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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE
CANADIAN COLONIALISM

Inuit schooling in Northern Quebec prior to 1975

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

In recent years the concept of internal colonialism has been developed to analyze the remarkably similar colonial experience shared by those in the Third World and by minority groups such as Amerindians and Blacks existing within white nation states. In a colonized country the education system provided by the colonizer has always been one of the main ways of maintaining and perpetuating the inequalities of the colonial system. This thesis examines the colonial experience of the Inuit of Northern Quebec. It is maintained that the schooling system provided for the Inuit, initially by missionaries and then by both provincial and federal governments was a key factor in their colonization.
RESUME

Le concept du colonialisme interne a été énoncé récemment pour faire le lien entre les expériences coloniales des peuples du Tiers-Monde et des minorités amérindiennes et afro-américaines vivant au sein des États blancs. Dans un pays colonisé, le colonisateur fournit toujours un système d'éducation qui soutient et perpétue les inégalités du système colonial. Ce mémoire examine l'expérience coloniale du peuple Inuit du Nouveau-Québec et l'éducation qui leur a été fourni en premier lieu, par les missionnaires et, ensuite, par les différents gouvernements, soit du niveau fédéral ou provincial. Il soutient que, dans ce cas aussi, leur système d'éducation a été un des éléments déterminants de leur expérience coloniale.
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with Inuit schooling in Northern Quebec prior to the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975. However since the signing of the agreement, radical changes have taken place among the Inuit of Northern Quebec.

For this thesis to be seen in proper perspective the reader should be familiar with these changes. The Inuit now have a high standard of living and a great degree of autonomy with virtually total control over their own municipal affairs and schools. Although the agreement has come in for much criticism it has provided the Inuit with substantial gains in the field of community control of education. The school commissioners who took over full jurisdiction on July 1, 1978, were elected by the Inuit. These commissioners have been granted certain special discretionary powers in addition to those normally granted to school commissioners in Quebec (c.f. The Education Act Quebec, 1964). The Kativik (Inuit)
School Board is empowered, for instance, to set its own calendar of teaching days (subject to a total number required in the year). This means that the school calendar can now take into account seasonal activities involving Inuit families. Previously children had to miss school if they wished to take part in traditional activities. The Kativik School Board may recruit, employ and train teachers according to its own needs and standards. Although a high proportion of non-native teachers are still employed, they are generally required to take courses in local culture and/or language. Native teachers may be hired even though they have no teaching certificate but must agree to train on the job through a special arrangement with the Faculty of Education at McGill University (Cram 1978). Inuttitut is now the language of instruction with the second language being either English or French. The choice of second language is decided by each village School Committee in consultation with the elected Board.

A great deal of curriculum revision has taken place and many new materials dealing specifically with the northern context are being developed, and the Inuit are beginning a total revision of the form of schooling to be provided for their children. They have a long way to go but at least they can now look to the educational and cultural future of their children with guarded optimism rather than with the despondency and despair typical during the regime of the federal and provincial educational jurisdiction. (Cram 1979:64)
It is my contention that the Inuit were and perhaps remain in a colonial situation which closely paralleled the situation of other minority groups both in the Third World and in the industrial nations, and that schooling was a key component in producing and perpetuating this situation.

The concept of internal colonialism has been developed to explain the similarity between Third World colonial experience and the experience of American Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Blacks in South Africa, Amerindians and other disadvantaged groups. (c.f. Johnson 1972). Colonialism imposed a new political and economic order on the native societies. The colony was, geographically separate and the native population was racially and culturally differentiated from the colonizer. Economic exploitation was usually the key factor in a colonial situation and the colonizer developed a network of agencies to aid in both efficient exploitation and subordination of the subject peoples. The education system was instrumental in maintaining such discrimination.

Internal colonialism shares many of the characteristics of the traditional colonial situation. The main difference is that an internal colony, as its name suggests, exists within the boundaries of the dominating nation. The internal colony can be characterised as a specific geographic area, or in terms of linguistic or cultural group membership. As in the traditional colonial situation the colonized people are denied meaningful participation in the political
and social institutions of the dominant society, and schooling reinforces the subordinate position of colonized groups. John Stone (1979:256) maintains that the concept of internal colonialism is not a new one and sees its roots in the discussions which took place between the Europeans and the Americans at the end of World War II. The Americans tended to consider colonial relationships as only existing on the overseas colony level; the Europeans considered that colonial relationships could also be considered to exist between such groups as American Indians and Blacks and White Americans. During the 60's in the United States radical critics rediscovered this concept and reconstructed it in sociological terms (Blauner 1962, Carmichael and Hamilton 1967). At the same time Latin American intellectuals were also developing their own usage of the concept. (Casanova 1965, Stavenhagen 1965). In the 1970's scholars began using the concept to analyze race and ethnic relations in a wide range of situations: the Celts in Great Britain (Hechter 1975), Blacks in South Africa (Wolpe 1975), the Palestinians in Israel (Zureik 1979) and the Dene in Canada (Watkins 1977), Quebec (McRoberts 1979), Alaska (Ritter 1979).

Some writers, such as Wolpe, have attempted to fit the concept into a Marxist model; others have followed Hechter in examining the concept in terms of the political and economic division of labour in a particular ethnic situation. Although the use of the concept may be different in each case, there is agreement that internal colonialism describes a relationship of exploitation and domination existing between
culturally distinct groups.

Schooling has been described by a number of writers as playing a key role in producing and maintaining cultural, political, and economic domination within the colonial situation, (Memmi 1965, Fanon 1967, Rodney 1972, Carnoy 1974). A few writers (Epstein 1971, Iverson 1975, Kelly and Altbach 1978) have examined the schooling provided in internal colonies and concluded that its functions are similar to those prevailing under colonialism.

An examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the internal colonialism paradigm is undertaken in this thesis to clarify the relationship between government and native people in Northern Quebec. The historical information collected came from a number of sources: archival and library research, personal memoirs of government administrators, teachers, missionaries and Inuit involved in schooling in Northern Quebec during the 1950's and 1960's. The historical perspective of this study should have special significance for the Inuit who are at the present time involved in discovering their own history. An understanding of the colonial background of Inuit schooling in Northern Quebec is of paramount importance in understanding the Inuit educational system as it is developing today. This study should also help to elucidate the background to many of the problems of ethnic relations between the Inuit and the Qallunaat (whites); a deeper understanding of the roots of these problems should pave the way to a better and more equitable relationship.
...it was the white man who called the tune, and the Eskimo who danced to the music. It was the white man who decided where to set up the trading posts, what goods he should bring into the north, what prices he should demand for them, and how much (in money or credit) he should pay the Eskimo for their labour and their furs. And the Eskimo had no choice but to submit... (Jenness 1964:100)

Colonialism

The key to any colonial situation was the relationship of economic exploitation which existed between the colonizer and the colonized. The institutionalization of economic exploitation bought with it cultural, social and political domination. The actual details of a particular colonial situation vary but the overall pattern remained the same.

The first contact with the colonizer came through experiences with explorers and adventurers. Such contact tended to be transitory as in the case of contacts between Inuit and whalers in the Canadian Arctic or Portuguese and Dutch sailors in Africa. The second...
form of contact was often with traders and trading companies such as the British East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. It was this prolonged second contact that began the process of economic exploitation and the disintegration of the traditional economy of the colonized. The colonial economy was remodelled so that it worked for the economic good of the colonizer. In India, for example, this meant the destruction of the thriving Indian textile industry. In Africa it meant that African workers and peasants produced for European capitalism goods and services of a certain value. A small proportion of the fruits of their efforts was retained by them in the form of wages, cash payments and extremely limited social services, such as were essential to the maintenance of colonialism. The rest went to the various beneficiaries of the colonial system. (Rodney 1978:232)

In Northern Canada the Inuit became trappers for the fur trade and dependent on the supplies of the trading posts to the extent that if a post closed down or moved they were in danger of starving to death. (Findlay 1955:68-70), Graburn 1969:119-120)

The third form of contact with the colonizer came through experiences with the missionaries. The missionaries who arrived in the Arctic tended to see their role in the same light as those who went to Africa and other colonies. (Usher 1971) They took with them to the north theories associated with "Social Darwinism".

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The second and third forms of contact do not necessarily occur in this order. In some cases the missionaries preceded traders and in some cases, c.f. the Moravians in Labrador, the missionaries were traders themselves.
They had a deeply ingrained belief in their own racial superiority and saw their mission as to "civilize the heathen". The highest stage for civilization to reach, was of course that of their own society, whether it be protestant Victorian England or Catholic France and Belgium. (Neill 1964)

The missionaries often viewed the native people as uncivilized, dirty and uninhibited... inferior creatures of Divine Creation. Efforts to civilize the Native included attempts at destroying the native languages, culture, and religion, instilling guilt over barbarous customs, and promoting new forms of behaviour and thought acceptable to western customs. (Chance 1972:4)

Many missionaries used the native language and in some cases helped to ensure its survival. But the sole purpose of using the native language was to translate religious writings to aid in conversion; there was no larger literary or cultural use made of the language. The schooling provided by missionary organizations had lasting effects. It of course mirrored their general attitude to native culture. In the case of the Inuit, their cultural heritage included many songs and traditional legends which dealt with the exploits of non-Christian spirits. The missionary regarded such keystones of native culture as undesirable elements of paganism to be purged from native memory as rapidly as possible.

Whether one examines the case of the African or the Inuit or Amerindian; the missionaries had the same effect:

to a believer, an attack on his religion cannot be regarded simply as a matter of criticism of some abstract philosophical hypothesis. It is a threat to his personal survival, to the society
in which he lives, and to the values in which he believes. (Jaenen 1977:5)

The traders had begun the process of economic exploitation, the missionaries were to add cultural disintegration; contact with the official government representatives of the colonizer would complete this process, bringing with it, social and political domination.

