmur Stefansson. Born on November 15th., 1925 on Baillie Island, Agnes learned the traditions of Alaska from her father. From her mother she learned the stories of the Mackenzie Delta area. In 1937, at the age of twelve, Agnes moved with her parents to Holman Island, a tiny community on Victoria Island. She was married in 1943 to Wallace Kunak Goose and found another avid story teller in her husband's grandmother, Mamie Mamayok. This rich, cultural background and personal contact with myths and legends from different areas of the western arctic is reflected in her work. She also illustrates her experiences of living off the land and the interdependence of humans and animals.

Her work has been featured in every collection published by the Holman co-operative since 1967. In 1972 she illustrated a book titled Tales From the Igloo, followed in 1986 by More Tales From the Igloo. She has also recorded stories from the Copper Eskimos and from the Alaskan and Mackenzie delta Inuit. Her images have been used by the National Film Board of Canada. In 1979 she executed a series of drawings which were displayed as part of the exhibition 'Views of Childhood' to mark the International Year of the Child. She is also the first Inuit artist ever to receive an honorary degree. The degree of Doctor of Humane Letters was bestowed on her, in 1985, by the senate of Mount Saint Vincent University.

Mabel Nigiyok

Mabel Nigiyok works as a printer in the print shop mainly using the stencil technique. A sister to Peter Palvik, she was born in the 1930s.

Eddie Okheena

Eddie Okheena, husband to Mary, produced only a few lithographs for the print shop. He was born in 1956.

Mary Okheena

Mary Okheena was born at Kings Bay, Victoria Island in 1955. Her father, Jimmy Memorana (1916-), was born in Tuktoyaktuk and his ancestors came from the Mackenzie Delta area. In 1936 he moved to northwest Victoria Island. Mary began drawing at the age of sixteen and since that time her work has been a special feature of the Holman collections. She is the manager of the print shop at this time and prints the work of other artists, as well as her own drawings. She has attended a printing workshop held in Toronto, Ontario. Presently, she is working on a commission from the Northwest Telephone Company to produce an illustration for the cover of the telephone directory. A corporate edition of this work is also to be produced. Fluent in both English and Inuktitut, Mary's services are frequently used as an interpreter.

Mona Ohoveluk

Mona Ohoveluk was born at Rhymer Point, on the west coast of Victoria Island in 1935. She is the granddaughter of Charlie Klengenber, a Danish trader and trapper who stayed in the area in the early twentieth century. As well as producing drawings for the print shop, she also works as a printer and occasionally carves works from stone. Her two dimensional works have appeared in Holman collections since 1968.

Peter Palvik

Peter Palvik was trained in the lithographic process of reproduction and operates the Holman press. He has attended a printing workshop in Toronto. Born in 1960, he is the brother of Mabsi Nigiyok.

Illustrations

All illustrations are taken from the community catalogues. The name of the artist precedes the name of the printer. When the name of the printer is not known a space follows the / after the name of the artist. Spellings of names are taken from the Inuit Art Index File by Community. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1987. The works are arranged in chronological order to illustrate the development of arguments in the text.



Fig. 1 Game in Snowhouse 1966
Helen Kalvak/Jimmy Memorona
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 2 River Fishing 1966
Vict. Ekootak/
stonecut, 57 x 47.5 cm.



Fig. 3 Famished Owlets 1967
 Agnes Nanogok/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm



Fig. 4 Children Delight 1967
 Peter Aliknok/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm



Fig. 5 Returning Home 1969
 Peter Aliknok/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 6 Drummers and Dancers 1969
 Agnes Nanogak/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm



Fig. 7 First Sign of Spring 1969
 Peter Aliknak/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 8 Spearing Fishes 1969
 Peter Aliknak/
 stonecut, 61 x 45 cm.



Fig.9 Summer Storage 1969
 Agnes Nanogak/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 10 Vengeance in his Mind 1969
 Mona Ohoveluk/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 11 Battle 1970
 Mork Emerak/
 stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 12 A Trap for Death 1970
Mona Ohoveluk/
stonecut, 45 x 61 cm.



Fig. 13 Sealing 1970
Mark Emerak/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 14 Attraction 1970
Helen Kalvak/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 15 Left Behind 1970
Peter Aliknak/
stonecut, 61 x 46 cm.

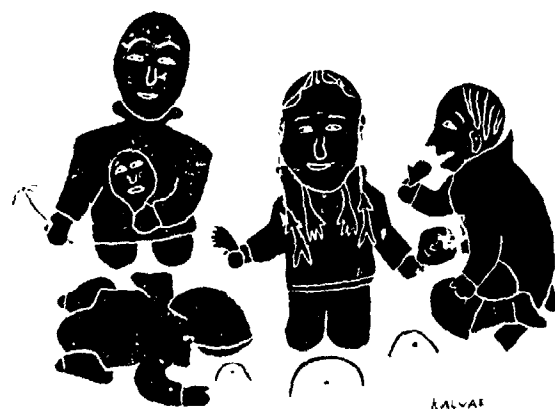


Fig. 16 Shaman's Ritual 1970
Helen Kalvak/
stonecut, 38 x 56.5 cm.

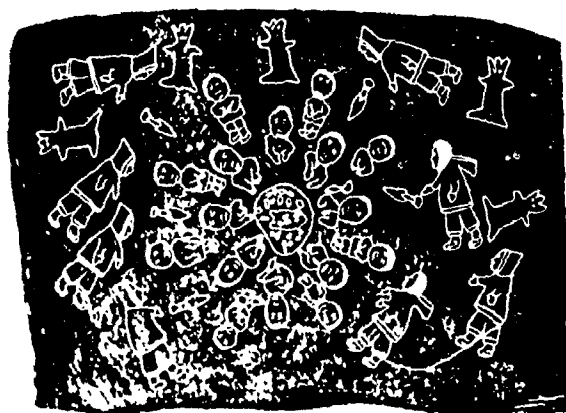


Fig. 17 After the Hunt 1970
Mark Emerak/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.

