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Contemporary Eskimo fine art

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THESIS ABSTRACT

CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO FINE ART

The format consists of five chapters which discuss the following topics:

1. Life After The Advent Of Extensive White Contact

This consists of a brief discussion of socio-economic/ educational/ cultural factors which govern Eskimo lifestyles, and therefore, affect their art e.g. Lack of adequate schooling/ state legislation made by whites/ unemployment/ racial and cultural discrimination/ exploitation/ development of Eskimo politics. Many of these are relevant issues because many of the current Eskimo artists deal with these issues in their artwork.

This section, therefore, serves to create a general "overview" of circumstances for the modern Eskimo.

2. Pre-Contact Art

A survey of the major forms of pre-contact art to act as a comparison/contrast with the modern arts, and the changes in roles and functions of the arts, and the actual arts themselves.

3. Contemporary Sculpture

An examination of the major themes and styles in contemporary Eskimo sculpture, and how these differ from those of the pre-contact period. What are these differences caused by? For example, have artist's choices increased with the decline of traditional beliefs, and the introduction of new influences and materials via white contact?

Can these new artforms be considered as "art" as opposed to "craft", and who gets to make such distinctions? In otherwords, who sets the standards of evaluation in regard to aesthetic qualities, and narrative content?

A brief discussion on the subject of "authenticity": who determines it; what is it; and, if we can actually define it, do the new Eskimo arts come within its boundaries i.e. can we say that they accurately reflect Eskimo culture of the present day?

Have the motivating factors for the artists changed significantly, and especially, to an extent whereby the actual art has changed in all meanings.

4. Contemporary Printmaking

As above, but geared towards the specific issues relating to printmaking.

5. Conclusions

A summing up of the materials gathered in order to define the role and nature of the Eskimo arts; the problems facing these contemporary artists, such as cross-cultural appreciation, stereotyping, and bias from the western institution of "art history".

A discussion of "primitive art" in relation to Eskimo artists, and how we may overcome the pejorative connotations we attach to this label e.g. Should we limit ourselves to qualitative experiences, or learn to use the same set of judgemental values as the creator peoples; or, even more fundamentally, should we actually attempt to familiarize ourselves with the Eskimo's culture/historical background to be able to give a fair assessment.

JOHN HARRISON

1992

M.A(BY THESIS)

CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO FINE ART

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PREFACE

One of the questions posed in the final chapter of this thesis is 'why bother to spend time and effort on an artform which, according to many, doesn't really merit it, and isn't art anyway?'

There are vague notions and explanations cited-- 'so different as to be of interest (in passing); representative of 'how natives live'; or a reminder of..."the most deeply entrenched instinctual elements of the human psyche." (Normington 1987 p7). All are offered, not as concrete reasons for the arts, but rather as a nervous justification for fairly arrogant, dismissive, and partially formulated studies.

All too often, the people conducting these studies are members of the "Western Art Association", a fairly exclusive organization with stringent codes of membership, with no indigenous people allowed: after all, the vast majority of them haven't had an art college education, or a shelf full of books by Clement Greenberg and John Berger.

Consequently, art critics have constructed a club for indigenous people -- "Primitive Artists Anonymous".

The majority of visitors from the West find themselves in an unfamiliar environment, an environment which doesn't conform to their expectations, and therefore, they tend to move along at speed, sticking to the periphery, and giving the exhibits only the most cursory of glances.

Their analyses of indigenous artworks are therefore, by and large, based on attempting to compare them with our own art: in other words, trying to translate indigenous values and means of expression into ones with which we are familiar, consequently depriving the artworks of any real meaning in significant terms.

Anthropologists are often no less guilty of inadequate representation: indeed, many help perpetuate it by decrying any attempt by indigenous man to achieve changes of any kind.

Others cover art only as a necessary part of documenting the community as a whole, and therefore, the data offered is often patchy and simplistic to say the least.

Hence, Western critics and anthropologists find themselves in a dilemma, namely, the art critic is not familiar with looking beyond the artist and at the artist's society unless the image conforms to pre-determined boundaries; whereas the anthropologist is primarily concerned with the society which produces the art, but is untrained in the arts. Therefore, the art critic often uses art to create cultural stereotypes concerning indigenous populations which the anthropologist then tries to counter, unfortunately, often by trying to discredit the art critic's credentials for passing such judgements rather than by using examples of indigenous art to debunk stereotypes.

By far one of the most successful writers on the subject of indigenous arts is, in my opinion, George Swinton, who is both an anthropologist and a trained artist: this means that he is able to offer critiques derived from detailed anthropological research into the art-producing community; the artists themselves, and the styles and standards for evaluation that the community uses, whilst at the same time, retaining the genuine enthusiasm for art that an artist (hopefully) has, and the ability to recognise artistic skill and aesthetic appeal.

He is therefore in a position to present a clearer and more meaningful account without adopting the convoluted theorizing of the art critic, or the vaguely uncomfortable tones of the anthropologist.

I would like to think that I have the potential to eventually produce work of a similar nature, as I also originally trained as an artist, but found that as my training progressed, I started to ask questions that people were either unable to answer satisfactorily, or didn't deem relevant to the requirements of art history.

For example, when faced with a course entitled "Primitive Art", I wanted to know what made an artwork "primitive", and indeed, what the term "primitive" itself meant; how was it measurable?

Was there, for example, a cultural scale of sorts whereby ten denoted "sophistication", and one "primitive" leanings?

The final straw was having to write an essay on Barnett Newman, an artist whose work consists of a flat red square broken by a vertical stripe.

From this point onward, I decided that I would rather write about art on the basis of cultural examination of the art-producing community in order to gain insight as to why certain themes, topics, and styles emerge in any given location.

This seemed to me to be a more worthwhile exercise than empty academic theorizing, which seems to attach itself to much Western art history: after all, how can one build concrete arguments on toothpick foundations?

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A SHORT SURVEY OF ESKIMO LIFE SINCE 1940

The arrival of Russian fur traders in the late eighteenth century, and American commercial whalers in the middle of the nineteenth century, began a process (of change) that dramatically changed the traditional world of the Eskimo.

The introduction of rifles, steel implements, drugs, and other items of western manufacture resolved many of the insecurities associated with an aboriginal subsistence economy.

This, in turn, stimulated changes in other spheres of Eskimo life: Although the use of the rifle made hunting easier, it reduced somewhat the need for sharing and cooperation among kin groups, lessened the prestige of the traditional hunter, and brought into question the validity of Eskimo religion by raising doubts about the importance of certain rituals concerned with hunting (Jones 1972 page 64).

This questioning of religion affected the traditional means of social control in that the threat of supernatural punishment for deviating from approved Eskimo practises lost much of its force.

White whalers and fur traders were followed by missionaries, school teachers, doctors, government and military personnel, all whom contributed to the Eskimos growing awareness of western society and technology.

However, for many years the changes brought about by this knowledge were relatively slow, resulting in gradual modifications of traditional Eskimo culture: this, presumably, was largely due to the fact that the newcomers had to adapt much of their way of life to that of the Eskimos because of the harsh conditions.

Therefore, in the early contact period, the adjustment problems were often as much the concern of the whites as for the Eskimos. The period of profound change for the Eskimo started in the aftermath of world war two.

There was an influx of military personnel and their families; workers in service industries; post-war settlers; and, Alaskas location made it of strategic importance in the rapidly escalating cold war.

This meant that the economy moved from natural resource exploitation to military preparation. With this shift came the construction of military defence bases, education, health, and the expansion of related services; all greatly increased job opportunities for Eskimos.

This had the effect of attracting populations from nearby areas suffering from a scarcity of game and a drop in trapping revenues.

Thus, for example, at Fort Chino the original village was supplanted by a new one that developed around the American army camp, with immigrants from nearby areas.

However, these settlements quickly became over populated as the administrative and social services there attracted needy families.

This was the beginning of a gradual increase in schools and healthcare nationally, and, therefore, it was the beginning of a gradual abandonment of the seasonal camps, and of a slow but irreversible sedentarization, which increased the need for the basic services even further.

However, this boom period was followed by reduced government expenditures and, therefore, a rise in unemployment in the 1960's (Chance 1966).

The government attempted to counter this and improve the social and economic conditions of the Eskimos.

There was an expansion of work training courses; area economic development programmes; improved care facilities, and community action projects.

Despite these measures, the initial results were not particularly good, with the U.S Federal Field Committee for planning noting that - "A great contrast exists today between the high income, moderate standard of living, and existence of reasonable opportunity of most Alaskans and the appalling low income and standard of living, and the virtual absence of opportunity for most Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska" (Field report 1968 page 3).

Of even greater long range significance was their conclusion concerning the impact of this economic development - "The economic position of Alaskan natives, and of the communities in which they live, is steadily falling further behind statewide averages". (1968 page 528).

There were several factors involved in the poor response to development.

The 1960 U.S census reported that the average number of people living in an Eskimo village was 155 (Rogers 1969 page 26): So low that many predicted that villages would decline and eventually disappear as Eskimos migrated to the areas of (supposedly) rapid economic growth such as the coastal fish cannery areas.

However, the village system did not die out; why is not really clear, but it would be fair to assume that obvious factors such as reluctance to leave a place with ancestral roots, and not wishing to be parted from friends and family members, all played a part. This meant that unemployment stayed high despite government efforts.

There were few jobs in small settlements, and traditional trades such as fur trapping and fishing were no longer profitable since large Canadian companies could do everything bigger, faster and cheaper.

It was also not always the case that those Eskimos who migrated could expect greatly improved social and economic conditions; a study by Rogers (1969 page 26) concluded that "The relative well being of the native people in all of these regions does not vary significantly".

Just how appalling the economic situation was for both rural and urban Eskimos in the mid-1960's was described by the Federal Field Committee - "...more persons are unemployed than have permanent jobs. More than half the workforce is jobless most of the year....In urban areas, native unemployment appears to be higher than among none-natives". (1968 pages12-13).

Another research study of the time by the U.S Public Health Service (Sessions 1967) came to the conclusion that poverty in both urban and rural Eskimo areas continued through the decade while income levels for whites grew steadily. During the late 1960's; and early 1970's governmental concern over this widening economic gap was reflected in numerous research studies and reports.

Anticipating significant economic development from oil and gas exploration, timber and other natural resources, the U.S department of the interior foresaw that future employment opportunities would enable Eskimos - "To make the transition from their present existence to a more self supporting one with adequate income and employment". (1967 pages 25-6).

Instead of stressing "assimilation", emphasis was placed on "equal-:opportunity/standards of living/participation".

Implicit in most of these was the judgement that equal opportunity was the crucial ingredient to Eskimo development. What seems to have since become clear is that such policies usually meant that if the Eskimos had equal qualifications, they should have the same opportunities for advancement.

This concept of equality carried another hidden assumption. It subtly eroded the principle of compensation for any past injustices by questioning the "unequal" allocation of funds to Eskimos.

In response, critics of government policies began promoting the principle that given the past history of economic and social exploitation, a very strong case could be made for preferential rather than equal treatment of Eskimos in job opportunities and social and cultural development programs (Chance 1966 page 651).

Finally, the concept of equal opportunity raised the issue of the Eskimo's right to develop their own culture as well as participate in modern white-style life.

Although full access into the dominant white society was not an option available to most Eskimos, the implication was still that the industrial/urban sector had all the advantages and these should be shared with the Eskimo.

This subtle form of white paternalism was not infrequently a hidden feature of "Full participation" policy, a paternalism that continued to devalue the present and future contributions of Eskimo culture to the broader society. In so doing, negative stereotyping and Eskimo feelings of self-disparagement were further encouraged.

~~This attitude was clearly reflected in a letter written by an Eskimo to his state legislator expressing concern over the economic future of his village-~~

~~"....Work or jobs are pretty dim in our area. Last year, all the men were without work all summer long. My total earnings for 1967 were less than \$300 and that worries a man with a family of eight. We hate to get welfare but it is our only solution....We should get training for older men without high school education" (Arnold 1969 page 18).~~

The problems highlighted by this Eskimo were characteristic of the majority of adult Eskimos.

Possible solutions were viewed as closely tied to the potential contained in exploiting the natural resources of the land.

For example, as the magnitude of Alaska's oil and gas resources became known to the nation, projections of future economic growth appeared highly encouraging, but not in terms of Eskimo participation.

According to the U.S. Federal Field Committee for development planning in Alaska - "The leading growth industry - oil and gas is one of the most capital intensive of all commodity producing industries and employs almost no unskilled or semi-skilled labour"(1968 page 52).

Although Alaska's economic growth did create new jobs at minimum entry levels, the report went on to state that these new positions "May well be more than offset by the disappearance of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in declining industries or trades, and resulting in automation, modernization, and upgrading of work in general. Under these circumstances, programs to place additional natives in minimum entry jobs may succeed only to the extent they redistribute unemployment rather than alleviate it" (page 521).

The results of the study made it clear that the geographical mobility of the Eskimo to the new growth centres was not sufficient to ensure their active involvement in the economic development taking place in Alaska.

To fit the occupational needs of a rapidly modernizing state, the Eskimo had to have at least the equivalent of a high school education.

EDUCATION

By 1970 it had become obvious to increasing numbers of Alaskans, both white and Eskimo, that unless existing educational programs for the Eskimo population were dramatically improved and expanded in the near future, the economic, social and psychological cost to the Eskimos, the state, and federal agencies would be extremely high by the end of the decade. (Chance 1974).

Equally important was the conclusion that a significant educational effort if undertaken then would show major benefits in the same time span.

However, if substantial improvements were not made for another 5 to 10 years, the existing interlocking pattern of poor education leading to social/economic ineffectualness would become sufficiently entrenched as to virtually ensure exclusion from any real part in social, economic and political development.

Educational improvement was not seen as a sufficient condition for effective Eskimo participation but it was assumed to be a vital one.

The severity of educational needs for Eskimos was highlighted in the preliminary report of the governors commission on cross-cultural education, which pointed out that due to greatly improved comprehensive health services and an increase in birth rate, the median age in the native population was 16 years. At this time(1970) more than 77% of this group was less than 35 (Alaska governors commission of cross-cultural education 1970 page 5).

Of the 16,000 elementary students, over 11,000 were located in rural native communities, and in many of these, overcrowding was predominant. For example, in the town of Barrow, a building designed for secondary school students had to be used for primary level pupils. (A.G.C.C.E 1970).

Secondary school facilities were very limited. According to the report, of the 77 schools operated by the state, only 6 offered work beyond the eighth grade (A.G.C.C.E 1970 page 5).

Considering the mounting interest of Eskimo students in attending high school and the lack of adequate facilities, the prospects for a minimally adequate secondary education were less than satisfactory.

In order to improve the quality of existing schools, the government became increasingly interested in supporting new teacher preparation programs and introducing bicultural and bilingual materials into Eskimo schools (Chance 1974).

However, an important counterforce to this approach was the continuing influence of social Darwinist views found among some whites and Eskimos, who believed in the supremacy of white middle-class values and institutions: This set the stage for either outright rejection of Eskimo values, or at least the necessity of making them acceptable to white taste. (Kleinfield 1972).

Institutionally, this view was reflected on the success/failure orientation of the schools, which were perceived as important in that they provided a ladder where 'The most suitable' could gain access to the white world.

Where middle-class uniformity rather than cultural plurality was the desired end product of the school system, 'unsuccessful' students were left with strong feelings of inferiority and ambivalence about the outside world.

With a few important exceptions (U.S. Congress Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969), federal and state agencies' efforts to effectively incorporate local and regional Eskimo populations in decision making have been a failure. Reasons for this are varied. They include questioning of the Eskimo's ability to make good judgements, simplistic and ethnocentric views regarding assimilation, problems of a centralised educational bureaucracy attempting to bring change to small rural villages, conscious and unconscious threats of racism, and the threat of diffused decision making on the professional status of some administrators and teachers.

This failure can also be attributed to the lack of motivation of Eskimos in promoting their own plans and ideas for educational change and development.

In explanation a Barrow Eskimo stated in 1970 "Many Eskimos think of themselves as quite capable of dealing with whites in community affairs. But when it comes to school matters such as curriculum changes, teacher recruitment, or financial problems, they feel very inadequate"(Chance 1984).

Even when active participation is sought, effective consensus is often hampered by what Chance refers to as "Important native differences in outlook and perceived purposes. Cultural variations among Eskimo and Aleut, the impact of historically diverse acculturational experiences in the various regions of Alaska, and strikingly different attitude about the nature and purpose of education found between generations bring varying perspectives to bear on similar educational problems". (Chance 1970 page 654).

State and federal policy makers, operating in a central bureaucracy and only minimally influenced by recommendations of Eskimo advisory school boards, found it very difficult to take adequate account of these important cultural, regional, and generational differences in their planning.

In the early 1970's, the Eskimos themselves were not yet able to mount a strong campaign to influence legislative support for major educational improvements. Nevertheless, the political development of the Eskimo was beginning to take a new, articulate, and more militant form. In 1970 the Barrow Eskimos presented a public statement on education that illustrated this trend- "We, the people...Wish to point out the greatest needs of our people...We have societal needs in the areas of communication, transportation, economic viability, health and sanitation, political recognition, social welfare, recreation, and many others...The greatest need is for community-wide, quality education". (Lantis 1973 page 61).

Throughout modern Eskimo history, governmental efforts to provide the Eskimo with good education had failed. Participation in the economic future appeared minimal. Political organization seemed the best way to bring about changes that had been promised but never materialised.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

The one most dramatic event that set in motion the political development of Eskimos was the achieving of Alaska statehood in 1959. The Statehood Act specified that the state should select approximately 104 million acres within 25 years. (Rogers 1970 page 5). Since Congress had never determined conclusively the status of native land rights, this act posed a severe threat of land expropriation, countering the Organic Act in 1884 (Wolf 1967 page 7), which stated that natives would not be disturbed in the use or occupancy of their land and that determination of their title would be reserved to Congress.

In October 1966 eight regional associations that had formed to protect land rights combined to establish the Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN) (Lantis 1973). By April 1967 the AFN had submitted title claims to 370 million of Alaska's 375 million acres. Almost equally momentous was the announcement in 1968 of major petroleum discoveries in Prudhoe Bay, and the \$900 million sale of land leases by the state to oil corporations which followed in 1969 (Rogers 1970 page 5).

In response to these events the federal government halted disposal of Alaska public lands that were subject to native claims until the U.S. congress defined what the rights were and the process of settlement. For the first time, Eskimos found themselves in a position of great political strength. Equally important, a new generation of Native leaders, well educated and aggressive, began to assume positions of responsibility in Native-based and controlled organizations.

Nevertheless, the problems they faced were immense. Competing regional interest groups, separate languages, and historical distrust among Eskimo tribes, threatened internal communication and decision making within the AFN. Contacts among native villages and towns, regional associations and the AFN had to be increased and strengthened.

The most serious problem was the lack of political understanding of much of the Eskimo population. Sensitive to the needs of its varied constituency, the AFN leaders established a position on land claims that contained the following elements:-

- (1) Enough land to sustain a subsistence economy for those who chose to retain a traditional lifestyle.
- (2) Adequate compensation for lands taken in the past.
- (3) A just financial settlement for extinguishment of title to the remaining land, including a perpetual royalty interest in the land's mineral resources.
- (4) Native control over the land and money received. (Wolf 1969 page 7).

After several years of negotiation, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was passed in December 1971. In addition to settling the dispute over who owned Alaska land, the act gave Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians \$962 million and 44 million acres, at which time, the natives relinquished all claims to the remaining acreage of Alaska.

In a blunt statement to white Alaskans, the vice-president of the AFN summarised the history and potential of the Eskimo:-

"For the most part you have easily gotten used to the Alaska native, because he has needed your help and assistance, and a fairly large, complex "industry" has emerged based on his needs. The relationships between one who gives and one who receives when it has been institutionalized is very easy to accept, to adjust to and forget. As long as the arrangement is accepted or tolerated, there is nothing that is disconcerting in this relationship. But what happens as the Alaska native assumes his rightful place as an equal partner in the economic, political and other power structures of this state? What happens when instead of coming in and asking for help, he comes in by right and asserts his right to share equally in the opportunities and benefits of economic and social development?" (Borbridge 1970 page 202).

The economic and social potential contained in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act can assist greatly in upgrading the quality of life of the native population; but the villages still contain much resentment which has grown out of tensions still largely focussed inward in keeping with traditional Eskimo cultural patterning.

It is, however, not likely to remain that way in the future as the Eskimos gain a clearer understanding of the exploitation to which they have been historically exposed. Only by revising white assumptions about economic, social, and political development will the Eskimo be able to participate fully in the affairs of modern Alaska.

URBANIZATION AND SEDENTERIZATION.

Studies of modernization among pre-industrial people usually point to larger population groupings associated with a more settled, or sedentary, way of life, particularly for hunters and gatherers.

For the Eskimo, many authors (e.g Huges 1965 page 15) have noted the important on-going migration into settlements and the taking up of permanent residence in urban settings.

Of course, the change from migratory to contemporary settlement living was not an abrupt one. Traditional migration cycles were altered with the advent of trapping and the setting up of trading posts (see Graburn 1969 page 124), so that by the mid 1920's the transhumance associated with the earlier hunting phase was abandoned over much of the Arctic.

What replaced it was a pattern of more restricted movement of families from campsite to campsite to fish, hunt, and trap.

The families were oriented to trading posts, but most of them did not become rooted in these posts as permanent residents.

As it became increasingly difficult to obtain a livelihood from full-time exploitation of wildlife, many Eskimos were impelled to go to a settlement although many would alternate between a settlement and camp living (Graburn 1969 page 219). The establishment of educational, health, and recreational services in settlements were also an attraction.

Although by the 1950's settlement living had become quite common, the majority of Eskimos didn't reside permanently in places with more than 200 inhabitants. In fact, most settlements had fewer than 150 people (Vallee 1981 page 664): However, the 1960's saw a substantial rise in the number of Eskimos living in settlements on a permanent basis, and settlements increased in size, most at least doubling their populations, and some increasing as much as eight-fold.

This was a product of several factors: The collapse of the fur trade; federal govt policies to introduce effective administration and education, health, and welfare programmes; subsidized housing; mechanization of hunting practices; and the gradual acquisition of urban preferences by Eskimos.

By 1981, more than 70% of Eskimos lived in communities of 500 or more (Vallee 1981 page 664).

Many of the studies carried out over the last 25 years pay special attention to this phenomenon of urbanization and sedenterization.

PLURALISM AND STRATIFICATION.

One outcome of white invasion has been the development and crystallization of social stratification, (Huges 1965 page 26 and Graburn 1969 page 228-9) with an emerging caste-like structure.

A complete association of cultural and ethnic elements allocates whites a superior position, and natives an inferior one.

In a cast-like situation, these two sections would be integrated by regulation and control of the Native sector by whites, particularly in economic and political spheres (Smith 1975 page 132). Also, the Canadian Arctic is not a single system of stratified ranks with whites at the upper end and Eskimos at the bottom. Rather, it consists of two complimentary, partly parallel systems of stratification, one composed of whites, and the other of Eskimos. The two systems derive from different historical sources and reflect different cultural ideas of worth, esteem, prestige, and power.