Initially the government presence often consisted of isolated individuals such as the British District Officers in Africa and Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers in Northern Canada. The representative of the colonizer was there not only to emphasize the sovereignty of the colonizer over specific territory but also as an agent of the dominant judicial and political system; his word was law. The provision of government services such as welfare, health care, and education served to incorporate the colonized people more firmly into the existing colonial relationship.

**Internal Colonialism**

In essence, internal colonialism is "the domination of a 'nation' (defined geographically, linguistically, or culturally) within the national borders of another nation state by another group or groups". (Altbach and Kelly 1978: 21). The colonized peoples are excluded from participation or discriminated against in the political, cultural and other institutions of the dominant society. Defined in this way, internal colonies can exist on a geographical basis and/or a racial or cultural basis, in societies which could be regarded as ethnically or culturally plural societies.
An internal colony is fundamentally an economic phenomenon with strong political and cultural components. The operation of an exploitative economic system generates colonies which function as satellites of national metropoles. Internal colonies consist of populations which mainly produce primary commodities for markets in the metropolitan centre. They may also be seen as a source of cheap labour for various enterprises controlled from the centre, and as a market for the products and services of the centre. The population tends to produce for subsistence and exports primary products to the metropolis. In return they receive a very low proportion of the value of these products in the form of wages or wage substitutes such as finished products. The profits from economic activities taking place in the colony are either transferred to the metropolis or reinvested in the production of primary goods. Wealth generated by these activities is appropriated directly through capital transfers to the metropolis, or indirectly through unequal terms of trade concerning the products of the colony and the products of the metropolis which also controls the commercial and financial sectors. Little or no opportunity exists for local entrepreneurs to accumulate capital. (Johnson, 1972)²

²c.f. Innis 1956 for information about how this theoretical approach relates to the fur trade in Canada.
groups occupy a marginalized position: In many Latin American societies, for instance, the marginalization of the Indian population is characterised by

...a low level of productivity; standards of living lower than those of peasants in non-Indian areas, exemplified by poor health, high rates of mortality, illiteracy...lack of facilities and resources such as schools, hospitals, water, and electricity, promotion of alcoholism and...prostitution... aggressiveness among communities...magic-religious culture; economic manipulation. All these conditions are basic to colonial structure and are found in the definition and explanation of colonialism from Montesquieu to Myrdal and Fanon. (Casanova 1970:87) (See also Appendix The forms of Internal Colonialism 1965:36-37).

This description of Mexico could apply equally well to other internal colonies.

The relations of economic exploitation which exist in the internal colony touch every part of the life of the colonized, and can be seen in the existence of cultural, social and political domination. There is a concomitant psychological dimension of colonialism (Manoni 1950, Memmi 1967, Fanon 1968) which will be of special relevance to the second part of this thesis when I discuss colonial forms of schooling and the use of education as 'cultural imperialism'. (Carnoy 1974).

Memmi comments that although the economic aspect of colonialism is fundamental, colonial privilege is not solely economic. To observe the life of the colonizer and the colonized is to discover rapidly that the daily humiliation of the colonized, his objective subjugation, are not merely economic. Even the poorest colonizer thought himself to be - and actually was - superior to the colonized. This too was part of colonial privilege. (1967: xii)
Race or racism is an integral part of the colonial relationship of cultural domination.

All the institutions of society are shaped by the colonizer to fit his view of the colonized. Since the colonized is forced to function within those institutions, he begins to accept the colonizer's conception of him. (Carnoy 1974: 62).

In the internal colonies of Mesoamerica and Peru, Ladinos hold a higher position not only in the objective scale of socio-economic characteristics, but they also consider themselves, qua Ladinos, as being superior to the Indians. They are contemptuous of the Indian as such. The latter on the other hand are conscious of their social and economic inferiority... (Stavenhagen 1965: 67).

Michael Hechter (1975) considers that the structure of the internal colony is maintained by racism. He describes the internal colony as a peripheral region dominated by a strong core region. The core region has distinct cultural practices which differ from the periphery. Individuals of the core culture (in his case the Anglo-Saxons in Britain) dominate high prestige roles in the social structure of the peripheral regions, just as members of the colonizing races did in overseas colonies. The mass of the peripheral population are confined to subordinate positions in the social structure and this generates frustration that is often expressed in the maintenance of cultural institutions and identity, or a cultural revival. Memmi (1965: 128) has argued in this connection that when efforts to assimilate with the colonizer are abandoned as a result of the racism inherent in a colonial situation, the colonized's liberation must be carried out.
through a recovery of self and of autonomous dignity... The colonizer's rejection is the indispensable prelude of self-discovery.

Although originally written about North Africa this statement is pertinent to an understanding of the historical experience of such cultural and/or racial minorities as the Welsh, American Blacks, Amerindians and the Inuit.

Racial groups in the Americas can be seen as existing within a framework of "international colonialism" in that there is a historical connection between the Third World abroad and the Third World "within". (Blauner 1972: 53).

The objective supremacy in technology and military power buttressed the west's sense of cultural superiority, laying the basis for racist ideologies that were elaborated to justify control and exploitation of non-white people. Because classical colonialism and America's internal colonialism developed out of similar technological, cultural, and power relations, a common process of social oppression characterised the racial patterns in the two contexts - despite the variations in political and social structure. (Blauner 1977: 84).

Blacks, Amerindians, Inuit, all share a common colonial experience with Africans and other colonized peoples. The colonized is forced in to the colonial economic situation, he has no choice. (Memmi 1965, Blauner 1972). Secondly, he suffers cultural domination. The colonial cultural attack is more than just a matter of economic factors such as labour recruitment and special exploitation, "culture is an instrument of domination". (Blauner 1972: 67). Thirdly, he has a special relationship with respect to government bureaucracies, or the legal order. Subordination is institutionalized and maintained by representatives of the dominant power. The final component of colonization is racism,
"The principle of social domination by which a group seen as inferior or different in alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and oppressed socially and physically by a superordinate group". (Blauner 1972: 84).

In America, a major device of Black colonization is the ghetto.

The dark ghettos are social, political, educational and above all - economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples... (K. Clark quoted in Carmichael and Hamilton 1967: 2).

Black ghettos share special features which express their colonial status, in particular they have always been controlled economically, politically and administratively from the outside. Educators, policemen, social workers, politicians and other key administrators were until recently usually whites who lived outside the community. The protests in the Black community reflected the colonized status of the people. Riots, separatist movements, demands for community control, black revolutionary movements and cultural nationalism all represent ways in which a colonized people begin to fight for their freedom. Different groups suffer different specific forms of colonization and their internal dynamics may be dissimilar as a result. However they do share a common experience of subjugation, whether within North American societies or in the Third World."
During the pre-white period the Ungava Bay Eskimos lived an independent, nomadic life in the stone age pattern, based on seal and caribou. They hunted caribou in spring and fall at its known river crossings and in winter inland, so far as they dared run the gauntlet of the Indians. In spring they hunted the ringed seal, the square flipper and the harbour seal. They fished for salmon, char, grey trout and white fish. They took ptarmigan, birds' eggs, berries and eiderdown.

For their summer tents they used seal skins; for winter, snowhouses. For transport they had seal-skin covered kayaks, for their bedrobes, caribou skins, for their clothes, caribou, seal and fox-skins. Their food was the caribou, seal, and fish they caught and their hunting equipment was fashioned of sealskin thongs, stone arrowheads, wooden shafts and sometimes of bows of bone, bound together. Buckets and drinking vessels were of seal skin. The lamps in which seal oil burned, and the cooking vessels, were of stone. (Findlay 1955: 55-56).

With the exception of a few encounters with British and French explorers in the 17th and early 18th centuries Northern Quebec Inuit
had no permanent contact with Europeans until the end of the 18th century (Dorais 1979: 69). In 1750 the Hudson's Bay Company established a post at Richmond Gulf. This post was moved south to Little Whale River and finally closed down in 1759 after the trader and his companions were murdered. (Cooke 1973: 216).

In 1811 two Moravian missionaries based in Okak, Labrador travelled as far as the site of the present Fort Chimo. Initially they were sent as evangelists but the Moravians supported their evangelical work by trading and when they made a request to establish a mission in the area the Hudson's Bay Company refused the request and sometime later moved into the area itself. Presumably they were worried about possible competition from the Moravians who had been trading with the Inuit in Labrador for some time. (Cooke 1973: 216, Jenness 1964: 8). A trading post was established, and named Fort Chimo, in 1830. The Post was closed in 1842 and then reopened in 1866.

Findlay (1955:62) maintains that there were only limited supplies at the post in 1830. However the Inuit gained access to knives, needles, fishhooks and rifles and began to trap more foxes than they had in the past, and the stage was set for the growth of economic dependency which was to completely undermine the traditional way of life described by Findlay above.

When the Fort Chimo Post was re-established in 1866 the brisk trading which ensued began to have a major influence on the Inuit.

\[3\] For information about Inuit resistance to the white man and early social relations, see Graburn 1969:87-93.
(Findlay 1955). They started to wear European garments; metal goods began to replace soap-stone cooking pots and sealskin buckets and cups. Guns and ammunition became even more accessible and some Inuit began to work as labourers for the company. In return for the furs they trapped they were given flour, tea, sugar, molasses, biscuit, clothing and ammunition, so that even their eating habits were undergoing a fundamental change. This last change had tragic results when trading posts either moved away or closed down and the people starved as a result. (Findlay 1955: 68-70).

The furs most popular with the traders tended to be those such as Arctic Fox, which had never been used as a major form of food by the Inuit. In order to gain guns, ammunition and other supplies the Inuit had to trade with desirable furs, and as a result their basic hunting and survival pattern changed. The trader's main aim was in fact to encourage Inuit reliance on his goods and services so as to produce an almost totally dependent relationship. In 1849 a trader called McLean working for the Hudson's Bay Company among the Naskapi Indians in Quebec wrote

As trading posts are now established on their lands, I doubt not but artificial wants, will, in time, be created, that may become as indispensable to their comfort as their present real wants. All the arts of the trader are exercised to produce such a result, and those arts never fail of ultimate success. Even during the last two years of my management, the demand for certain articles of European manufacture has greatly increased. (Quoted in Cooke 1981: 6)
Although this trader was working among a different group of people, his methods and aims were common to most, if not all the traders involved with the Inuit. When the price of furs dropped, as happened in the 1930's, in some cases whole groups of Inuit starved to death because of inability to get supplies on which they had grown to depend. (Cooke 1981, Mowat 1975:175, Brody 1977:22-23, Graburn 1969:119-120).