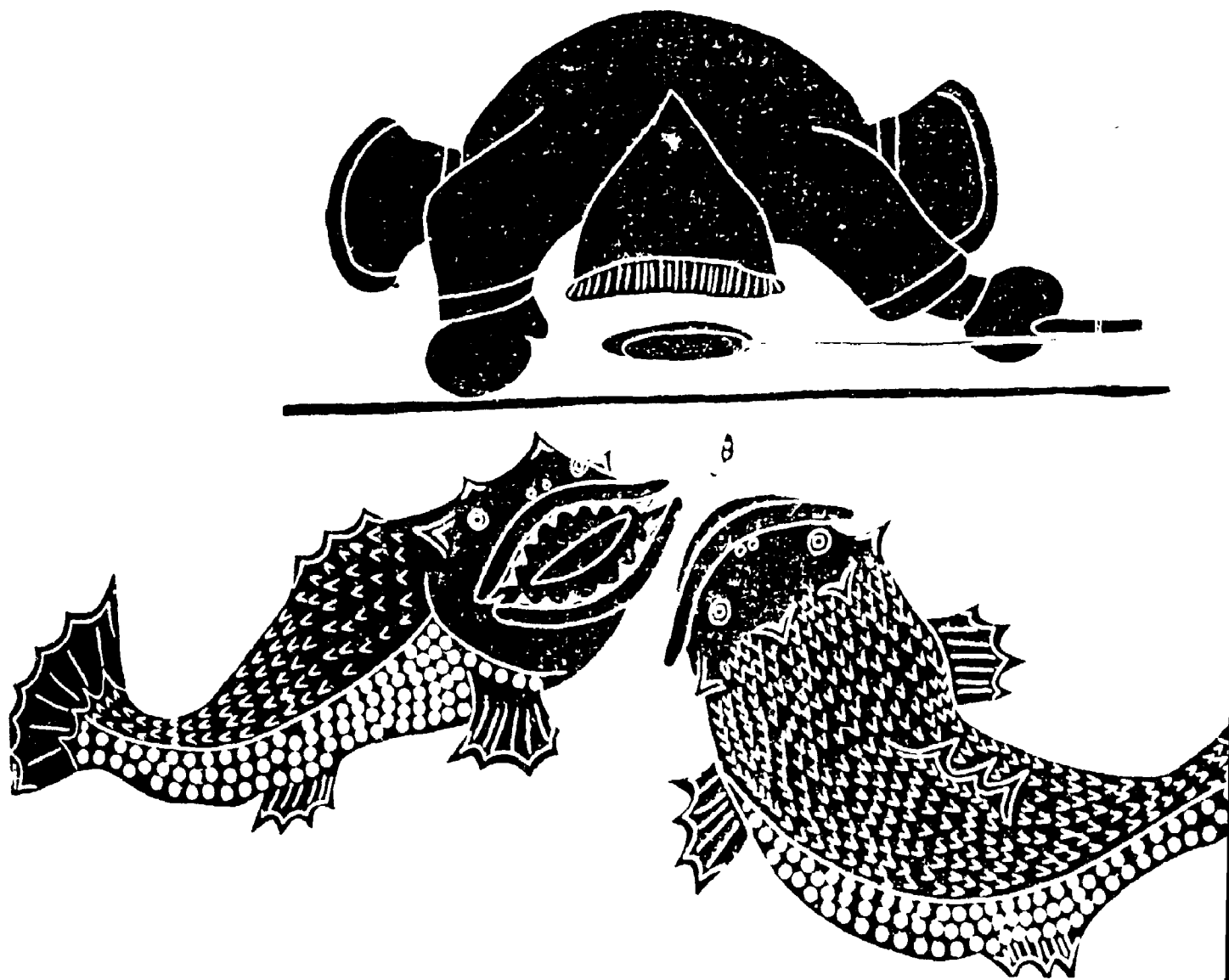


Fig. 18 Devil Fishes 1972
Peter Aliknak/
stonecut, 51.5 x 76.5 cm.



Fig. 19 Sliding in the Sun 1972
Peter Aliknok/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 20 Acrobatics 1972
Helen Kolvak/
stonecut/stencil, 51 x 76 cm.



Fig. 21 Bird Tracks 1973
Agnes Nanogok/
stonecut, 47.5 x 61 cm.



Fig. 22 Fight for a Wife 1973
Helen Kalvak/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 23 Happy Hunter 1974
Peter Aliknok/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.

Figure 24: Duck Hunt 1975/76



Fig. 24 Duck Hunt 1975/76
Mono Ohoveluk/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 25 Seagulls 1975/76
Peter Aliknok/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.

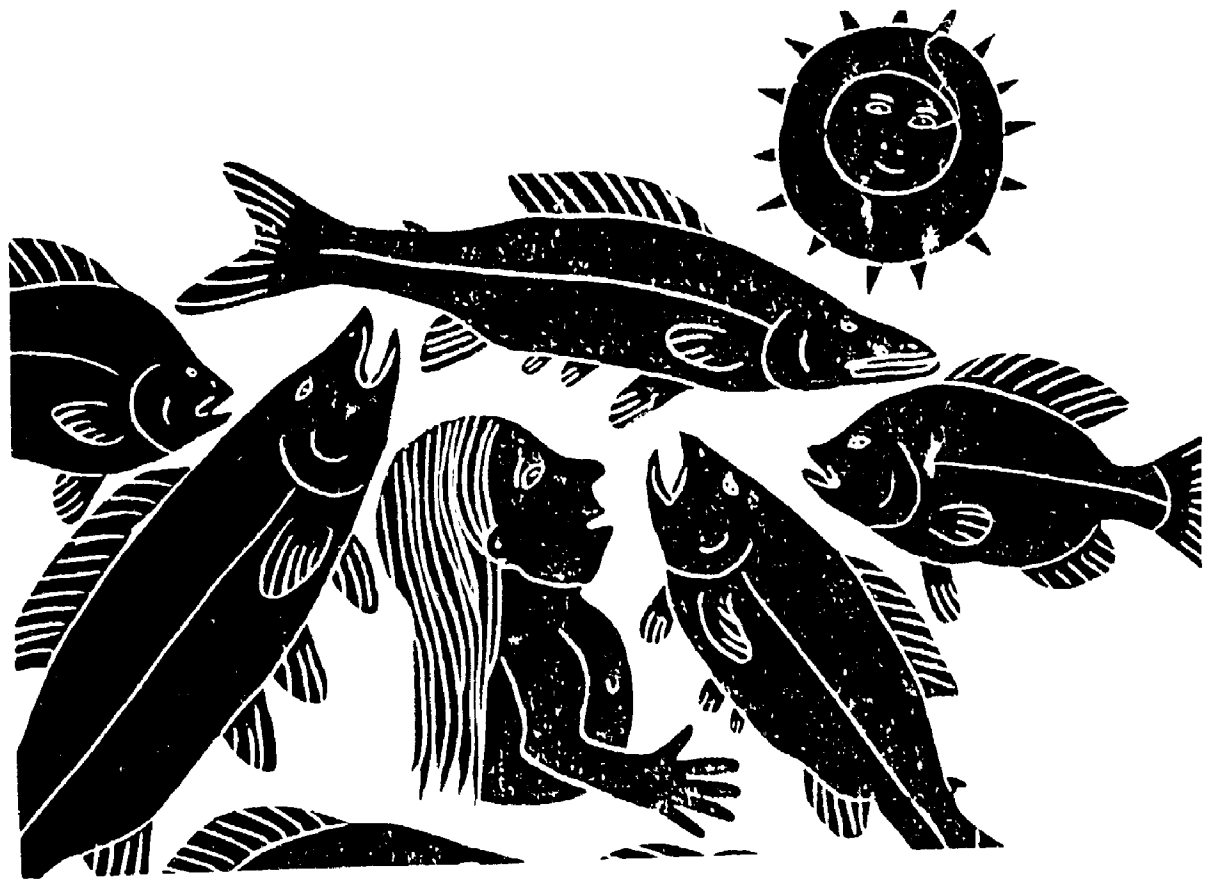
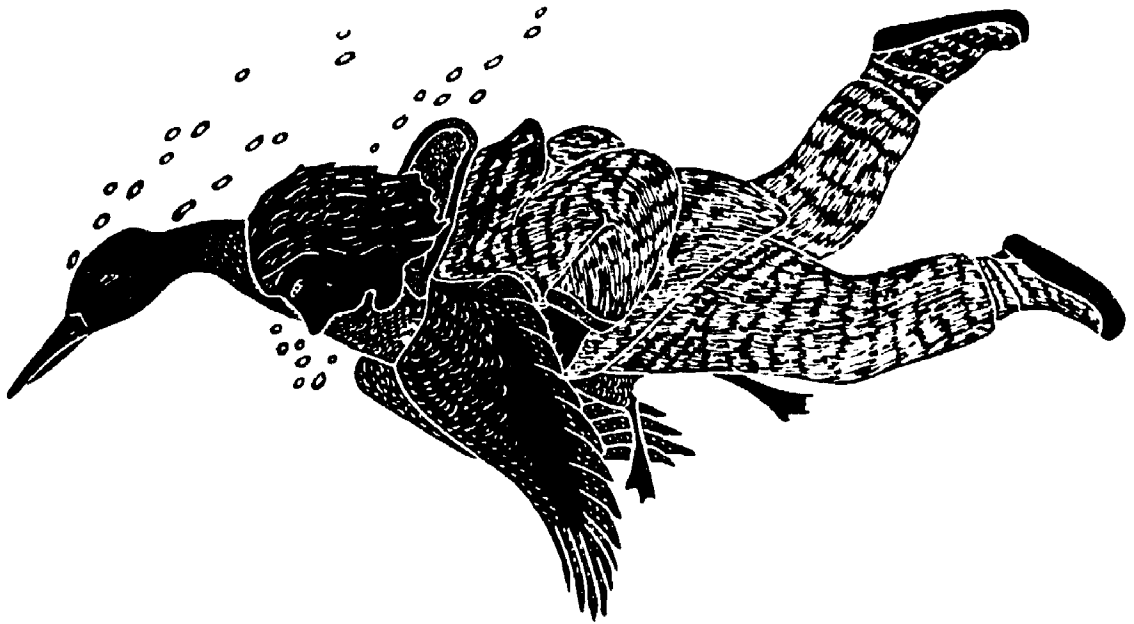


