Inuit

EDITED BY GERALD McMASTER

Modern

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Afterword by John Ralston Saul

Inuit Modern

The Samuel and Esther Sarick Collection

Art Gallery of Ontario
Toronto

Douglas & McIntyre

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Pages 48–49: Luke Iksiktaaryuk, *Family*, c. 1967, antler, 30.2 x 57.6 x 31.2 cm. See also page 133.
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A Note on Inuit Names
Canadian Inuit traditionally had only one given name. If Inuit were baptized, they were given a Christian first name; also, to simplify things for government bureaucracy, all members of a family were expected to use the same surname, namely, the "last" name the father was called by, be it singular or a surname. In this book, the Inuit name commonly used by an artist and his or her family is used; sometimes this is the so-called first name, sometimes it is the second. For example, in discussing the life or work of Oviloo Tunnillie, we refer to her simply as Oviloo.

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Paulassie Pootoogook, *Tommy Hunter with Guitar at Microphone*, 1992, stone, antler, leather, sinew, plastic coated wire, 44.0 x 33.0 x 12.5 cm. Collection of Samuel and Esther Sarick, Toronto. © Dorset Fine Arts

Paulassie Pootoogook, *Tommy Hunter with Accordion*, 1992, stone, ivory, painted wood, 50.0 x 17.5 x 18.5 cm. Collection of Samuel and Esther Sarick, Toronto. © Dorset Fine Arts

The Inuit of Our Imagination

Heather Igloliorte

In recent decades, the North has undergone a remarkable social, political and cultural transformation. With the formation of Nunavut in 1999 and the ratification of land claims in other Arctic and Subarctic territories, Inuit are regaining some of the autonomy that had been lost to them since Qallunaat (non-Inuit) culture first encroached upon the Arctic. The Inuit have begun to take control of their global representation by speaking out against the legacies of colonization in the North and by asserting their rights to sovereignty, self-determination and custodianship over the land and its natural resources. Although the right to maintain stewardship over our ancestral territories has been in jeopardy ever since the first arrival of Europeans, it has never been more urgent than now, as environmental pollutants and climate change threaten to irrevocably alter both the landscape and the health and well-being of the inhabitants. The rapidly melting sea ice also enlivens old international disputes over state control of the Far North and its waterways; as the ice recedes, new resources reveal themselves for development and exploitation, and the fabled Northwest Passage becomes a viable transnational shipping route, risking further contamination to Arctic waters and promising a dramatic increase in foreign traffic and trade. The Inuit are responding to these escalating complexities of globalization and climate change with tremendous strength, grace and resilience, demanding to be heard, and with a voice much greater than a people of our population (approximately 55,000 in Canada) would be expected to command.

Parallel to the strides toward Inuit sovereignty and self-governance made since the 1990s in politics, the economy and social health and well-being, the Inuit art world has been experiencing a similar slow-to-build yet monumental shift in its artistic production. In the 1950s, during a period of dramatic and devastating cultural and economic upheaval for the Inuit, art production was introduced as a means for Inuit to regain a foothold in the economy and some measure of autonomy. The new art form was enthusiastically accepted as both "primitive" and modern, and Inuit artists were celebrated for their community and personal styles. This recognition of individual style afforded Inuit artists a unique position within the field of global indigenous arts, where at this time most "primitive" artworks were considered the anonymous products of a collective people rather than of individual artists. Since the 1970s we have seen the rise of the new Inuit artist: fiercely individualistic and strongly committed to personal expression, with a growing tendency toward socially conscious art and subversively critical commentary. These new hybridized works, uncommon and contemplative, mirror the rising societal and cultural awareness of the Inuit as they take their place in the new North, while reflecting the culmination of decades of prolonged contact and reciprocal influence between Inuit and Qallunaat in the Arctic.

Colonization and Sovereignty in the Arctic

To understand the important role that these contemporary Inuit artists play in fostering and maintaining Inuit autonomy and cultural identity, it is necessary to put the issues of colonization and sovereignty, and the interrelation of these issues to the Arctic environment, into historical context. While First Nations communities in southern Canada had undergone several centuries of colonization and missionary involvement, Inuit communities remained relatively unaffected by European culture until the early twentieth century and had maintained a mutually beneficial relationship with those Qallunaat living in the North.[1] In the 1910s and 1920s semi-nomadic camp life began to change as many Inuit moved into settlements around trading posts, which resulted in the over-hunting of land and sea animals in the immediate area and an increase in dependence upon preserved food and packaged goods imported from southern Canada; it also led to the rapid

spread of devastating diseases such as smallpox and tuberculosis.[2] Parallel to this settlement into communities, Inuit were rapidly converted to Christianity, often through the missions that were set up near the trading posts, effectively ending the observation of Inuit spiritual customs and cultural traditions because missionaries and the clergy proclaimed these to be heathen and savage practices.[3]

Before the Second World War, the federal government's policy for dealing with the Inuit had been one of non-interference and limited economic support, but in the period after the war and at the beginning of the Cold War, growing concerns about Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic brought national media and public attention to Inuit living within Canada's northern border.[4] This new and sudden involvement in the Arctic of the dominant, southern population had a rapid, deleterious and lasting impact on the Inuit.