Stratification among whites is strongly influenced by the ranking model provided by the government agencies for which most of them work. Mailhot (1968 pages 4-5) and Ervin (1968 pages 12-14) suggest that there is no clear pattern for stratification in the Eskimo sector.

Vallee (1967a) and Smith (1975 pages 21-8) on the other hand distinguished three major categories: People with an orientation towards a settlement way of life; people with a commitment to a more traditional lifestyle, and people who live in a way which incorporates both the other lifestyles in some aspects. Graburn (1969 page 228) does not see these class distinctions as permanent; or, at best, Smith (1975 page 29) claims they may be "Incipient class structures".

In the 1970's a "New middle class" emerged among the Eskimos, composed of a small number of people who received more formal education and were drawn into the expanding and clerical managerial sectors.

Many of them were recruited into local and regional political and governmental positions previously occupied by whites.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADAPTATIONS.

The most visible and measurable examples of Eskimo adaption to modern conditions are those pertaining to material culture.

For example, during the 1960's, items of clothing and housing designed and manufactured outside the Arctic supplanted traditional Eskimo items. There are scores of general stores in the Arctic, stocking a range of items comparable to those found in villages and small towns in other parts of Canada.

For earlier periods the ramifying effects on Eskimo economy and social organization of technological innovations such as the rifle and steel traps have been described (e.g Vallee 1967 page 35).

While these improved the traditional hunting skills of the Eskimo, a new means of transportation to and from the hunting site has introduced as many problems as it has solved. The snowmobile had an important impact both on hunting and on the hunter in the development of a new set of social and economic problems.

Since the 1960's, snowmobiles have increasingly replaced dogsleds (Graburn 1969 page 163): They are faster, can carry heavier loads, and do not need to be "fed" when not in use. The disadvantages are both directly and indirectly related to the new technology. The decline in the use of dog sleds has also brought with it a decline in the hunt for sea animals, and an increase in the potential for emergencies on a hunt;

For example, a snowmobile cannot find its own way home, or be eaten if food is running out.

The increasing use of snowmobiles has also brought about a marked increase in the outlay costs of the hunt in terms of the high purchase and maintenance cost of the vehicle. Such factors have kept the snowmobile from gaining total acceptance among the Eskimo. Not only did modern technology transform the traditional cultural patterns of those Eskimos who continue to hunt and trap, but also, it had a profound effect upon those who chose to live in the larger settlements.

Technological innovations especially effected communication, long distance transportation, and housing: More people received better housing, water supply and sewage.

Since many of these projects have become Eskimo initiated as well as directed, the general policy has been to offer such housing at reasonable cost to the purchaser (Canada. Minister of supply and services 1978 page 85).

The development of satellite communication offers the potential for a greater social, political, and cultural re vitalization, either through vocal communication, or the transmission of video information in uses ranging from popular entertainment and education, to the holding of conferences by widely scattered groups.

This and several other innovations appear to hold much promise for an improved awareness of the cultural experience of the Eskimo as well as providing a means of achieving social and political unity among the scattered communities of the Arctic.

CONCLUSION.

Steadily increasing contact with whites has inevitably led many Eskimos to adopt numerous material and social traits of western society. By the 1950's, they were purchasing large quantities of western goods and services, whilst, at the same time, interest in traditional activities such as hunting and fishing had lessened.

This is obviously more than coincidence, and, although this pattern still varies among individuals and groups at different times and places, it is fairly clear that Eskimos have tended to identify themselves more and more with western cultural patterns, often discarding in the process much of their traditional heritage - "Eskimos are trying just as hard today to adapt as they did 500 or 900 years ago; The difficulty is that they are adapting not to the Arctic, but to the temperate zone way of living. The new people with their new standards have nearly overwhelmed the Eskimos, not in numbers but in wishes and wants". (Lantis 1957 page 126).

This obviously suggests that the process of acculturation is largely an external and uncontrollable force in which the acquiring of industrial technology and accompanying western cultural patterns lead to the eventual decline of the traditional way of life.

The Eskimo are proceeding rapidly toward advanced industrialization, and its effects are felt even in the most remote areas, and therefore, groups that were previously autonomous, or that had only tenuous external connections have now come to be part of the surrounding society, thereby losing much of their autonomy. Some depict the Eskimos as being drawn into ever widening continental orbits; Some depict them as being caught in the embrace of a dominant society; some see the Eskimos as being swallowed by the all-absorbing mass society.

These are the metaphors for invasion and incorporation; among the results are conflict, succession, and accommodation.

The spread of the white economy, culture, and policy is an invasion that began only relatively recently.

Invasion is - "An ecological process involving the movement of one type of population or land use into an area already occupied by or subject to a different population or land use". (Theodorson 1969 page 215).

External forces and people have expanded into Eskimo regions for reasons originating outside the area: The Eskimos didn't decide to set up military installations, oil rigs, pipelines and so on. But just because they didn't invite it doesn't mean that they have resisted this expansion. Where resistance has occurred, it has not been to modernization as such, but to the excesses of technological change, such as the disruption of economic systems by oil exploration; or to societal changes, such as the disruption of interpersonal relations by bureaucratic decisions to move people for educational or other purposes; or to planning without due regard to native rights and opinions (see Usher 1971 page 73).

Few of the manifestations of resentment can be construed as signs of a counter-modernization movement (an exception to this is the Raven's Bones Foundation, see Sculpture chapter).

Evidence from the many studies of the contemporary scene point to a continuing Eskimo effort to adapt in a positive way to the sweeping changes in their environment (~~e.g. Honigmann 1970: Paine 1977: Rowley 1972~~).

Incorporation is not the same as assimilation. The latter term implies that a category of people is absorbed as individuals into another society through work, religion, and politics; the category is in a sense digested: But where a category of people maintains some cultural and social distinctiveness, but at the same time is part of a larger collectivity whose governance they are under, they may be regarded as incorporated, and people may be incorporated without achieving either equality of conditions or opportunities, or without identifying with the larger collectivity to any significant extent.

The evidence seems to suggest that the Eskimo are resolved not only to persist, but also to develop as a distinctive collectivity, or, as Frank Vallee terms it - "...a kind of nationality group". (Vallee 1981 page 662).

A SHORT SURVEY OF PRE - 1940

ESKIMO ARTFORMS

AMULETS + CHARMS / IVORY WORK

Until the 1940's, the basic function of Eskimo art was for the main part "...religious and ceremonial, although there seems to be no doubt that the manipulation of materials was an enjoyable creative activity in the making of objects we now call art." (Ray 1981 page 21).

Objects were not owned by families or villages, but were individual products that belonged to the person that made them, or to whom they were given, despite their frequent use in ceremonies. This art was employed for either ceremonial or utilitarian purposes, that is, sculpture and masks for various festivities, or utensils for everyday occupations.

Amulets and Charms of wood or ivory were made in abundance by the Shamans and ordinary people for supernatural protection or help; an amulet being worn for protection or to bring luck, and a charm was used to influence a helping spirit or animal. (Burland 1973).

An amulet was occasionally carved as sculpture, but more often it was a natural object, part of a human or animal body, a piece of mineral, a feather, or almost anything thought to contain power.

A charm would also be a natural object, but it was usually a carving, used by shamans for magic rituals.

A person might have dozens of amulets, each representing a different spirit helper. These amulets were not usually carved by the owner because they were considered to have too significant a purpose, and contain great power: Therefore, they usually came either from family inheritance; were bought from shamans in exchange for food and goods; or, they were carved by one of the settlement's best artists.

The majority of the amulets were small, naturalistic, rounded figures of ivory in human or animal form.

The only constant exception to this are wooden carvings, nearly always made by the community's shaman: The three most common forms being, a life size wooden mask of a human face; a large wooden doll; and large human statues, all for ceremonial purposes.

For example, on Atka Island there were such images to whom the people offered sacrifices: These figures, which were located in places difficult to reach, were considered to possess enough power to kill people (Lantis 1947 page 79).

The wood and ivory figurines in human and animal form remain a mystery to most Westerners and Eskimos alike; their actual meaning not really known anymore, even by most Eskimos despite the fact that some traditional wood and ivory figurines are still carved: It seems that for the main part, the Eskimos carved them to maintain a cultural tradition and not for any purposes of magic or protection.

Some have speculated that they may have simply been children's dolls, although this seems unlikely; on the other hand, each figurine may have had a distinct meaning, no longer known, such as fertility (see fig 1), or shamans aid: For example, Lantis was told by a shaman that he had captured a human soul and kept it in the figure of a human figurine (Personal communication printed in Ray 1981): Another example is the practise of attaching a small ivory sea otter to the front of Kayaks to ensure successful hunting.

Edward Nelson recalled attempting to buy one such image from an Eskimo who wouldn't part with it for any amount of money or goods, claiming he would never catch anything again and die if he did. (Nelson 1899 page 436). Not only was success in hunting dependant on the ivory sea otter amulets, but also, the actual hunting equipment itself was decorated to please the hunted animals.

Sea otter carvings are very common among many Eskimo tribes, but very little is known about them other than they were used to attract sea otters and whales, and as a form of protection whilst at sea.

They were carved with their paws to ears, cheeks, or chin (see Fig 2,3). The meanings attached to the varying positions are not known; they may only represent characteristic poses: The fact that these poses look very human is because the sea otter was believed to have been a transformed human being, but then, all animals and birds in Eskimo mythology were thought to have a human counterpart, a basic belief that has been made especially visible in masks and some ivory carvings. Although the usual portrayal of a sea otter was a small ivory figurine, it was occasionally made in other forms, such as elongated bas-relief figures on seal dart shafts, or on throwing boards.

Many other styles of figurines have been made and the knowledge of their use lost. In 1805 G.H.Von Langsdorff observed that "...many Eskimos employ themselves, in their leisure hours, with cutting out from the sea cow little figures of men, fish, sea otters, sea dogs, sea cows, birds, and other objects" (Reprinted in Ray 1981 page 46), but he did not suppose them to be religious objects, many of them were undoubtedly used as amulets or charms.

The art of Scrimshaw (engraving ivory and rubbing lamp black into the lines) was adopted around 1850 after contact with whaling ships, mainly from Russia, Canada, and the United States (Burland 1973 page 45).

Some of the Eskimos ancestors had occasionally engraved on ivory in a very formal way, but the new technique of Scrimshaw encouraged a new quality of scenic representation.

This kind of work does not necessarily reflect anything of European culture or religion, rather, the technique was adopted to depict accounts of Eskimo life.

These works were popular with visiting ships who would trade goods for them. This was the first widespread indication of the desire of Eskimos to adopt elements of non-Eskimo lifestyles.

Most of the objects made at this time were concerned with simple representation: However, at this stage, it was everyday objects which were decorated with pictorial history and mythology that tell the most about Eskimo culture, lifestyles, and artistic styles; For, although ceremonies accounted for much of the art produced, tools and utensils were also decorated, this eventually overtook the ceremonial inspired art as the main form of output: This was because in the mid 19th century, a successful trade had started, with European and American sailors buying or trading for bowdrills, handtools, and utensils decorated with realistic scenes.

The Eskimos expressed their spiritual and practical attitude toward life in their involvement with ivory and bone carvings, which usually combined usefulness with magic powers. There was usually no point in trying to make a large sculpture because it had no functional use.

The shaman might need a mask for ceremonies, or a carved tusk, but the ordinary Eskimo needed harpoon heads, fasteners, toggles and buttons. Most of these were made during the winter when game was scarce, and the light was poor.

In between occasional festal gatherings of the community, the men would carve and polish the things they need for life.

Each object was carved into shape and then abraded to a final form and polished (Burland 1973). Eskimos were then and still are interested in surface qualities, so a great deal of attention was paid to the finish, with fine polishing applied to the work.

The beauty of form and colour was appreciated in the community, but suitability for the purpose of practical use was the real point. It was a matter for the artist personally to choose whether the form he used represented a protective spirit being, a bear, a fox, or a bird; all were helpers or hunters.

Simplified forms were important because most of the toggles, harpoons, and spears were handled in practise under conditions where the hands could not be bare for fear of frost bite; therefore, everything had to be smooth and easy to guide in place.

Indoors the simplest things were shaped for use and so acquired beauty: Implements such as flaking tools were fitted with carved handles; combs were carved, and forms incised because they were important articles of adornment. The forms included outline figures and Scrimshaw scenes, usually depicting good fortune in hunting or trapping (see fig 4) , and therefore, the most commonly used subjects were Seals, Caribou, and Whales.

Sometimes the whole object represented the desired animal; sometimes just the head of the animal was represented, and the body of the instrument was engraved with magical themes which are usually direct pictorial works which stem from an absolute acceptance of the belief, they illustrate (Dockstader 1966). A great many pieces of ivory were carved into birds and animals which rose up from a flat base rather like a picture of a water bird which omits all parts above the water line.

They were usually very small and ornamented with patterns: Their purpose was usually as gambling counters (see fig 5), and gambling being extremely popular as a way of passing time during winter months, the pieces were made with skill and care; of course, the importance of gambling was not the only reason for this, to some extent they were status symbols, as a good craftsman has always been respected in an Eskimo community.

MASKS AND WOODEN SCULPTURE.

When E.W.Nelson collected masks from the Yukon delta area in 1878-9 he regretted that he had "Failed to secure the data by which the entire significant of customs and beliefs connected with masks can be solved satisfactory. I trust, however, that the present notes with the explanations and descriptions of the masks, may serve as a foundation for more successful study of these subjects in the future; the field is now open, but in a few years the customs of these people will be so modified that it will be difficult to obtain reliable data". (Nelson 1899 page 395).

By the time Dorothy Ray began enquiring about masks in the 1960's, she had "learned that most of their (the Eskimos) information was secondhand, and even the few persons who had attended the semi-traditional ceremonies in the 1910's could remember very little of what they saw or did". (Ray 1981 page 26).

Apparently, by this time, few people knew why the masks were made, or could remember the songs, stories, and ceremonies that they were a part of. However, the practise of mask making had survived in some quarters, mainly because the older people kept the tradition alive by copying the old designs.

The Eskimos made an incredible variety of mask designs (many, one of a kind) which came into being (originally) through dreams and visions of individual Shamans.

Yet despite this highly individualistic approach to mask making, the carvers worked within a stylistic pattern, so that it is possible to identify masks from certain areas.

Styles were also borrowed during intervillage festivities.

Masks can range from a simple piece of wood with eyeholes, to those which extend almost to the length of the body: decoration ranges from a single colour of paint dabbed onto certain areas, to the lavish use of paint, feathers, grasses, and geometric pieces of wood radiating from the masks (see fig 6). Many masks were visual reports of a shaman's supernatural adventures or representations of his role as guardian or protector of the community. He either carved his own masks, or hired a skilled carver to make them under his directions but certain secular masks, made for fun, could be carved by anyone; however, it is the shaman's ceremonial masks that make up the bulk of this art form.

At this stage (19th century), the shaman was still the key figure in the Eskimo community; His position was socially important, as was his influence on art: Even when he himself was not a carver (which was quite rare), his descriptions of spirit beings were of great importance to the artists in the community (Lantis 1946).

Each community owned a great number of masks because their role in the community life was great and varied: For example, masks may be used in rituals and ceremonies for concealment or disguise, but also for visual and psychological transformation into the animal or supernatural being represented by the mask. A Shaman might also use a mask when doctoring or during a seance; or, during the hunting season; a Shaman might also use a mask in order to visit the spirit world to seek assurance for a good hunting season (Lantis 1946 page 200).

Another popular art form in the nineteenth century was the carving and decorating of wooden boxes. The boxes were exquisitely worked with a variety of forms and ornamentation. Some of them were, in themselves, fine pieces of sculpture; some were foundations of the figure painter, and others, models of ingenious inlay techniques.

Many of these boxes show not only unusual artistry, but suggest that the sculptors were trying to make something out of the ordinary and to provide conspicuous surprises: for example, the boxes in animal shape, which gave no hint of the interior until the lid is opened and a host of painted figures revealed (fig 7); or lids that are cleverly devised and fitted; human faces (fig 8); or the painstaking, meticulous work that went into the grooving and inlays.

The initial inception of these boxes is not known exactly, but tobacco boxes (also highly stylised and decorated) were not made until the tobacco trade began across the Bering Strait at the end of the eighteenth century (Ray 1975 page 97-102).

The high regard in which tobacco, a much sought after commodity, was held seems obvious in the care lavished on the boxes that held paint and arrowheads, but the designs were not usually so intricate.

This attitude toward making boxes had evaporated by the time Hans Himmelheber went to the Kuskokwim River in 1936. When he asked a villager why the people didn't decorate their tobacco tins, the man answered for what reason? (Himmelheber 1953 page 14).

Wooden sculptures, such as these boxes, ceased to exist as popular artforms after ivory engraving and carving were demanded in the second half of the nineteenth century by non-natives.

PAINTING

During the historic period, and apparently to some extent in recent prehistoric times most Eskimo tribes either engraved or painted representational figures or scenes on various materials.

The incising of such subjects on ivory was done initially almost exclusively by the Inupiat peoples of the north, but others adopted the technique for souvenirs after the 1860's (Oswalt 1963).

Although the people of southwest Alaska used only geometric designs on ivory, they were the best known and the most prolific painters of graphic subjects on wood and skin surfaces.

The most frequently used subjects were episodes in family history, legendary heroes, helping spirits, and mythological animals, which were painted on bowls, plates, spoons, drumheads, and other surfaces.

Usually, the painting of these figures was done at some festive or ceremonial time. Above all, the most popular subjects were unusual experiences: For example, the drumhead in fig 9 illustrates the story of a man who killed seven caribon in one day (Ray 1981 page 40).

A painting that belongs to one family was not used by any other family, so if a person recognised a painting and its story in another village, it meant that the artist was related.

An Eskimo never painted a story that was told by a stranger, or related to some experience that had never happened to him. He would, however, tell his experience to another person, possibly a son, who could paint it in the future (Himmelheber 1953 page 34).

Painting representational figures was a man's prerogative, but family property marks, which were derived from ancestor stories, belonged to both men and women, and were inherited through both (Oswalt 1967).

Men did not permit women to paint figures, and even in 1936, one of the Kuskokwim men said that it would be "against the dignity of a man if a woman paints"(Himmelheber 1953 page 71). The paintings did not stand alone as pieces of art, and seemed to be in a non-existent state unless the stories behind them were known and retold.

It appears, therefore that a painting was less an artistic endeavour than a historical document: Some, of course, argue that this is still the case in the Eskimo art of contemporary times; many, however, feel it can be taken on its aesthetic merits alone.

Some of the most elaborate paintings were on drumheads. A son often used a drumhead to paint his father's adventures for the first time, and if he were a host for a feast, he gave it to another person from another village during the festival (Burland 1973).

If a man could not paint a drumhead to his satisfaction, he paid someone to do it for him. Property marks were sometimes small and insignificant on harpoon heads and other small implements, but usually large, consisting of animals, people, and small scenes on wood.

Each family had many property marks, and an artist could use them in arbitrary ways because designs were not limited to any particular kind of object, nor did they have to be placed in any set arrangement.

Designs could also be used interchangeably; nevertheless, a person usually reserved a mark for a bowl, another for spoon, and so on.

These marks, or ancestor stories in simple form, were also painted on the ends of batons which were used to lead the drummers (Oswalt 1963). Paintings were usually monochromatic, two colours being used only if a unique aspect, such as a rainbow, was being represented.

Figures that were painted on spoons, paddles, and boxes seem to have been mainly mythological animals or grotesque beings from folktales rather than family episodes. It is usually thought that the painted ware was never actually used because of the pigments, but many dishes and trays in museums are so dark from grease that it is virtually impossible to see the designs.

The permanence of paint on drumheads and dishes was achieved by mixing the paint with blood(always the artists own).

Figures were also sometimes painted on Kayaks, (which were usually painted in linear design down the sides and paddles), thus transmitting spirit power to the Kayak for help in hunting.

In certain areas (such as Yukon), grave boxes, which were usually placed above ground, were also painted with realistic subjects such as caribou and bears to commemorate a man's hunting exploits(Ray 81).

Designs were sometimes painted on other objects such as hunting quivers and wooden armour.

EFFIGY MONUMENTS

Large effigy monuments, also called grave and memorial monuments, were erected in the graveyards of southwest Alaska in memory of the dead.

These monuments, which were found mainly on the Kuskokwim River, were of two kinds: a pole monument with a human face integral with the pole or an animal sculpture attached separately; and a board monument.

Information about the meaning and function of these monuments is relatively generalised. Himmelheber states that "the purpose of the figures is exclusively to mark the grave" (Himmelheber 1953 page 65). The poles were erected during a memorial feast about a year after death (Burland 1973).

Clark Garber, district school superintendent of the Yukon area in the 1930's, said that these "idols are made by the relatives of the deceased....placed on the graves merely as tributes to the dead so it is known where the dead one is lying"(Garber 1932 page 10), and could be erected at any time.

Garber also said that he had heard of a grave with two monuments, one placed by the woman's husband shortly after her death, and the other, by her son about fifteen years later (Garber 1932).

Himmelheber said that the faces on the monuments were "not meant as a portrait", but were "just supposed to be a dead person, not the person concerned"(Himmelheber 1953 page 65).

Garber said essentially the same thing in an essay about mortuary practices; but two years before, in his superintendent's report, had written the opposite: that the faces were "intended to represent the dead or are as near to an actual image of the deceased as the Eskimo can carve it"(reprinted in Ray 1981 page 37).

Pole monuments were made with both human faces and animal sculpture(no animals were placed on board monuments).

Several explanations have been given for the animal figures. One was that they were portrayals of spirit helpers for memorial ceremonies; E.W.Nelson stating that the day before the feast of the dead the "nearest male relative" planted an unpainted "simple wooden image" of the deceased's helping spirit near his grave(Nelson 1899 page 358).

This animal image supposedly drew the dead person's spirit to the grave where it waited to be called into the ceremonial house for the festivities.

A similar procedure was carried out to invite the spirits of the dead to "the great feast of the dead"(page 361), a much more elaborate ceremony that was held every few years. This invitation was issued a year before the festival by placing at the grave a painted image of an animal or bird or an invitation stake(Nelson 1899).

Another explanation for the animal sculpture is that it was a substitute for a human face. Himmelheber was told by villagers that poles with carved animals were erected in the same graveyard as poles with human faces for men who had not been particularly liked within the community: A favourite hunting animal, therefore, substituted for a human likeness (Himmelheber 1953).

This differs from yet another explanation offered by Nelson after viewing pole monuments at Tununak. There, monuments with human faces represented persons whose bodies had never been found, and the animal figures represented their exploits: For example, the human figures in fig 10 represent a woman lost in a land slide, and two men lost at sea. This kind of statue apparently took the place of a body, which ordinarily would have been placed in a grave box (Nelson 1899).