Fig. 26 Sea Goddess 1975/76
Helen Kalvak/
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



AGNES NANOGAK
1975/76
STONECUT

Fig. 27 Blind Boy 1975/76
Agnes Nanogak
stonecut, 46 x 61 cm.



Fig. 28 Preparing Dry Fish, 1977
Peter Aliknak/
stonecut/stencil, 46 x 61 cm.

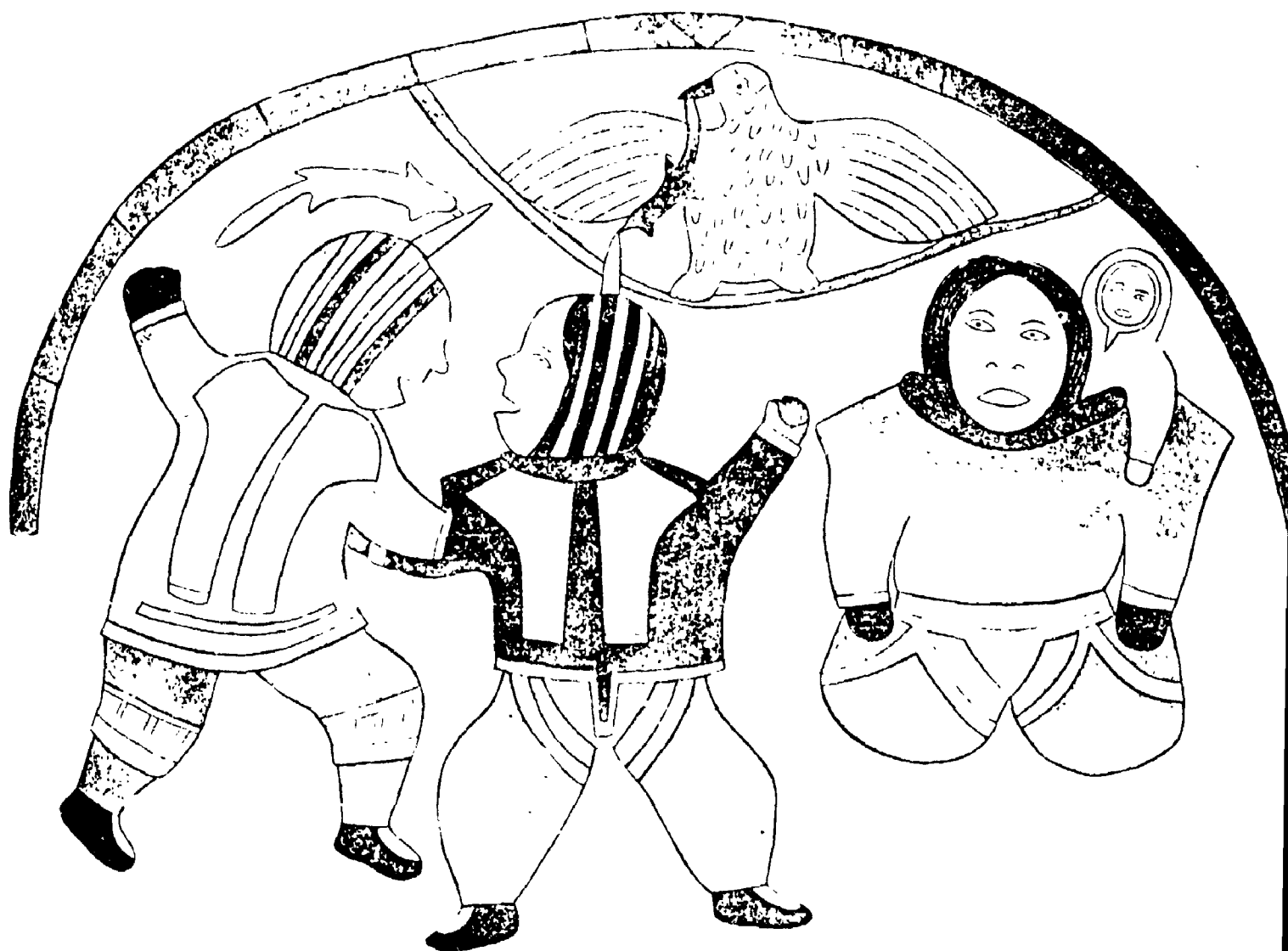


Fig. 29 Dance 1977
Helen Kalvak/Mona Ohoveluk
silkscreen and stencil, 51 x 76 cm.