By 1955 the federal government instituted the northern Federal Day School system, the residential school system for the Inuit, where children were forbidden to speak their own language or practise any aspect of their culture in the schools, dormitories, hostels and other residences, and where many suffered terrible abuses.[5] The harmful long-term effects this cultural turmoil had on the health and well-being of survivors and their families is still evident today in Arctic communities. Alootook Ipellie's pivotal essay "The Colonization of the Arctic" allows us to penetrate with profundity this nearly incomprehensible part of our history and to see how this project fits within the "civilizing" mission of the pervasive European epistemology of evolutionism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which judged all cultures by a Eurocentric standard. The Qallunaat carried out this paternalistic mission in the belief that they had the power and cultural superiority to dictate how Inuit should live. In Ipellie's words,

> In all of the Inuit communities across the Arctic, the story was the same. The government did what it wanted to do and when it wanted to do it. There was absolutely no opposition from the Inuit to any of the projects the government brought in. All Inuit people in the Arctic were treated like infants by the paternalistic government.[6]

Despite all this, one of the greatest violations of Inuit human rights occurred in the 1950s in Nunavik (Arctic Quebec), where several Inuit communities were entirely relocated to the unfamiliar terrain of the High Arctic, and in the same period in Nunatsiavut (Labrador), where the long-settled communities of Hebron and Okak were dismantled and the families split up into more southern coastal communities, with devastating consequences to both of the relocated populations.[7] In Nunavik, the relocation was part of the Canadian government strategy to assert sovereignty in the High Arctic;[8] in Nunatsiavut, the government deceived the families into leaving so that they could close the only trading post in the area, which was expensive to stock and maintain.[9] The relocated Inuit families of both Nunavik and Nunatsiavut faced numerous hardships in the unfamiliar areas, and many continued to suffer the after-effects of this ill-treatment for decades to follow. The Nunavik Inuit, who had been treated like pawns by the federal government, faced the further indignity of the government's vehement denial of any wrongdoing.[10]

Underlying all these events is the vastly imbalanced historical power relationship between the Qallunaat and the Inuit. As Rosemary Kuptana, the former president of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami), has observed,

> They took their authority for granted and presented a greater air of superiority since the Inuit were obviously so appreciative, so eager to please and becoming increasingly dependent. The prejudices and ideologies of the day asserted that the Inuit were indeed inferior, and that the Qallunaat knew what was best for Inuit.[11]

In the face of such overwhelmingly skewed control, Inuit acted in their own best interests by submitting to the dominant power as a matter of survival, and the Canadian government acted in its own self-interest to maintain sovereignty over the Arctic lands and sea ice. In her essay "The Inuit and Issues of Arctic Sovereignty" Violet Ford, executive council member of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, protested that Inuit are too infrequently included in discussions of Canadian Arctic sovereignty and stated that Inuit can and should play a determining and protective role in their ancestral and contemporary territories. As

Ford points out, "Inuit are, and expect to remain, the permanent majority population of the Arctic. Inuit are centrally placed in the region. They are the key players, and they are the most affected by the Arctic sovereignty processes and by the outcomes and solutions Canada proposes."[12] Furthermore, Inuit sovereignty in the Arctic, as Canadian peoples, would serve to strengthen Canada's claim to Arctic territory. Sheila Watt-Cloutier of Kuujjuaq, northern Quebec, former president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and Nobel Prize nominee in 2007, suggested,

> Our government could go a long way toward defending our Arctic sovereignty by providing the tools for Arctic communities to succeed and thrive. This would include making a dedicated effort to ensure the highest standards of culturally appropriate education; investing in community infrastructure, not just the military; and undertaking respectful stewardship of the land through natural resource co-management bodies. We must insist that Canada's investments for sovereignty be directed first to peoples and communities.[13]

She further points out that the main factor protecting Canadian Arctic sovereignty today is the frozen sea ice, which naturally prevents foreign interlopers from accessing our vast coastal resources.[14] It would be wiser, she insists, to protect the environment and slow the breakup of land-fast ice[15] in order to protect Canada's northern interests, rather than mobilize the military in the rapidly melting sea. As current Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami president Mary Simon affirmed in "Climate Change, Sovereignty and Partnership with the Inuit," today's situation is very different from that of the 1960s and 1970s, when the government viewed the Arctic as a "frozen treasure chest"; rather, the establishment of Nunavut and the implementation of land claims agreements in other self-governing Inuit bodies ensure that Canada will fulfill its commitments to Inuit people, who have a right to play a deciding role in what happens in the Arctic and in their own lives. Simon argues that only Inuit sovereignty—with the full support and cooperation of the federal government and driven by a thriving economy, healthy people and a renewed, fortified and dynamic living culture—will truly protect Canadian Arctic sovereignty. The sooner that Canada realizes that it should collaborate with, and not work against, its greatest allies in the North, the better, wealthier and more secure the whole country will be.[16]

Perhaps the most urgent need for Inuit Arctic sovereignty is driven by the rapidly changing Arctic climate. While the world debates the existence of global warming and what to do about climate change, Inuit living in the Arctic experience the changes to their fragile ecosystem daily: the rapidly melting sea ice and proliferation of environmental toxins present numerous threats to northern species and biodiversity. The melting ice may open doors to resources and development previously unheard of, but rapid global warming leaves Inuit in an extremely vulnerable position as Arctic waters open up into vast shipping lanes, drawing international traffic as well as escalating interest in the untapped oil, gas and mineral resources that become available as the ice recedes.[17] Watt-Cloutier has urged the world, "In this age of globalization and ever-increasing connectivity, we must strive to answer these questions while recognizing how the global affects the local and the local affects the global."[18]