In Canadian history a number of different strategies have been used to incorporate and control native people. The initial strategy mentioned above has been classed as one of accommodation. (Valentine 1980: 71).

Native peoples were incorporated into a commercial system as primary producers on a family basis... They became increasingly dependent on trade goods and the foreign-owned companies for tools, clothing, food and so on. Land-use patterns were changed along with life-goal aspirations and expectations... Cultural co-existence was tolerated, but only insofar as it did not interfere with commercial interests. (Valentine 1980: 73).

The strategy of accommodation was practiced by those more interested in maximizing profits than in systematically changing the cultures of the groups they were dealing with. The traders and their companies were indifferent to questions related to the survival of native cultures and languages; such interests were left to missionaries and, later, to government officials and institutions. (Valentine 1980: 72-73).
Missionaries

The first missionary contact the Inuit of Northern Quebec had was probably with the Moravian Brethren, whose missionaries were active in Labrador from 1752 (Marsh 1957: 2). In 1852 the Anglicans set up a mission at Fort George and in 1854 the Little Whale River Settlement was established in an attempt to reach the Inuit more successfully. The Anglican hold on the Inuit of Northern Quebec became a very strong one. While today over 80% of all Canadian Inuit are Anglican (Marsh 1967: 3, Neill 1964: 393), in Quebec the percentage is even higher (Carrière 1964: 422-423, Vallée 1967: 6).

Perhaps the most famous missionary to work among the Inuit of Northern Quebec was the Rev. E. J. Peck. Peck grew to be known as the "Apostle to the Eskimos" (Marsh 1967: 6) and a certain amount of romantic literature has been written about him (c.f. Batty, 1893). During his time among the Inuit, Peck produced his own grammar of the Inuit language, and also translated parts of the Prayer Book and Hymns and sections of the scriptures into Inuttittut. He travelled as far as Fort Chimo (1884) and even as late as 1957 he was still remembered among the Inuit (Marsh 1957: 6) in the Ungava area.

Catholic Missionaries arrived on the scene much later, their earliest mission in Northern Quebec being set up in 1922 at Fort George. They had been active in Labrador and the Central Arctic considerably earlier than this however (Carrière 1964). Although they may not have made many converts (Graburn 1969: 123), some of the Catholic missionaries nevertheless have exerted a great deal of influence on the Inuit
and their culture. (Vallee 1967:7) Father Andre Steinmann, for example, initiated the development of the cooperative in Povungnituk and managed to revitalize the village economy. (Vallee 1967, Steinmann 1977)

The effect of the missionaries was far reaching:

The intrusion of Christianity, together with other components of European cultural contact, undermined traditionalistic native belief systems, challenged their world view and their harmonious integration of religion to the ecosystem. Conversion inevitably destroyed the unity and homogeneity of native communities, set off conflicts, within families, bands and tribes, and finally threatened the authority of the shaman: This essentially destructive aspect of missionary work was emphasised by the evangelistic and exclusive message of the Gospel which required not just intellectual assent and belief, but also repentance, renunciation and rebirth... (Jaenen 1977:6)

Christine Bolt (1971:111) writing of the missionaries who went to Africa says "The sense of spiritual superiority, which a missionary must often possess was in Africa... easily transformed into a feeling of racial superiority, because of the enormous barriers existing between Europeans and Africans in terms of colour, habitat, industrial achievement and social organization, as well as religion". The same could have been said of the missionaries who went to Northern Quebec. The Anglicans after all represented the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) which was also active in Africa. The missionaries of the C.M.S. shared
similar ideas about their evangelical work, "isolation from western civilization and ignorance of the Christian Gospel were seen to be the problems facing native people". (Usher 1971: 32) Usher goes on to comment that in general

The Victorian missionary's idea of civilization, then, had a religious basis; but more than that, it was decidedly ethnocentric and generally meant all that he considered best in his own way of life (1971: 38).

Many missionaries placed great importance on such virtues as cleanliness. One missionary among the Inuit in Northern Quebec

a comb and a cake of soap in hand, ... would visit his flock and see that they were used by all before he moved onto the next dwelling (Marsh 1964: 431).

Others showed their feelings about the people they were to minister to when they wrote home to friends in England

It would be easy for you to realize, and even experience, the whole thing if so minded ... go to the nearest well to do farmer and spend a night in his pig-sty (with the pigs, of course), and this is exactly life with the Eskimo... (Bishop Bompas quoted by Gould 1917: 239).

Many missionaries worked hard to preserve and strengthen local languages, and the C.M.S. directed its members to learn the language of the native people as soon as possible. (Usher 1971: 43). Language was seen as a key tool to aid in conversion. However other aspects of the Inuit cultural heritage did not fare as well (Phillips 1967: 126). The Inuit had a strong oral heritage of songs and tales. As these were generally bound up with beliefs in non-Christian spirits, the missionaries tended to equate such traditions with paganism and therefore did
all they could to eradicate them from memory. (c.f. Bishop Horden in Scanlon 1976: 10). They had a great deal of success in this activity and modern ethnologists trying to preserve the last vestige of this type of traditional culture by tape recording reminiscences have found that "The old people have sometimes shown an almost mortal fear in recalling tales they now believe pagan" (Phillips 1967: 127, see also Briggs 1970: 3-4, Honigman 1962: 69). When asked if the missionaries had failed to understand the importance of Inuit legends and traditions Father André Steinmann commented

Je crois malheureusement que les missionnaires - et je ne fais pas de spécification ou de dénomination, parce que tous les missionaires ont à battre leur coule de ce côté-là - les missionnaires ont présenté à ces peuples et à tant d'autres une caricature du christianisme. Il y a des choses qu'on aurait dû respecter dans la culture de ces peuples au lieu d'y voir l'expression du paganisme. (Steinmann 1970: 16)

An anonymous priest quoted in Hendry (1969: 54) maintained that there were two kinds of missionary; the "helper" and the "recruiter". The helpers went to live among the native people convinced that they had something to offer which would enhance life for the people. They spent time getting to know the people, educating them and integrating Christianity into the peoples' way of life. Such missionaries were few and far between; the "recruiters" appear to have been in the majority. Interested primarily in expanding the membership of their religious organization the recruiters taught every single interpretation and precept of their denomination, insisting that all individuals and groups conform to such. They condemned each and
every practice and belief which contradicted their own. They had no notion that beliefs and practices were part of a larger whole called a culture and were fully integrated in the minds and hearts of the (native people).

The missionary endeavour was always disruptive of native culture and at its worst the missionary was accused of trying to keep the native people "confined in a religio-cultural zoo that lies in a no-man's land between the indigenous way and an adjustment to the Euro-Canadian way" (Hendry 1969: 24). The traders had begun economic dependence and domination, the missionaries began a process of cultural domination, and with the penetration of Government often in the form of the R.C.M.P. the Inuit began to undergo institutional domination.

**Government**

Until the early 20th century the dominant force in Northern Quebec was the Hudson's Bay Company along with other companies such as Révillon Frères, and the Anglican, and later Roman Catholic, missionaries. The missions and trading posts did not perform any political function, with the exception of distribution of relief. But the presence of these organizations did lead to the growth of permanent settlements which began to acquire a minimum of public and social services (Hamelin 1979: 163).

As late as 1960 the only government administration in Northern Quebec was that of the federal government. Prior to the Second World War federal representation tended to be minimal. Meteorological stations had been established at Fort Chimo in 1917 and
Port Harrison in 1921. In 1922 the Northern Administration Branch in Ottawa opened and became responsible for an annual Eastern Arctic Patrol. The duties of this patrol included the supervision of the administration of Inuit affairs, Crown lands, wild life and other resources, scientific exploration, and maintenance of Canadian sovereignty throughout the Arctic sector (Hamelin 1979: 163).

In 1936 the Royal Canadian Mounted Police established a station in Northern Quebec at Port Harrison, but even at this stage the federal government appeared to have little active interest in the area. The Police were there to maintain Canadian law and establish Canadian sovereignty and there was little administrative effort made towards the Inuit. The growth of settlements and concentration of population were not encouraged and federal activities at this time seemed to be characterized more by lack of interest rather than any form of "systematic infiltration". (Hamelin 1979: 163).

Quebec remained uninterested in her North until the 1960's when provincial administrative structures were established (1963). (Hamelin 1979: 166). In the early 1920's the Dominion Government and its Department of the Interior had disclaimed any responsibility for the inhabitants of Northern Quebec unless they were Indians because Parliament had ruled that Inuit did not come under the Indian Act. Even so, for several years prior to 1928 the federal Department of Indian Affairs had been ignoring this distinction and had been distributing food, clothing and medicine through the police, the Hudson's Bay Company and Révillon Frères, to destitute Inuit in virtually every trading post between Fort George and Port Burwell (Jenness 1964: 40).
This relief effort for some 2,000 Inuit was costing from $10,000 to $12,000 yearly. The Department of the Interior took over the provision of this relief in 1929 but as the amount increased each year, in 1931-32 the Quebec Government was asked to refund the full amount. Quebec complied with this request but at the same time stated that there would be no more contributions to Inuit relief since the Inuit, no matter where they lived "fell into the same category as the Indians and consequently were the direct responsibility of the federal government" (Jenness 1964: 40). In 1939 Quebec won this argument in the Supreme Court. This ruling in effect gave Ottawa jurisdiction over a category of Quebec citizens, a fact which Quebec was slow to realize.