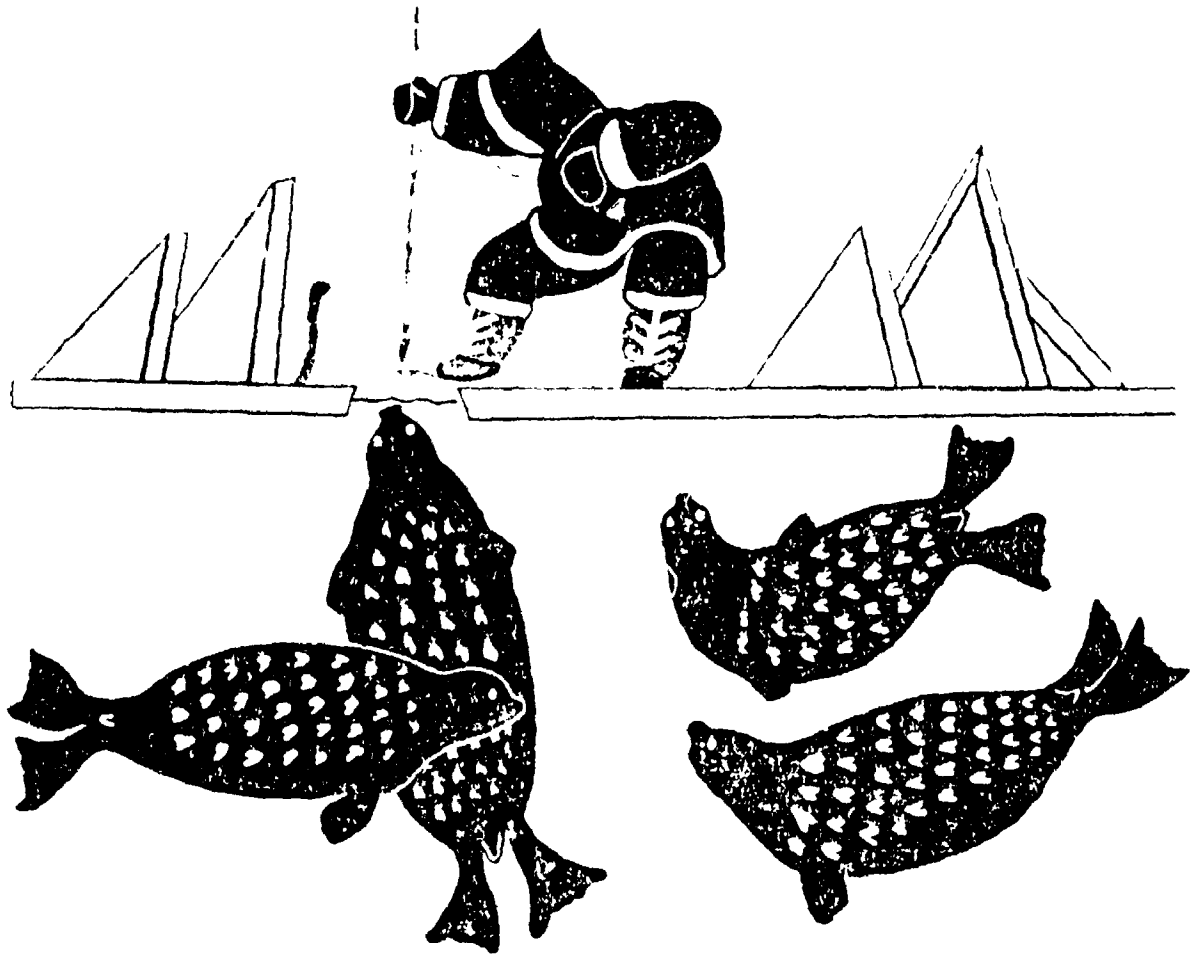


Fig. 30 Hunting Seals 1980/8
Peter Aliknäk/ atelier/ Colin Okheena/Peter Palvik
lithograph, 57 x 76.5 cm.



Fig. 31 Making an Atigi 1982
Helen Kolvak/Harry Egutok
stonecut, 38 x 56.5 cm.



Fig. 32 Tingmiokhiutok (Hunting Ducks) 1982
Rex Kangnak/ Peter Palvik
lithograph/stencil, 50.5 x 66 cm.



Fig. 33 Angakok In Tent 1983
Helen Kalvak/Peter Palvik
lithograph, 50.5 x 65.5 cm.



Fig. 34 Cutting Fish 1983
Agnes Nanogak/Elsie Anaginak
stencil, 55.5 x 41.5 cm.



Fig. 35 Juggling 1984
Agnes Nanogak/Louie Nigiyok
stonecut, 66 x 61 cm.

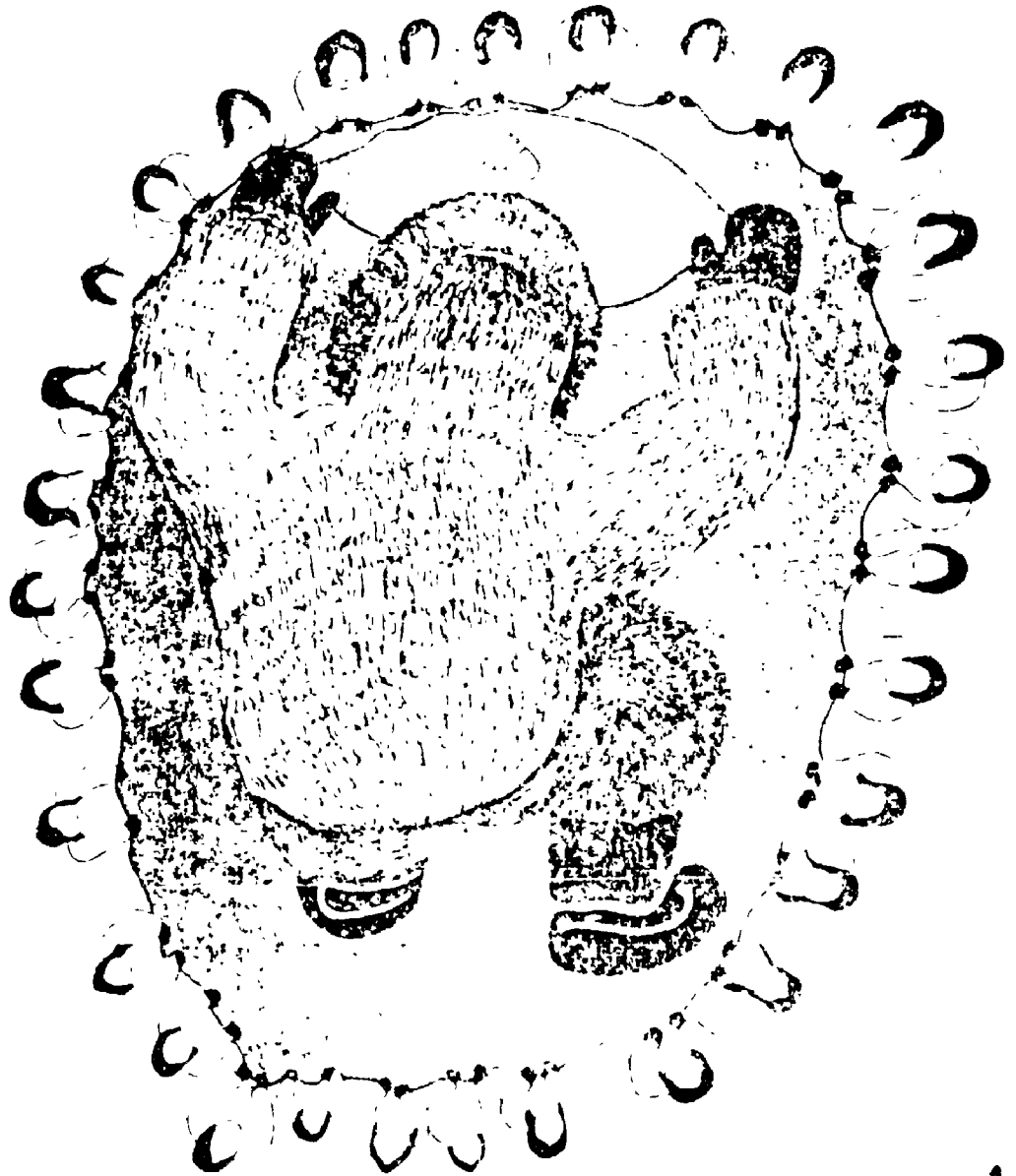


Fig. 36 Blanket Toss 1984
Rex Kangoak/Eddie Okheena
lithograph, 50 x 45 cm.



Fig. 37 The Exhausted Raven 1984
Agnes Nanogak/Elsie Anoginak
stencil, 50 x 65.5 cm.



Fig. 38 High Kick 1984
Agnes Nanogak/Harry Egutak
stonecut/stencil, 53 x 76 cm.