To maintain a harmonious relationship with the land and to pass on environmentally based traditional knowledge—in our case *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*[19]—we must maintain a safe and healthy environment that retains its defining characteristics, biodiversity and ecological soundness.[20] Laura Westra, professor emerita at the University of Windsor and environmental justice advocate, argues in *Environmental Justice and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* that neither self-governance nor cultural integrity can exist if Aboriginal peoples do not have the authority or ability to control and manage their lands and resources. Although today most Canadian Inuit live in self-governing territories, their agency over the land is limited by forces beyond their control or by environmental impacts that occurred before self-governance. Northerners are becoming increasingly concerned about rapidly shifting climate disruptions, the level of environmental contaminants in country foods (local fish and game),[21] and foreign hostility to Inuit traditions in the form of international trade bans and anti-sealing campaigns by groups like PETA or the International Fund for Animal Welfare, which garner financial and popular support through their opposition to the seal hunt.[22] The knowledge

"Lying in bed at night, I start to remember the time we lived out on the land and I long to go back. I remember vividly how Inuit used to live as I experienced it myself and can express this way of life easily in my carvings. We lived a hard life. We were always hungry. It was a happy time when somebody would catch a fish like this woman has... There is a special meaning in my carvings; the stories they tell are meant for my grandchildren."

Mathew Aqigaaq

base of Inuit, our very way of life, is threatened by international forces. As a young Inuk, I share in the concern that *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*—put simply, Inuit traditional knowledge and collective social memory—is being rapidly and irrevocably forgotten. Also of concern is that English is replacing Inuktitut as the dominant language of Inuit, even in the North, and that, although many young Inuit do not have the traditional skills necessary for survival on the land, education and job opportunities are severely limited. We continue to struggle against the legacy of nearly a century of intense colonial influence to maintain our cultural practices and to wrest back our stewardship over the land and its natural resources.

These challenges are not unique to Inuit, of course; historically, indigenous peoples all over the world have had to struggle to maintain their sense of place and their rightful custodianship over ancestral territories in the face of geographical and cultural imperialism. In an increasingly cosmopolitan world, ideas of land, place and ownership become tricky to traverse and maintain. In Canada, Inuit territories function as neo-colonial states, with no expectation of total independence. Yet it might be possible to achieve a form of internal sovereignty if we work toward self-determination over our lives, lands and natural resources by demanding a mutual respect on a government-to-government level alongside the many other sovereign nations that exist within Canada's boundaries. The establishment of Nunavut and the settling of Inuit land claims are important first steps toward asserting Arctic sovereignty and power-sharing with the federal government. Action must also be taken to maintain our culturally distinct practices and artistic traditions and to draw on these practices as sources of strength and cultural resilience. Steven Loft, an Iroquois curator, has recently theorized the important role of arts and cultural practices in asserting indigenous sovereignty. He says,

> When members of a community assert control over their own lives and culture, politically, socially, and artistically, they go beyond oppression. Thus, control of "our" image becomes not only an act of subversion, but of resistance, and ultimately, liberation... What is at stake here is not how the image is presented (aesthetics aside) but who controls it. This is the fundamental challenge to Aboriginal artists and cultural producers.[23]

Loft is writing about Alanis Obomsawin, an Abenaki filmmaker, but his essay resonates with the work of contemporary Inuit cultural producers, who have assumed the responsibility of providing the wellspring of our collective cultural identity and of shifting the perception of Inuit by non-Inuit away from their historical representation in the popular media and art world alike as "modern primitives" and toward a more balanced and accurate portrayal of the present-day Inuk in a modern landscape. Our ancestors—shamans, hunters, storytellers—were the keepers of collective social memory; now our artists share that responsibility for preserving *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* in their works, by asserting themselves as the true authorities on Inuit culture and confronting the legacies of colonial influence and the more recent mediation of Inuit identity by both the media and the art markets.

Artmaking, Resilience and *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*

Many of the new artists of the Inuit avant-garde have begun this practice of frank self-representation by making art that responds to, and provides commentary on, the many entangled impacts of almost a century of colonial influence in the Arctic. Whereas other scholars following recent indigenous art theory may identify these works as sites of resistance, I would argue instead that these new artworks should be viewed as expressions of cultural

resilience. The distinction is significant: resistance implies a violent opposition, a struggle against an oppressor. Although it is certainly true that these new works respond to colonial legacies as equally and consistently as they challenge the Inuit art market, I believe that viewing these artworks as acts of resilience—fortifying the culture from within, rather than reacting to outside opposition—is more in line with the Inuit world view as communal and based on the well-being of the collective.

Resilience, as defined by Aboriginal health specialists Madeleine Dion Stout and Gregory Kipling, is the capacity of communities, families and individuals to spring back from adversity more fortified and resourceful despite decades of cultural stressors. Resilience is cultivated through the adoption of "mature defenses"—such as humour and altruism—which can help individuals overcome a lifetime of adversity. On the societal level cultural resilience can strengthen the collective capacity to withstand negative forces from within and without. As Stout and Kipling observe, "the resurgence of Aboriginal beliefs and practices, accompanied by traditional resilience promotion strategies, has given rise to promising interventions."[24] It is my conviction that the production of contemporary art in the Arctic is one of the "interventions" that has fostered and safeguarded Inuit culture in the face of numerous affronts to our sovereignty. Despite the remarkable individual talents of this Inuit avant-garde and the incredible distinctiveness and particularity of each artist's personal style, I believe that collectively these artists are expressing the strength and resilience of Inuit culture from an emic, or internal, perspective, showing the world that Inuit are a sovereign people who can reflect on and adapt to the world around them in a manner that reinforces our centuries-old beliefs and practices while allowing the culture to flourish. Inuit art that expresses cultural resilience takes part in the consolidation and rejuvenation of indigenous culture and the assertion of autonomy while providing a valuable and nuanced critique of the complex interactions of nearly a century of colonialism and the aggressive evangelization of the Arctic, demonstrating that even a society with a limited population can exercise agency over its own future.