Very few grave monuments have survived: Some have simply decayed, but many were either stolen or destroyed by whites.

Himmelheber reported that in the 1930's the whole forest of Tununak poles that he had seen and written about in so much detail"....was destroyed by the white teacher 'because he did not like its looks'"(page 66).

Plundering was also common: Ales Hrdlicka, who visited the poles at Akiachok in 1930 noted in his diary "Five figures secured and sawed off for packing. Some physiognomic value"(Hrdlicka 1943 page 312).

CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO SCULPTURE.

Wherever indigenous societies have come under the influence of colonizing western nations, their traditional forms of art have changed in at least some aspects, whether materials, techniques, subject matter, or indeed motives e.g. A move from art for religious worship to art as a commercial occupation.

Simple extinction of old art forms is extremely rare, and indeed, traditional skills and aesthetics, although significantly modified, are usually maintained or even increased in importance, and in the case of the Eskimo, there is little doubt that sustained white contact will continue to have a marked effect on Eskimo art in all its aspects: There are several reasons why one can claim this with reasonable certainty.

Firstly, the change in economic factors brought about by white contact has altered the Eskimo art scene quite dramatically.

A prerequisite of commercialization of art in any accultured society is the need felt on the part of its members for the material changes that will probably result from commercialization. For the Eskimo, the mass arrival of the Canadians and Americans with their many material goods coincided with increased difficulties in traditional means of subsistence, as a supply of whales and other traditional foods decreased (Burland 73 page 120).

The Eskimos also turned to art to meet their needs as their desire for trade goods grew.

Often, this process has two phases: firstly, westerners arrive, willing to pay or trade for the native goods that they want; next, as supplies and markets change, the members of the society realise that the sale of art works is a relatively effective means of increasing income.

Thus, the trade of furs between the Eskimo and the whites first brought manufactured goods; then, when the market for furs became erratic, commercial art production was adopted as an alternative basis of trade.

From an economic viewpoint, there is much to recommend the commercialization of art in Eskimo culture as it makes its transition into becoming part of a larger, technologically more complex nation.

This process of 'development' is often hampered by a shortage of capital in the developing societies.

However, the absence of goods and wealth in Eskimo society was accompanied by a surplus of labour; and the production and sale of art was a good solution to the problem since it is labour intensive and requires relatively little in the way of capital.

In addition to economic issues, cultural factors have also played an important role in the process of art acculturation in Eskimo society.

Graburn noted that art that was traditionally somewhat ephemeral to a society often has a better chance of flourishing than does one that plays a central and fundamental role in traditional culture.

Thus, although Eskimos carved soapstone before contact with Houston in 1948, it was only used to produce utilitarian items such as pots and lamps (Ray 81 page 160), so that when Houston arrived, carvers were able to explore this new art medium without too many restraints from traditional taboos and aesthetic predispositions.

Another factor influencing the successful commercialization of Eskimo art is the suitability of the art itself. Works that are fragile, perishable, too expensive to produce, or costly to transport, are unlikely to sell in any great quantity:

Furthermore, if an art form can be copied cheaply and quickly, or even machine made by outsiders, this obviously puts the authentic market at risk. To this end, Ray notes that the Eskimos - "strive constantly to keep objects 'handmade' because they perceive that this is one of the intrinsic values of Eskimo carving". (Ray 1961 page 107).

The development of Eskimo art inevitably brings with it all of the problems of commerce. For example, although there is still a large market for ivory carvings, given the scarcity of ivory a carver is forced to decide whether to make "quick money" by carving a cribbage board, or instead to maximise profits by carving several smaller items that will be cheaper (and hence have a better chance of being sold) and minimize the amount of ivory wasted.

Such points must be kept in mind to temper any excessive optimism about the commercialization of art being an easy and reliable means of economic development for the Eskimo.

At best, it is a step in that direction, necessarily having to be followed by other types of economic development.

But even if commercialization of art does not automatically guarantee the Eskimos an economic boon, it does offer other important benefits such as a focus for ethnic identity.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO SCULPTURE.

The process of, what is usually termed "modern" Eskimo sculpture, was initiated in 1948 by James Houston, an officer with the Canadian Handicraft Guild, when, on a routine visit to Povungnituk, he noticed some small soapstone and steatite carvings which had been made for non-commercial purposes.

Even before his arrival, the people of Povungnituk acknowledged this artwork as prestigious and worthwhile despite the fact that it served no practical purpose because, it was highly imaginative and, the carvers worked the stone in such a way as to give it a highly attractive finish.

Recognizing the merit of these carvings, and their potential commercial value, Houston bought several and exhibited them in Montreal with great commercial success.

Suspecting that a viable and steady market might be created, the Canadian Handicraft Guild provided Houston with money to return and buy more sculptures.

So, with the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican mission, Houston purchased approximately 1,000 items from Povungnituk, Port Harrison, and Cape Smith (Anderson 1979 page 175).

The Handicraft Guild arranged a show of the work in Montreal, where virtually every piece was sold.

By the following year, (1950), the Canadian Government had started to develop interest in the project, not for necessarily 'honourable' means i.e. promoting and nurturing artistic talent, but more as a means of increasing Eskimo employment, and decreasing welfare payments.

About three years later, Houston was offered a Civil Service post to co-ordinate the production of sculpture on Baffin Island and the entire Hudson's Bay region, while the handicraft guild and the Hudson's Bay Company marketed the pieces, and the Canadian Government mounted a major promotional campaign in order to stimulate interest in Europe and America (Anderson, Burland, Swinton, Graburn): this will be discussed further later on.

The next year (1951) Houston was sent to Cape Dorset to encourage the local people to carve for trade and money. There was considerable interest amongst the locals, and Houston's task was made easier by the fact that several men already carved ambitious, high quality pieces and were only too happy to teach their skills to others.

By 1970, all seventy families in the settlement had at least one member who produced art on a regular basis, and more importantly, was able to sell it (Burland 73 page 79).

Within this description of the development process, Burland doesn't explain how such a high percentage of artists was achieved, but one possible explanation is that, because the Cape Dorset Eskimos' only real source of income was hunting/fishing/trapping, out of season they had no way of making money and thus turned to art: They were in fact one of the few remaining settlements, which had not been exposed to white contact on a significant scale due to their remoteness, and had not therefore been exposed to the new trade and industry organizations that now employed many of their southern fellows.

The Cape Dorset Eskimos showed great acumen in organising this new source of income, and with some state encouragement and a small loan, set up the West Baffin Island Co-operative, eventually resulting in a shop of their own in rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Noting the success of this experiment, Houston organised a sculptor's association at Povungnituk in the late 1950's which enabled the sculptors to produce, price, and sell carvings of high quality directly to retail outlets, thereby increasing the proportion of the final price that they themselves retained (Furieux 1975 page 12).

It thus became a prestige organization to which other sculptors could aspire, and can only have helped to boost enthusiasm and quality even further.

Similarly, a producer's association was started at Cape Dorset to market its sculptures through government channels.

Both these organizations were socially and economically successful to the extent that they became co-operatives in the early 1960's, and opened consumer's divisions:

This had the effect of lowering the price of many consumer goods for the Eskimo; moreover, it opened national and international marketing channels which resulted subsequently in sales in Europe and America, assisted by promotional materials in the form of books, films, and travelling exhibitions partly sponsored by the Hudson's Bay company.

This system has eventually been introduced into Eskimo settlements that produce art, with varying degrees of financial success: However, in terms of political and social development, the co-operatives have been the most important factor in recent Eskimo history because they have fulfilled major socio-political functions, whereby communities have been provided with at least some degree of say in their own organization and day to day running, and have permeated a sense of responsibility, permanence and reason amongst the Eskimos: Furthermore, they have, crucially allowed the Eskimos to feel that they have institutions with which they can identify, comparable to those controlled by whites, such as schools, churches and administrative offices.

Although the development of art in these communities was fairly successful and reasonably quick to take off, this has not been the case in all Eskimo settlements: For example, art in the Baker Lane settlement originated in 1960 when Edith Dodds, the wife of a Northern Service Officer started a crafts group for the Eskimo women in order to combat the loneliness experienced when their husbands went on long hunting trips.

Over the period of about a year, some small works were produced but ultimately they were nothing more than inconsequential souvenirs (Burland 73 page 70).

Burland does not offer any explanation as to why the exercise was basically unsuccessful, or, at least, uninspiring when such good results had been achieved at many other settlements:

But, it would probably be fair to assume that it was mainly because Edith Dodds simply did not understand enough about the principles of art, and how to impart them to others in a way that would inspire them to produce actual "art" as opposed to handicrafts.

Teaching people to produce dolls, models, and decorative cloth is a relatively simple operation; however, teaching people to express themselves and their ideas in a hitherto untapped way requires expert guidance.

This eventually came to Baker Lane in the form of James Houston whom Dodds met the following summer when he paid a visit to the settlement.

Although the vast majority of work being produced there was unremarkable, Dodds had at least made one important contribution: She had been shown some drawings by an Eskimo widow, and she recognised her talent immediately.

She showed two of the drawings to Houston who agreed that she was indeed a gifted artist, and he agreed to send the drawings to Cape Dorset to be included in an exhibition of Dorset Eskimo's work. This proved to be a significant step because it persuaded crafts development officer Bill Lamour (a trained artist like Houston) to visit the Baker Lane settlement. He chanced upon a wooden carving that an old hunter had made and was sufficiently impressed to pay for the erection of a wooden building so that the old man could be seen at work and hopefully inspire others.

Furthermore, Lamour persuaded the man to teach the art of carving to the young men of the settlement, a job he happily accepted, glad to have his status in the community somewhat elevated.

The great interest aroused led to a steady advancement in the technical and stylistic development of art, assisted by Lamour who taught the people that skill was only a small part of art work, and that what really mattered was the communication of an idea or feeling so that others may share it.

Lamour had to return to his work in Ottawa, but the venture was proving so successful, and the Eskimos so willing to learn, that a permanent Arts Officer was appointed: Gabriel Gely was also a trained artist, and more importantly a natural teacher; he set up classes in carving and drawing, demanding nothing from the Eskimos other than that they should work at their own pace and depict any subject they wished (Burland 73 page 73).

The success in such ventures, and by such people as Houston, Gely and Lamour, where others seemed not to possess the ability to sow the seeds of creativity is because such people realised there was more to the task than 'pick up the pencil and create': To induce people to make art, it is necessary not only to explain 'how to draw', but also why they should bother to do so in the first place.

Gely was obviously able to do this because the Baker Lane settlement proved to have many talented artists who were actually able to support their families solely through the sale of their work.

However, in the late 1950's, two problems held back the natural developments that Eskimo art would have otherwise experienced.

Firstly, despite the work of Houston and the others, in the 1950's carving was not considered to be a prestigious occupation and was only practised in the majority of cases when hunting was impossible, or extra income was needed.

This problem was overcome in the early 1960's when the market for furs became unstable and the demand around the world for "ethnic" artifacts increased.

Because of these two factors, prestige in a community became largely derived from art sales and high quality work, with many of the Eskimos' major possessions paid for by art sales.

The second handicap to the smooth development of Eskimo art was much more large scale and problematic.

During the late 1950's and very early 1960's the market for Eskimo work was massively overstocked (Graburn 84 page 667), why this happened does not seem to be clear, but it was probably due to two factors:

Firstly, it would be reasonable to assume that in order to encourage as many Eskimos as possible to supplement their incomes with art production (and therefore avoid having to pay them welfare) the federal government was not selective enough during the process of choosing works for sale, and therefore the market was probably flooded with a high percentage of very average work, and some of very little merit at all (see figures 7 and 8) even to the souvenir hunter.

Although buyers ranging from gallery dealers to souvenir hunters have notoriously questionable taste, bad work will almost be universally rejected.

A by-product of this is that large amounts of poor work reflect badly on those artists who are genuinely talented, and, therefore have to try to escape the prejudices placed on them by those who condemn the genre as cheap, crude and gimmicky.

The second reason for an overstocked market was probably that the authorities were unable to market such a large scale operation effectively.

In all probability, they simply were not prepared for the huge response to the arts programme, and therefore could not cope on the money and resources the government allocated them.

Publicising and selling any new product requires massive organization, especially when it originates from a group of people with whom outsiders have little knowledge, or the wrong knowledge.

Therefore, in order to market Eskimo art effectively, the government had to produce films, literature, exhibitions, and lectures on a national and well co-ordinated scale.

It would seem that they misread the situation, underestimated the Eskimos' response to the arts programme, and simply did not have either the appropriately trained people, and adequate scale of organization to handle an effective marketing campaign.

When the market collapsed, the government (still convinced that art was a way of keeping Eskimos off welfare) started buying through their northern offices: This led to further government involvement as wholesalers; therefore, as well as the co-operatives founded by such individuals as Houston, the government helped establish such organizations in almost all the art producing settlements.

Most of these purchased sculptures and competed with the Hudson's Bay company, pushing up retail prices, and thus, artist's incomes.

These co-ops later branched out into workshops, retail stores, and even oil distributorships, and by the late 1960's, two federations of co-operatives were set up (one in Quebec and one in the Northwest territories), owned and controlled by the local co-ops.

These institutions became more subsidized by the government as the volume of business increased, and indirect subsidies went, at last, to high level promotional efforts such as the touring exhibition "sculpture Innuit" in 1971 (Graburn 1984 page 668).

Eventually the Crown Corporation Canadian Arctic Producers (CAPRO) was set up in Ottawa to market the arts at good prices and with well organised publicity (Vallee 1984 page 62). This is presumably when the market flooding started to dwindle as CAPRO became more selective about works chosen for sale.

Later in the 1970's, there was another (brief) period of decreased sales, partly due to overpricing by some communities, but mainly because there was a drop in market demand: unfortunately, Eskimo art is as subject to changes in fashion and collectability as any other art.

However, these problems were short lived, prices were lowered which immediately helped the demand for art increase, and this, coupled with a swing in trend back to "ethnic" art as "fashionable" restrengthened the market and placed Eskimo art in a very favourable position in economic terms, so that by the mid 1970's, the combined total arts income for all Eskimo settlements had reached \$7,000,000 per year, with some of the most successful individuals able to earn up to \$50,000 (Graburn 84 page 669).

THE MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRE AND POST CONTACT ART.

How does post-contact art compare with art produced before the arrival of the white man?

This is a question that has inspired much contentious debate amongst the various "champions" of Eskimo culture.

On the one hand are people such as Swinton, Graburn, and Furneaux who wholeheartedly support the new Eskimo arts; they argue that contemporary sculpture is not that much different from previous sculpture, and, if there are any differences, they tend to be that the modern works are of a higher quality thanks to the introduction of new tools, materials, and influences, inspired by white teachers and the Eskimos themselves from white contact.

If one were being cynical, one could suggest that, given that contemporary Eskimo work is marketed as "traditional" and "primitive", these partisans clearly have a strong interest in minimizing any differences that might exist between old and new Eskimo art, and these motives may be strengthened by desires on the part of Government officials who would like to see the popularization of contemporary Eskimo art as resulting from a growing respect among whites for "traditional" Eskimo sculpture.

There are also those who adopt the opposite stand point: Carpenter, Shalkop, and to some extent Ray, claim that post contact sculpture is ultimately - "Western designed, Western valued, and some of it Hong Kong made" - (Carpenter 1973 page 166).

Arguing from an unabashedly subjective viewpoint in his histrionic work "Eskimo Realities", Carpenter states his conviction that traditional Eskimo artists thought differently about art and aesthetics than do either current Eskimo artists or Westerners.

The transitions that Eskimo art has undergone only serve to show that Art is in a constant state of flux wherever it is created and no matter who is creating it, with the art produced at a given time both improving on and referring to previous work.

In the case of Eskimo art, innovations aside, there are, as one would expect, obvious links with pre-contact art; after all, the pre-dominant theme is still the portrayal of traditional subject matter.

One transition has been in materials. The art of pre-contact times was worked in ivory, bone, driftwood, or local stone, and was usually, therefore, small scale; warus tusk or piece of driftwood usually being the largest piece of material used.

But, now that there are international markets and a demand for Eskimo work, pieces tend to be larger.

The question of why size should increase is probably due to two factors:

Firstly, for the Eskimo carver, large sculptures mean more money but don't necessarily take proportionately longer to carve; indeed, it is sometimes easier to carve on a large scale, thus avoiding the time consuming intricacies of small scale work.

Secondly, collectors may wish for something far more visible and substantial than a carving that is doomed to be placed amongst its foreign equivalents in a display cabinet. To this end, a new policy concerning choice of material had to be formulated.

The most common practise is to search locally for large chunks of stone or boulders which are dragged back by several men and then split equally.

Stone is most commonly collected from coastal shorelines, and also, from the ruins of old houses; a bonus here is that if the support frame for the house is intact, it may yield a large workable piece of wood or whalebone (Burland 1973 page 90).

The most important factors for selecting stone are surface quality and colour, and the best way to discern these qualities is by immersing the stone in water to give the nearest impression possible to a polished surface (Burland 1973 page 90).

Despite the impression that Eskimo carving has undergone a revolution in terms of size, material, and even, according to some (e.g. Carpenter) authenticity and justification; contemporary carving is not that much different from its pre-contact counterpart. However, one difference is that materials have taken on different roles, and are assigned different meanings.

Pre contact art was produced in any workable medium an artist was able to get hold of, these were obviously fairly limited given the barren and limited environment of the artist - bone, ivory, stone, driftwood.

The materials of the pre-contact artist are significant and helpful as a means of illustrating how even in art, the hostile environment of the Eskimo forced him to utilize every resource possible to its maximum effect: such materials served to show the fragile nature of the link and dependency in the Arctic eco-system between man and land resources.

Post-contact art materials serve to illustrate an entirely different world, one rapidly becoming almost diametrically opposite to pre-contact life.

Materials initially considered a luxury at the outset of the new arts, acrylics, synthetic dyes, inks and printing plates, are now considered to be necessary to the art process:

An illustration of how, like us, Eskimos quickly learn to take things for granted and assimilate them into their society. It serves to show how the concept of material wants is both infectious and universal.

* IS IT AUTHENTIC? *

This raises a contentious point: does the fact that these materials have been used by Eskimos for over 40 years now make them traditional? In other words, how do we define traditional, and at what chronological point does something cease to be "introduced" and become "established?"

In relation to this question, my definition would be that, something becomes "traditional" when the receiving community more or less universally embraces its introduction voluntarily as a better, cheaper, quicker or more convenient alternative; yet, one which does not fundamentally alter any aspect of society to the point of artificiality. Taking this definition, I would propose that whether or not these introduced art materials can now be classed as traditional is largely irrelevant as they are merely a better means of working within the established art processes - "...combining new tools and materials with traditional styles and subjects to produce a wholly unique art form." (Anderson 79 page 165).

There are, of course, those who argue that these processes themselves are "alien and artificial" - "can the word Eskimo legitimately be applied to this modern art? I think not. Its roots are Western and so is its audience." - (Carpenter 1973 page 194).

For most practising Eskimo artists, it is immaterial whether art clings to past traditions and remains free from outside influences. Contemporary Eskimo art contains the undisguised presence of outside influences, and this serves as evidence of the Eskimo's ability to respond to his changing surroundings. Given the impact that such changes must have had on Eskimos, it would be naive and unreasonable to expect Eskimos to work solely within the boundaries of previous art themes.

The argument that white values, technologies and aesthetic criteria underlie Eskimo art, making it no longer "traditional", is spurious because of its naive and specious adherence to the notion of "primitive art", and because of its sentimental purism and lack of understanding of contemporary acculturated Eskimo life, values and art.

It also lacks historical perspective since, to some degree, trade-art has been part of Eskimo life since the beginning of the 19th Century. Whatever differences may exist between pre-contact and contemporary Eskimo art, they have two definite characteristics in common: they are both clearly and identifiably Eskimoan (i.e. both employ subject matter identifying the art as Eskimoan - hunting, mythological figures, spirits etc.) and they have gradually come into existence and full growth after contact with white people and Western technologies, yet have retained unmistakably cultural, regional, and local characteristics.

Despite widespread contact with whites, most Eskimo regions have retained many ethnic references in their art, to the extent where it often becomes one of their strongest ethnic affirmations in spite of its conspicuous economic motivation and the seductiveness of commercialism.

These art characteristics are undoubtedly genuine, new, and changing expressions of acculturating Eskimo societies: as people change, so their art will change, and by the 1950's the Eskimos were changing rapidly: New notions of individualism and control of the external are going to affect their artistic perception, and the way in which they conceive of themselves.

So, rather than arguing about the degree to which contemporary Eskimo art does or does not continue the traditions of the past, it should be considered on its own terms as important in itself as an authentic documentation of contemporary acculturated Eskimo life. Furthermore, far more important than all the diatribes about whether this art form is "false" or "genuine" is the social and economic impact it has had on Eskimo society; the commercial and aesthetic impact of the work; and how the artists themselves operate.

Can one make any evaluation concerning the influence of acculturation and commercialization on the art works? As we have seen, certain scholars do not hesitate to decry all cases of commercialism.

This debate concerns several different aspects of art production: Firstly, the question of whether or not art made for sale to outsiders appeals to our own Western aesthetic tastes.

In so much as we typically consider the conditions under which a Western art work was produced to be largely irrelevant to an evaluation of its aesthetic merit, and since, in any case, we applaud Western artists regardless of whether or not they derive any financial benefit for their work, it seems totally unjustifiable to dogmatically assume that commercialization inevitably results in the production of art that is poor by our own standards of taste: Whether or not a particular style, commercial or otherwise, appeals to us is a matter of personal taste.

There are, however, other aspects of the effects of commercialization that can be noted. Eskimo art may be produced almost solely for sale to outsiders, but, typically, it is still governed by native standards of quality, and predictably, these standards are an amalgam of traditional and introduced values, and have a significant effect on current art production, and therefore, although the pressures of the market may try to impose a certain style of art on Eskimo artists, there is often a countervailing desire on the artist's part to innovate contrary to the wishes of the market.

It can therefore only be hoped that as the Eskimo's understanding of the processes of change increases, as does our understanding of how Eskimo artists wish to utilize their new found resources and why, both sides will be able to foster those circumstances and make the best of an inevitable situation.

As time passes, we can reasonably expect the art of the Eskimos to carry on changing; and, as long as Eskimo society remains economically and culturally marginal, its art will probably be sold to Westerners who, for one reason or another are interested in it.

The end point of development, however, will probably be the incorporation of traditional styles into national and international styles of fine or popular arts.

To some people, this "mix matching" of styles and influences currently being utilized by the Eskimos is tragic -

"....Cultures in relatively more rapid or more total transition exhibit certain significant modifications in the arts: the arts become less integrated and less pervasive in character, in short, less meaningful." (Sieber 1977 page 206.)

The Eskimo arts have not become less meaningful because of acculturation, instead, they have become meaningful in different ways, and taken on new meanings.