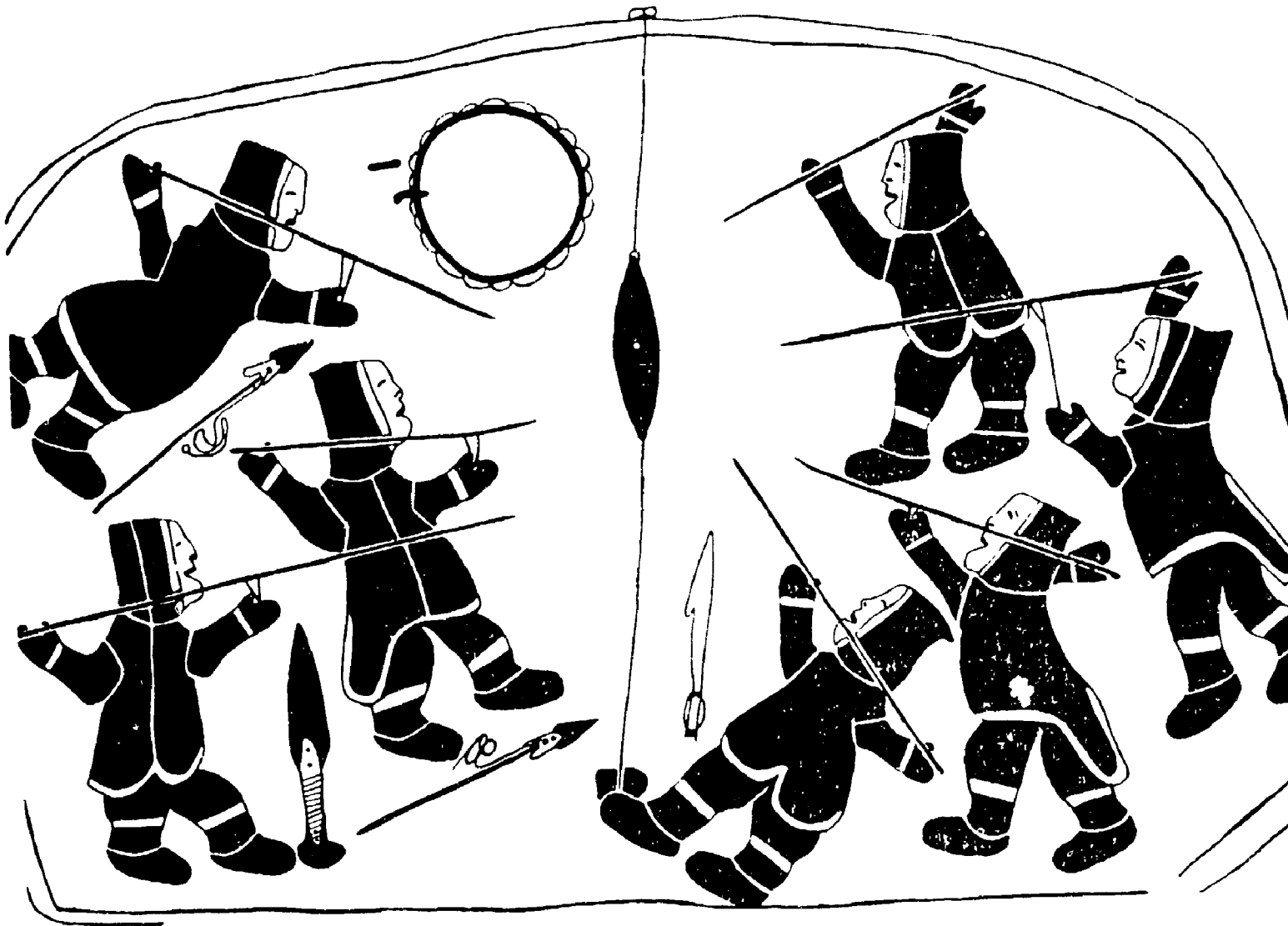


Fig. 39 Gambling Game 1984
Mark Emerak/Eddie Okheena
lithograph, 38 x 51 cm.



Fig. 40 Napaktaqtun (Somersaults) 1985
Elsie Anaginak/Susie Malgokak
stencil, 32.7 x 50.2 cm.



Fig. 41 Hunting Canada Goose 1985
Agnes Nanogok/ Mabel Nigiyok
stencil, 50.5 x 65.4 cm.



Fig. 42 Kayakers 1986
Rex Kangoak/Louie Nigiyok
stonecut, 42.9 x 61 cm.

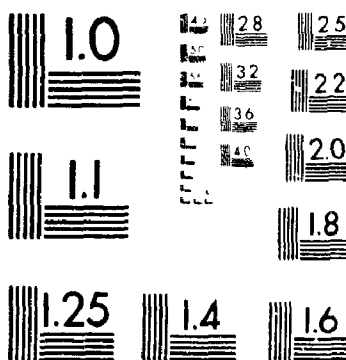


Fig.43 Four Winds 1986
Agnes Nanogak/Mona Ohoveluk
lithograph/stencil, 50 x 65 cm.

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



Fig. 44 Cold and Hungry 1986
Stanley Klengenberg/Mary Okheena
stencil, 65 x 50 cm.

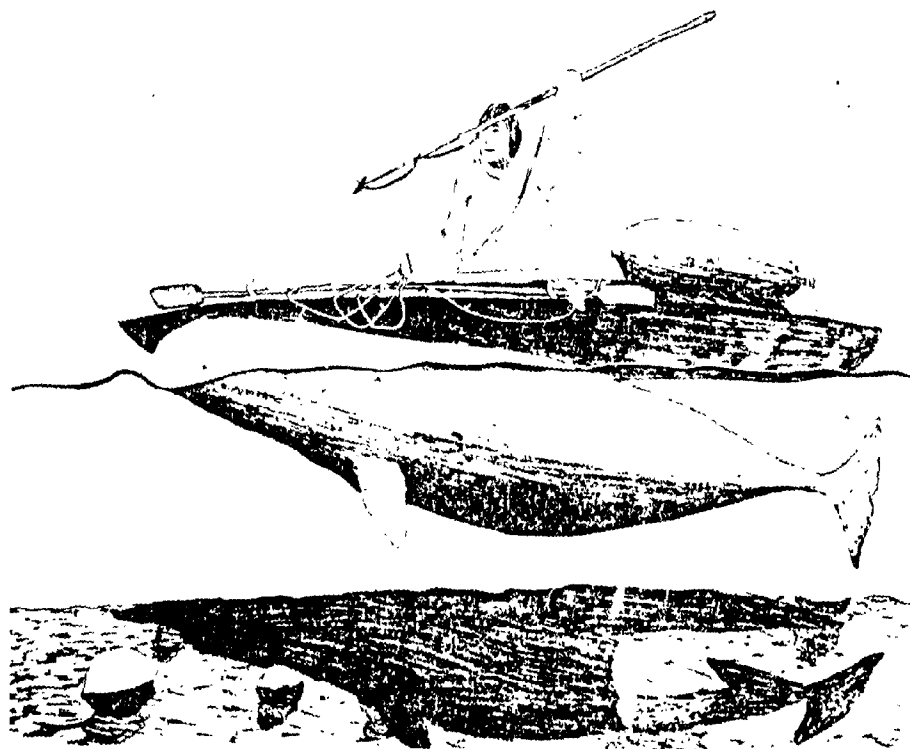


Fig. 45 Whaling by Kayek, 1986
Rex Kangoak/Peter Palvik
lithograph, 49.5 x 65 cm.



Fig. 46 Morning Hunt 1986
Agnes Nanogak/Peter Palvik
lithograph/stencil, 50 x 65 cm.