After World War II the federal presence became more pronounced in Northern Quebec for the following reasons. When the Americans left the base in Fort Chimo that they had established in 1942, the base became a federal responsibility; the establishment of radar stations along the 55th parallel led to further federal involvement, particularly as Great Whale River was one of the main stations; and the formation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953 led to the increase of federal administrative personnel working in Northern Quebec (Hamelin 1979: 164). Jenness (1964: 76) maintains that accounts of the Inuit way of life by airmen (American and Canadian) stationed in the North and construction workers and others concerned on the bases raised the interest of humanitarian groups who began to put pressure on the administration to take a more active part in Northern affairs.
In 1960, a liberal government was elected to the Quebec parliament; their slogan was "Maîtres chez nous". This group included Jean Lesage, former Federal Minister of the North, Georges-Émile Lalonde who since 1950 had been raising questions in the House on what was happening in Ungava, and René Lévesque, the new minister for Natural Resources. (Dorais 1979: 72). Lévesque became "the first Quebec politician to call for the development of Quebec's own northern policy" (Hamelin 1979: 167).

In 1963 The Direction Générale du Nouveau Québec (D.G.N.Q.) was created within the Department of Natural Resources, to deal specifically with Northern Quebec. Although the D.G.N.Q. was intended as a specialist northern body, initially it was given only partial responsibility. Many other government departments continued to be involved in northern activities such as the Departments of Lands and Forests, Tourism, Justice, Social Affairs and Education. (Hamelin 1979: 71). Perhaps the most serious problem facing the D.G.N.Q. was that it existed under the umbrella of the Department of Natural Resources. This resulted in a schizophrenic split "between a direction inclined towards human and educational questions, and a department interested in mines and water". (Hamelin 1979: 171). This split was mirrored in the two conflicting policies for Northern Quebec; one which aimed at integrating the Inuit into southern "civilization" through mining development, the other claiming that resources such as fishing, hunting, tourism and handicrafts should be completely run by northern native people. The primary task of the D.G.N.Q., was to "ensure an appropriate Quebec presence in the
territory of Quebec" (Hamelin 1979:168). It is interesting to note that a decade earlier when the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was created, Prime Minister Louis St Laurent said at the time that "we must leave no doubt about our active occupation and exercise of our sovereignty in these northern lands..." (Hodgins et al 1977:159). Sovereignty was the primary issue for both governments.

In the period from 1960-70 Northern Quebec was characterised by the rapid development of two government administrations, with the federal government consolidating its position and the provincial government attempting to establish itself. The development of parallel administrative structures providing similar services inevitably led to tension in some settlements and some bad feeling between members of the two administrations (Vallee 1967:9-10, Hamelin 1979:169).

In 1969 Jean Chrétien, the Federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and Paul Allard, the Minister of Natural Resources for Quebec, came to an agreement that a Federal Provincial Consultative Commission should be set up to visit communities in Northern Quebec. This Commission was to discuss with members of each community the roles of the two governments in a joint federal-provincial administration period which was being proposed as a prelude to the total transfer of administrative responsibility.

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4 The Federal Government's representative on this commission was F.J. Neville and the Provincial Government's representative was N. Robitaille; the commission's report is referred to as the Neville-Robitaille Report, 1970.
for Northern Quebec to the provincial government. The Commission was ostensibly created to hear the opinions of the indigenous people but unofficially it was supposed to promote the idea of an administrative transfer from Ottawa to Quebec. This ambiguity of purpose was enhanced by the fact that the Commission had no decision-making power; it was purely consultative. In reality the decision had already been made and the Commission's findings would not have affected this decision (Hamelin 1979:180). The transfer of administration did not take place and in 1974, the Cree and the Inuit signed a preliminary agreement with both the federal and Quebec governments which was to be the beginning of major changes in political and administrative affairs in Northern Quebec (Hamelin 1979:190).

In the past Canadian governments have managed to either ignore or forget the North, ("administered in absence of mind" said Louis St Laurent) unless there seemed to be something of economic value there, or some other group or power appeared to be threatening Canadian Sovereignty (Lotz 1972:231). A clear indication of where government interest lay can be seen in the fact that at both the federal and provincial levels, northern concerns were dealt with under the umbrella of natural resources. The interests of the native people frequently appear to have come a very poor second. In fact "the public and government image of Indians, Métis and Inuit seemed to classify them as adjuncts of wild life resources to be managed and gradually improved in quality" (Valentine 1980:76). The general government attitude towards the Inuit was paternalistic and
condescending. That the Inuit felt this to be the case can be seen by the submissions they made to the 1970 Federal Provincial Consultative Commission.

Eskimo’s feelings are ignored. I’m not speaking for Fort Chimo Eskimos but people all around the coast say this also. It seems to the Eskimo that they are treated like animals — turned whichever way the white man wants them to go. Charlie Watt. (Neville-Robitaille Report 1970: 198).

We go to Quebec, they send us to Ottawa. We go to Ottawa, they send us to Quebec (Neville-Robitaille Report 1970: 112).

Government had replaced the trader and the missionary but the relationship of domination remained the same.

There is a fundamental continuity between what can be termed the pre- and post-administrative periods. Whites in the north have always been intent on causing change; in realizing these changes, they have dominated the Eskimos and they continue to do so.

The pattern of domination is common to all the agencies: Eskimos have come to depend upon (or become convinced that they depend upon) things which only whites can dispense. This applies equally to the beneficence of a Christian God, to an antiviral vaccination or to office in a local political organization. The basic relationship between whites and Eskimos has therefore remained the same. The material conditions of life have changed... but these changes have remained in the hands of the southerners: “it is they who decide what Eskimos need or should need, and it is they who decide how these needs are to be met.” (Brody 1975: 31).

Conclusion

The economic necessity of trapping changed both land use patterns and the areas of residence for most Inuit bands and by the mid 1960's
the vast majority of Northern Quebec Inuit were living in permanent settlements. For Jenness the Inuit were a "beaten people", and "shadows of an uprooted society". He, like many other whites talked nostalgically of "the Eskimo of earlier years (who) would have been too independent to sit idly in his tent waiting for someone to offer him a dole. He was a man of enterprise and character..." (1964:157).

In a theoretical sense the colonized had two "historically possible solutions" to his situation (Memmi 1967:120). He could attempt to become assimilated or he could try to "reconquer all the dimensions which colonization tore away from him". As Brody (1977:Ch. 5) points out the Inuit had no real choice at all. The more they attempted to realise the expectations of the white man the more marginal they became not only to white society but also to their own. To return to what they saw as their traditional way of living (in reality the golden days of the fur trade) was no longer possible, and even less possible was a return to the even older nomadic life of subsistence on the land. Colonial economic exploitation had changed an entire way of life within a single generation.

The most significant step into the colonial net for most Inuit came with the move into permanent settlements. In many cases this choice was a matter of indirect pressure. The Inuit had become dependent on the services offered, particularly those of the trader. In some cases it was a matter of access to church, school and health care as well as to the store, and in yet other cases it was a matter of threats and direct pressure.
Before 1966, the people used to live year round in six camps in the vicinity (of the trading post). In that year we started to send our children to school. The teacher told us that they would withhold our family allowance cheques if we didn't send our children to school... so we moved to this place to be with our children.


The move into permanent settlements meant not only the acknowledgment of Inuit dependence on white goods and services but was also an acceptance of the fact that settlement life was life under white domination. (Brody 1977:168). Within the settlements whites and Inuit lived in a classical colonial situation, even in some cases living in a completely separate area. (Graburn 1969:219, The Northerners 1974:41) such as was the case in African towns and cities. The whites had houses of a much higher quality provided for them than the "matchbox" type houses provided for the Inuit (Arbess'1966:23, The Northerners 1974:40). If a strain was placed on any particular service in a community it was assumed that the whites would be taken care of first (The Northerners 1974:40).

The provision of government services was of course intended to help the Inuit, but more frequently these services caused cultural and social disruption. The Federal government had been paying out a total sum of over $12,000 dollars a year in relief to Quebec Inuit since the late 1920's. After 1945 Inuit were eligible for family allowance payments. Initially these payments were made in the form of credit granted at the local Hudson's Bay Company trading post, and the trader paid the Inuit their allowance in the form of essential goods (Jenness
1964:150-2, Graburn 1969:140, Findlay 1955:95-96). Not only were the Inuit kept unfamiliar with the monetary value of their allowance, but through this form of distribution the government ensured their complete dependence on store-bought goods and supplies.

Ottawa drafted regulations governing the distribution of relief and family allowance and "instructed its field officers to allow no Eskimo to starve if aid was possible, enjoining them at the same time not to encourage sloth and thriftlessness" (Jenness 1964:151). Individual field officers, whether they were government agents, R.C.M.P. officers or Hudsons Bay Company managers could interpret and apply these regulations as they saw fit (Findlay 1955:117), and this often led to considerable misunderstandings and sometimes great hardship. (Brody 1977:Ch.9, The Northerners 1974).

By the 1950's, Hudson's Bay Inuit were getting 60% of their total income from the federal government (Cantley quoted in Jenness 1964:80) and 50% of the income of the Ungava Inuit was composed of family allowance and relief rations (Findlay 1955:133). The reaction of many whites to this situation was that the Inuit had become "welfare scroungers" and were lazy and unwilling to work. A great deal of misunderstanding arose over the provision of welfare. The Inuit who preferred to try and hunt for a living rather than look for jobs around the settlement were seen as avoiding legitimate ways of earning money. However as Brody points out, hunters and trappers "if they are serious, must wait on weather and game...A man who determinedly pursues land-based activity is likely to be faced periodically with poverty and then have to seek welfare" (1977:178). The white
administrator was likely to see such a man as unwilling to work (i.e. do wage labour in the settlement). So those Inuit who wished to pursue a more independent way of life, closer to their own traditions and culture, were in effect marginalized.

Government health care was also proposed with the best of motives, with perhaps some feeling of guilt for the many years of neglect. But for many Inuit the trauma of their experiences in Southern sanatoria far away from their home and family was severe. (Graburn 1969:141-145, Freeman 1978:173-178). However, medical opinion at the time maintained that patients recovered more quickly from tuberculosis in the South, than they did if hospitalised in their own area (Graburn 1969:144).