Sieber seems to object to the new diversity of forms which have appeared as a result of white contact; but far from diluting Eskimo art, white contact, for the main part, has enhanced it by freeing its creators from the restrictions of art as a purely functionalistic expression.

By this I mean that with the exception of some small carvings, most pre-contact Eskimo art fulfilled a specific purpose, usually religious or superstitious (see figs 9 & 10) and was therefore at least to some extent, bound by the limitations and impositions that a narrow field demands.

Art which is inspired by a set of powerful belief systems is automatically going to be governed by societal conventions; by what the artist can and can't portray acceptably.

Thus, Eskimo artists carving religious figures, amulets, or masks, were reluctant to experiment or deviate outside a style which had changed little for hundreds of years. However, with the partial deconstruction of religion and ritual as a central theme of Eskimo life, artists were presented with the opportunity to preserve religion, rituals, and customs within art in new and refreshing ways.

To some extent, the artist was given the chance to reappraise his themes and portray them with a fresh eye because white contact took the Eskimo away from his somewhat insular lifestyle into a new and larger world: This meant that the artist could now view certain elements of his culture with an external eye.

Often, being in the thick of something is the worst place to be for someone trying to depict what they see and feel, as, often one can be smothered by the immediacy of the events. White contact allowed artists to stand back and formulate an opinion instead of merely portraying blind faith and acceptance.

People such as Carpenter and Sieber should realise this, and, more obviously, the fact that we can't make time stand still any more than Carpenter could convince the Eskimos to forego those new goods that they themselves desire (even if he wishes they did not), or than we can convince Western societies to stop influencing the arts and lifestyle of the Eskimos.

The phenomenon of creation in art is by necessity dynamic rather than static, and the ubiquity of this change is matched by the difficulty of understanding its fundamental causes and processes.

It is fairly evident that economic motivation was a prime factor in the new arts, however, whilst there seems to be no tangible proof, there can be little doubt that for many artists, the motives and ambitions that fuel their creativity have very little to do with commercial gain.

In any case, the knowledge of what these carvings may mean to the Eskimo carvers is not really essential for the appreciation of the carvings as works of genuine skill and care. What should be considered as the most important factor is that some Eskimos use their art to express their spiritual, cultural, and intellectual values: Swinton has noted that, by and large, the Eskimos enjoyed carving because it forms - "an outlet for their abounding creativity and communicativeness" - (Swinton 1965 page 27).

It is, as we have seen, in regard to motivation and deviation from "tradition" (whatever this term implies anyway) that purists get upset. They decry the changing life of the Eskimo and everything that goes with it.

They are unwilling to appreciate the Eskimo's adjustment to the fast pace of cultural evolution, from subsistence level to a monetary and mechanical economy.

They are equally unwilling to recognise the Eskimo's need for changing attitudes and motivations in art, and seem to resent the Eskimo's resourcefulness and healthy opportunism in reacting to these changes.

Of course, there is no doubt that these changes are altering the Eskimo's indigenous culture, but, at the same time, they are also improving the hardships of Eskimo life which must be preferable to the purist's romantic illusions.

What such people should bear in mind is that contemporary Eskimo art, more than any other aspect of Eskimo culture, is responsible for retaining links between tradition and acculturation, and is also much more openly expressive than it has ever been.

Furthermore, carving provides an opportunity for the Eskimo artist to continue his work at a time when, under the traditional functions of carving, there would be little use for it. It is also worth stressing that the greatest artistic achievements of this phase of Eskimo art are the results of stimulation and encouragement Eskimo artists received from a few people, usually working as individuals; Houston, Swinton and so on.

This commercialism, so often criticised, is actually very similar to the traditions within Western art. Since the rise of Protestant capitalism in the 17th Century, and more noticeably, since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, Western art (like Western civilization largely deprived of its religious motivations) has had an increasingly secular and commercial background.

Yet, when we discuss Western art as art, we either ignore secularization and commercialization, or take them for granted.

We stress qualities and achievements of art in terms of aesthetics, stylistic relationships, individualities, iconography, and history; we might discuss, but we seldom criticize, socio-economic roots or roles (see Tom Woolff).

We recognize that an early Italian Renaissance Madonna, or an American Abstract, not only reflect different and changing aesthetic values, but also imply changing structures and motivations in societies: Yet, when contemporary Eskimo art is discussed, many people refuse to accept the changes in art and motivation which correspond to the changes in Eskimo life.

STYLES, STANDARDS, EVALUATION.

There were many people and factors contributing to the complex process of developing new styles: several styles can occur side by side, with many carvers hardly aware of the innovations of others; on the other hand, among the artists at Povungnituk, three or four influences are apparent that seem to have occurred at more or less the same time (See figs: 1,2,3,4).

One of the patterns of this new tradition might be a definable sequence of change in the general and individual styles of the contemporary carvers. Such a pattern has become noticeable in several areas over the years.

In the main, the early carvings have simple, smooth forms; also, regardless of size, they are often monumental in stature and execution, that is to say, bulky and powerful. Most show an elementary expression with little concern for details, which presumably the carver felt unnecessary.

At this stage, the sculptures show an intuitive understanding and regard for the intrinsic nature of the materials used: Then, gradually, this phase was followed by a growing concern for refinements and details, with, in some cases, less importance placed on the nature of the materials. Coinciding with this development, the interest moves from expression to naturalistic representation and mannerism: It is at this point that some of the sculptors took this mannerism too formally, leaving sculptures that are stylish but devoid of real conviction aesthetically, and also, in terms of artistic input and motive; rather, some of these works were vehicles for showing off the skill of the artist. (See figure 5).

It would be easy to say that these stylistic developments and changes are mostly due to outside influences; however, these influences are not easy to pin point, and changes in style or attitude often occur, not because of them, but in opposition to them.

There are, however, certain cases where outside influences have dictated styles, influences, and standards; and there are definite cases where they have not.

Taking the latter, here is an extract that an Eskimo artist wrote to a collector of his work. "...I will carve ... now I do not have good stone ... in July I will have good stone (the letter was written in Winter)... I do not enjoy working poor stone ... do not get tired of waiting for my work. The white people will soon refuse our carvings if we use poor stone... I am a slow worker because I like to think of something that will please." (Swinton 1965 page 65).

The letter illustrates the concern for standards, with wanting to put careful thought into what to carve, and then carving it well. Unfortunately, the evaluation of this work often depends on the standard, of a single Westerner buying Eskimo work in a particular area, at a particular time. Thus, not the white man in general, but an individual buyer, has sometimes exercised considerable influence on carving styles: his taste and aesthetic attitude are tangibly reflected in the varying prices he pays for individual works.

The Eskimos are well aware of this evaluation and, unfortunately, have sometimes paid too much attention to it.

However, not all influences are necessarily bad; some buyers do not let their personal feelings and preferences interfere with pricing policies (Meldgaard 1960 page 127): But, a few do influence Eskimo carvers a great deal, and it is mainly because of their actions that contemporary carving activities have developed their present general nature, good or bad.

It follows that these people were/are blamed for more or less everything that was deemed negative, and hardly ever praised for any achievements: For example, although James Houston is sometimes praised for his catalytic actions, more often than not, he is merely sighted in a neutral way because the historical facts demand it; some people accuse him of almost single-handedly destroying the old Eskimo arts - "The carvings share little with traditional Eskimo art, though they do show marked resemblances to Houston's own work." (Carpenter 73 page 192).

Apart from being unfair, it is also untrue, unless Houston is blessed with the talent of being able to produce several works dealing with several themes in several styles in several mediums. Even though this negative criticism often comes from supposedly respectable quarters, it is often not well informed and causes a great deal of damage to the artists in terms of acceptance on the grounds of originality and self expression.

It also creates a distorted picture of the actual situation because most of the bad influences that exist, and the bad results that come from them, are largely cultural and not personal, and even the most personal influences have wider cultural implications.

Among these cultural influences, commerce and industry are the favourite targets of detractors. The judging of Eskimo art by its worst and more commercial examples stems from a failure on our part to make distinctions between the various kinds of carvings produced, and lumping them together into one category under one all encompassing symbol namely "Primitive Art." This symbol, designed to avoid distinctions, establishes the ethnic origin of the works as the one gauge of value.

From the viewpoint of art, this is of course absurd, as it is concerned with aesthetic and communicative qualities and not with the exotic. But from the viewpoint of the souvenir exporter, the most important selling point is ethnic origin and not quality.

This raises an important point. How is quality established fairly?

Since it is extremely difficult to evaluate the artistic merits of all individual carvings, the impracticability of making decisions is often overcome by deliberately avoiding doing so. This may be a way of avoiding a lot of tricky discernment on the part of Eskimo art critics, and buyers; however, it is not a solution to the problem.

Carvings are produced in great quantity, and also, in a great variety of qualities, ranging from souvenirs to art.

Price is certainly no indicator of artistic merit; as in the West, an Eskimo sculpture with the price of \$10 may be infinitely better than one with a price tag of \$1000; but unfortunately, dealers are often guilty of perpetuating "high price high quality, low price low quality" syndrome: alas, people are taken in by this concept, feeling that price is an indication of quality. I have had experience of this myself: whilst my degree show was running at college, I put price tags on my work which I felt were very low: to some extent I was undercutting myself, but I wanted to sell and needed the money. During the first week I did not sell a single piece, then, a gallery dealer (who later became my agent) suggested that I double and even triple the prices. If anything I was ready to cut the prices even further, but since I couldn't do any worse than I already had, I took his advice and sold sixteen pieces in five days!

The problem facing anyone attempting to make this difficult evaluation is that, even though quality differences are present and discernible, they are extremely difficult to define in so much as they can only be formalised in retrospect, if they need be formalised at all.

It is best merely to affirm that these differences do exist; that they are logical and natural; that they manifest themselves in ways that defy definition; and that each work must be evaluated on its own merits.

ART OR CRAFT?

Since, as we have seen, a piece must be evaluated on its own merits, and since most Eskimo art is concerned with the same basic themes, how do we make a distinction between good and bad; or art and craft?

There obviously must be some distinguishing characteristics, in the same way that there are distinguishing characteristics in Western art. To try and separate art from craft, and define these distinctions, I have chosen two very similar pieces of sculpture (Figures: 5 & 6): Similar as they may be, I feel that they ultimately express a different sensibility and set of values on the part of the artists who produced them.

Figure 5 shows a mother and child, a much used theme in Eskimo art.

The piece is subtle and graceful, yet at the same time, retains a rawness and power that conveys the artist's absorption in the act of sculpting.

A sense of rapidity of execution emerges, not as though the artist rushed or didn't really care what the finished piece looked like, but rather, the image retains something of the speed and energy the artist put into it.

It appears that the artist formed a very specific image in his mind, designed to convey very specific feelings, therefore, the image appears to have been worked quickly to capture the idea whilst it was still clear and precise in the artist's mind.

Although the sculpture has elements which may suggest a traditional cult image (the stocky body, the powerfully rooted legs, and the lack of any specific facial detail) it is a completely new and individual work, it obviously draws on traditional elements, yet it remains fresh because the individuality of the artist's vision, the associations and ways in which the artist identifies with the subject matter are wholly personal.

All the details of the subject matter (for example, the Mother pulling her hood over the child's head as a protective gesture) are integrated into a coherent image of formal attractiveness. The carving works as an image because all the individual parts participate in aesthetic and imagistic experiences that transcend the subject matter; therefore, in spite of its small size (about 7") the piece becomes evocative and monumental.

Figure 6 at first glance appears to have been more skilfully carved: The craftsmanship is certainly excellent and has enormous appeal, yet, as a piece of art it fails because it is not really conveying anything to the viewer other than how skilled the creator is.

It remains highly desirable and well done, but, apart from its facile, almost slick charm, its aesthetic form fails to affect the viewer in a more profound way.

The major concern of this particular artist appears to have been to produce an object of great beauty: great emphasis has been placed on materials and surface quality and finish, to the extent that the surface has been polished and painted.

We could say, therefore, that the subject matter and idea, and the way in which it is perceived by the viewer, were, and are, of secondary importance.

In what way can we say that this classifies the object as craft and not art? Does art exist solely to transmit values and ideological viewpoints?

Whilst this is partly true, it is not, by necessity, the main ingredient of an art work; after all, much Western art cannot claim to be value laden in this sense.

The main distinction between art and craft is that art conveys to the viewer some kind of feeling or emotion that the artist wished to express, and that this expression is universal, so that, although the viewer may not understand specifically what is going on because the characters, forms, or places are unknown to him, he can still get some idea of the feeling or mood the artist is trying to convey.

With craft on the other hand, the creator's prime concern is to prove his skill and show it off to the viewer. This skill may have been executed at the expense of the idea: What the creator wants in this case is praise for technique and sensitivity to the materials; whereas, the artist wants this too, but also the viewer's understanding of what he was trying to express.

Within these definitions, the creator of craft is not so much an "artist", as an "artiste".

The main concern of craft and souvenir carvings is to be pleasant, and give the viewer easy, uninvolved enjoyment rather than an expression of communication of ideas and feelings. The carving's success is determined by its ability to establish agreeable aspects of events associated with Eskimo life.

A work of art, on the other hand, has very different attributes. Its purpose is not necessarily to be pleasant, but to give satisfaction in content participation and understanding.

FORMAL STRUCTURES.

Despite what certain people may say, the traditional Eskimo way of life has not disappeared altogether, and therefore, the products of modern Eskimo artists remain based in the life of the Eskimo people.

An artist may make use of a traditional idea, and yet say something fresh in a new medium. It may be that the critic can only see an animal or human figure as merely a stylised rendition of natural forms, but to the artist, such figures may be an expression of local life; a folk tale; or even an actual historical event.

Styles vary greatly, and have differing degrees of realism: this may be personal taste, or sometimes because of a limitation of means; some Eskimos have better tools, materials, and facilities than others.

However, they all share a skill in being able to portray human and animal forms with great sympathy, probably because the Eskimo, by and large, spends the year either hunting or in the company of other people: this natural understanding is therefore distinct from the intellectual understanding of the Western artist; so, although the Eskimo may lack the Western artist's technical training, he has a potentially greater knowledge of what, say, an animal looks like in various postures.

Therefore, we can rationalize that we are looking at a sculpture of a bear or a man, but somehow, they seem to hold more attraction and importance than a mere representation.

The unconscious mind responds by a kind of reflection of the original idea, not complete of course, since our material culture is so different, but the animal or human figure becomes much more of a real experience than the simple fact of a carved representation would warrant.

An artist's form includes his personal vision, his heritage of traditions, and his personal and cultural understanding of the subject matter. For example, although many works of art have been made in the vicinity of the many Christian missions, few are concerned with Christian themes.

If a biblical figure or story is incorporated into a carving, it is expressed in Eskimo terms: hence, the Virgin becomes a sea spirit or animal entity; Adam and Eve may be transformed into an Eskimo husband and wife and the serpent becomes a malevolent sea monster with which they do battle.

An Eskimo interpretation of any such events may seem strange to Western eyes, but they are all the more real to the artists when the story is stated in terms of Eskimo life and not merely copied from the Bible.

These ideas and ways of working guide the artist towards decisions concerning the relationship between ideas and form, and therefore, how to transform the subject matter into an image.

The success of contemporary Eskimo art depends mostly on individual form and not on collective style: where there is some similarity it usually tends to be technical rather than artistic; characteristic stone colour; texture and finish, for example.

But generally speaking, only weak carvings show strong stylistic similarities, whereas good carvings show personal style.

Another trap we must avoid is to not mistake the naturalistic tone of Eskimo sculpture for "art as an imitation of reality." A carving may be deemed very realistic, but only because "realism" has cabalistic power in this context.

If, for example, a depiction of a scene arouses the same qualitative experience as a real one, then both the real and depicted scenes may be identified with one another.

Since it is easier to believe that art imitates nature than the reverse, the real scene may be seen as a whole, while the depicted scene is excised from the context of the sculpture and treated as if it were a lesser version of the real thing.

The depicted scene should be treated as the prompter of a qualitative experience which, in so far as it is possible, may be compared with the qualitative experience aroused by the real scene, but which, given the intention of the artist, is better related to the qualitative experience prompted by the materials and structure of the work.

So, what the Eskimo artist's strive for is the giving of tangible reality to subject matter, and translating what is considered to be "true" and "real" into tactile form.

It is not merely a matter of creating an image, but rather, of using the given materials in order to help an aspect of Eskimo life to step forth. (Swinton 1965).

Within this basic framework common to most Eskimos, there have emerged strong regional styles, however, some areas have a regional style with little internal differentiation, whereas, in others, individuals stand out because of their styles, and overwhelm any regional characteristics that may already be present; these individuals themselves may be responsible for setting local characteristics; for example, there seems to be no demonstrable antiquity anywhere for the carving of multiple animals as one unit; one can therefore possibly assume that the prototypes were the work of an individual Eskimo innovator.

On the other hand, the change in emphasis from horizontal to vertical sculpture (as is traditional in the West) was probably introduced by a western teacher, or even a merchant. One might say that individual styles and innovations are likely to emerge more clearly in larger, more acculturated settlements where more of the community produces art, and hence, more of the people are specialist.

CONCLUSION.

As we have seen, Eskimo art is a blend of new and traditional concepts; and though the new arts are not to everyone's taste (and what genuine art is?) it has to be accepted as important to both Eskimo and white as a genuine cultural form.

As to the people who doubt that this new art has any right to call itself Eskimo - "I regret that the new materials and ideas they employ are supplied by us, not selected by them" (Carpenter 1973 page 195) - whilst it is time that print making, carving, and drawing in their present forms are introduced, the Eskimos do make their own selection of materials, tools, and subject matter, often in direct contradiction to market demands, and the satisfaction they gain from it is not an imitation of us, or something that can be imposed, but an activity which has a direct link to their former lives as full-time hunters: therefore, despite the new techniques and materials, the Eskimos have not forgotten their culture, indeed, the vast majority of artists rely on it as a major source of inspiration.

A clear (although admittedly unusual) example of this is the founding of the Raven's Bones Foundation (Ray 1981 page 78), a native artist-controlled collective started in 1976 which not only maintains the perpetuation of the mystique of traditional art, but also includes members who are in the vanguard of the new arts. Several of the artists have discussed divorcing themselves entirely for the white culture; teaching; materials, and role models in Eskimo art: But essentially, they are too late, and would have to attempt to deny over 250 years of history and influence.

The Eskimo's artistic products, in all their forms, have gone hand in hand with white culture for generations, and realistically, it would be impossible to reject their none native inspirations in the same way that it would be impossible to deny their own indigenous backgrounds. Instead, they should concentrate on capitalizing on a rich and varied legacy.

It is true that in some areas subject matter is still subject to restraints, but these are usually from necessity and not white bullying: for example, the amount of time that can be given over to art: or the availability of materials.

We tend to think of art in possessive terms; to control and do with as we like, and the Eskimos cannot be excluded from this despite Carpenter's claim that, or then, art is "... a transitory act.... they are more interested in the creative activity than the produce." (Carpenter 1973 page 63).

This is a somewhat dated and naive view because the Eskimos, by and large, have acquired as much of a taste for materialism as any other peoples, and have therefore for the last 40 years also been acutely aware and concerned with the art work as "product" and marketable item. Sometimes, because of this awareness, self-expression and creativity are stifled in favour of commerciality, the result being the hackneyed souvenir work previously discussed that is sold under the generic term of "genuine Eskimo art."

However, many Eskimos have moved easily and confidently into art: old resources have combined with new notions of individualism to create an art which retains Eskimo characteristics shaped to the new expressions of acculturating Eskimo society.

This conspicuous new individualism has become the chief characteristic of contemporary Eskimo art, and therefore confounds the critics with their notions of the Eskimo and their supposed mythical collectiveness.

The Eskimos have been fortunate in finding friends among administrators and white teachers who did not impose their ideas without consultation. For the whites too, the experience was meaningful: the ideas of a century ago have been abandoned so that Eskimos are now (by and large) seen as intelligent and creative people, and not childish wards in perpetual need of assistance and care.

For the Eskimo, a new world has opened up: not all Eskimos have either the time or the inclination to make works of art, and therefore, a new phenomenon has arisen in their social structure: the artist as professional.

A SHORT SUMMARY OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRE AND POST CONTACT ESKIMO ART.

* SIMILARITIES *

- (1) Both produced using only basic hand tools.
- (2) Both virtually always realistic in style, with virtually no abstract work.
- (3) Both contain great attention to detail in both the subject matter and the way it is executed.
- (4) Both are considered prestigious assets to a community, with artists from both eras commanding great respect from their peers.
- (5) Both are concerned with using the properties of the stone/ink etc. to maximum effect, and great attention is paid to the surface finish (e.g. smoothness, polish) of sculpture.
- (6) Both employ use of "alternative" Eskimo perspective and overlapping of lines to indicate space.
- (7) Both employ the same basic themes - people, animals, spirits, hunting scenes, legends.
- (8) Neither is taken seriously by many outsiders in either aesthetic or narrative terms.
- (9) Both are celebrations of Eskimo culture.
- (10) Both are usually confined to museums and "primitive art" collections, not art galleries.

* DIFFERENCES *

- (1) Pre - 1940 - Mainly carved from ivory and bone.
Post - 1940 - Mostly local stone which is cheaper and can be carved on a larger scale.
- (2) Pre - 1940 - Most art works limited by the size of bones or ivory pieces available and therefore usually small.
Post - 1940 - Can be made in any size.
- (3) Pre - 1940 - Not much two dimensional work due to the lack of good painting surfaces and perishable nature of paints and dyes.
Post - 1940 - A lot of 2 - D work produced due to introduction of canvas, paper, permanent inks, better colours etc. Also, prints etc, can be produced in bulk.

- (4) Pre - 1940 - Motives usually religious, ceremonial, or as a means of passing time.
Post - 1940 - Motives mainly personal expression, political comment, and commercial gain.
- (5) Pre - 1940 - Mostly monochromatic, or two colours.
Post - 1940 - Many colours due to availability of ready mixed colours.
- (6) Pre - 1940 - Many masks produced, usually for ceremonies.
Post - 1940 - Hardly any now made as ceremonies decline.
- (7) Pre - 1940 - Most art and decorative work served a functional purpose i.e. as amulets and charms for luck, protection, health etc.
Post - 1940 - Most art serves no functional purpose in the traditional sense. Mainly serves aesthetic purpose only.
- (8) Pre - 1940 - Made almost exclusively for the internal market, often for exchange.
Post - 1940 - Made almost exclusively for the external market, sold for money.
- (9) Pre -1940 - Notion of the artist as "workman" of the spirits.
Post - 1940 - Artist seen as creative individual expressing personal images.
- (10) Pre - 1940 - Most adult men carved as a means of passing time out of season, and to produce images for luck, protection etc. But only the best made ceremonial objects and were considered to be "artists".
Post - 1940 - A decline in the number of adults carving as the old ceremonies are abandoned and work is available out of season, but an increase in the number of talented artists due to teaching and more people taking it up full time.
- (11) Pre - 1940 - Seen by most Westerners as craft.
Post - 1940 - Seen by some Westerners as art.

A HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF
CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO PRINTS AND PRINTMAKING

Part One : A History of Printmaking.

Part two : The Motives Behind The Images.
Is It Art? And If So, Whose?

Part One : A History Of Printmaking.

In the late 1950's Eskimo artists began making prints, first at Cape Dorset and then at a number of settlements in the Canadian Arctic.

James Houston, the guiding force (yet again) behind the project claims it resulted from a conversation with one of the Dorset sculptors who wanted to know how the designs on cigarette packets were multiplied so accurately (he suspected that they could not be done by hand) : Houston demonstrated the basic principles of printmaking to him, and stimulated immediate interest amongst the other Dorset artists, many of whom tried the technique out for themselves : Stones were smoothed and polished, and then designs were gouged into their surfaces : Spoons were rubbed over the back of the paper to produce an impression from the raised and inked designs. In this rudimentary but effective manner, (soon to be improved by technical refinements), a new art came into being; the Eskimo print; and a new commodity for the settlements.

The word commodity is used advisedly. Canadian government officials, in their attempt at discovering types of goods which the Eskimo could produce for sale, had stationed in the Arctic arts and crafts specialists, of whom James Houston a civil administrator at Cape Dorset, proved the most remarkable. The development and distribution of prints was undertaken in recognition of the Eskimo's growing need for cash, now that their life style was increasingly effected and transformed by the white man's ways and economic structures (Rosshandler 1976).

The goods, however, were to be selected so as to reflect existing Eskimo skills and values. The income derived from the prints was added to the revenues from sculpture and crafts. But it is hard to believe that the striking images and compositions of Eskimo prints are of no more use to the Eskimo artists than to provide them with some ready cash, however great their need may be.

The first true printmaking technique that Houston introduced was that of a stencil cutting. At first the stencils were made of dried seal skin, and later from oiled cardboard. This technique had the advantage of being less foreign to the Eskimos, as it was related to their traditional method of seal and caribou skin inlay, used to decorate skin clothing, where one shape cut from a skin of a certain shade or colour is sewn into an identical cut out from the skin to be inlaid.

A printing shop was set up in the settlement at Cape Dorset in early 1958 : after an experimental period during which initial problems were overcome, the first examples of stone-cut and sealskin stencil were sent down to Ottawa and arrangements were made through the department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to exhibit them in Ontario.

Houston decided that the Eskimo artists could benefit by learning something of traditional Japanese printmaking techniques and in 1958 he spent some time in Japan studying prints and printmaking processes. On his return he set about encouraging the Cape Dorset artists to develop their own styles while introducing the Japanese concept of teamwork.

Specialists would prepare and cut the stone block from the artists' drawings, and print the actual impressions, thereby combining the expertise of artist, stone-cutter, and printer in creating a series of original prints. In this way, the Cape Dorset prints deviate from traditional nineteenth and twentieth century practise in western printmaking where the individual artist assumes responsibility for all the stages of the process.

Thus, a nucleus of skilled block-cutters and printers was formed, following the traditional Japanese system.

Certain artists who showed a desire to train as printmakers found they could derive satisfaction from preparing or cutting the stone; many found satisfaction in making the drawing, and were content to trust the printmakers' sensitivity in interpreting their drawings.

Printmaking, together with sculpture, continued to develop and gain popularity among the Eskimos, to whom it brought new pleasure in creativity and for whom it was proving not only a novel medium of expression and communication, but also an additional means of earning a livelihood, for by this time cash, or rather "cash/credit", was becoming increasingly necessary for all Eskimos as they became more and more dependant on imported store-bought goods.

In 1960 a second collection of fine stone and stencil-cuts, produced at Cape Dorset was exhibited at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts to great acclaim, and resulted in the formation of the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative at Cape Dorset, which eventually provided a producer/consumer store run by the Eskimos themselves in the settlement.

A similar formally incorporated co-operation developed later at Povungnituk, and with recent aid from the Quebec provincial government the Eskimos have since acquired a retail store, as at Cape Dorset.

However, for some years (1959-61) they tried desperately to "go it alone" under the guidance of Father Steinmann and Patrick Furneaux the civil administrator at Povungnituk. Both felt that in order to achieve independence, the Eskimos should try by all means to develop the co-operative principle with as little outside financial help as possible, employing the traditional Eskimo concept of co-operation.

For this reason, although money was available from the Canadian government's Eskimo loan fund, no application was filed at that time, and although in 1961 financial assistance in obtaining a building was offered to the Eskimos, they declined, preferring to make do with their existing building (Furneaux 77).

These efforts to develop the co-operative philosophy were in fact an attempt to establish the entire Povungnituk community along co-operative lines. The endeavour eventually succeeded, with all the groups and agencies represented in the settlement striving to create a true co-operative spirit; thus, Povungnituk became known as the settlement with a real sense of communal responsibility.

It is important when considering Eskimo modern art (or the art of any culture perhaps) to mention points such as these to be able to place the art in its time context: Because of the complexities involved, the printmaking prospered best in communities that enjoyed a co-operative spirit, and therefore it is necessary to reflect on the social and cultural milieu in which the contemporary arts developed.

The printing of stone cuts and stencils commenced at Povungnituk in 1961 with the Indian-Eskimo Association introducing Father Steinmann and the Eskimos to Gordon Yearsley, an art teacher at Ontario College of Art. Yearsley was hired, and with his help the first attempts at printmaking were made in the community workshop. This building was not suitable at all: It was cold and badly lit, but it was all that was available at the time: The artists had to contend with inks freezing, and trying to execute intricate work whilst wearing thick gloves.

In addition, very little money was available for the purchase of paper; inks; rollers; or indeed, to pay the artists, because it was intended that the new experiment should follow true co-operative principles, making do with what little financial resources were immediately available.

Funds had to be found from local sources, and these were slim. The Eskimos skimmed off a percentage of the slender profits from the sales of their carvings, and in the beginning, the print makers gave their time free to get the experiment under way.

But, despite the initial difficulties, the enthusiasm of the Eskimos was such that several of the hunter/carver draughtsmen began bringing their drawings to the workshop for printing.

Whereas Japanese paper was already being used at Cape Dorset, at that time only Canadian paper was used at Povungnituk, although the methods employed in the stone cut and in stencil printing were identical in both places due to the tendency of art officers to travel between the community.

The surface of the heavy printing stone was first prepared by roughing down with a hand axe; then it was filed and finally polished smooth to receive the cutting by hand.

The Povungnituk Eskimos, like the people at Cape Dorset, preferred to make their own cutting tools from old files and chisels. As at Cape Dorset, some stencils were also made, and in the Spring of 1961 a plate making technique using wax and epoxy resin was tried in addition to the proven stone cut method.

Wax was poured into a shallow rectangular tray and allowed to set. When the wax had hardened, the artist engraved his drawing into the surface with a fine tool, and epoxy resin was poured over the engraved surface: This in turn hardened, providing a reverse image with a fine raised line from which a print was taken in the same way as from a stone cut.

It was hoped that this technique would allow the artists a finer printed line than could be made by cutting away and leaving a raised line on stone.

Since the artists either cut directly into the stone without first making a drawing, or reproduced their drawings in the stone without reversing them, the wax and resin method would reproduce the artist's original faithfully and not as a printed reverse image. However, this technique never became popular with the Eskimos and was discarded within a matter of months, probably because the technique didn't resemble carving as closely as other methods.

The Povungnituk venture was plagued with problems that had also afflicted the Cape Dorset printers a few years earlier. The Eskimo artists found it difficult to adjust to a daily routine; indeed many of them still do.

For generations their lives had been governed by seasons and climate, and, when conditions were favourable, for many hunting still took precedence over printing: Carving continued, though, because stone could frequently be obtained and worked during hunting or fishing expeditions. Printing, however, demanded time spent in the print shop and work in that area was sporadic.

An important innovation at this time was Yearsley's introduction of a semi-mechanical printing - stone polisher. This apparatus ground down and obliterated previous images, and polished the surface ready for a new image to be cut.

Innovations such as these certainly helped to arouse the curiosity and competitiveness of the Eskimos who responded with a characteristic, bold, uninhibited approach.

Whereas at Cape Dorset, the artists were seldom the print makers too, most of the Povungnituk artists cut their own printing stones and continued with the printing process as well; thus most of the early prints were drawn, cut and printed by the same artist. Since 1963, however, only six artists have specialised in the actual printing process. (Rosshandler 76).

There had been some misgivings felt "outside" when it became known that Povungnituk had gone into printing; there was anxiety that the fresh young image of Eskimo art might be damaged if anyone other than Cape Dorset Eskimos began trespassing in the realm of print making. (Burland 1973 page 110).

However, printing continued at Povungnituk and by the early summer of 1961 a small co-operative marketing venture commenced in the settlement in order to encourage further work, and to escape the monopolistic hold of the fur traders who, during the last 50 years had established posts in many parts of the Arctic and upon whom the Eskimos had become increasingly dependent: (Ray 81).

This is not to suggest that the Hudson's Bay Company, for example, represented an entirely unhealthy or negative influence.

It has of course been mainly owing to the fur traders that the Eskimo was lured away from his hunting/fishing economy and persuaded that it was more profitable to trap and sell furs; at best a risky business, and one which entails indebtedness, "virtually blinding the trapper hand and foot to the grubstaking trader" - (Shalkop 78 page 120).

On the other hand it should be stated that in several instances very positive relationships have resulted from trader/trapper contacts. Lives have been saved when famine threatened entire communities, and but for the traders' presence, many may have starved to death. In most settlements the H.B.C. post manager dispensed the family allowances, welfare relief and pensions; and kept these accounts where there was no government official. (Shalkop 78).

This of course worked both ways: It was to the advantage of both recipient and trader: It enabled Eskimos to purchase necessities for which the cash always ended up in the company's till.

Before the advent of Eskimo owned co-operatives, the fur trader was the sole arbiter of local cash/credit business in the Eskimo settlements.

In 1961 Steinmann saw an opportunity to strengthen the newly formed Povungnituk co-operative by a few successful sales of prints.

Carving sales had for some time presented problems: packing and freighting heavy stone sculpture took too much time and money for the amount of profits earned.

However, a season's production of prints, on the other hand, could be freighted out by air and sold quickly and profitably.

Cape Dorset's success had already proved this: All the same, ready cash was needed for the printing venture, though a cash investment would realise no return until all the prints had been sold. Cash was needed to pay for materials; wages; artist's drawings; and general workshop overheads.

By the end of the summer of 1961 not a great deal had been accomplished in the production of prints.

As there had been no income from the venture, it was decided that if printing was to continue at Povungnituk additional finances had to be obtained:

It was, therefore, agreed to apply for a government loan, as the Cape Dorset Eskimos had done, and that Yearsley should take the few prints produced, together with the co-operative's stock of carvings, south with him to sell whilst negotiating a loan.

Print making would cease for the winter and it was intended to resume again when Yearsley returned: But during the subsequent months further problems and disappointments developed, the most significant one being Gordon Yearsley's decision to leave the community basically due to disillusionment. (Rosshandler 76).

At Cape Dorset James Houston was also preparing to leave the North having laid the foundations of an important new art form and set it on a fairly sound economic basis.

Since the stone and stencil cut prints had proved so successful, Houston had studied the possibilities of introducing engraving in metal to the Cape Dorset artists, particularly since that form of expression closely approximated the traditional Eskimo engraving technique which involved forcing a sharply pointed tool into an ivory or bone surface: hence, copper plate engraving was introduced at Cape Dorset in 1961.

Meanwhile, the Povungnituk endeavour was floundering, through no fault of the Eskimos, who were eager to continue. A search began for a new print making instructor; This job eventually being filled by Viktor Tinkl who was recommended by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Tinkl arrived in Povungnituk in July 1962, and after a meeting with the Eskimos set to work with them, re-organising the printing programme.

After studying their sculpture; drawings, and proofs that had already been printed, Tinkl formed the opinion that they had the talent to succeed on a commercial basis, but that the extent of this success would be entirely up to them - "All I will do is show you the techniques required the rest will be up to you" - (Furneau 1977 page 15).

A prefabricated army surplus building was obtained from a disused mine site at Great Whale River and shipped to Povungnituk where the Eskimos erected and prepared it as the new print shop. Although not ideal, it was a decided improvement on the previous stone workshop, having several large windows for good lighting: Several printing stones had been obtained by the Eskimos and other materials arrived from the south; therefore printmaking could resume in earnest that autumn.

Several of the more confident artists whose drawings were accepted for printing would take the printing - stones to their homes where they worked on them, following the system practised when making their carvings: This left the print shop clear for printing and the nuisance of flying dust was avoided.

Several of the Povungnituk artists developed a style of stone cutting which differed of that at Cape Dorset; preferring not to cut away all the stone surrounding the actual image, as was the practice at Cape Dorset, so that the exterior contour of the printing stone appears on many Povungnituk prints, often framing the image with the natural edge of the stone, on which syllabic inscriptions are sometimes written.

In Povungnituk the printing stones are seldom polished down to such a fine finish as at Cape Dorset.

Sometimes areas surrounding the image, whether integral parts of the image itself or "surplus" stone, reveal fine, uninked cracks and scratches which (when allowed to remain) give the surface a texture much admired by the artists because it proclaims unmistakably that the medium is stone:

Also, most of the early Povungnituk prints are in black and white only.

Each print bears an inscription stating its Eskimo title, the artist's name, and place and year of origin: This is pencilled in Eskimo syllabics by the print shop manager.

Of the first Povungnituk series, editions were limited to about thirty five prints. By the end of 1962 some excellent prints had been produced and discussions were held with the Eskimos about the most appropriate way of marketing them: it was considered the most viable way was through the Eskimo Art Committee: This was started in 1961 at Cape Dorset by James Houston to undertake the selection and approval of prints sent out from Cape Dorset, and was designed to help regulate and maintain the quality of the prints, advise the Minister of Northern Affairs and the Eskimo artists on matters relating to the publicity, exhibition and marketing of the prints, and devise means whereby the Eskimo artists and their work would be safeguarded against exploitation.

By that time, Eskimo art had excited such interest as to attract the unwelcome attention of certain copyists, who sought to capitalise on the Eskimo's success.

Copies of some of the best sculpture had already appeared in the market.

The committee would now view proofs of prints from Cape Dorset and select those considered to be of sufficient quality to merit exhibition and sale; these would receive the Committee's seal; identifying them as the only original prints approved.

This was explained to the Povungnituk Eskimos and recommended to them as the most effective way of marketing their work; however, they were somewhat unwilling to place themselves in the hands of the Committee, perhaps believing that it existed only for the benefit of the Cape Dorset co-operative: they were eventually persuaded, however, by the argument that it would ultimately be in their best interests since the Committee members understood the art market.

So in early 1963 the prints made at Povungnituk were submitted, a selection was made and approved, and it was exhibited along with Cape Dorset prints at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Printmaking continued at Povungnituk under the supervision of Victor Tinkl until 1965 when he left, feeling that the Eskimos were capable of continuing the project themselves, for a nucleus of skilled printers had been trained: the print shop was, therefore, left in the hands of its two Eskimo managers Kanajuk and Sivuak.

The success of the Dorset and Povungnituk print shops prompted Henry Tardy, the Roman Catholic missionary at Holman, to organize a print-making experiment there, where stone carving had been practised for some years (Shalkop 1978).

Stone-cut printing commenced at Holman in 1964 and the first collection of prints was exhibited in 1965 at the Beaverbrook Gallery in New Brunswick.

Under the direction of Tardy, several artists of talent were encouraged to develop their graphic talents; and at Holman, as at Cape Dorset, a nucleus of skilled cutters and printers added their own contribution to the work. (Furieux 77).

The fourth settlement to become a centre of printing was Baker Lake in the interior of the Keecratin District of the Northwest Territories.

Baker Lake was found to possess an astonishing number of talented artists.

This led to the formation of a print shop in 1969, set up by Jack Butler and his wife who were proposed as printing and crafts instructors by George Swinton (then a prominent member of the Canadian Arts Council) and their appointment was approved by the Council.

The first collection of stone and stencil cuts was shown with great success in early 1970 at the Edmonton Art Gallery.

Since this exhibition the output at Baker Lake has been the most consistent in terms of quality, although there is no determinable reason for this apart, perhaps, that the Eskimos were trained from the start in the use of colours instead of just black and white as at other settlements, and, therefore, they may be more competent and, indeed, confident in their designs using bold colouration.

As at Dorset and Holman, the system of training skilled stone-cutters and printers has been the practise at Baker Lake; as has the co-operative policy.

One of the most recent Eskimo printing centres is Pangnirtung, a settlement in the east of Baffin Island, where the Pangnirtung Inuit Co-operative was formed in 1977 under the guidance of their director Gary McGee who has worked with the Eskimos since 1968. (Shalkop 78).

The first collection of prints, including the previously untried technique of silkscreen was published in 1973.

The print shop is now run by the Eskimos themselves, and they too became members of the Eskimo Art Committee; which since its inception has grown to now consist of twelve member settlement areas.

The council selects the prints each year for publication and exhibition, but it is important to note that this selection is not inclusive: many prints are made in the co-operatives but are not submitted to the council; nor should it be assumed that every proof rejected by the council is unworthy of exhibition, but rather, this should be taken as a sign of the high quality of much Eskimo print work which shows no sign of either diminishing in production or quality.

Part Two: The Motives Behind the Images - Is it Art? and if so, whose?

When paper is deliberately brought from Japan; when inks; carving tools and presses are made available to a people who had no prior knowledge of their existence, the suspicion is bound to arise that the artistic product resulting, therefrom lacks authenticity.

However, Eskimo print making, stimulated by western technological methods, revealed itself as an authentic manifestation of the creative spirit "of a people re-awakened to its cultural heritage" - Rosshandler 1976.

The continuity of character between present day prints and earlier Eskimo art is an indication of this.

To qualify as works of art, objects must have a cultural meaning for the society which causes them to be made. In the case of Eskimo prints, dormant values and concepts of the Eskimo were brought back to life, the print shop acting as a catalyst for their resurrection.

Eskimo prints are, in most cases, the result of a co-operative endeavour: this gives the Eskimo opportunity to illustrate his inner world through a collective undertaking.

Actually, thriving co-operatives had to be organised to deal with the complexities of the workshops established at Cape Dorset, Baker Lane, Povungnituk, and Holman. Drawings are examined critically, projects are discussed, techniques tested, stones and materials prepared, and proofs are pulled, all by community action.

The creation of a print is "akin to the performance of a rite, newly conceived, whereby images from the deepest recesses of the Inuit's collective memory are recalled and made visible" - Rosshandler 1976.

Images proposed for execution, as well as the final product, must meet the standards of a group.

So, far from being western programmed termites, in the print shop Eskimo faces Eskimo, and answers to Eskimo. The technical facilities, admittedly, were introduced and set up by westerners; but fortunately with respect to Eskimo feelings towards materials: stone and seal skin, with which the Eskimos were well acquainted, were chosen as essential printing devices. When copper plate came to be used, it was mainly for engravings, a method of work not that removed from traditional incising work on bone and ivory.

The first burst of creative activity from 1957 to the mid sixties, produced a considerable number of most remarkable prints, strong in design, execution, and content.

It didn't take long for the art market to take notice, and intense speculation on the part of Canadian and American collectors set in, threatening to down this young and still fragile art form in the crassest commercialism. This caused the appearance of an outside control mechanism - the Canadian Eskimo art committee, which later became the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council - (Rosshandler 76) To ensure that the prints were kept within the bounds of Eskimo taste, and not what western collectors perceived to be "Eskimo tradition": however, the strength of Eskimo conviction was such that he remained loyal to his original source of inspiration, inherited symbols and values.

It can therefore be said without reservation that the prints are truly works of art; that is, if we accept that art is the physical representation of culture; and culture in the mirror society holds up to itself.

In the course of their development they are subjected to inputs foreign to their nature and origin; yet such is the strength of an activity sustained by feeling of collective ritual that it still produces some of the most powerful and interesting creations in native art.

There is an understandable reticence on the part of the Eskimo artist to talk to outsiders about his work.

When comments are obtained from a print maker, they are vague in the extreme. "things of the past"; "dreams"; "shaman"; "fishing and hunting", are advanced and ultimately leave the questioner none the wiser:

Only in the case of the illustration of an actual event is the Eskimo artist usually willing to provide more information.

Among Eskimos, in all probability, the images and forms employed do not require lengthy explanations, a further indication that print making partakes of a ritual, albeit a denatured or substitute ritual for abandoned yet vaguely remembered ceremonies.

An examination of the prints reveals that Christian imagery is conspicuous by its absence: although Catholicism, Anglicanism and various protestant sects permeate the Eskimo world, Christian iconography is practically never used:

No mother and child is meant to symbolise the Virgin:

No flight of birds St. Francis.

The themes (irrespective of their reference to situations past, contemporary, or imaginary to landscapes, beliefs, dreams, or lifestyles) are exclusively Eskimo.

The presence of the shaman and his corollary, the evil or beneficial spirit, in many a print strengthens our contention that these works of art speak an esoteric visual language but one that is understandable to the Eskimo, who has retained an insight into his culture and beliefs.

This demolishes the criticism (aimed at Eskimos) that this art is chosen by the westerner; that his money decides what will be produced: much Eskimo print making makes use of iconographic devices common to many cultures with shamanistic beliefs: legends, giants, monsters, and supernatural events are frequently used, the artists drawing on an almost inexhaustible source of inspiration and knowledge.

We cannot but make informed guesses as to the true significance of these images; but to the Eskimos who created them they spoke clearly, in fact so much so that once their conception and execution was accomplished, the artists seldom retain any copies for themselves - "it appears that the Inuit do not favour displaying their own prints at home, even though nowadays the tent and the igloo have been replaced by housing which provides walls suitable for hanging" - (Furieux 1977 page 17).

Eskimo prints are frequently called primitive or naive: whatever these terms actually mean, it is unwise to attach them to the complex art of the Eskimo.

These descriptions, used in relation to art, admit to the self satisfied and ethnocentric attitude of westerners towards any cultural product which falls outside the normative standards of art evaluation, whatever those may be anyway i.e. can one establish frame works of evaluation and taste in a subject which contains few empirical properties?

Whilst some museums and galleries make a systematic effort to collect and preserve Eskimo prints simply as works of art, others consider them to be rather a subject of study coming from the "primitive" realm: but even a brief glance at the prints shows a fully developed capacity for design and composition combined with a visually expressive directness. The content of these works of art is sophisticated and able to activate human perceptions at many levels: we are made to see the reflection of a specific knowledge, a collectively held belief, a ritual understanding conducted at an atavistic level of perception and belief.

The label "decorative" is often applied to Eskimo art, with particular reference to print making. It is a word of many connotations, more often than not unfavourable ones in art history terminology, but actually it has no precise meaning:

Findings about remote archaeological remains should put us on guard against the notion that shapes, designs, and even depictions, which cannot be read in terms of significance, may, therefore, be casually categorised as merely decorative devices.