Fig. 47 Shore Birds 1986
Stanley Klengenber/Mabel Nigiyok
stencil, 51 x 61.5 cm.

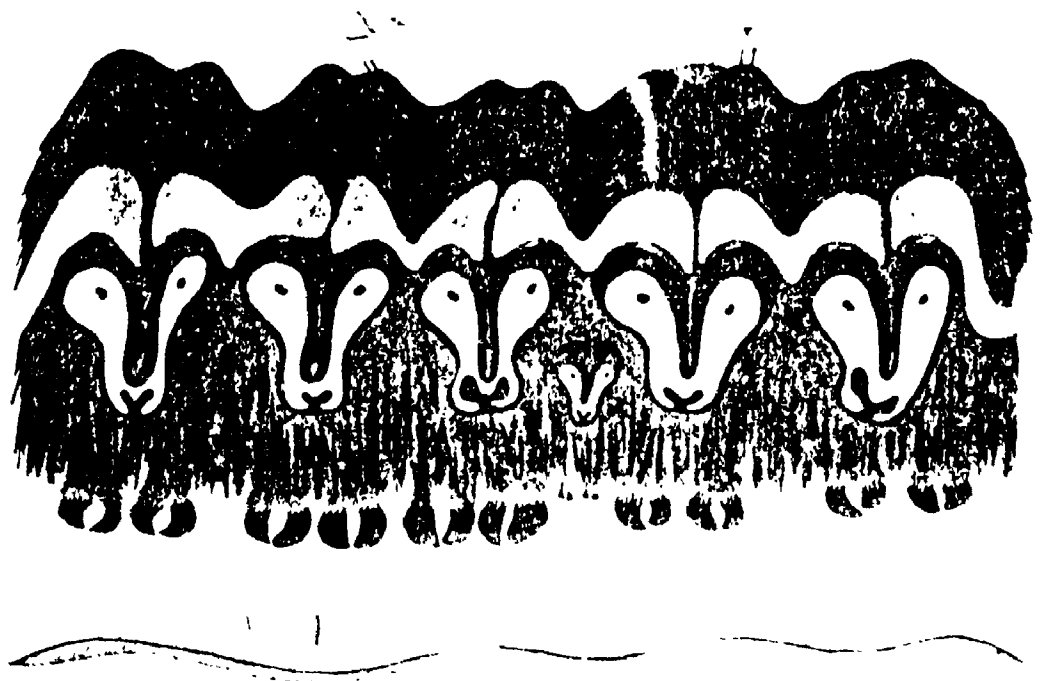


Fig. 48 Musk-ox waiting for the tide to cross water 1986
Mary Okheena
stencil, 50 x 65 cm.



Fig. 49 Kangyak Flying 1986
Agnes Nanogak/Mona Ohoveluk
stencil, 50.5 x 65.5 cm.



Fig. 50 Ancestor's Song for Survival 1986
Stanley Klengenberg/Mary Okheena
lithograph/stencil, 49.5 x 65 cm.

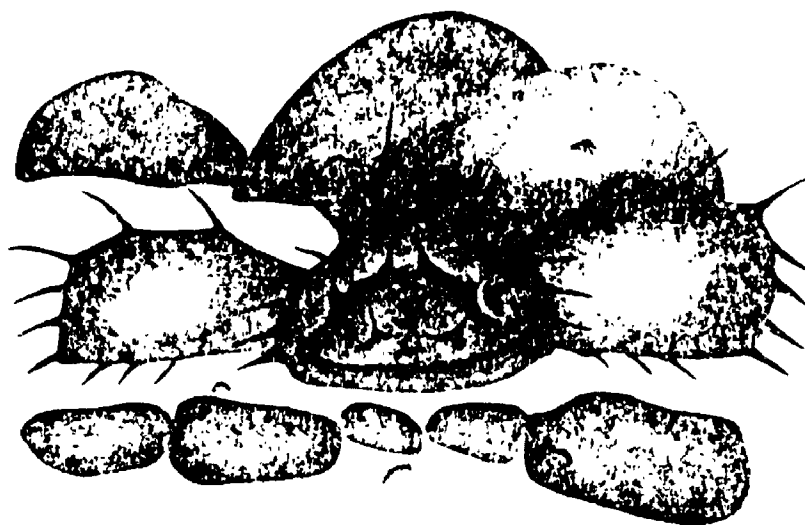


Fig. 51 Sculpin Hiding 1986
Stanley Klengenberg/Mabel Nigiyok
stencil, 44.5 x 58 cm.



Fig. 52 Summer Curse 1986
Peter Aliknak/Mona Ohoveluk
stencil, 50 x 64.5 cm.

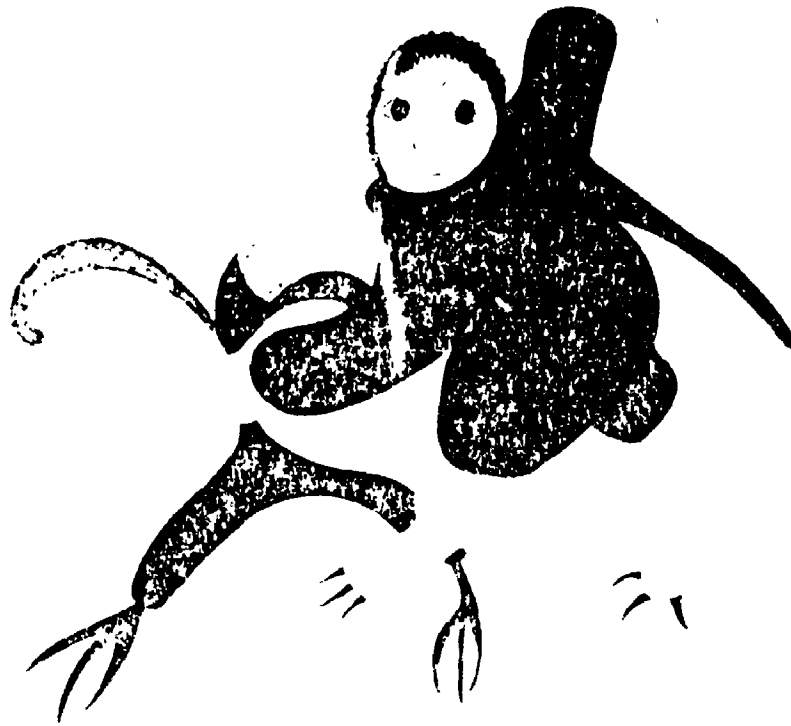


Fig. 53 The Right Dream 1986
Agnes Nanogak/Mabel Nigiyok
stencil, 50 x 61 cm.