The institutionalization of dependency relations between the colonizer and the colonized was mirrored in the forms of social, cultural, economic and political control existing within the colony. However well meaning, government aid and development programmes for colonies were always designed as instruments of control and the situation in Northern Quebec was no different.

Only a few Eskimos today can support themselves and their families on the income that trapping yields, even when they secure most of their food from fishing and hunting. The majority sell a few handcrafts, work as general factotums for any white man who will employ them, and eke out a miserable existence with the help of family allowances and various government subsidies. (Jeness 1964:95).

In an effort to turn the economic picture around the Federal government introduced the idea of co-operatives. The idea behind
the co-op was to develop it as an institution which would enable "systematic, efficient exploitation of resources to produce money income" (Arbess 1966:31). The aim of this programme was that the Inuit should "utilizing their own human and material resources, recover their former self-sufficiency with the assistance and guidance of the (Federal government) and have control over their own destiny" (Arbess 1966:30). Although native leadership was encouraged in these developments it was the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources project officer who exercised the ultimate authority and had power of veto over any decision made by the Inuit.

This both places a ceiling upon the real power of the native leadership, and conditions the meaning of most native decisions (Arbess 1966:58).

At George River where the first co-op was set up in 1959, (Iglauer 1979), by 1966 the relationship between the Project Officer (who represented the federal government) and the Inuit President of the Co-op had reached a typical colonial stage of misunderstanding and hostility. The project officer felt the Inuit still needed his paternal advice and guidance, while the Inuit had reached that level of ideological development (documented in Rodney, Memmi, Blauner and others) where they were no longer satisfied to

be merely native leaders lower in the leadership hierarchy than the Quadloona (white) leaders, and answerable to them, but wish(ed) to be the real locus of power since it (was) their land ... (Arbess 1966: 88).

In 1967 La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau Québec (FCNQ) was formed with its aim that Inuit take on all jobs and responsibilities in the co-ops. The Federal government remained convinced that without
some form of government administration the whole project would fail and on at least one occasion pressure was put on the FCNQ to have a government administrator (Iglauer 1979:228).

The paradox of government development programmes lay in their constant emphasis on helping the Inuit to "have control over their own destiny" while at the same time government retained the ultimate control. This paradox could be seen clearly in the workings of local government. The representative of the federal government in each community was to encourage the formation of a community council. This procedure was supposed to aid the political development of the Inuit. However in most cases the Inuit members of the councils found that they had few functions and no power. All they could do was to delegate the council head to go to the government representative to make complaints or suggestions (Graburn 1969:212, Brody 1977:120). Real power remained in the hands of the colonizer.

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5 Wilf Bean (1977) gives a clear account of how this paradox operated in the case of the Dene and their settlement councils.
I have made a distinction between education and schooling largely because education in the sense of transmission of culture is a process familiar to every society; schooling as an institutional experience is not. In a very general sense education is the process by which a specific culture is transmitted from generation to generation. In a society such as that of the Inuit with a relatively homogeneous system of beliefs and practices, cultural transmission took place when parents and/or other members of the band taught the children the customs, ideas, beliefs, values and practical necessities of survival within Inuit society.

In more differentiated, technologically complex societies the institution of the school has developed. The purpose of the school is primarily to educate in the sense of teaching and developing specific skills and knowledge. Schools also serve three other social functions, (Reimer 1975:23): child-minding, vocational training
and the indoctrination of preferred social values and behaviour. The school is also an institution which functions to control social change in the sense that it generally attempts to preserve the status quo (Carnoy 1974:5). In modern western society schooling has also been thought of as a liberating experience. (Mead 1963:319). Schooling was supposedly the key to a better life for the poor or those groups discriminated against, racially or ethnically. In reality schooling in a western society enables only a small percentage of groups such as the urban poor to reach a higher status (Carnoy 1974:14); for the majority of disadvantaged pupils the school remains an alien and frustrating institution (Reimer 1975). While the by-products of schooling may include added opportunities for a small number of culturally-disadvantaged, and the development of some dissent and original thinking, the main function of schooling remains the transmission of

the social and economic structure from generation to generation through pupil selection, defining culture and rules, and teaching cognitive skills (Carnoy 1974:13).

In the case of colonial and internal colonial societies the schooling provided was always organized by the colonizers to protect their own interests and to develop the form of society they considered most desirable; the point of view of the colonized was generally regarded as of little importance.

Colonial Schooling

The colonial relationship was essentially one of economic
exploitation and the school system was largely intended to function as an aid to this exploitation.

School and society

In one sense schooling is a colonial experience for the majority of pupils whether they be colonized Africans or the English or the Canadian working class. Carnoy (1974:3) considers that it is "colonized knowledge (which) perpetuates the hierarchical structure of society". In this sense the institution of schooling in any society is produced and controlled by a small part of that society, and is never "an organic outgrowth of the entire community". (Kelly and Altbach, 1978:3). In Europe in the early 19th century schooling was the perogative of the aristocracy and then later of those who could afford it. Those who held power generally were of the opinion that schooling was dangerous as it taught people how to think (or at least lead to the dissemination of sedition and discontent) and if this was the case, they felt that providing schools for the masses was tantamount to opening the doors to revolution. The growing strength of the rising middle class led to the establishment of schools designed to perpetuate middle class values. But schooling for the poor, as carried out in such institutions as charity schools, remained merely a basic form of literacy and vocational teaching designed to help the lower classes to understand their position in society, that is, to know their place. In general in non colonial situations schools historically have not been representative of the entire society; rather they
have been connected to dominant modes in that society, serving the needs of a class within the society, and tied ultimately to social and economic place, which underclasses could aspire to if not achieve. (Kelly and Altbach 1978:3).

The colonial school differed from the school in western society in that it was essentially divorced from both the society of the colonizer and the colonized. The form of schooling offered was not intended to enable the native to live successfully within his own traditional culture, nor was it designed to enable him to become a member of the society of the colonizer. It seemed to be aimed at producing a type of cultural hybrid, a middleman for the colonizer. (Fanon 1976:141). The main aim of the colonial system was to serve the interests of the colonizer. These interests might range from economic exploitation to the view of civilizing the native for his/her own good and bringing him out of his primeval darkness. The end effect was the same; the school system was imposed by the colonizer.

In the case of India the initial encouragement of indigenous education was replaced by a devaluation of traditional culture not only by groups in England such as the Evangelicals and the Liberals, but also by wealthy Indians many of whom were convinced that an English education was the key to success in colonial society. Adopting the language and culture of the metropolitan power seemed to them to be the only way which they could modernize their society. (Basu 1978:56).

That Fanon's co-opted bourgeoisie actively wanted western forms of schooling should not obscure the fact that it was still the colonizer
who chose the form this schooling was to take.

The basic purpose in colonial education was twofold, firstly schooling a small elite who would aid the colonizer to run the colony efficiently. In India, for example

What the British wanted was a small class of English educated Indians to act, in Macaulay's words, as interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. (Basu 1978:59).

Second, the intent was to ensure that the mass of the colonized could be organized in the most efficient way to aid the colonizer's exploitation and control of the colony. In most cases this meant that if schooling was offered at all it was in the form of teaching basic vocational and literacy skills.

A simple education, reduced to essentials, permitting the child to learn all that will be useful for him to know in his humble career of farmer or artisan to ameliorate the natural and social conditions of his existence. (quoted in Kelly 1978:100).

These words are from a French colonial report on schooling in Vietnam, but they are equally applicable to the situation in African colonies. A British memorandum of 1925 entitled Education Policy in British Tropical Africa echoes the same point of view

education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples...its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life...The improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries... (Scanlon 1964:94).

Colonial education was intended to keep the colonized dependent on the services of the colonizer. In effect it was a denial of autonomous change. (Kelly 1978:113).
The organization of colonial school systems

Many colonies had a dual school system, one for the colonized and one for colonizer, both controlled by the colonizer. Prior to 1930, with the exception of India and Indo China, school systems were usually systems of primary education. These systems were differentiated in a number of ways. The most common form of schooling took place in the three to five year schools such as the missionary rural schools in British colonies. These schools emphasized moral and vocational training and taught practical subjects such as hygiene, animal husbandry, agriculture, manual trades and domestic skills. (Kelly and Altbach 1978:7). These schools were not part of the rest of the school system in that they were not designed to pass pupils on to further schooling.

In the cities and administrative centres, other primary schools existed which usually served the children of the rich and a few others who lived in the immediate vicinity. These schools usually taught in the language of the colonizer and were financed by government. They were designed to send children on to what little post primary education was available. Post primary education in colonies was generally a product of the 20th century, particularly in Africa. Both secondary and tertiary education in colonies were available only to a small number of the colonized.

Curriculum

In colonial rural schools (which was the only form of schooling open to the majority of the colonized) the language of instruction was often the indigenous language. These schools were not intended as
stepping stones to future educational institutions, for as far as the colonizer was concerned schooling for government employment could only take place in his own language. There was an implicit devaluation of the native language in this type of approach, and there were many colonizers who shared Macaulay’s view that the vernacular languages were "poor and rude" and devoid of any literary or scientific knowledge. For Macaulay, English with its "inherent superiority was the only possible language of instruction". (Basu 1978:57).

Macaulay did not stop at criticising native languages; in his opinion "a single shelf of good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (quoted in Basu 1978:55). For India this meant the end of any form of orientalist approach to schooling and the imposing of western forms of education. At the same time however the curriculum provided was not that of England; as in other colonial situations (c.f. Kelly 1978) it was in reality "a version of European language and culture 'adapted' to the colonized". (Kelly and Altbach 1978:13).

The narrowness of the colonial outlook often resulted in key cultural practices being banned or eliminated. This contributed to the practice of devaluing indigenous cultures. While the colonial school curriculum might include history, it was often the history of the colonizer which was taught, leading to such anomalous situations as African children being taught about "our ancestors the Gauls" (July 1974:506) or being able to recite the Bourbon king chronology but having no knowledge of the African kings of their own past. (David and Harrington 1971:133). The colonial curriculum in Africa
provided no basis for technological training or the teaching of science except at the basic level of domestic hygiene and elementary agricultural training.