Although rare in the first decades of the contemporary period of Inuit art, increasingly, Inuit artists today are creating artworks that examine the influence of the Qallunaat incursion into Inuit territory. In a recent article for *Inuit Art Quarterly* I tested my theory of resilience and found much evidence in support of this idea.[25] The beginnings of Inuit cultural resilience occurred in the mid-twentieth century, during the period described above, a period marked by the general erosion of traditional life in the North. Concurrent with the devastating changes sweeping the Arctic, Inuit contemporary art debuted on the global art scene to critical acclaim, supported by the Canadian public, the modern art market and the government.[26] Somewhat ironically, while Inuit culture was being debased, devalued, exploited and eroded in the North by the dominant colonial presence that sought to wholly assimilate Inuit culture into the mainstream, in the mainstream culture these same Inuit values were being celebrated through the enthusiastic purchase of Inuit art in the national and even international art market. Significantly, Inuit had the opportunity to create works that reflected their otherwise forbidden cultural practices, through, for example, depicting the teaching and practices of shamanism, as well as Inuit origin stories and oral histories passed down through countless generations. In the wake of the many devastating converging impacts of colonization and evangelization in the North, artmaking provided a significant opportunity for us to foster and maintain our cultural resilience and to know, through affirmations from the world outside the Arctic, that our culture, knowledge and expressions are of value.

The roots of this art of cultural resilience were forged in the earliest years of the contemporary art period by artists such as Cape Dorset's Pudlo Pudlat, who depicted in his drawings and prints what life was like before colonization and during the early contact period. Although Pudlat's work frequently presented whimsical impressions of Qallunaat culture, he, along with others, also looked critically at spiritual matters, specifically the conflict between Christianity and Inuit belief systems. Other important artistic precursors include Napachie Pootoogook and Kananginak Pootoogook, both of Cape Dorset, who created great bodies of autobiographical and historical works that chronicled community life during a critical period of transition. Today artists exhibit an even greater awareness of southern influences and

often evidence a new, hybridized identity that reflects their contemporary reality. Cape Dorset artists Shuvinai Ashoona and Jutai Toonoo, for example, are among the many artists who have critically examined religion in their artwork.[27] Shuvinai's cousin Annie Pootoogook, in contrast, is famous for her daring and sensitive critiques of the colonial legacy in her works on alcohol and substance abuse and for revealing the influence of pop culture in the North in the form of video games, trashy television and sensationalized news coverage. Siblings David Ruben Piqtoukun and Abraham Anghik Ruben of Paulatuk, Northwest Territories, have revealed through their sculptural practice the complexities and nuances of the history and lingering impacts of residential schools with great solemnity, whereas the more lighthearted mixed-media sculptures of Labrador's Michael Massie and Floyd Kuptana of Cape Parry, NWT, demonstrate how Inuit maintain cultural integrity while creating imaginative, bold, hybridized works of art.

"I hope to tell Inuit people that when they adopted Christianity and gave up the old beliefs, they gave up a lot... They have forgotten that the shamans taught... respect for the animal world, for human life, for a spouse and for children, and the principal idea of sharing that has been lost to a lot of communities."