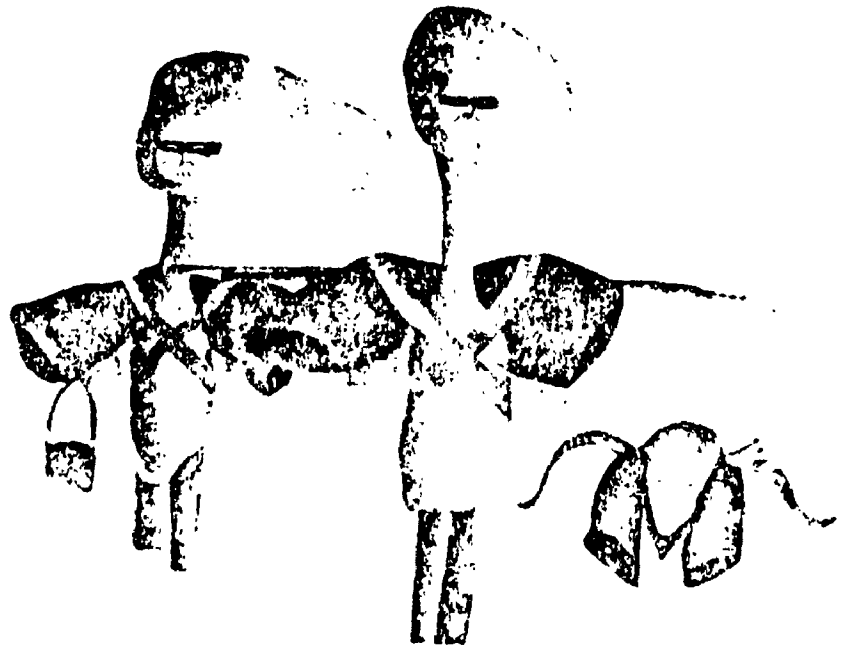


Fig. 54 Distant Mirage of Travellers 1986
Stanley Klengenberg/Elsie Anoginak
stencil, 49.5 x 65 cm.



Fig. 55 Land Mark of the North 1987
Agnes Nanogak/Elsie Anoginak
stencil, 69 x 56 cm.

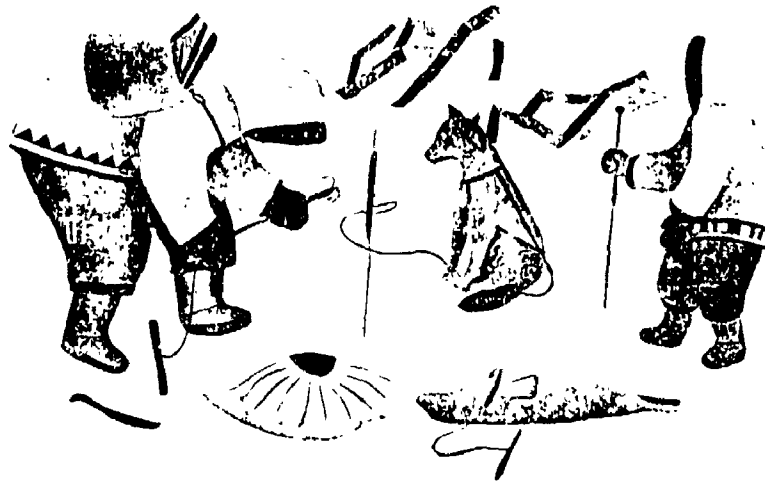


Fig. 56 Setting Seal Hooks 1987
Mabel Nigiyok/Mory Okheena
stencil, 50 x 65 cm.

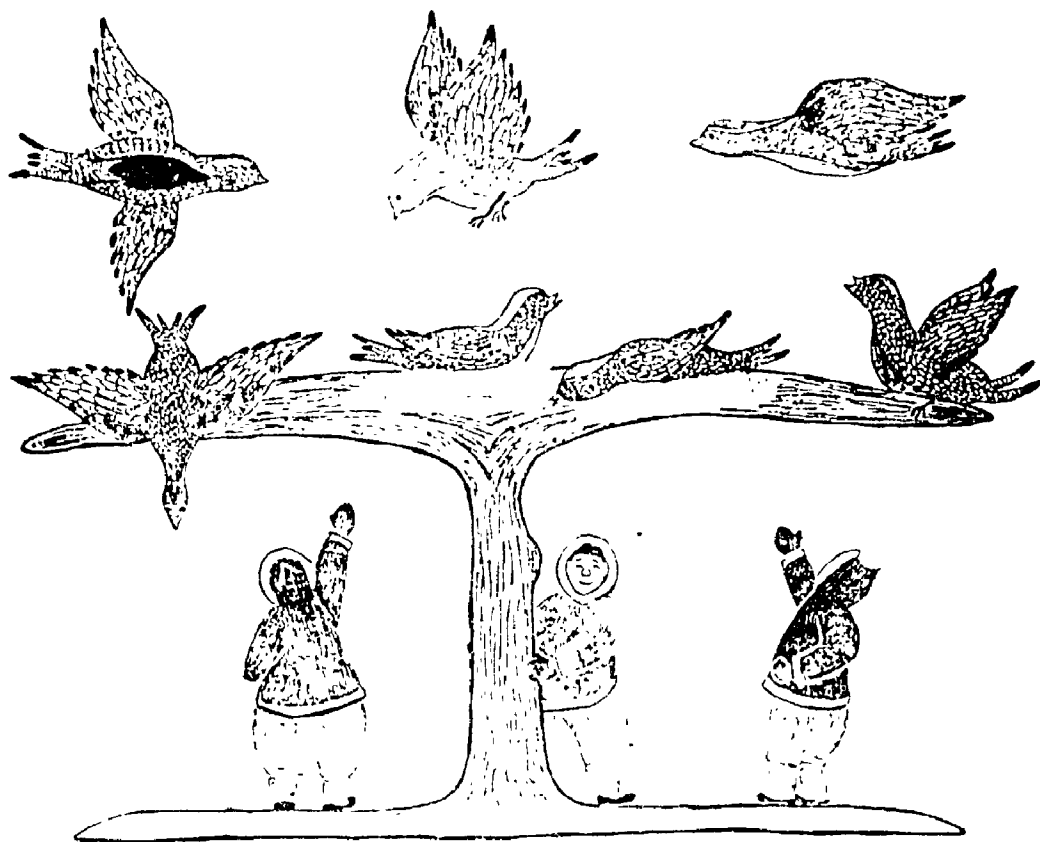


Fig. 57 Children Playing 1987
Peter Aliknøk/Peter Palvik
lithograph, 56 x 76 cm.



Fig. 58 Departure 1987
Mary Okheena/ Peter Palvik
lithograph/stencil, 50 x 65 cm.