The school's curriculum, while not an outgrowth of the society from which the child came, was not an outgrowth of the colonizer's society either. It was not merely a diluted version of metropolitan education; it was something else. It represented a basic denial of the colonized's past and withheld from them the tools to regain the future. (Kelly and Altbach 1978:15).

The experience of the colonized

In India and Africa, western schooling came to be seen as providing social mobility. The poor saw it as a way in which their children could gain access to status and money. The child who went to school faced the constant strain of trying to reconcile the long accepted and personally deep-seated traditions of his rich tribal heritage with the power of Western education and technology. Some Africans tried to ignore their past and grow up as black French or Englishmen, while others totally resisted any innovation from the West. Most African children, however, were forced to live simultaneously in the two worlds and to reconcile them as best they could. Often they were unable to live in either world. (David and Harrington 1979:189).

Colonial schooling removed the child from his traditional world and seemed to hold out promises of his entry into the more desirable world of the colonizer. But the school graduate quickly discovered that even if he did manage to get one of the few jobs in the colonial bureaucracy, control of the upper levels remained in the hands of Europeans. He was also paid less than his European counterpart while occupying the same position.
One of the ironies of colonial education was that it produced the nationalistic elite who fought for independence. (Abernethy 1969:16; Basu 1978:68). Nationalism developed in response to the creation of a professional and business class that competed with the colonizer for the scarce rewards which colonial society offered, and which were allocated on the basis of race. Nationalist resistance was a logical reaction to the failure of elite aspirations for assimilation, rather than the result of schooling promoting western ideas of liberty and democracy.

Schooling in the Internal Colony
School and society

In the internal colony the colonizer generally saw his main purpose as incorporating the colonized into a national society. In Peru for example the major aim behind Indian schooling was to develop a sense of peruanidad, or Peruvian nationality to aid the incorporation of the Indians into Peruvian national life. (Epstein 1971:192).

In many cases, as with overseas colonies, the initial school experience was with missionaries and their civilizing mission. The schooling provided was intended to remove the colonized from the moral and physical evils of his own existence while emphasizing the superiority of the culture of the colonizer. (Iverson 1978:157). When the government of the colonizer began to administer schooling in the internal colony much of this emphasis remained. The general tendency was to adapt schooling to the level of the colonizer in the sense that the colonized were felt to be unable to cope with the level of schooling which existed in the colonizer's society. So a
special form of simplified primary and vocational schooling developed, similar to that described in overseas colonies described above. In effect only a minority of the colonized might actually become incorporated into national society, typically, manual and unskilled workers. Schooling in the internal colony was always controlled from outside and taught the culture of the colonizer. It was not aimed at helping the colonized come to terms with his existence between two cultures and frequently resulted in marginalizing him from both.

School organization

The majority of schools within an internal colony were primary schools. When secondary schools existed they were often boarding schools which were intended to remove the student from his unsuitable cultural environment and immerse him in the more suitable cultural and linguistic environment of the colonizer. In the 1890's, for example, educators hoped that by total immersion of all Indian children in American education, within a generation native people would disappear into the mainstream (Iverson 1978:164). The schools were administered by the colonizer, who chose the curriculum and textbooks, and the teachers also came from the dominant culture. There was no effort made to involve the colonized in what were supposedly their own schools. Parents of pupils were not encouraged to have anything to do with the schools or the teachers (Iverson 1978:169); the only time they ever went near the premises was to pick up a child at the end of term. Teachers, usually white, lived in their own "compounds" or areas and had little contact with the culture of their students. Although in principle students had access to tertiary education, in practice few if
any students went on to any form of higher education.

Curriculum

The curriculum and language policy which existed in the internal colony's schooling system clearly demonstrated two major assumptions made by the colonizer: firstly, that his own culture was superior and secondly that the colonized could only hope to aspire to the attainment of a low level of schooling. The school curriculum carried over from the early missionary contact and had a strong moral content. It also concentrated on personal hygiene and the teaching of basic skills. An example of this approach was the Osage First Book produced by missionaries who worked among the Osage Indians in the American Colonies during the 18th and 19th centuries. It contained four sections: Familiar Sentences, Moral Lessons for children, Scripture selections, and the Ten Commandments as well as alphabet and spelling lessons. "the familiar sentence section" Iverson notes, "included pronouncements on the proper use of tools, the proper female role... the significance of agriculture, the concept of private property, and the benefits of civilization." (Iverson 1978:157). Teaching materials did become more subtle but they still mirrored the same concerns.

As with schools in overseas colonies, curriculum content chosen by the colonizer led to anomalies:

using the same text books as white students in the United States, Native American students find Indians mentioned only as obstacles to the progress of national expansion by brave pioneers. (Iverson 1978:164).
The history that the students learnt was always taken from the point of view of the colonizer and the frequent use of textbooks and materials common to the metropolitan schools meant that much of the content was irrelevant to the child's actual environment. (As for example, when Inuit children living in the treeless Arctic learnt to name and identify the oak, elm and maple trees of southern Canada).

In the overseas colony the language of the colonizer was regarded as the key to proper schooling. In the internal colony the same policy existed. Obviously if the colonized were to be incorporated into the dominant society this meant they must speak the dominant language. The natural concomitant of such a policy was punishment of children for speaking their native language.

In the past the Mexican-American child has been made to feel ashamed of his Spanish language, Spanish surname, Mexican heritage and Mexican parents. Mathew Tindals, Superintendent of Schools... in Santa Clara County, California, once confided to this writer that Mexican-American children were being punished and made to stay after school because they were overheard speaking Spanish on the playground. (Guerra 1970: 71)

The boarding or residential school was seen as one of the most efficient ways of schooling the colonized because it effectively enabled the enforcing of a 24 hour curriculum. Children were required to speak the colonizer's language as well as to follow his customs in dress and food. Pupils were in fact removed from both their own society and that of the colonizer.

In the early days of schooling in internal colonies the emphasis tended to be on vocational training or manual skills. Students learned to cook, clean, work in the fields and do other 'simple' tasks (Iverson
1978: 165) as well as to read and write. When criticism was made of this type of schooling as being 'terminal' (in the same sense of the schooling provided by the 3 to 5 year schools in overseas colonies described above) that is, the schooling led nowhere, then the change was made to ostensibly following the same curriculum as the metropolitan schools. In reality the schooling remained 'terminal' because of the continued low expectations of both administration and teachers. Teachers justified the simplified curriculum by claiming that this level was all the student could cope with. Such a curriculum enabled the student neither to get immediate employment nor to continue some form of higher education. The student returned to his reservation or village or ghetto after having been effectively removed from both societies, without the skills or ability to exist successfully in either one.

Even when the colonizer had made an attempt to make the content of the curriculum "relevant", in his sense of the term, the result was still alienation.

A young Inuk commented

You know something... I wonder why they bother to make us learn all these things. Why do they make us know about oak, elm and maple trees, when there are none up here and never will be? Why do we have to know about the musk ox when they don't live this far south? We don't really care about those Explorers who came into the land of the Eskimos... all I'm saying is that while I was learning all these things... no one was teaching me the ways of my own people. And now I can't hunt and I know nothing about how to survive in the icy lands. (Fitseolak quoted in Raine 1980: 46).
The experience of the colonized

The child who went through such a schooling experience was taught to devalue his own linguistic and cultural heritage either explicitly or implicitly.

The meaninglessness of much of the curriculum content has tended to increase the irrelevance and the games aspect of the education process. Since education, as such, has been made to seem important while the distinctive aspects of Eskimo life and culture have been largely ignored, the logical conclusion that pupils have tended to draw has been that there is little in native tradition which is worth learning. So the education program has tended to be destructive of respect for Eskimo values...
(Brant 1971:180).

When the children of the colonized return home from residential schools they were often unable to cope with their own cultural environment. The children who went to a day school also suffered a similar experience. They became belligerent, confused, frustrated and disappointed, often ashamed of their parents and the primitive or old-fashioned way in which they seemed to live, and their lack of formal education. (Guerra 1982:71, Brant and Hobart 1966:62-63).

The parents were also shocked by the behaviour of their children, their sulkiness and especially their lack of respect for their elders. (Brant and Hobart 1970:180-187).

The most common result of schooling in the internal colony was the development of intense frustration among the colonized, both parents and children. Parents had been told how important schooling was for their children to enable them to get a good job and earn money. The students had been told the same thing. Because of the low level of
their schooling and training they generally were unable to get any but a very low status job in the national society. In the internal colony, if the jobs existed at all there are very few of them and all but the least skilled tended to be filled by the colonizer. The colonized who had been to school could rarely hope to make any type of living by traditional cultural means, even if he/she did have the knowledge the economic opportunity might no longer exist.

Many of the colonized continued to believe that schooling was necessary, they believed in its ability to transform society but as parents became more politicized they also felt that they must control their own schools and develop a school experience which mirrored their own needs, rather than those which the colonizer thought they should have. When the colonizer finally did decide to involve the colonized in the schooling system the colonized generally saw such a gesture as too little too late.