Mesolithic bone artefacts, incised with lines, dots, and other graphic notations, may reveal a symbolic content highly complex in nature. It would be reasonable to assume that more will yet be understood of the meanings still hidden from us in all the Eskimo arts, from that of pre- Dorset times to the prints of today.

The prints of the Eskimos often have the full intensity of ritual because they are uninhibited and make no concessions; perhaps for this very reason, some of these prints (especially the "rough edged" Povungnituk prints) initially found no favour with collectors: so much for the "demure decorative art" label.

In terms of form, Eskimo prints, although skilfully composed, are generally without complications. Previous training in sculpture explains to a considerable extent the results obtained by the artists: stone cuts and stencils allow for little subtlety, and are by their very nature clean and direct: shading is seldom used; instead the Eskimos favour spacial devices of their own development.

These basically arose when white teachers tried to teach carvers and printers to abandon the multiple perspective which typifies much of their work in favour of a traditional European single perspective. Those who found it difficult to master this rather complicated system created their own by adopting a diametrically opposite role and making parallel lines converge as they approach the spectator, thereby opening up space instead of closing it down.

Some Eskimo artists also adopted a style whereby a position in depth is indicated by different elevations of figures: the bottom of the print is represented as the closest visual point, higher positions as more distant, with depth indicated by the overlapping of figures instead of by shading. (Figures 1 and 2).

In all, the visual components of the print are made perfectly clear: the Eskimo artists avoid complicating their images, for example, the fact that they have no recourse to linear perspective. Colours tend to be flat and are applied so as to enhance the overall effect of the design; almost never playing an independent role; instead, Eskimo prints tend to reveal in all honesty the drawing which underlies the final product: They are, therefore, always legible and articulate.

These observations regarding the formal aspect of the prints are not meant to imply that they convey an impression of monotony: On the contrary there is a diversity of styles and methods, with each workshop developing unique features: Cape Dorset prints often seem to contain a dream like quality; colour is used boldly in large flat masses; the image itself is paramount, with the background playing hardly any role at all.

Povungnituk work, on the other hand, is essentially earthly, more narrative than descriptive, and very much concerned with the placement of the scene or subject in the surrounding world.

The artists of Baker Lane, late starters in print making, had the advantage of learning from the experiences of other Eskimo printmakers, and have therefore rapidly developed a sophisticated scheme of linear designs accented by vivid colours.

The aesthetic framework described is the product of a common visual language used by the artists for their own individual ways of expression.

The Eskimo print continues to find ready acceptance with museums, dealers, and buyers, and has attracted an ever increasing audience since the first public showing of it in 1958.

Its importance lies not only in the aesthetic pleasure it provides, but it serves as a visual record of the history and traditions of the Eskimos.

A great deal can potentially be learned about the activities of a culture long rooted in its environment, now being influenced by our technological society. It will to a large extent depend on the Eskimos themselves and on their devotion to their own cultural values whether this art will continue: With today's realisation that people joining the mainstream of technology need not lose their traditions and beliefs, it is to be hoped that Eskimos will pursue the self-revealing process inherent in their art; after all, technology and acculturation may alter the way of life and stifle certain cultural characteristics, but much still evidently remains below the surface; and whereas the traditional significance of Eskimo art may be less apparent, with a very high proportion of Eskimos the native talent to carve and draw still remains.

All this upheaval has occurred in a very short space of time, and has been accelerated over the last 30 years: Nevertheless, despite the violent disturbance and change in social and cultural values, the art of the contemporary Eskimo has emerged intact and in many ways developed and expanded, meriting approbation for the creativity and integrity of the artists: It is therefore encouraging to see this art form flourishing, despite the decline of the cultural milieu that formerly nourished it; and the satisfaction the Eskimos gain, since it enables them to record and preserve their history, to chronicle the present, and to explain their way of life to a wide audience.

For the Eskimo, the importance of printmaking lies in the fact that not only is it a compatible way of earning a living, but a means of duplicating images, a way of communication.

CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO ART.

"It is imperative to discard the sham facade of "primitiveness" which certain outside "experts" have tacked on to this modern art phase.

The latter ought to be appraised on the strength of its true character, while those who create it should be permitted to reap the full financial reward to which their efforts entitle them" - (Martijn quoted in Anderson 1979 page 179).

"....many of the objects are bought as ethnological objects, or as mere souvenirs few art works are looked upon as aesthetically significant ". - (R. Shalkop 1978 page 38).

"The fault lies, perhaps, with those who have labelled all Eskimo carvings "art" and have then called all Eskimo art "primitive art" ". - (G. Swinton 1965 page 76).

"While there has been considerable anthropological study of the 'traditional' primitive arts very little research has been done on commercial art forms and even less has investigation been directed towards the nature and functions of the art collecting society itself." - (N.H.H. Graburn 1978 page 51).

The condescending tone which creeps in when discussing Eskimo art (or any indigenous art form for that matter) points back to the traditional snobbery and bias about general aesthetic norms which have been deeply internalised by art history.

Critics still manage to offer explanations in which they continue to see Eskimo art as a curious spectacle which bears examination only to enable them to make deductions about 'how natives are': Thus, the art becomes the centre of iconological definitions of Eskimos and Eskimo art.

Although in the west we think of art as a peculiar and sensitive conductor of cultural influences and therefore, of social and political divisions, we do not, by and large, seem able to credit the Eskimo artist with the ability to do this.

What critics often fail to remember is that even in indigenous societies, a work of art is not simply an artistic object, but an object that has values assigned to it by the creator's society.

Any Eskimo artist who has managed to transcend this barrier even slightly has done so by making an art basically alien to him, and is handed out rewards on the basis of conformity to western imagery and techniques; oil paints, canvas, perspective and picture planes: In other words, in so much as Eskimo artists have come into contact with the main stream they have, by and large, had to acquiesce to its value systems in order to get representation at a western gallery, in direct competition with western artists.

A good example of this is the Eskimo artist Edward Hofseth (Ray 1981 page 208) who was trained at a white art college; uses oil paints on canvas; does paintings which owe little to Eskimo culture and more to do with having seen the work of Sidney Nolan and Arthur Boyd; and makes sculptures more like Henry Moore's than Henry Moore himself made.

In other words, contemporary Eskimo artists have difficulty getting their work taken seriously unless they can draw parallels between their own art work and the features of Western art that critics deem appropriate: If they don't do this, they are not regarded as having a valid aesthetic system.

The main problem facing Eskimo art, or indeed, any art that is classed as 'primitive', is that the use of the word primitive, whichever denotative meaning is attached to it, usually carries with it certain perjorative connotations; in relation to art, these are usually that a 'primitive' art work is simple, crude, and unsophisticated, as is the culture that produced it.

The critic's line of argument, reduced to its foundations, is that one cannot compare the way an Eskimo art work is created with the disparate and often fragmented social and intellectual processes that go into the creation of a Western art work; therefore, Eskimos are incapable of producing 'real' art, and the handful whom critics accept as having produced something of worth are either Western trained, or exotic aberrations. Beibuyck talks of the debate on communities which focus on collective action and, therefore, "... whether it is possible to speak about creative originality and innovation." (Beibuyck 1969 page 7).

Some critics even, rather stupidly, argue that indigenous art is unsophisticated because it employs natural materials such as wood, bone and so on, and is created using the most basic hand tools. ".... obviously, then, any culture which expresses itself by employing the most basic means is not fulfilling maximum artistic expression." (Maclean 1986 page 11).

Synthetic paints; resins; metal alloys, and power tools may all be more convenient than wood, stone, natural pigments, and hand drills; however, a consideration often overlooked is that, in order to create a piece of art from these potentially more tricky and erratic materials, an artist may have had to acquire a much greater level of skill, dexterity, and knowledge of form than his Western equivalent; in other words, a much more "sophisticated" technique.

It would be interesting to give a Western artist a piece of tropical hard wood and a hand chisel, and a so-called primitive artist a lump of clay and an electric sander, and see who ended up producing the sophisticated art, and who turned out something which should be referred to as primitive, whatever such terms stand for.

Further to this point, it should be obvious that tools and materials do not make an art work primitive or sophisticated, the way in which they are used determines this. Also, since it is by and large true that in the West, ready mixed oil paints have superceded hand ground paints; and that fibre resin and granulated resin polymer injection moulding have replaced stone and wood, are we then to assume (by pursuing this line of criticism to its logical conclusion) that Michaelangelo and Leonardo Da Vinci were crude, unsophisticated primitives?

After all, Da Vinci used paints which had to be hand ground and made into pigments; and Michaelangelo used hand tools and marble.

Obviously, we can say nothing of the sort; yet it is certainly still the case that indigenous art works are categorised as primitive because they are painted on bark instead of canvas; or sculptured from black stone instead of fibre glass. Sieber concludes that ".... there is no necessary correlation between man's intellectual and artistic accomplishments and his tool kit." (Page 194 1969).

Materials aside, what about the form, content, and aesthetic response evoked by Eskimo art? A common response is that it is 'simplistic,' 'undeveloped,' and 'unfinished.' "In the 20th Century Western World we tend to ignore the ultimate persuasiveness of art as a result we tend to over-simplify the art of other cultures." (Page 202 Sieber 1969).

Although art is not an empirical science and, therefore, cannot be judged using quantitative methods, even a vague knowledge of Eskimo art should make the viewer doubt that it is systematically more 'simplistic' than Western art; the term "undeveloped" is inapplicable and contradictory in relation to any art; and the term 'unfinished' overlooks the fact that to the Eskimo artist, the presentation of both the idea and the materials in the most skillful ways possible is a matter of pride. (Graburn 1978).

These connotations, placed on Eskimo art, are not only stereotypical of most people's notions of indigenous populations, they are also highly value laden as, basically, they imply that the people from the society from which the art emanates are also crude, undeveloped, and naive.

To this end, there are still too many fixed ideas about the nature of Eskimo art implicit in discussions about it, and therefore, critics are tempted to mistake features of Eskimo art as existing solely for the purpose of showing primitive culture. As Biebuyck points out, however, "society can impose upon its artists a certain objective subject matter and style but the artist himself has his own personal conception of this subject matter." (Biebuyck 1969 page 6).

Probably the best example of this is a survey conducted in 1971 by Nelson Graburn at Berkley in order to show - "... the audience's knowledge and biases about the creator peoples or even about the artists themselves, leading to expectations and judgements about what criteria are fulfilled and what are not... the cultural context of the viewers themselves.... against which these other judgements are being made.... and about the relations between materials and art genres within the traditions of the viewer's culture". (Graburn 1978 page 52).

In essence, the experiment consisted of displaying Eskimo and Cree artwork on campus and then questioning people in order to gain their reaction to it. The response at first seems favourable, Graburn noting that the exhibits "drew more than 98% positive comments." (Graburn 1978 page 58): however, the response is less positive if one examines the actual content of the answers given; for, while the majority of the people admired such factors as the "smoothness...grace...and simplicity" (page 58), explained by Wingert as being due to "...the immediacy and directness with which the visual impact of the artistic power is felt by the viewer.... this is somewhat due to the uncommon appearance of these forms... existing outside the familiar frame of reference, so that there is no background against which to interpret or evaluate them". (Wingert 1962 page 377). People have no genuine knowledge of Eskimo lifestyles and so resort to stereotypes: Thus, the art provoked "...admiration of the Eskimo's traditional way of life, and their closeness to nature and the animal world." (Page 58).

In other words, people were unable to separate Eskimo art from their ideas of how Eskimos live "...I think it shows that they are more in tune with nature, its more their livelihood, you know. You don't see any real signs of the sort of civilization we live in." (Student page 64), as Altman states "It often seems as if one had become indoctrinated to think about styles and norms of so-called primitive arts in terms of stereotypes which never hold up in the face of the diversity of actual conditions." (Altman 1969 page 186).

It would therefore seem that the survey shows people are unable to judge Eskimo art free from their notions of its social, cultural, and historical background. This initially appears to be a positive thing, in so much as the Eskimos must therefore have portrayed what people perceived to be their world with great success: However, it only serves to show how people differentiate between Western art and the art of indigenous cultures; for, although one could reasonably expect the social and cultural influences of an art work to be taken into account during the viewing process, in the West this is not usually the case among "untrained" observers.

A person viewing an art work usually neither knows nor cares whether it was painted in America, Turkey or Australia, or indeed, why it was painted at all, in other words, what were the motivating factors for the artist; yet is quite happy to praise and condemn the artwork without this (one would suggest) important knowledge: content and creativity are disconnected from motivation and influence, and we take 'art for art's sake'. Many people are unhappy with this approach to viewing because they think it ignores the point of view that art relates to the normative values of the culture that produced it. For example Siber states that "The arts at any time or place, in reflecting cultural values, evolve what might be called the "value image" that culture has of itself." (Siber 1971 page 205).

Altman sums up this point of view "...creativity should be judged in terms of the culture in which the arts belong". (Altman page 191 1969).

Many have argued that 'art for art's sake', in other words, pure aesthetic experience, is distinguishable from other facets of the art work because it is intrinsic, whereas other experiences are instrumental: and it is certainly true that most untrained observers see art from a purely aesthetic point of view as designed for psychological gratification.

However, with indigenous art, this does not seem to apply; instead, the so-called aesthetic choices made by them are overborne, formulated, and anticipated, at least in part, beforehand in so much as the observer approaches the work with a pre-decided idea about Eskimos, and therefore the art work is not so much appreciated as used to confirm popular beliefs.

Using this system, a 'good' art work is one which confirms these beliefs about Eskimo life; and a 'bad' one presents the viewer with a world at odds with his notions, and, as Biebuyck points out "... few of us have any knowledge about the rules and criteria as they are formulated by the art producing societies." (Biebuyck 1969 page 11).

Therefore, the art is being viewed differently because there is no relationship between the subjective artist's appropriation of reality on the one hand, and formal suggestiveness and perception on the other.

One would suggest that, in the West, to a large extent, we trust the artist to present us with a 'worthy' image: we take it for granted that he wouldn't have bothered creating an art work, or let us see the outcome, unless he felt he had something worthy of expression. With indigenous art however, we seem unable to trust the artist's ability to utilize creativity and self-expression, and so, feel we have to find alternative motives to justify the art work - "The audience judged the Exkimo art on the basis of how well it told the expected story, not why they had to tell it!" - (Graburn 1978 page 64 - 5).

Therefore, aesthetic merits and creativity are relegated in favour of scanning for what we consider to be culturally encoded symbolism, as we feel this can have been the only possible ascribing influence for the artist - "... the audience found in them the very things they were looking for." (Graburn 1978 page 66).

Furthermore, a Western artist is almost duty bound to be innovative; to be constantly inventing and re-inventing content, form, and means of expression: However, when an artist from an acculturated society attempts to create something new and experimental, he is accused by Westerners of betraying his traditions; of being a victim of white domination; or of producing work which acquiesces to commercialism. For example, Jones notes that Aboriginal artists have, like Eskimo artists, been criticized for producing art which is deemed to be not entirely 'native'.

Albert Namatjira, a contemporary Aboriginal artist, is criticized for producing work outside the 'purely functionalist' role Westerners perceived it should have "...other commentators believed that through his use of Western forms, and by painting for art's sake, Namatjira had excluded himself from the ranks of true Aboriginal artists. His watercolour landscapes were regarded as 'assimilation art' ". (Jones 1988 page 173).

It is foolish to think that Eskimo artists should only refer to their predecessors, or should only develop themes and techniques within the confines of previous Eskimo art: "... the art-producing societies do not exist in vacuo; isolation, self-containment, and self-sufficiency are relative concepts." (Beibuyck 1969 page 5).

Apart from the fact that this would mean extreme creative limitation for the artists, it would also leave such a limited scope for the art works themselves, that they would only ever be of appeal to specialist collectors and museums.

One cannot say that the stamp of 'authenticity' on an Eskimo art work is any one specific thing; what one finds is a mixed bag of distinctive features, which means that in reality, no formal criteria for an 'Eskimo' art can be laid down, which helps the artists, as it enables them to reject the notion of artistic norms. "Aesthetic norms elude us in nearly all instances owing to the lack of information on aesthetic criteria." (Altman 1969 page 184).

It does, however, irritate critics tremendously, and causes them to renew the debate on aesthetics under the guise of 'primitive art'. To this end, Eskimo art, to some extent, has been taken over by the intellectually dominated art and social science institutions and placed into a linear context 'primitive art', noted by Biebuyck "... literature abounds with dubious and imprecise ascriptions of objects that cannot be conveniently placed within the recognized stylistic areas". (Biebuyck 1969 page 1).

He goes on to say that "Those who try to explain the meanings behind these forms, without the appropriate knowledge of the cultural context in which the forms occur, generally come up with the most fantastic, simplistic, or merely poetic interpretations." (Page 12).

To illustrate this, he cites his own work on African Lega carvings, which often depict a figure with one arm raised: This is usually interpreted by scholars as an "imploration of celestial powers" (Page 12), whereas, the Lega are not, in fact, involved with the worship of sky Gods.

Having considered all this, I would suggest that the viewers of Graburn's exhibition were not full of praise for an art form, but full of praise for a 'primitive' art form; one for which they were unable to separate the terms 'primitive' and 'art' in the same way that they might separate the ideas of 'society' and 'art' for the Western art exhibition.

Therefore, although by being viewed with its origins as the viewer's main concern, Eskimo art appears to work well in a theoretical textbook sense, in reality, the lack of the 'art for art's sake' approach towards it means it is being viewed differently from Western art, and therefore, the attitude towards its makers is discriminatory.

There is, of course, a line of argument that any indigenous art form cannot be considered as art until Western 'experts' establish its merits, be they aesthetic or cultural. "Scholars construct rules and standards on art." (Biebuyck page 11).

The control assumed by the West over indigenous arts exists in more than one form.

(1) Firstly, only the Western eye is considered discriminatory enough to evaluate the object's status to that of "art", this is a definitional prerogative of tremendous power.

"Art appreciation in our society represents a dilemmic clash of principles.

On the one hand, true art lovers feel they should, on some level, experience 'pure' aesthetic reactions to form, reactions that in no essential way depend on clinical knowledge." (Price 1989 page 15).

On the other hand, among so called experts, the entire edifice of art connoisseurship is a well defined and defended hierarchy of authority, in which some among us are assigned responsibility for recognising the intrinsic value of certain objects, and others among us are expected to nod respectfully in assent. "The aesthetic and intellectual worth of an art work is determined by a handful of people who jealously guard the source of their expertise; and, since the rest of us don't share it, we bow to it's authority." (Penck 1988 page 212).

So, what is it about indigenous art that suddenly makes us all feel we are qualified to pass judgement?

The most obvious answer is, of course, because we have feelings of tremendous superiority over the indigenous populations of the world. Also, we feel uneasy about commenting too confidently about Western art because, if we are asked to look beyond the aesthetic, we start to become unsure about the content, its meaning, the use of symbolism and allegory, its cultural meaning: as Richard Anderson pointed out, we see art as something - "...displayed in galleries and museums, ostensibly doing nothing" - (Anderson 1979 page 12), in other words, with no clear functional purpose; we therefore assume that it must have an intellectual purpose, one which we are not sure we fully understand.

With indigenous art, however, we still seem to favour the notion that everything in what we deem a 'primitive' culture must serve a strictly utilitarian purpose, whereby, designs are painted on pottery to brighten up the tedium of filthy living quarters, and these designs must hold deep mystical significance; and Eskimos make fine art prints and sculptures only as some kind of desperate attempt to anchor the past and stop their traditions sliding away.

We seem unable to discard the notion that all 'primitive' art must, by our evaluations of 'primitive culture', be functionalist, and not serve another purpose such as commercial value; expression of individuality; or a means of transmitting ideas and values: "...not all art is destined to express functional, mythological, or religious concepts, or to symbolise the power structure or social cohesion of the society." (Biebueck 1969 page 17).

Therefore, the existing stereotypical notion of Eskimo art merely being a sideline hobby makes it hard for the Eskimo artists to get their work taken seriously.

(2) Secondly, there is a naive and 'earnest' attitude on the part of the art establishment to conserve 'their heritage' for future generations. "Primitive Art in an elite Western cultural institution is customarily heralded with ... warmth and pride ... the pride emerges from the same unstated premise that such events came about through an enormously commendable broad mindedness and largesse on the part of the host culture ... Westerners thus became the ones responsible for issuing invitations to partake of the Brotherhood of Man" - (S. Price 1989 page 25 - 26).

The problem which arises when indigenous art is displayed in a gallery or museum is that there is a fundamental discriminatory distinction made between Western and indigenous art, namely, that only the former is usually presented as having been created by named individuals at specific points in an evolving artistic period.

However, for most displays of indigenous art, information about technical, social, and religious functions is elaborated, thus erasing the notion that the aesthetic qualities of the works are able to speak for themselves, or, rather, erasing the notion that the art works possess any aesthetic qualities of note at all.

Whilst it is certainly true that some attempt must be made to give the viewer some idea of the context in which the art was made; and that "Most objects that form the subject of art studies were torn away from their social context by untrained foreigners who were barely interested in the products themselves, let alone their makers" (Biebuyck 1969 page 18), all too often, this text is inappropriate, and merely 'gets in the way'. Furthermore, given the concept of indigenous arts as no longer necessarily serving a functional (i.e. Ceremonial/Religious) purpose, it would be difficult to sum up in a few sentences the motivations and importance of an art work without making them seem simplistic and trivial. On a trip around an exhibition of contemporary African art in Hamburg, the artist A.R. Penck noted that "for every one inch of art, there is one metre of text, but the art tells me more about its creator than the literature because it was done by the artist, whereas the literature was not." (Penck 1988 page 14).

When indigenous art is presented under these circumstances, the viewer is invited to form an understanding of the art on the basis of the explanatory text rather than by a combination of this and response to its formal artistic qualities.

Also, although Eskimo art is not anonymous, by the time it has been ensconced in a display case or surrounded by sociological text, it often appears that way: this, of course, is not a reflection on the Eskimo artists, but a shortcoming on our part.

(3) Thirdly, Western art and culture experts assign themselves the job of interpreting the meaning and significance of artistic objects produced by people who, they argue, are less well equipped to perform this task.

Whilst aesthetic response can and should be taken as universal, even those who support this theory often have a tendency to align it with an implicit corollary, that, while indigenous societies may or may not be capable of producing masterpieces, the members of these societies are certainly not able to participate in supacultural aesthetic experiences.

In his essay "Art & Icon", Robert Redfield argues that although we in the West do bring conceptions and comparisons to indigenous works, and that we are culture bound, nevertheless, we are in the best position to judge indigenous art because - "... there is no one in any better position ... for the reason that no one else has as much experience with many kinds of art. Certainly the modern critic has more such experience than the artist who carved the figure." - (Redfield 1971 page 60).