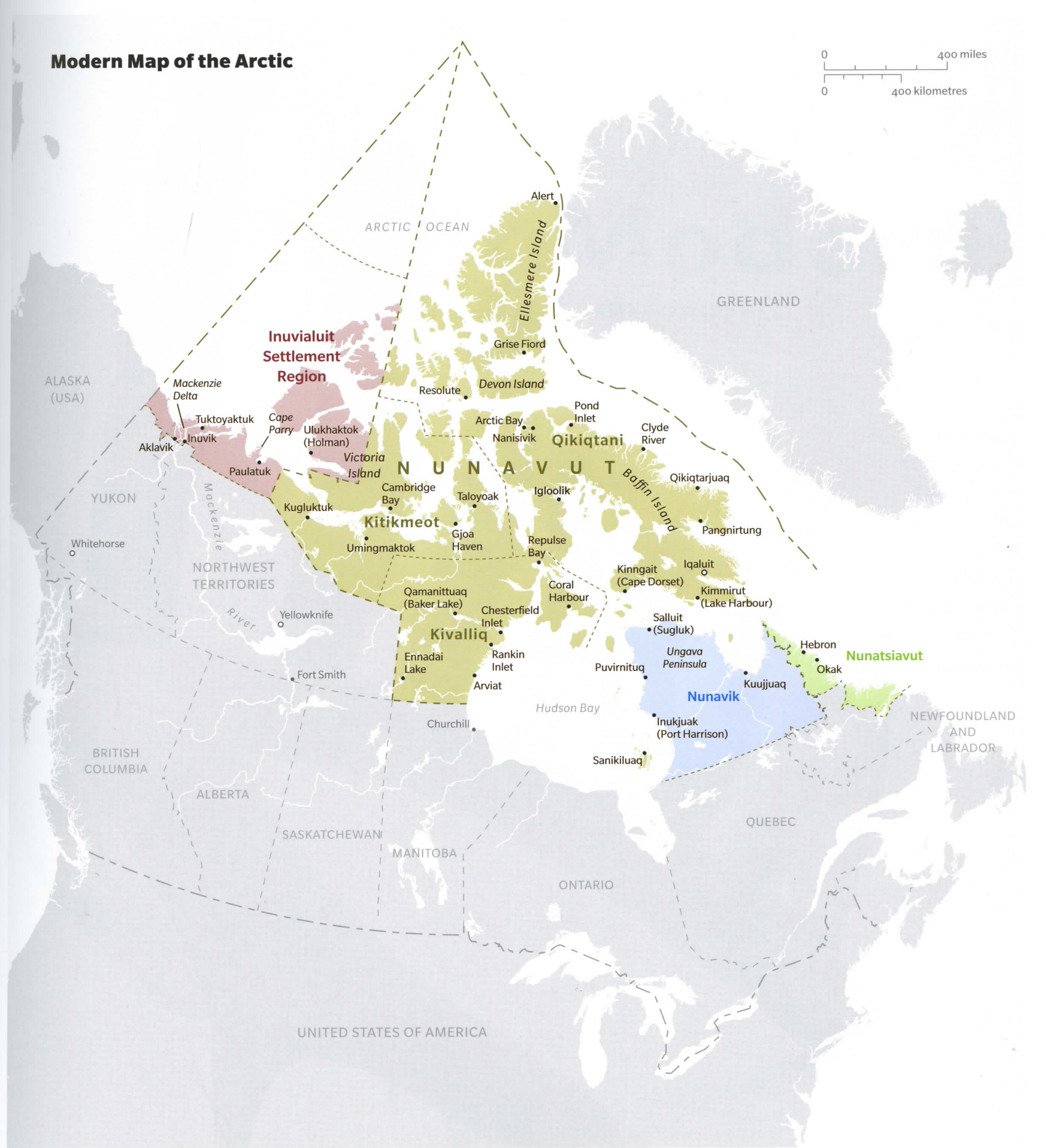
Abraham Anghik Ruben

These artists provide inspiration and demonstrate, through the depiction of Inuit cultural knowledge or in the act of carving itself, how artmaking can be creatively used to preserve and fortify threatened cultural knowledge and practices. These emergent, socially conscious works are indicative of the renewed ability of Inuit to reflect upon and respond to the multiple pressures of modern life. This new approach to Inuit art, which reflects the Inuit experience of the contemporary world, is just beginning to gain recognition and acceptance in the artistic community and global art market, and it is exciting to imagine the future manifestations of this practice and the influence these strong cultural expressions might inspire.

New Directions for Inuit Art and Scholarship

Although I am encouraged by the positive direction of these new Inuit artworks and believe they reflect a growing self-confidence within Inuit society, there are still serious challenges to asserting Inuit cultural sovereignty. It is easy for me to be optimistic about our near future when I observe the tremendous strides made by the inspiring new artists of the Inuit avant-garde, and this optimism is probably heightened by my separation from the daily reality of many communities; I am an urban Inuk, who has lived in the nation's capital for several years and has fully acclimated to life in the South. I know that there are many Inuit who are still, to paraphrase the post-colonial theorist and filmmaker Trinh T. Minh-ha, the Third World living within the First World. Our suicide rate is the highest on the planet; our northern educational and employment opportunities are few. As for the field of Inuit art, I am currently the sole active Inuit member of the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective, an organization of indigenous Canadian and international academics, museum professionals and curators that has over one hundred members.

Although much has been written, we are still just at the beginning of our art history, and there are still so many challenges to be overcome. The problem was identified years ago by Inuit art scholar Jean Blodgett in an essay in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*: "Compared with First Nations art, the power relationships in Inuit art still leave much of the decision making in the hands of outsiders... While there are many Inuit artists, there are few Inuit curators and researchers working with their own artistic culture. This has been changing, but until recently, only at a slow rate."[28] There are no Inuit working in our national arts institutions; at present, I don't know of any other Inuit studying our art history and visual culture at the doctoral level, but I have hope that I will not be so alone for much longer—there is so much work to be done by Inuit in the arts and so many leadership roles to be filled. In an essay in *Vision, Space, Desire: Global Perspectives and Cultural Hybridity,* Gerald McMaster offered a hopeful direction for the new critical discourse on post-colonialism in curatorial and museological practice: he suggested that, "on an increasingly complex and connected globe, the art world is expanding far beyond the Western trajectory. The old patterns of exclusion have reversed, bringing new voices into the mainstream."[29] Most of the Inuit population in Canada is my age or younger—I was born in 1979—and our generation is becoming increasingly better educated. Our leaders have gained a higher political profile, garnering national media attention, and even a Nobel Prize nomination.[30] Our territories have made huge strides in just a few short decades. Although the real success of the Inuit is yet to come, I believe it will not be long before many more new voices enter the discourse of Inuit studies.