I feel that when teachers first came here they should have asked the Eskimos to give them assistance, to tell them how to teach the young. But when the teacher came here he wanted to be alone, teaching the white way. It was far too late when they did start asking Eskimo parents to become involved in teaching,... the present young people have only learned some white ways. Now they are like lost people... (Quoted in Brody 1977: 204).
CHAPTER IV

INUIT SCHOOLING IN NORTHERN QUEBEC

Pre-contact Inuit Society

In the pre-contact era Inuit life followed an annual nomadic cycle based on the environment. The year was divided into two main seasons, winter and summer, but each season had further divisions which influenced location and lifestyle. In winter the Inuit lived along the coastline in small villages, each village numbering from 15 to 60 people depending on what resources were available. The same camp-sites might be used every year but not necessarily by the same families. The camps were made up of families usually related to each other. Although the custom was for each family to live in its own snow-house, in some of the larger villages there were snow-houses that could hold the total population of the 'village', for special ceremonies such as the mid-winter festival.
Game was scarce in the winter and the main hunting activity was for seal at breathing holes or along the edge of the ice floe. Stored food and fish were also eaten. By the end of the winter food supplies were often so low some groups would have to split up and move to other areas in search of game. During this time of the year starvation or near-starvation was a common experience (Graburn 1969: 35-36). In spring and summer there were plenty of food sources available and the main problem was the travelling necessary to take advantage of all the resources. Those Inuit who were the most mobile would frequently move inland to hunt the caribou. The weak, the old and the very young might remain behind to spend the summer at one of the coastal campsites, supporting themselves by fishing and seal hunting, until the return of the others in late autumn. This way of life varied depending on the resources available in a specific area. (Graburn 1969: 39-42).

Social Organization

The basic unit of Inuit social and economic organization was the household (igloo or tent depending on season). Such a group thought of itself as illuqatigiit ( sharers of the house) and its feeling of solidarity as a group kept it together for extended periods of time, (more so than other more casual groupings.) A household could consist of either a nuclear family or an extended family and at times also included various dependent relatives or others dependent on the good will of the group. A camp consisted of a group of households. Such camps were usually formed in the winter and during spring hunting. The usual
pattern was for a number of households (consisting of near relatives such as brothers or fathers and sons) to stay together for most of the year migrating from place to place in search of game. Such a group is often referred to as a band. (Graburn 1969: 57). The household as a social and economic unit was controlled and organized by an adult man and woman (generally a husband and wife). Tasks were divided equally between the two and although the main division of labour was by sex, Inuit adults could change roles with ease when necessary.

The oldest active male was 'in charge' of the band. Younger sons or brothers did not necessarily have to obey him, they could always leave and join another group, but generally age was equated with wisdom, and therefore listened to. It was the older man who made the ultimate choice of where to hunt and when to move after consulting with the other members of the band and such decisions were usually reached by consensus.

It has long been fashionable to regard the Inuit of arctic Canada as a very "primitive people"... Archeology shows this view to be false... Inuit culture may be better understood by not looking on it as a relic of an archaic and primitive way of life. Rather it should be seen as the result of a recent attempt to maintain the basic elements of a rich and sophisticated culture that could no longer be supported by the deteriorating arctic environment of the past three hundred years. (McGhee 1978: 118).

"Contact traditional" Inuit Society

"Contact traditional" (Damas 1971: 117) is the term used to describe Inuit life after prolonged white contact with traders, missionaries and police. They now had access to the steel trap, the net and the
rifle. New hunting techniques were in use and there was a strong emphasis on trapping.

The trapping-hunting camp now became the centre of social/organization. The main focus of travel and contact now centred around the trading post. The usual trading community consisted of one or two bands and sometimes this entire group would settle near the trading post but generally such gatherings were short-term because traders (and the R.C.M.P.) did not initially encourage the Inuit to live around the Post.

The pre-contact traditions concerned with wide aspects of kinship and voluntary associations became less common as the former nomadic way of life was replaced by a much more stationary existence (Damas 1971: 117). Family organization remained much the same and close kin ties were still of paramount importance. Hunting, trapping and meat sharing was still sometimes an extended family or community activity but was becoming more and more often individualistic in nature.

A description of Port Harrison in 1958 (Willmott 1961) shows how one community in "contact traditional" stage was structured. In this settlement lived all the whites and seventy five Inuit. The settlement included the Federal Day School, the Anglican Mission, the Nursing Station, the HBC trading post and the R.C.M.P. post. The Inuit families who lived in the settlement usually had one or more of their family members involved in working for these establishments. There were also 263 Inuit living in seven camps dotted along a hundred miles of
coastline. These camps were from one to fifty miles away from Port Harrison and ranged in size from three to ten households in the summer. By the late 1960's (see map 5) the majority of Quebec Inuit lived in permanent settlements.

School and Society

When, as in the colonial situation, the schooling of one culture seen as superior by its adherents, displaced the traditional education of a homogenous society like that of the Inuit, then the result is culturally disastrous for the subject society. For Inuit children the major difference between education in their home and schooling was the difference between an informal situation and a formal one. In the home the emphasis was on flexibility, in the school, discipline; in the home, parent-child relationships were characterised by equality and independence; at school the child was involved in a subordinate relationship with the teacher which was maintained by discipline and required obedience. In the school subjects were supposed to be mastered by observation of the teacher's examples while the style of traditional Inuit education was to teach through participation and imitation. (Varkony 1967:6). Not only did the Inuit child have to cope with these two very different approaches but she was also faced with an essentially alien curriculum taught in a foreign language.

Inuit parents have been characterised as being permissive with
their children. Basic attitudes towards children tend to be "indulgent, nurturant, accepting, non-aggressive, and patient". (Varkony 1967:112). The Inuit infant spends most of her waking hours in the company of large groups of people where she is usually the centre of attention. She early learns to trust strangers and be comfortable within her social world, and transfer her dependence to a number of mother surrogates, often siblings. Adult Inuit place great importance on channelling children's aggression into more socially desirable behaviour patterns. Adult reaction to such aggression usually involves patience and non-retaliation in an attempt to help the child learn to control aggressive anti-social impulses. Discipline of the sort used by white families (smacking, scolding, withdrawal of affection) is not generally practiced. Inuit children enjoyed egalitarian relationships with adults. They were not made to feel subordinate or dependent by being expected to emulate adult capacity and skill. (Varkony 1967: 114).

When an Inuk child went to school he or she was entering an entirely different world from the type of relaxed learning done in the home environment. The white teacher, however friendly, was still an authority figure who demanded obedience and discipline. Not only does Inuititut have no word for obey, the closest approximations being malikruq 'he follows' and malikrus 'he listens', but there are no words which can convey the ideas of command or discipline either. The whole concept of 'obeying the teacher' was completely unfamiliar to Inuit children. (Honigman and Honigman 1971: 64).
Also difficult to adjust to was the rigidity of the timetable and space allocation. The Inuk child not only had to sit away from his friends but his activities were regulated by time rather than his interest in a particular task. More often than not the particular tasks he was set bore no relation to his own environment. To many Inuit the school was completely separate from Inuit society. (Willmott 1961: 108). It did impinge in the sense that it freed women from taking care of children for a few hours each day and provided healthcare, supplying the children with warm drinks and food, but it remained external to Inuit society.

This separation is further defined by the fact that the teacher does not speak Eskimo, that Education is entirely in English, and that even reading material and arithmetic problems have no Eskimo content whatsoever. (Willmott 1961: 108)

Missionaries provided the first form of schooling in Northern Quebec. Criticised as "religious kindergartens" (Jenness 1964: 47) these schools existed merely as aids to conversion, as the following description demonstrates:

Several of the children can now read their books, and can give very fair answers when catechized on the leading truths of Christianity (Peck quoted by Lewis 1905: 138).

Mission schooling did produce a limited form of literacy but it was mainly directed towards reading and learning the Prayer Book, hymns, the New Testament and other religious texts which were translated into Inuititut. Some missionaries (c.f. Fleming 1956) familiarized themselves with Inuit culture and traditional songs and stories but the majority equated such belief and customs with paganism, and, attempted
to eradicate all indigenous religious practices. The success of this approach meant that when anthropologist John Honigman visited Great Whale River in 1949-50 he was unable to obtain reconstructions of former beliefs from any informants. (Honigman 1962:69) and other anthropologists had similar experiences. (c.f. Briggs 1970:3-4).

Although missionary schooling "taught nothing and explained nothing" (Jenness 1964:45) it remained the only form of schooling available in Northern Quebec until the 1950's (Cram 1978:176). As early as 1927 Knud Rasmussen, the Arctic explorer had commented:

Some educational department must be established to deal with the Eskimo...There can be no step back to the Stone Age for any people that has once had contact with the white man. Canada cannot afford to be behindhand in attempting the educational paternalism that has done so much (sic) in Greenland and Alaska... (1927:303).

The Canadian government was not interested in becoming involved in Northern education at this stage. In 1923 a Department of the Interior report had concluded that the tiny number of residential and day schools run by missions with the help of government grants, was "filling the present needs of the native population". (Brant 1977:174).

In 1935 an official report stated that

The educational requirements of the Eskimos in this region (the Eastern Arctic) are very simple, and their mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited. (Brant 1977:174).

Such views were commonly held at this time. A spokesman for the North West Territories Council in the 1930's expressed the opinion that the Inuit would make useful servants for police and trading posts
and could also furnish a pool of unskilled labour for any northern construction jobs, but that "in race and culture they differ from the white man and fall far behind him in knowledge and skills". Canada, he added, should protect her Eskimos but

She is not obligated, like Abraham to take them to her bosom. She should shelter them in their homeland, where, benevolently ruled by government officials, they can pursue the same life as their forefathers without obstructing in any way the progress of their white fellow-countrymen. (Quoted in Jenness 1964:94).

There was little federal government presence in Northern Quebec until the late forties, with the exception of a few R.C.M.P. officers. However after the war, public opinion and increased information about the situation in the Eastern Arctic, due mainly to the opening of air bases at Fort Chimo and Frobisher Bay resulted in the Federal government taking a more active role, particularly in the fields of health and education. From 1948 to 1962 nursing stations and schools were established in all Northern Quebec communities. (Dorais 1979:71). (The Provincial government did not come on the scene until the 1960's). In the 1950's the Federal government's attitude towards the Inuit remained paternalistic at best and at worst treated the Inuit as if they were a species to be made subject to wild life conservation measures.

In 1953, Jean Lesage, the first Minister of the newly constituted Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources stated that "the objective of government policy...is to give the Eskimo the same rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities as all other
Canadians" (quoted in Phillips 1967:170). Although a laudable intention, it was extremely difficult to put into practice. Over ten years later government publications claimed that education in the north was equal to any offered in any part of Canada, together with an opportunity at the end of general education of carrying on with education and training directly into gainful employment. (Thorsteinsson 1965:1).