Are we to assume from this that Redfield considers the Western critic to be in a better position to judge an indigenous art work than its maker? Does this diverse knowledge of the arts enable the critic to know the true meaning and function of an art work, whilst the artist is merely a passive conductor of some social or cultural idea far too complex for him to grasp, whereby he is relegated to the role of a dextrous and unwitting tool of concepts far too subtle and intricate for the 'primimitive' mind to conceive.

Redfield's statement, when reduced to its basic message, is that the more knowledge or awareness that one has about the various types of art in the world, then the more one is qualified to judge a hitherto unknown art form.

However, knowing the names of every single footballer in the English League does not make one an authority on the talents and abilities of a previously unknown Scottish player.

When art from Eskimo society is evaluated via outsider based definitions, we should not be comparing it to the art of other indigenous societies, or our own art, but as much as possible we should learn to use the same criteria for evaluation that the Eskimos use: In other words, how much skill does an art work display in comparison to other Eskimo art works and judged according to the standards imposed by members of that society because, as Altman points out "... it seems clear that the concept of art in our civilization today has no true equivalent in any of the cultures with which we are here concerned." (Altman 1969 page 184).

We cannot judge an art work by comparing it to art of our own society, or even other indigenous societies because, in order to judge fairly, one needs to be aware of "... the influences and attitudes of the culture concerned." (Buehler 1962 page 42).

An internal system of evaluation is preferable because an outsider, by and large, will probably have little practical experience with, for example, the materials used; does not know how tricky to carve ivory and soapstone are, and therefore is not in a position to be able to estimate the degree of skill which has gone into the creation of an art work.

Redfield's statement seems rather smug and ethnocentric, but this is unfortunately fairly typical in so much as we take indigenous art out of the hands of its creators because we feel that they are unable to comprehend its function, and adopt a fatherly role towards it, and specifically towards the interpretation of its cultural and aesthetic values.

It seems nonsensical to think of artistic norms and individual creativity in the most generalising of terms as if all cultures and their arts can be treated as one entity.

Intellectuals in the art sphere, tend to ignore the indigenous arts for reasons already discussed, but also because it is possible to enjoy it on purely aesthetic grounds without feeling compelled to refer to the social structures that support and inspire it: Ideally, of course, we should refer to such things, but the complexity of doing so makes it impractical. This is made possible because nearly all Eskimo art work tends to be fairly representational, so it is easier for the viewer to understand the forms and therefore decide whether the animal, or human, or whatever has been portrayed successfully in their opinion. Art academics find this annoying because they no longer hold the exclusive rights to interpreting aesthetic form as they have done with Western art since the first post-impressionist paintings over 100 years ago. In other words, the moment that form becomes unconventional; abstract, and an alternative mode of representing truth and reality, the theorists step in and use their academic training to establish exclusive rights to aesthetic interpretation.

With an Eskimo art work, the aesthetic image is as important as the idea being expressed; whereas, in Western art today every line and brush mark must contain a meaning, and every meaning must pose a question, until the image itself, purely as an image, becomes virtually irrelevant - "Too much art today is utterly unconcerned with the image as art and is only concerned with making direct statements about the position of people in our culture." - (R. Parker 1989 page 61).

This in itself raises an interesting point, that there is probably never going to be a place of any great importance for Eskimo art in today's art world if only for the reason that it lacks cynicism and dissatisfaction for the culture that produced it.

A further problem facing Eskimo art is that the possibility that the Eskimo artist may perceive his definition of his art and surroundings differently from his white contemporaries is not seen as the white establishment's shortcoming; instead, it is usually projected back onto the Eskimos who are then said to have "a childlike perception", "an inventive naivety" and so on: "... it has become standard practise to speak about primitive style and primitive art. Surely the labels are convenient, but the identification of such concepts is uncertain... cross-culturally valid definitions of these concepts are absent from anthropological literature." (Biebuyck 1969 page 2).

Thus, such artists are banished to a special area "the primitive" so that their work, achievements, and ideas often become incomprehensible when taken out of normal art spheres and considered only in their vernacular contexts.

Art in any indigenous society is not simply an untutored outpouring of emotion on the part of an artist. The society from which the art derives has aesthetic standards, and pride in the talents of various individuals.

As Deitch points out "The concept of aesthetics exists in most societies and such activities express an artistic sense of value." (Deitch 1989 page 224).

Despite this, art in indigenous societies is generally thought to represent communal ideas conveyed through communally developed modes of expression, therefore, the whole community, rather than an individual, is implicated in the process of artistic expression; thus, the concept of individual creativity is denied.

Artists are seen as unimportant; merely workers on a production line of creativity: "A conceptual jump is made from the artist's lack of individual creativity to the artist's lack of individual identity: The artist quite simply becomes "anonymous"".(S. Price 1989 page 59).

As well as being labelled anonymous, Eskimo artists have to battle against those who would lump their work in with children's art and outsider art: In other words, interesting and expressive, but not to be taken seriously, and certainly not to be classed as fine art: This is because it is claimed that it lacks 'accurate' representation. For example, Jackson Pollock talked of his interest in ethnic arts as being due to "its ability to thumb its nose at the academic constraints of representational draughtsmanship. We see a nose, so we draw it like we see it. They see a nose and make it hang down to the chin.... most of us (i.e. Western Artists) try it and feel apologetic and uneasy." (Pollock 1957 page 510).

This is a ridiculous and highly superficial argument that can be dismissed simply by stating that, since no attempt at representation can ever be perfectly accurate, talk of "accuracy" is senseless.

It is counter intuitive to hold that a life size colour photograph of an individual is any more or less accurate than a drawing executed by an Eskimo; Cubist, or whoever.

Neither one can be said to be more accurate than the other, since, the interpretation of even the clearest photograph requires knowledge of some arbitrary visual conventions, and furthermore the photograph may have been taken at a moment when the sitter was in an untypical pose, or is depicting an untypical expression not normally associated with him; and therefore, despite the supposed visual truth of photography, may be hard to recognise.

On the other hand, even a quickly executed sketch may not capture exact anatomical details, but look more like the sitter because it captures his essence and personality.

Truth in art is based on psychological association and response to appropriated reality, not on literal representation.

Given this rather long and negative list of academic's views on why indigenous art is different and somehow less worthy than Western art; why do they bother discussing it at all? What worth do they see in it for Westerners?

"The proposition that art is a universal language expressing the common concerns of all humanity is based firmly on the notion that artistic creativity originates deep within the psyche of the artist. Response to works of art therefore become a matter of the viewer tapping into the psychological realities that they share with ... the artist." (Price 1989 page 32).

A widely accepted belief within this general proposition is that, more than any art from the West, 'primitive' art emerges directly and spontaneously from psychological drives. (Forge 1967. Bateson 1973).

'Primitive' artists are imagined to express their feelings free from the intrusive overlay of learned behaviour and conscious constraints that mould the work of Western artists: And it is this supposed quality that is most often cited as the catalyst for the interest in indigenous art among academic art historians, who have always argued that its creators are in particularly close touch with the 'fundamental', 'basic', and 'essential' elements of life; elements that 'civilised' man shares, but buries under a layer of learned behaviour.

The view of indigenous art as a kind of creative expression that flows unchecked from the artist's unconscious is responsible for these comparisons between indigenous art and the art of children and mental patients.

This idea, which originally represented a coherent, if slightly misdirected, intellectual theory, has over the years become routinely accepted as the truth.

For example, the director of the Museum of Modern Art attributed the popular appeal of a Melanesian sculpture to the following - "In the environment of stark high tech and skyscrapers, it reminds us of very deep intuitive feelings." - (Price 1989 page 33).

Do we really partake of an identification with indigenous art that allows self-recognition and personal rediscovery which renews contact with deep primitive instincts? When we see a cow in a field, do we get the urge to hunt it down with a spear?

CONCLUSIONS AND SOLUTIONS.

To see and experience any indigenous art form free from all the associations that transcend it is obviously difficult for people to do as we have seen.

We seem reticent to break the connection between our notions of "aesthetics" and 'primitive' to the point where our notions concerning the 'primitive' become our yardstick for the "aesthetic", so that as soon as one begins to contemplate the aesthetic merits of an Eskimo art work, one begins to import elements drawn from outside pure visual experience; some body of associations with which we feel it should be connected, and therefore, the experience is composed of both imminent and transcendent meanings and values.

We have to learn to accept Eskimo art as worthy of representation alongside the works of Western societies, and to acknowledge the existence and legitimacy of the aesthetic frameworks within which they were produced.

Contextualization would then no longer represent a burden of esoteric beliefs and stereotypes that distract the attention away from the aesthetic value of the art works.

As Biebuyck points out, we need to free ourselves from stereotypical notions and learn to appreciate the "wider perspective of the social motivations and values that underly the making of art objects." (Biebuyck 1969 page 22). But how would this be achieved?

One solution would be to familiarize ourselves with the compositions; forms, and diagrammatic schemes employed by Eskimo artists, so that we no longer feel alienated by lack of traditional perspective, or seemingly strange composition.

Every established art is an expression of a style, which is a language, in which the forms are found, and the qualities are set forth.

In learning to see the style, in other words, the persisting structure of available forms, we are helped to see the work as art.

We are also helped to begin to make the discrimination of better and worse, or, of more or less successful achievement.

In Western art, we already possess this ability to some extent at least.

In relation to Eskimo art, many of us will have to learn a different visual sensibility. As this learning process takes us down the path of aesthetic appreciation, the Eskimo print or sculpture that initially looks alien will hopefully lead us to the recognition that, after all, art is art: it is another expression of creative ability, an aesthetic sensibility, and a control of a system of forms applied to a medium which, in these general powers and effects, are the same human qualities that we have taken for granted in Western art, the art which most of us are familiar with.

The system of forms may be different, but the impulses and productions are the same kind of thing, creativity and self expression are universal traits.

We could also possibly overcome prejudices by limiting ourselves to qualitative experiences that are relevant to the art in question.

Presentation, suggestion, and structure may all prompt qualitative experiences: Materials arouse sensations, the surface is shiny or dull, the tone sharp or soft, the texture rough or smooth, and so on.

Structures have effects comparable to sensations: tight, sprawling, chaotic, or monumental.

Some of these structural associations may, of course, not be constant, but where a quality pattern is established, the suggestion operates as immediately as does sensation.

This notion, of Eskimo art as a controlled qualitative experience, should help to overcome the notion of Eskimo art as 'a craft', or 'a skill' because, to fix attention upon other points of Eskimo art before the qualitative culmination is reached, leaves the artistic process incomplete, and largely relegates the skill, success, and creativity of the artist to insignificance.

We must learn to determine the worth of an art work's physical properties in terms of the artist's "success in fusing tradition with invention and innovation." (Wingert 1965 page 18).

The process of diffusing the discriminatory barriers which are imposed on Eskimo art, depends not only on recognising an artist's work as art, but also, we need to formulate new notions concerning the nature of art, and a new concept of indigenous societies.

ILLUSTRATIONS

NOTE: All artists are unknown unless otherwise stated

ILLUSTRATIONS-PRE CONTACT ART

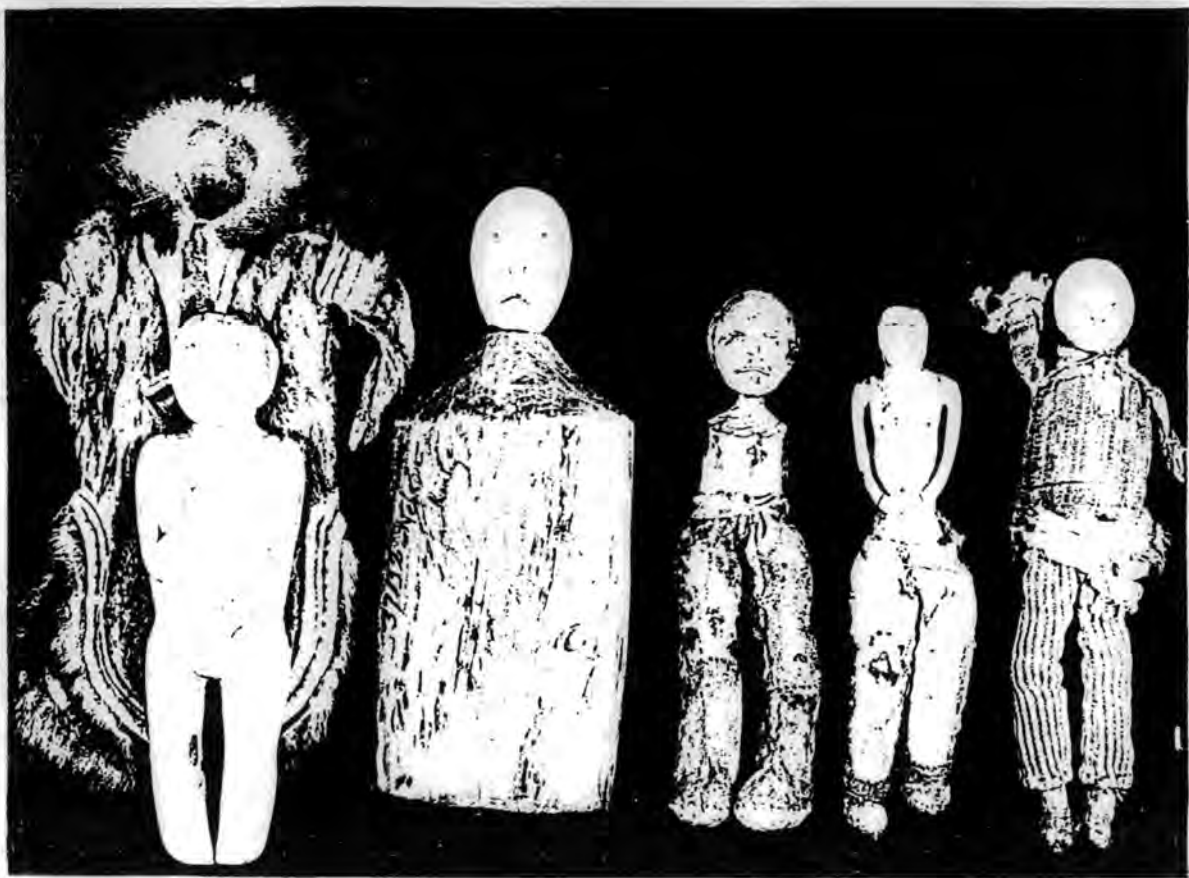


FIG.1. Wood & ivory dolls from the Yukon River 1887-91 (Ray)

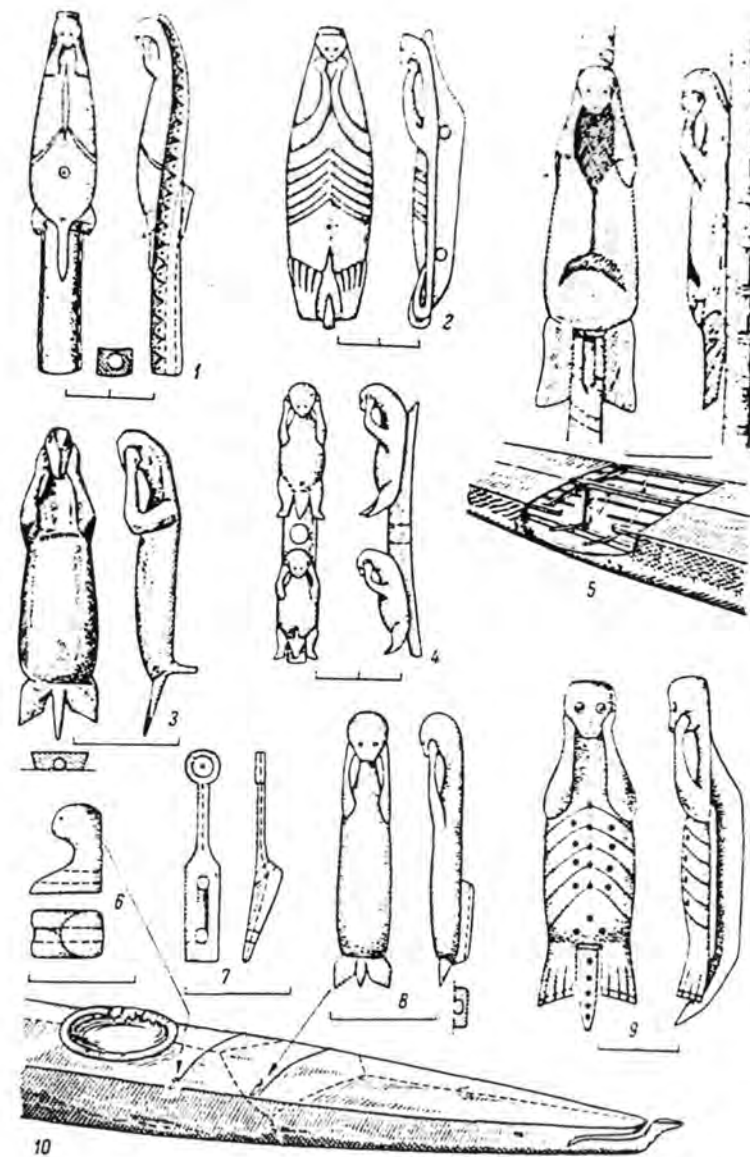


FIG.2. Ivory charms. Date unknown. (Ray)



FIG.3. Ivory sea otter .
Date unknown. (Burland)

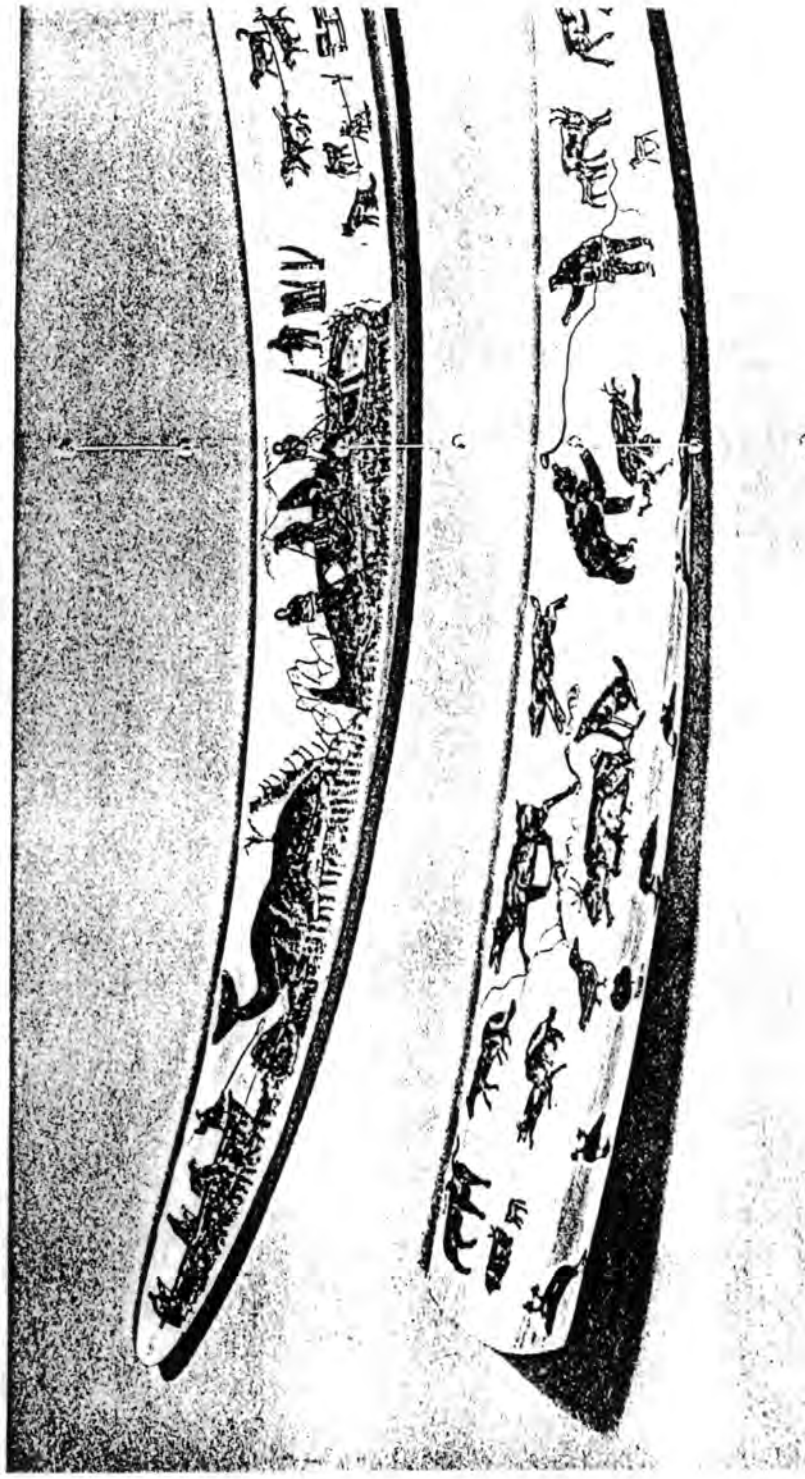


FIG.4. Tusks scrimshawed with hunting scenes. 1889. (Burland)



FIG. 6.
Wooden mask. 1842. (Burland)

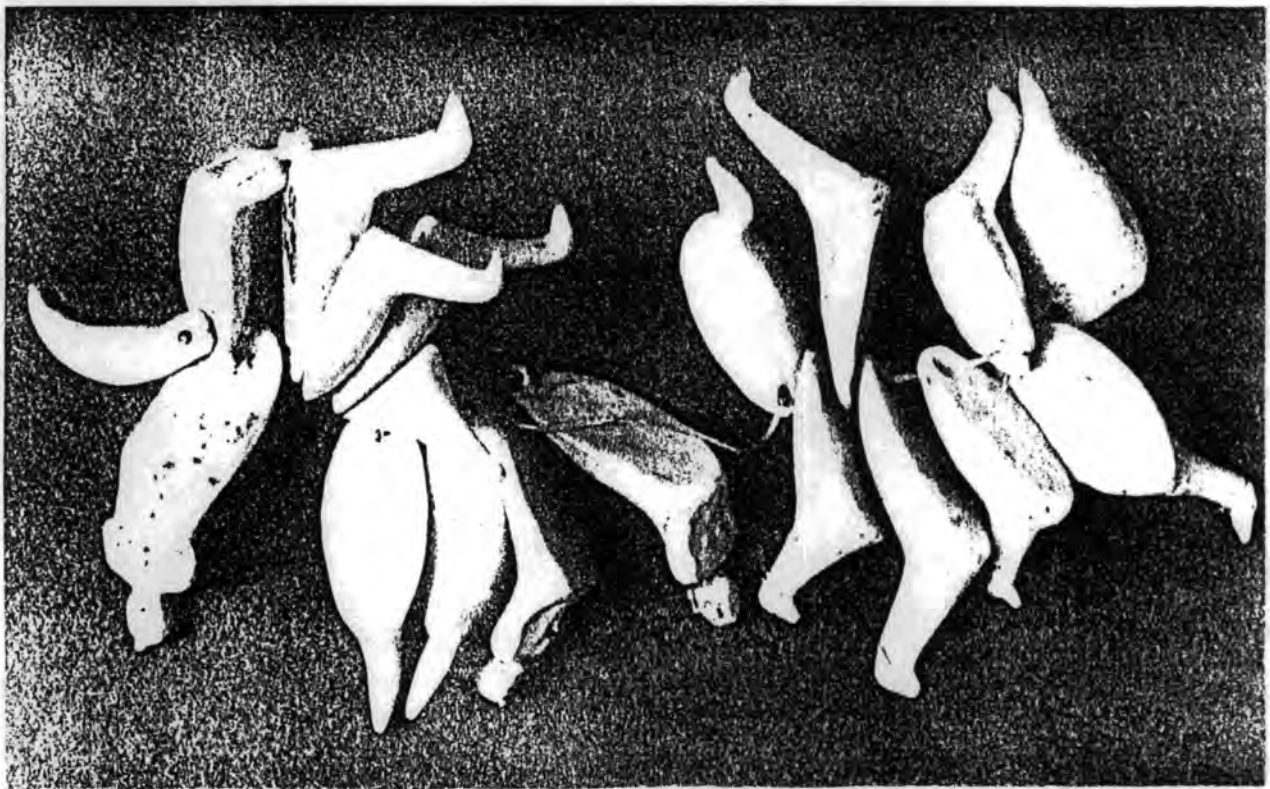


FIG. 5. Ivory gambling counters. 1892. (Burland)