Modern Map of the Arctic
0
400 miles
0
400 kilometres
ARCTIC OCEAN
Alert
Ellesmere Island
GREENLAND
Grise Fiord
Devon Island
Resolute
Inuvialuit
Settlement
Region
ALASKA
(USA)
Mackenzie
Delta
Tuktoyaktuk
Inuvik
Aklavik
Cape
Parry
Ulukhaktok
(Holman)
Paulatuk
Victoria
Island
Pond
Inlet
Arctic Bay
Nanisivik
Qikiqtani
Clyde
River
NUNAVUT
Baffin Island
Qikiqtarjuaq
Cambridge
Bay
Taloyoak
Igloolik
Kugluktuk
Kitikmeot
Pangnirtung
Gjoa
Haven
Umingmaktok
Repulse
Bay
YUKON
Whitehorse
Mackenzie
NORTHWEST
TERRITORIES
Kinngait
(Cape Dorset)
Iqaluit
Kimmirut
(Lake Harbour)
Qamanittuaq
(Baker Lake)
Coral
Harbour
Chesterfield
Inlet
River
Yellowknife
Salluit
(Sugluk)
Kivalliq
Hebron
Okak
Nunatsiavut
Ungava
Peninsula
Rankin
Inlet
Ennadai
Lake
Puvirnituq
Kuujjuaq
Fort Smith
Arviat
Nunavik
Hudson Bay
Churchill
Inukjuak
(Port Harrison)
NEWFOUNDLAND
AND
LABRADOR
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
Sanikiluaq
ALBERTA
QUEBEC
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

10. Osuitok Ipeelee, quoted by Norman Hallendy in *Inuksuit, Silent Messengers of the Arctic* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2000), 85.
11. Marie Bouchard, *An Inuit Perspective: Baker Lake Sculpture* (Baker Lake: Itsarnittakarvik Inuit Heritage Centre; Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2000), 14–15.
12. Watt, *Canadian Guild of Crafts Quebec*, 11.
13. Darlene Wight, *The First Passionate Collector: The Ian Lindsay Collection of Inuit Art* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1991), 56–58.
14. Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite*, 170–71.
15. Ibid., 149.
16. R.G. Robertson, Deputy Minister, Northern Affairs and National Resources, to Alan Jarvis, Director, National Gallery of Canada, July 20, 1956. 7.4E "Eskimo Handicraft Advisory Committee," National Gallery of Canada fonds, Library and Archives, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
17. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, *Eskimo 59 Exhibit Stratford Festival* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1959). Notably, no objects by Labrador Inuit were included.
18. Visual documentation, Stratford Eskimo Exhibition 1959, Ronald Gould fonds, Library and Archives, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
19. *Northern Affairs Bulletin* 6, no. 3 (1959): 32. Abraham Okpik was then starting a distinguished career, first with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources; later he went on to become the first Inuk appointed to the Territorial Council of the Northwest Territories in 1965. He led Project Surname (1968–71), which assisted Inuit to choose family names to replace the problematic disc number system of identification. He received the Order of Canada for this work and his involvement in the Thomas Berger Commission. He settled in Iqaluit, continuing to have influence as a politician, consultant and leader, until his death in 1997. His autobiography, *Abraham Okpik: We Call It Survival*, based on interviews with Louis McComber, is the first volume in the publication series *Life Stories of Northern Leaders* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2005).
20. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, *Eskimo 59 Exhibit Stratford Festival* (not paginated). With the exception of the sculptures and prints, all items listed were accompanied by a retail price and order form. The catalogue also included a place for comments to be mailed to the Industrial Division department.
21. Personal interview with Ronald Gould, Ottawa, February 26, 2010. Gould, formerly with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Industrial Division, from 1955–60, was involved in handicrafts programs and organizing the Stratford show. He recalls that the response to the handicrafts items was negligible. His job was then to promote the prints from Cape Dorset as fine art, rather than craft.
22. Dr. Marion Jackson, "Baker Lake Inuit Drawings: A Study in the Evolution of Artistic Self-Consciousness" (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1985).
23. Edmund Carpenter claims that the government appropriated his views and knowledge of older Inuit forms for their promotional "propaganda" to establish this continuity. See *Eskimo Realities* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973), 193.
24. Ibid., 192.
25. Ibid., 194.
26. As quoted by Nelson Graburn in "Inuit Art and the Expression of Eskimo Identity," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 17 (1987): 60. Graburn notes in this article that there is an aesthetic connection between values appreciated in sculpture and those related to hunting. See also Michele Dupuis, "The Art of Giving: Cooperation, Reciprocity and Household Economic Strategies among Soapstone Carvers in Kimmirut (Lake Harbour), NWT" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1992).
27. Gerald Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 15.
28. John R. Grimes, Douglas Stenton, and Karen Kramer, *Our Land: Contemporary Art from the Arctic* (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders & Youth; Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2004), 22.

Inuit Art and the Creation of Nunavut
by Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad

1. The homeland of the Inuit and Inuvialuit peoples across Arctic Canada include Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut and the Inuvialuit Regional Settlement. With a geographic area stretching over 2 million square kilometres, Nunavut is the largest of Canada's three territories and ten provinces, with a population of 26,745 (2001 census), 85 per cent of whom are Inuit.
2. Leslie Boyd Ryan, *Cape Dorset Prints: A Retrospective; Fifty Years of Printmaking at the Kinngait Studios* (San Francisco: Pomegranate, 2007), 31.
3. Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).
4. Government of Nunavut, http://www.gov.nu.ca/english/pinasuaqtavut/ (accessed March 26, 2010).
5. Knud Rasmussen, *The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1929); Bernadette Driscoll, "Pretending to Be Caribou; The Inuit Parka as an Artistic Tradition," in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Nations*, by Julia Harrison (Calgary: Glenbow Alberta Museum, 1988).
6. Personal communication. Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, November 1987.
7. Sandra Dyck and Ingo Hessel, *Sanattiaqsimajut: Inuit Art from the Carleton University Art Gallery Collection* (Ottawa: Carleton University Art Gallery, 2009).
8. Maria von Finckenstein, ed., *Celebrating Inuit Art* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999).
9. Personal communication, Qamanittuaq, November 1992. Oonark stated she "lost her mother," apparently referring to her betrothal "at the age of eleven or twelve" when she joined her future husband's family camp. See Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard, *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1985), 10.
10. Personal communication, Qamanittuaq, November 1992.
11. *Port Harrison / Inoucdjouac* (Winnipeg; Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1976), 16.
12. Ibid., 17.
13. Von Finckenstein, *Celebrating Inuit Art*, 59.
14. Artist interview in *Eskimo Point / Arviat* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1982), 29.
15. Following the closing of the nickel mine at Rankin Inlet in 1962, art production was encouraged through the establishment of a ceramic sculpture program.
16. Marybelle Myers, in *Port Harrison / Inoucdjouac*, 15.
17. Terrence Ryan, in Dyck and Hessel, *Sanattiaqsimajut*, 57.
18. Avrom Isaacs, "Foreword," in Boyd Ryan, *Cape Dorset Prints: A Retrospective*, 9.
19. Those honoured as recipients of the Order of Canada include artists Pitseolak Ashoona (1977), Helen Kalvak (1978), Kenojuak Ashevak (1982), Jessie Oonark (1984), Kiugak Ashoona (1999), Zacharias Kunuk (2002) and John Kaunak (2003), as well as James Houston (1972), George Swinton (1979), Andrew Goussaert (1980), Terrence Ryan (1983), Virginia Watt (1985) and Avrom Isaacs (1992).
20. *Inuit Piqutingit (What Belongs to Inuit)* (Isuma Productions, 2009), http://www.isuma.tv/hi/en/isuma-productions/inuit-piqutingit (accessed March 26, 2010).

The Inuit of Our Imagination
by Heather Igloliorte

1. The exception, of course, is Labrador, where Inuit have been in prolonged contact with outsiders for several centuries.
2. Marybelle Mitchell, "Social, Economic, and Political Transformation among Canadian Inuit from 1950 to 1988," in *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 336.
3. Kristen Norget, "The Hunt for Inuit Souls: Religion, Colonization, and the Politics of Memory," in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen: A Sense of Memory and High-Definition Inuit Storytelling*, ed. Gillian Robinson (Montreal: Isuma Productions, 2008), 222.
4. Richard Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit: 1900–1967* (Ottawa: Research Branch, Corporate Policy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985), 163.
5. All schools in the Arctic between 1955 and 1970 (and later in some places) were called Federal Day Schools. These schools had hostels or dormitories built around them, to hold as few as eight to twenty-four students, or as many as over a hundred. Although the government did not use the term residential school to describe this new system of day schools with hostels, the Inuit and northern First Nations children who lived in hostels and dormitories near the schools (which were operated by the Department of Northern Affairs) were considered residential school students by the government. Despite the deceptive name, the experience of residential school children in the North was much the same as in the South, just over a shorter period. For more information on the Inuit experience of residential schools, see David King, *A Brief Report of the Federal Government of Canada's Residential School System for Inuit* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006).
6. Alootook Ipellie, "The Colonization of the Arctic," in *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives in Canadian Art*, ed. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization; Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 53.