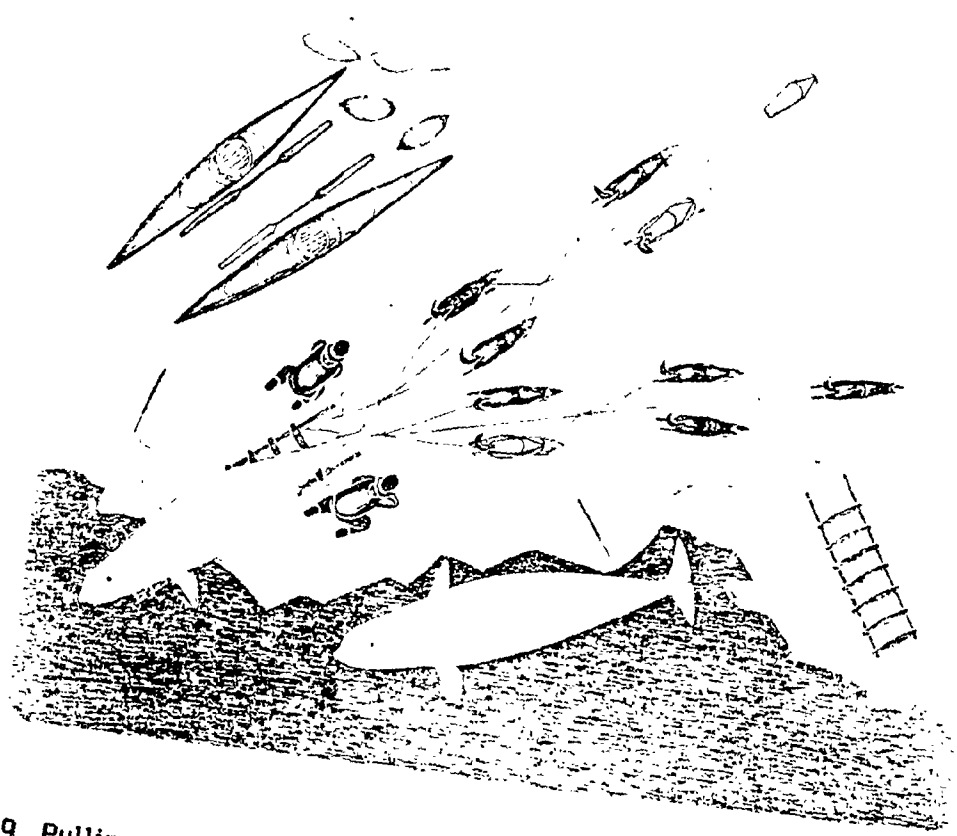


Fig. 59 Pulling up the Whales 1988
Kex Kangoak/Peter Palvik
lithograph, 50.5 x 66 cm.

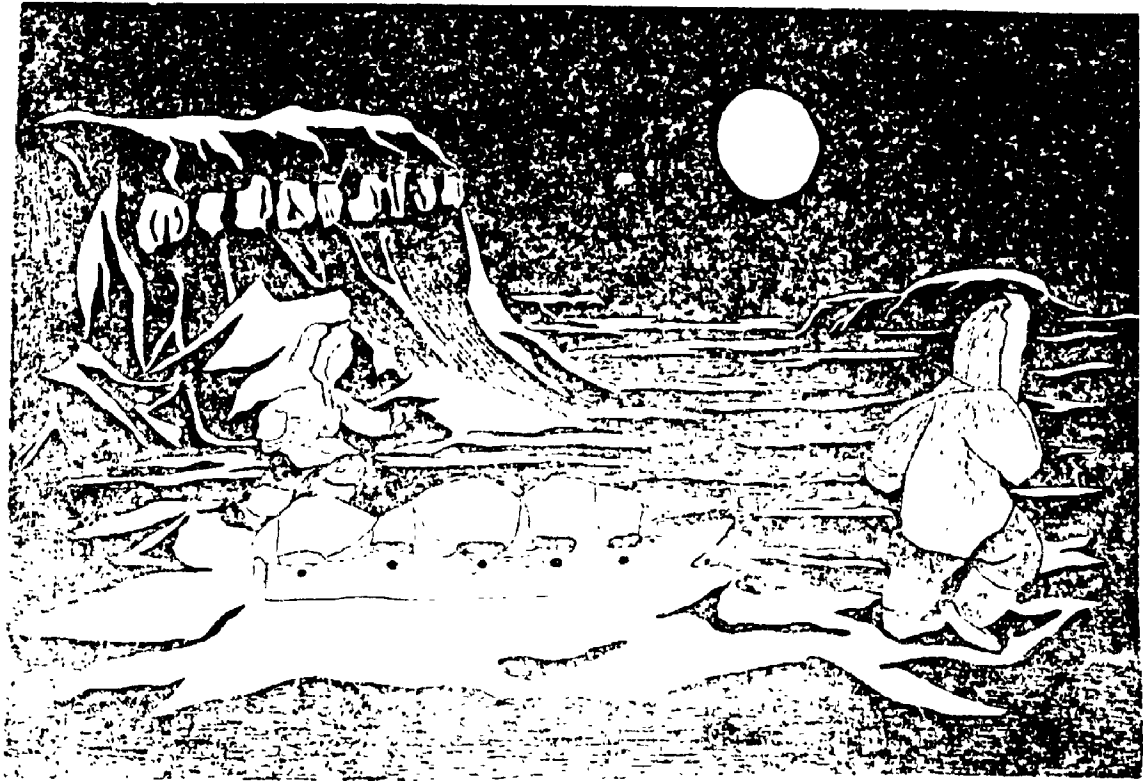


Fig. 60 Travelling by Moonlight 1988
Mary Okheena/Peter Palvik
lithograph, 50.5 x 66 cm.

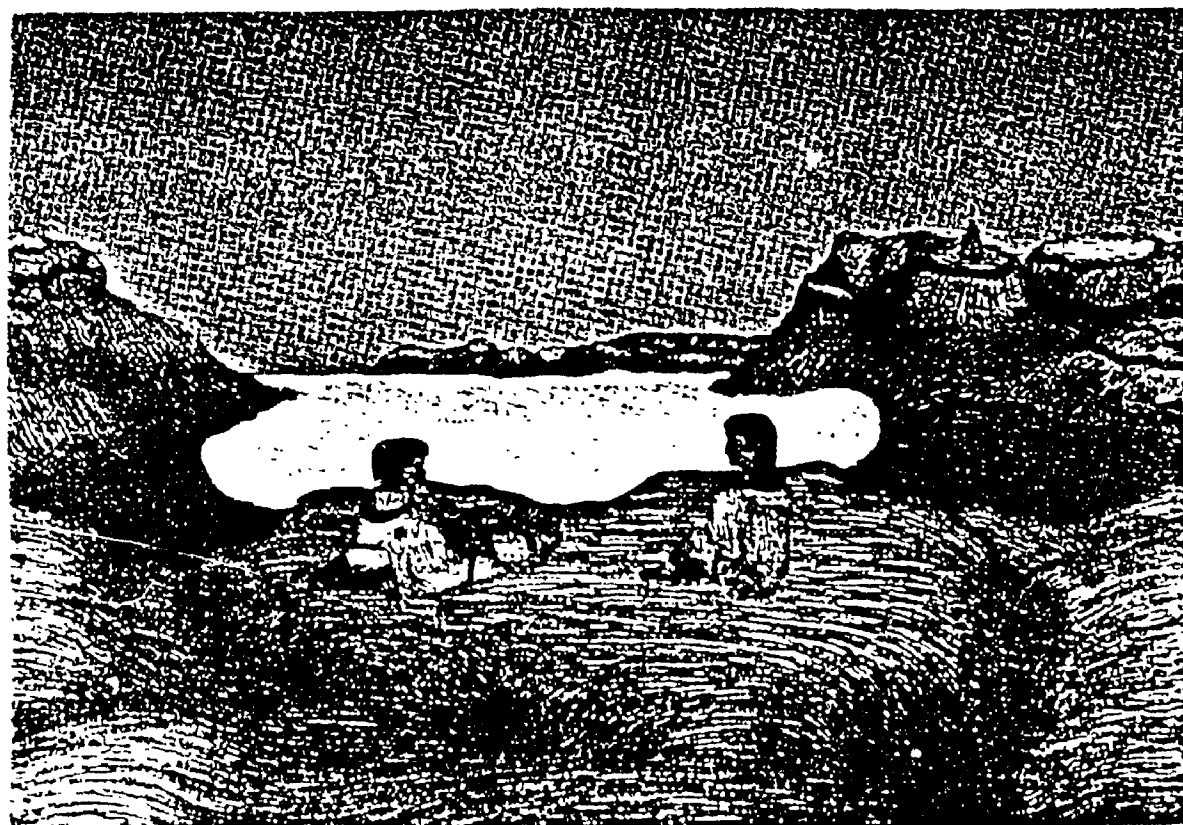


Fig. 61 In Search of New Camping Ground 1989
Peter Palvik
lithograph, 38 x 56.5 cm.

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