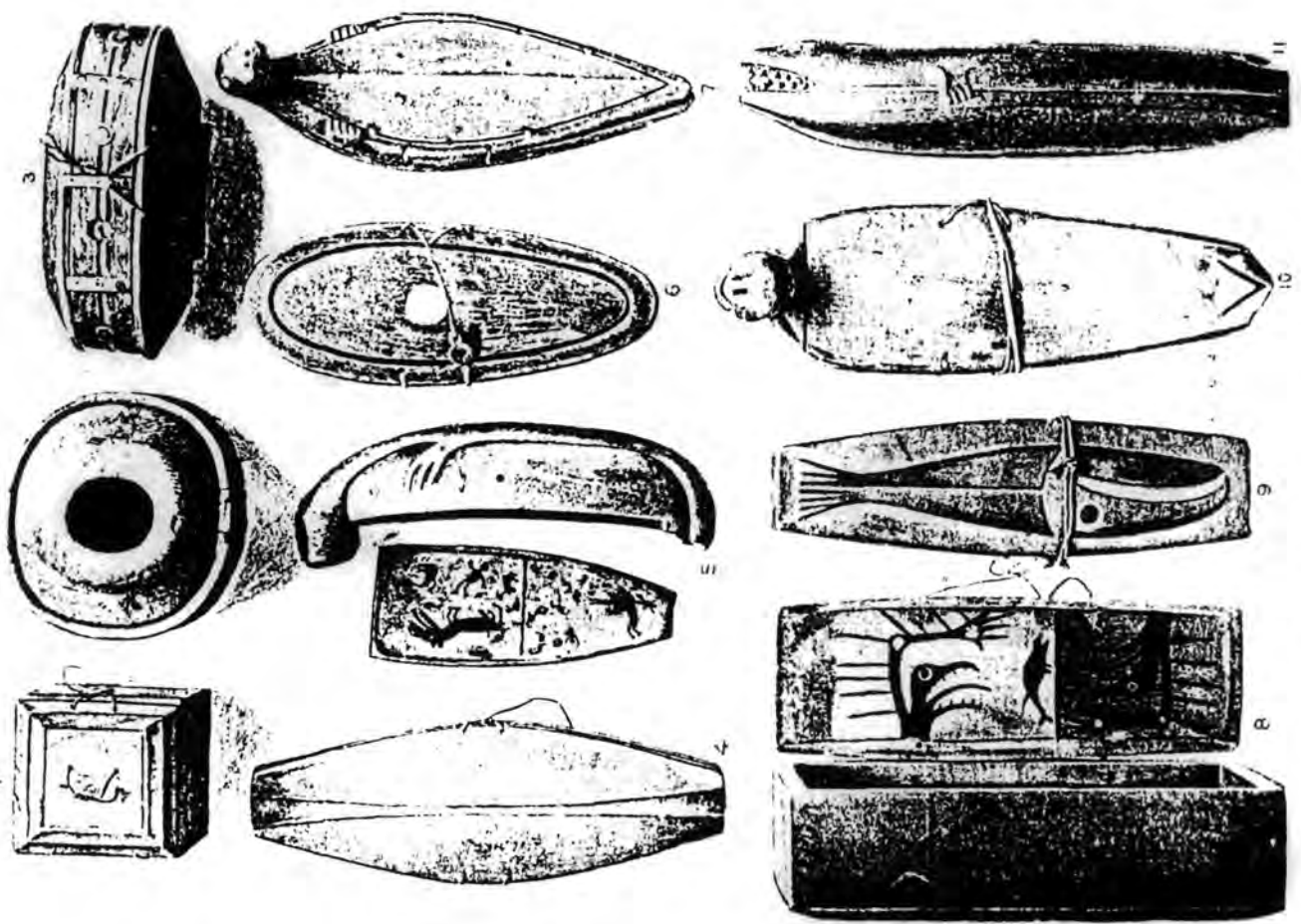


FIG.7. Tool & trinket boxes. Date unknown. (Ray)

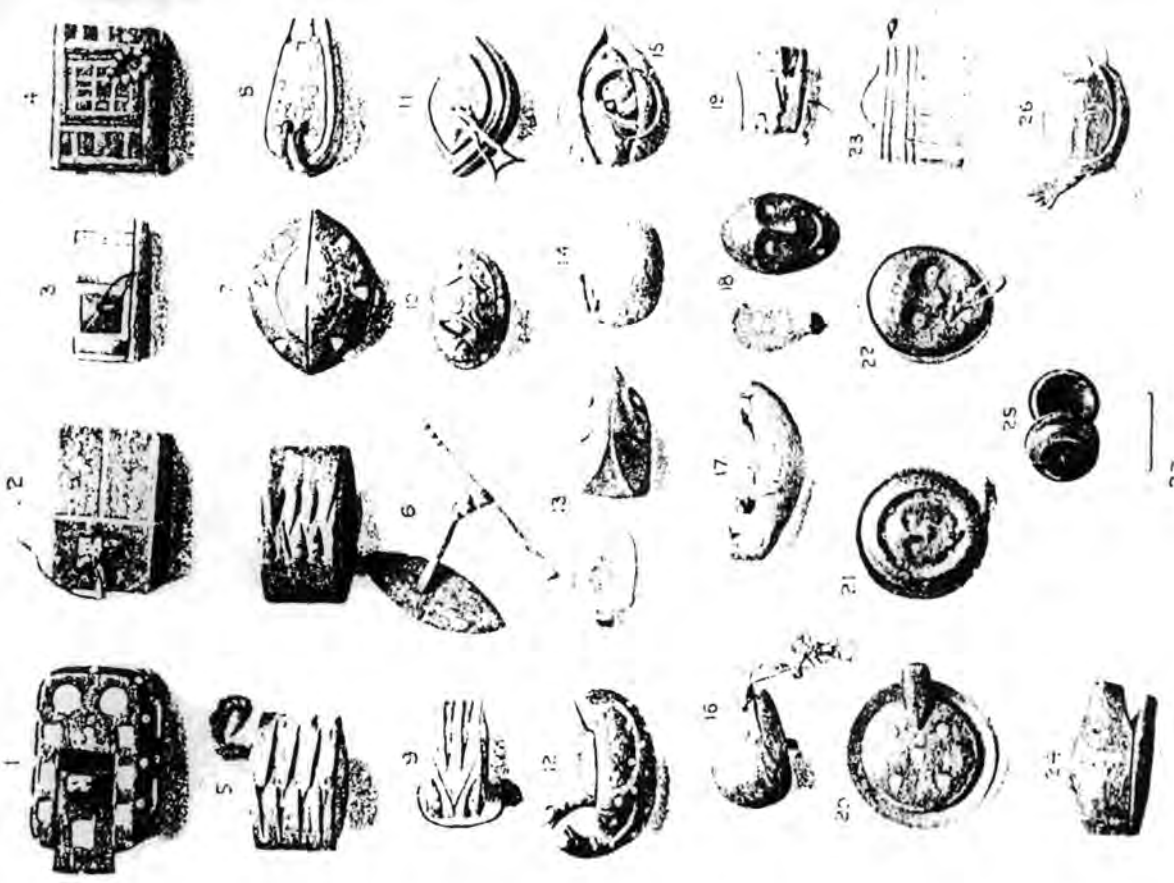


FIG.8. Tobacco & snuff boxes. 1887-81. (Ray)

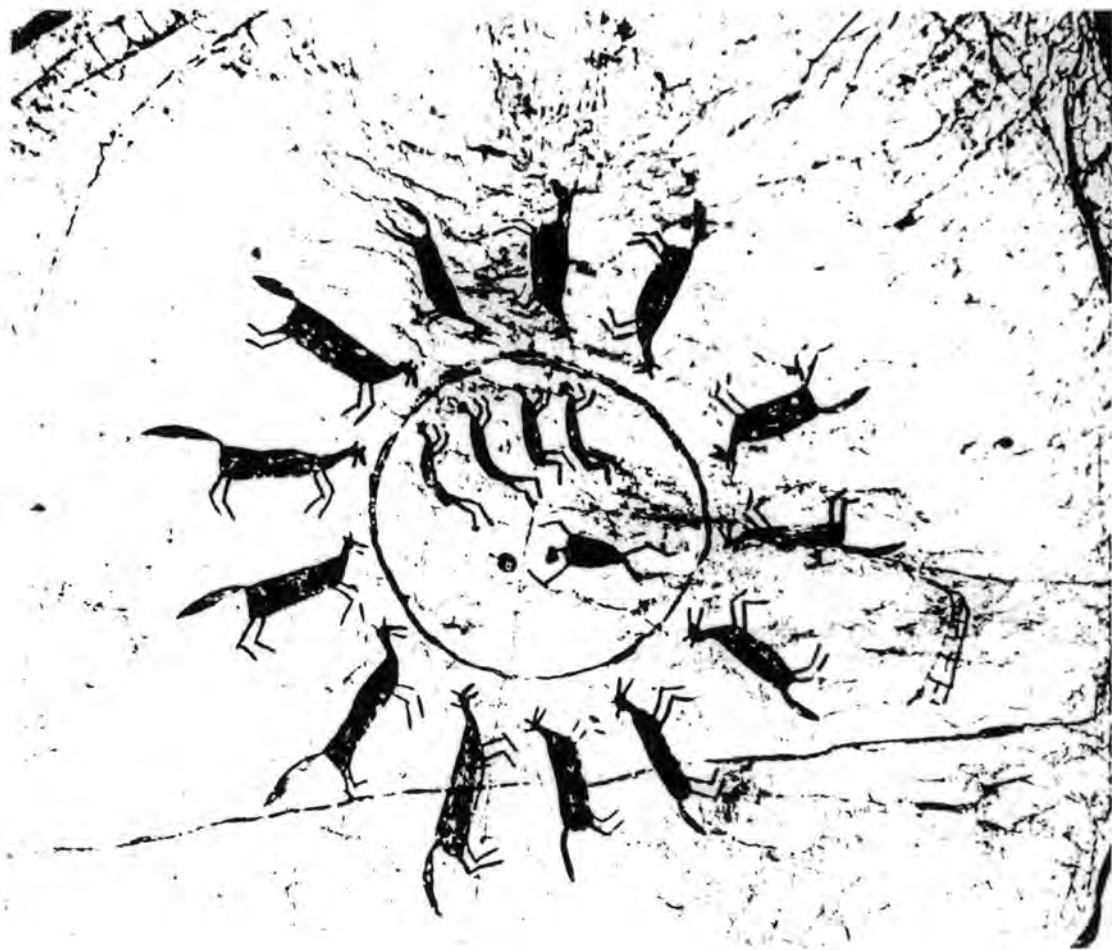


FIG.9. Painted drumhead. Date unknown. (Burland)

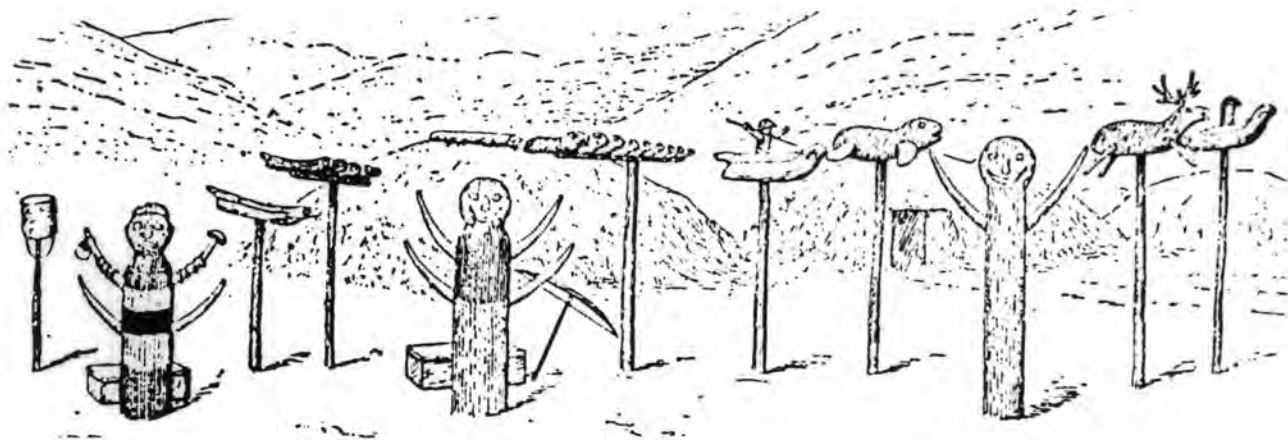


FIG.10. Memorial images. 1878. (Ray)

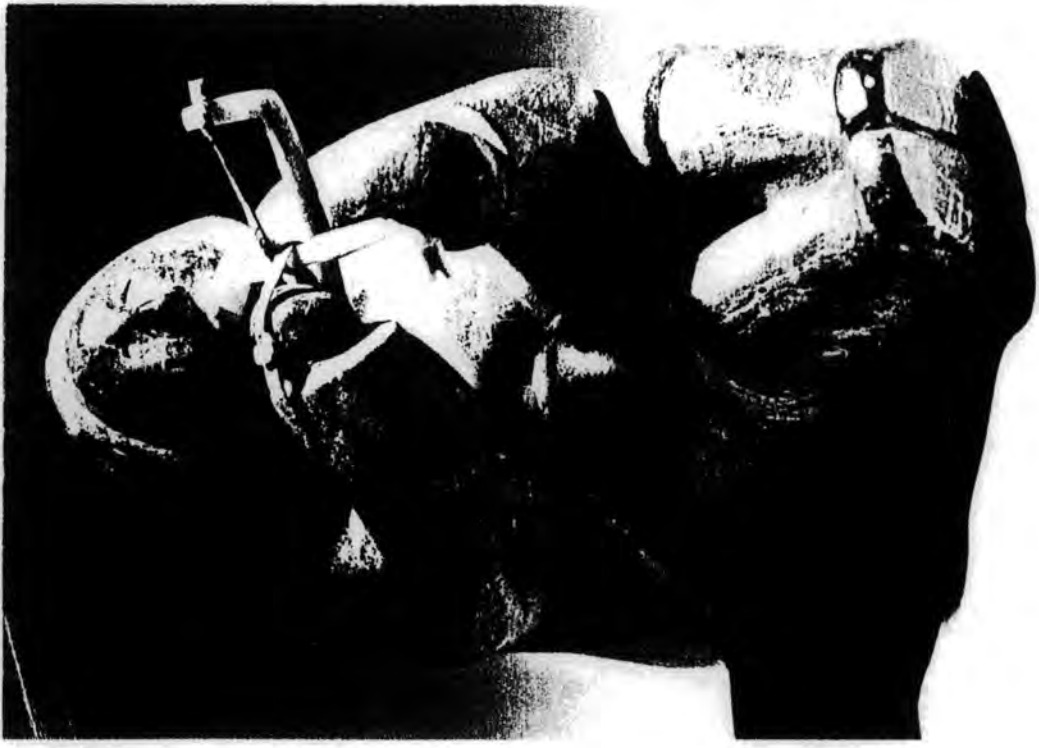


FIG.2. Man using bow drill. 1955.
(Swinton)



FIG.1. Hunter pulling out Beluga by Sheeguapik.
1957. (Swinton)





FIG.3. Mother & child by Kogalik.
1954. (Ray)



FIG.4. Hunter. 1956. (Burland)



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FIG. 5. Mother & child. 1954.
(Swinton)



FIG. 6. Mother & child.
1953. (Swinton)



FIG.7. Birds on the rock. 1954. (Burland)



FIG.8. Chores. 1956. (Ray)

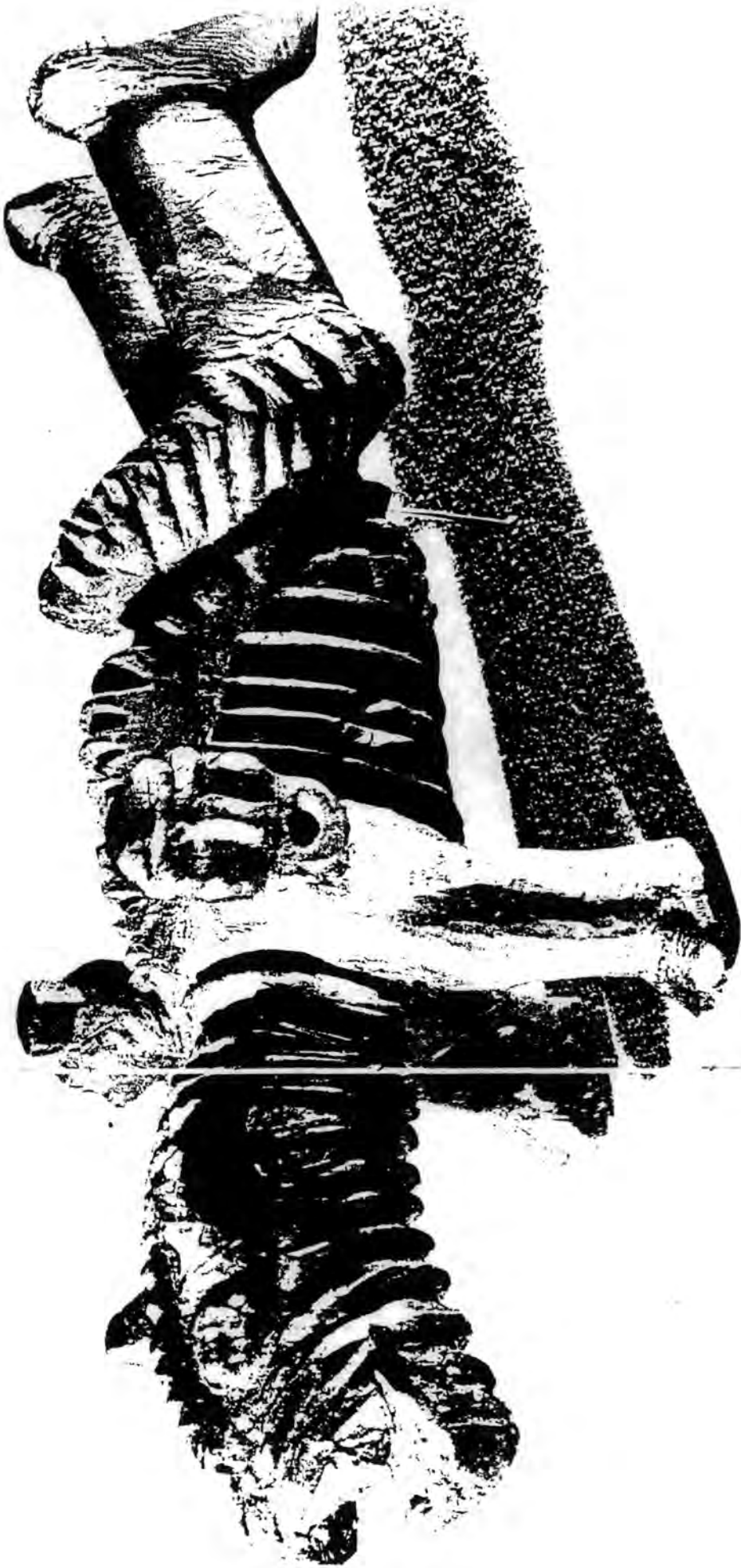


FIG.9. Skeletal Tupilak. 1900. (Burland)

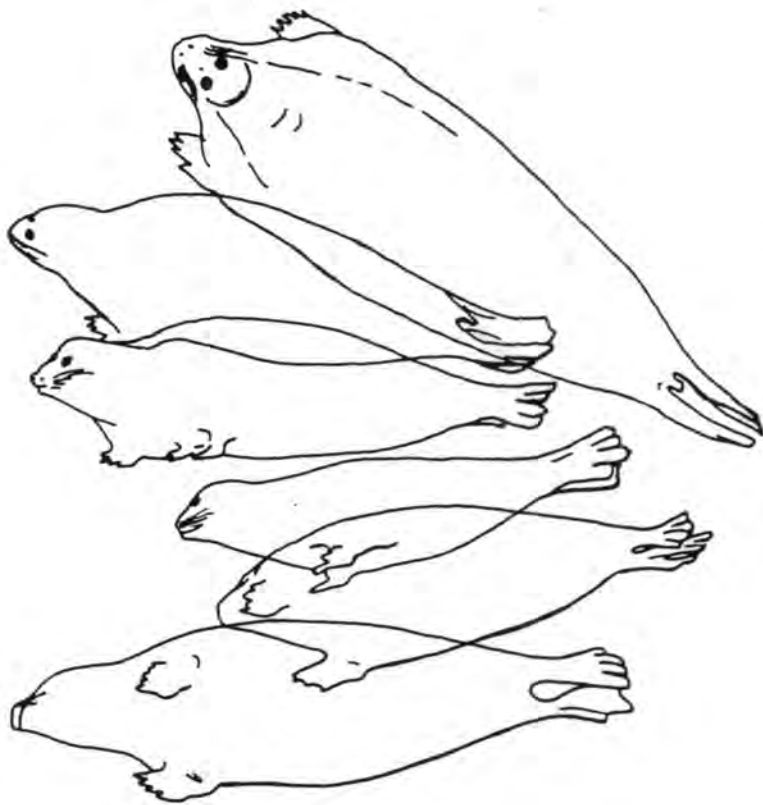


FIG.10. Tupilak. 1890. (Burland)

ILLUSTRATIONS-CONTEMPORARY PRINTMAKING



FIG.1. Hunting scene. Date unknown. (Carpenter)



shown in multi-perspective. 1950's • (Carpenter)

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