7. On the relocations in Nunatsiavut, see Carol Brice-Bennett, *Reconciling with Memories: A Record of the Reunion at Hebron 40 Years after Relocation / Ikkaumajânnik Piusivinnik: Titigattausimajut Katiutusumaningit Hebronimi 40 Jâret Kingungani Nottitausimalidlutik* (Nain: Labrador Inuit Association, 2000). For information on the Nunavik relocations, read Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939–63* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994); and René Dussault and George Erasmus, *The High Arctic Relocation: A Report on the 1953–55 Relocation* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing, 1994) for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
8. Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes)*, 56.
9. Brice-Bennett, *Reconciling with Memories*, 7–9.
10. As Rosemary Kuptana eloquently illustrated in her statement to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the families of the *High Arctic Exiles* agreed to go because of a firmly entrenched cultural belief system that made it impossible for the Inuit to refuse. Because the Qallunaat "could make the difference between success and disaster, sustenance or hunger," Inuit responded to their requests as if they were commands. "In this cultural setting, a challenge to the authority of the Qallunaat or defiance of their requests was almost unthinkable." Rosemary Kuptana, "Ilira, or Why It Was Unthinkable for Inuit to Challenge Qallunaat Authority," reprinted in *Inuit Art Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 6. This essay was originally a speech entitled "Providing a Context for Testimony of the High Arctic Exiles: Speaking Notes for a Presentation by Susan Aglukark on Behalf of Rosemary Kuptana, President, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' Special Hearing on the High Arctic Exiles," Ottawa, April 5, 1993.
11. Kuptana, "Ilira, or Why It Was Unthinkable for Inuit to Challenge Qallunaat Authority," 7.
12. Violet Ford, "The Inuit and Issues of Arctic Sovereignty," in *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Powers and Prospects in Canada's North*, ed. Frances Abele, Thomas J. Courchene, F. Leslie Seidle, and France St-Hilaire (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2009), 139.
13. Sheila Watt-Cloutier, "A Principled Path," in Abele et al., *Northern Exposure*, 73.
14. Watt-Cloutier, "A Principled Path," 72.
15. "Land-fast ice" is ice that is frozen to the coastline – fastened to the shore – as opposed to drift ice, which floats according to wind and weather patterns, or pack ice. It is extremely sensitive to climate change. Late ice formation in the winter or early ice breakup in the summer is endangering several species in the Arctic, particularly polar bears and caribou. If the ice stops freezing completely, the Northwest Passage will be extremely vulnerable to international traffic and exploitation.
16. Mary Simon, "Climate Change, Sovereignty and Partnership with the Inuit," in Abele et al., *Northern Exposure*, 524.
17. Frances Abele, Thomas J. Courchene, F. Leslie Seidle, and France St-Hilaire, "Introduction and Overview," in Abele et al., *Northern Exposure*, 4.
18. The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), a peer-reviewed scientific document created by some of the world's leading experts on climate change, outlined the enormity of the impact that the increase of industrial greenhouse gas emissions will have on not only the Arctic but the entire world, if we do not take immediate action to prevent climate change. The summary of this report outlined some of the major threats: animal population, diversity and territories will decrease in the Arctic and around the globe; storms, floods and other inclement weather will have a direct impact on Arctic coastal communities, with devastating outcomes; sea ice will break up, which will lead to increased traffic in the Northwest Passage, threatening sovereignty and further aggravating the fragile ecosystem; sea levels will rise globally; ground thawing will have a negative impact on the infrastructure of the North and disrupt development; food sources will be increasingly threatened; and elevated ultraviolet radiation levels will affect people, plants and animals. Susan Joy Hassol, "Key Findings," *Impacts of a Warming Arctic: Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10–12, http://www.amap.no/acia/ (accessed March 20, 2010).
19. *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* is an Inuktitut phrase that comes from the verb *qaujima*, meaning *to know*; one literal translation could be "that which has long been known by Inuit." It encompasses the oral tradition, environmentally based knowledge, and collective social memory.
20. Laura Westra, *Environmental Justice and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (London: Earthscan, 2008), 10–11.
21. Adam K. Johnson, "Country Foods: Are They Threatened?" *Above and Beyond* 21, no. 6 (November/December 2009): 30.
22. Acknowledging the fact that these campaigns often claim that they are not against the Inuit seal hunt but just the commercial hunt, Mary Simon has responded, "Some animal-rights groups, like some governments and legislators in Europe, have been quick to say that their anti-sealing efforts are not aimed at the seal-hunting activities of Inuit, and that seal furs resulting from Inuit hunting should be exempt from such things as import bans. It is hard for Inuit to take any comfort in these promises. These assurances are issued in what appears to be willful ignorance that past anti-sealing activities have destroyed the markets for all seal pelts, whether taken by Inuit or others. They are issued without the prospect of any plausible machinery, methods or communications efforts that would somehow allow Inuit to continue to support themselves and their way of life in the Arctic with a measure of security. No, these assurances are all about salving troubled consciences, not offering respect and reasonable accommodation." Mary Simon, "Inuit Deliver Message on Seal Hunting Practices to European Parliament, Media, and IFAW" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, March 25, 2007), http://www.itk.ca/media-centre/media-releases/inuit-deliver-message-seal-hunting-practices-european-parliament-media-a (accessed February 18, 2010).
23. Steven Loft, "Sovereignty, Subjectivity, and Social Action: The Films of Alanis Obomsawin," in *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Native New Media Exploring Visual and Digital Culture*, ed. Melanie Townsend, Dana Claxton, and Steven Loft (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery Editions, 2005), 66.
24. Madeleine Dion Stout and Gregory Kipling, *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003), iii–iv.
25. Heather Igloliorte, "Inuit Art: Markers of Cultural Resilience," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 25, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring/Summer 2010): 4–11.
26. See Norman Vorano, "Inuit Art in the Qallunaat World: Modernism, Museums, and the Public Imaginary, 1949–1965" (PhD dissertation, University of Rochester, 2007).
27. In his work *New Age Christ* (2008), Toonoo condemns what he sees as the duplicity of the Church, inscribing on it, "I am the new age Christ and I have been lurking in the shadows for the past several centuries raping and plundering the earth and its inhabitants while I preach peace, financial prosperity in the midst of hunger." This work was a part of the 2008 Cape Dorset prints collection.
28. Jean Blodgett, "After Essay: And What about Inuit Art?" in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 210.
29. Gerald McMaster, "New Art / New Contexts," in *Vision, Space, Desire: Global Perspectives and Cultural Hybridity* (Washington: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 2006), 19.
30. Sheila Watt-Cloutier was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize with Al Gore in 2007 for her worldwide contributions to our understanding of climate change and global warming.

Part 2: Inuit Modern
The Samuel and Esther Sarick Collection

Art of the Historic Period – The Spirit of the Thule by Ingo Hessel

1. Renée Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 33–55.
2. The medical missions founded by Wilfred Grenfell served the Labrador coast and northern Newfoundland for almost a century, from 1893 to 1981. The missions fostered "industrial development," which included the production and marketing of handicrafts.
3. George Lyon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, of H.M.S.* Hecla, *during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry* (London: John Murray, 1825), 16.
4. Lyon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon*, 123.
5. Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled*, 168.
6. Whalers, and other regular visitors, also sired many children in the Canadian Arctic. For example, research has shown that in the period 1889–1911, nearly half of the forty-six births recorded in the Cape Fullerton area (on northwest Hudson Bay) were sired by Qallunaat. W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada), 122, cited in Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 80.
7. Dorothy Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
8. Mitchell describes the increased presence and influence of fur traders, missionaries and police in the early twentieth century as a "community of interest." See chapter 5 of Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite*. By the late 1950s,