In reality the natural outgrowth of the concept of gradual assimilation had been a simplified form of southern schooling which had results similar to colonial schooling; it produced an individual marginal to both societies (c.f. Raine:1980). The schooling provided not only failed to teach the Inuk about his own environment but also neglected to provide him with the necessary knowledge and credentials to go on to further schooling.

The organization of education, the physical facilities, the content of instruction all made nonsense of any pretence of equality of educational opportunity for Northern residents. (Phillips 1967:232).

In 1960 a Liberal government came to power in Quebec. Its slogan was "Maîtres chez nous", its goal the transformation and modernization of Quebec society, and gaining control of Northern Quebec became a government priority. (Dorais 1979:72-73). Quebec had previously rejected responsibility for the Inuit who lived in the northern part of the province but with the growing interest in both Northern development and Quebec nationalism the Inuit found themselves involved in what virtually became a tug of war. (Hamelin 1979:169). Quebec's aim as far as the Inuit were concerned was stated
as being to place at the disposal of the inhabitants of Nouveau-Quebec services of the same type as those already provided for the other citizens of Quebec and to encourage their cultural and linguistic survival. (Hamelin 1979:168).

While just as laudable as federal intentions, Quebec's effort to take over Inuit schooling was seen as being "political rather than educational in motivation, to enlist the Eskimos into the francophone rather than the anglophone segment of the population, at least as far as their second language (was) concerned." (Chalmers 1973:258). As well as the political motivation, there was strong economic motivation produced by the existence of important natural resources in the north.

The provincial government's approach to Inuit schooling was supposed to be radically different from that of the federal government in two important areas: language and teachers. All teaching in federal schools was in English; in provincial schools Quebec planned that the first three years should be in Inuititut. This demonstration of respect for the majority language, a logical extension of Quebec's own demands for respect for its own language, was not very successful with the Inuit for reasons which will be discussed later. (Reid 1978: 30, Dorais 1979:73-74). Quebec was also in the forefront with training programmes for Inuit teachers. Federal schools had Inuit classroom assistants but Quebec planned on having Inuit teachers, in fact they were seen as a crucial element in the provision of schooling in Inuititut.

Although Quebec appeared to be making a genuine attempt to provide a more relevant form of schooling than that provided by the federal
schools it had little success. The Inuit were suspicious of Quebec's intentions and a French-speaking governmental presence which they equated with Révillon Frères and Catholic missionaries, neither of which had been very successful in Northern Quebec. For the Inuit, political, economic and religious power were allied with English institutions; the federal government, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican Church. (Dorais 1979:74).

When the joint federal-provincial committee (set up to travel north to each community to discuss proposals about a Quebec takeover from Ottawa) published its report, it concluded that

The Inuit-Indian point of view on the matter of education services seemed to be rooted in religious, economic and political ideologies, on a somewhat interrelated basis. Expressed in syllogistic terms, most of the Inuit people seemed to be saying that they are all... of the Anglican faith... They wish to remain within Canada and in a direct relationship with the federal government, the first government to assist them. They believe that to be French-speaking is essentially to be Roman Catholic; and to be close to the Government of Quebec is eventually to become French-speaking, perhaps Roman Catholic, and to be cut off from other Inuits and the rest of Canada generally. (Neville-Robitaille Report 1970:11).

Hamelin claims that Quebec's poor image in the eyes of the Inuit was due both to her lack of northern experience and the antagonistic attitude of those already on the stage (1979: 184). Federal administrators saw the new provincial administrators as rivals, the Anglican church was convinced that provincial control would mean an influx of Roman Catholic missionaries and a threat to their power base, and the Hudson's Bay
Company could hardly be expected to welcome the competition of the system of Inuit co-operatives which Quebec planned to help develop and support.

Although Phillips (1967:295) claims that the relationship between federal and provincial administrators in the field was usually co-operative, the situation seems to have differed from settlement to settlement. (Vallee 1967:10). In Povungnituk for example, where the provincial government made a special effort to develop a model community largely through its development of the co-operative, the general attitude of the Inuit was positive to both federal and provincial representatives. (Vallee 1967:11, Reid 1978:33, Mortmore 1965:23).

In other settlements federal and provincial officials tended to live in separate areas of the community thus making the division between the two governments very obvious to the Inuit. (Vallee 1967:10).

Inuit doubts about the aims of the provincial government were evident in the lack of attendance of their children in the new provincial schools. (See table 2). In some settlements such as Fort Chimo and Great Whale River the number of children who went to the provincial school was as low as 15% and 2% respectively. As federal and provincial schools existed side by side in each community, parents had a choice of which school to send their children to. Most opted to send them to the federal school although a few parents sometimes alternated between both.

Even though Quebec had planned to produce a more relevant form of schooling than that offered by federal schools there was still no real
consultation with the Inuit themselves. Many of them were of the opinion that learning Inuktut at school was unnecessary and that the children would be better off learning English as the mainstream Canadian language. (Reid 1979: 30). Many of the teachers who were recruited by the provincial government were just as ethnocentric as those working in the federal system and much of the teaching material was irrelevant or at least artificial when used in a northern environment (Reid 20-30).

In 1971 at Great Whale River a combined meeting of white provincial teachers, Inuit provincial teachers and Inuit parents considered that the major problems of the provincial school system were caused by

> la non-implication des parents à l'école, l'absence de consultation efficace entre les professeurs blancs, esquimaux et la direction de l'éducation, la fausse situation des professeurs esquimaux longtemps considérés comme de simples interprètes. (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972: 35).

They considered that the D.G.N.L., and later the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec "à oublier le sens du principe d'action en milieu esquimaux". In the end the cumulative effect of the schooling provided tended to be the same in each case: attempted assimilation into the larger society (whether French or English) resulted in the same marginalizing effect observed in other colonial situations and discussed above.

Tout ce que l'école nordique actuelle arrive à produire, ce sont des individus qui ne sont plus tout à fait des Esquimaux et pas encore des Blancs. Dans chaque village, on peut voir toute une partie de la population qui a rompu avec la culture ancestrale et ne peut pas s'intégrer complètement à celle des Blancs, faute de moyens. (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972: 43)
School Organization

The first mission schools were generally informal gatherings of children meeting at the missionaries' home or church building. In some cases the missionary travelled to the Inuit homes or outlying camps and gathered a group of children together. There was rarely, if ever, any building designated as the school particularly in the smaller settlements. In larger settlements the churches built residential schools. The Anglicans opened two residential schools in Fort George in 1927 and 1944, (see map) and the Catholics also maintained a residential school at Fort George. There was also an Anglican residential school at Moose Factory on James Bay in Ontario, where some Quebec Inuit children were sent. Minnie Aodla Freeman, in her book Life among the Qallunaat talks about her experiences as a child at two of these schools, St. Thomas Anglican School at Moose Factory and then the Catholic School at Fort George. (Freeman 1978: 103-140).

By 1950 there were eight different authorities operating schools in the north (including the churches) (Phillips 1967: 232). The Department of Northern Affairs provided only three classrooms and paid grants to other agencies who ran the classes. Classroom standards fluctuated as did the service provided; some schools were only open for limited periods, four hours a day, four days a week. One teacher in three had no teaching certificate or formal training and teachers employed to teach in the North were not given any special training courses. Only 117 Inuit were getting full time schooling. (This number refers to both the North West Territories and Quebec.) No provision had been made
for setting up vocational and adult education programmes.

There appeared to be no specific policy in existence which dealt solely with northern education and its special problems. (Phillips 1967: 232).

The government had a long way to go to fulfil its stated aim of providing equality of educational opportunities for the north and its inhabitants.

The first task was to streamline the control over schooling. The Department of Northern Affairs took over this responsibility from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and set out to reach agreement with the Anglican and Catholic churches over the educational services to be provided. In small settlements the provision of classrooms and the engagement of qualified teachers were welcomed by many of the missionaries (Phillips 1967: 234). But the church investment in large residential schools was a negotiation of a different order. In many cases the churches agreed to work in with the government, providing the use of existing facilities or transferring them in return for government guarantees of church interests. Only the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches were involved in these negotiations. The government undertook to build new schools and residences with public money, to replace all church-owned buildings and, if necessary, to compensate the churches for their abandoned buildings. The schools were to be run by the Department of Northern Affairs but the residences were operated by the two churches at public expense. The guarantees respecting religion which the government had given to the churches often meant not only the construction of two separate residences for the same
school (one Anglican and one Roman Catholic) and duplicate classes, but also in some cases Roman Catholic teachers in classes with a majority of that religion and school principals being chosen to be of the same religion as the majority of teachers in a particular school. Such arrangements frequently caused considerable problems in organization. (Phillips 1967: 235).

By 1964 the Federal Government was running schools in twelve Northern Quebec communities (see map 6). These schools essentially provided elementary training and there were no high schools established in Northern Quebec at this time. By the mid 1960's the Federal government had a 'specially organized Education Division set up in the Northern Administration Branch within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which was responsible for Northern education. (See fig. 1) The North had been divided into two major districts, the Mackenzie District and the Arctic District. Northern Quebec was included in the Arctic District, with its own Regional Superintendent.

In 1965-66 the Federal government was administering thirty-three classrooms in Northern Quebec and employing thirty-six teachers who were teaching 688 Inuit pupils, the majority of whom were in the first three grades of school. (See table 1). Fort Chimo was the only settlement with a designated high school class which had approximately twelve

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6 By 1971-72 children going on to secondary training had to travel to Churchill, Ottawa or Great Whale River. The greatest number were at Churchill.
pupils. There were also nine pupils undergoing vocational training at Great Whale River.

The Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) considered that it had four major objectives for northern education:

1. The provision of programs and facilities for all children at the pre-school, elementary and secondary school levels on an ethnically integrated basis.
2. The provision of vocational training for all who show interest and aptitude.
3. The provision of adult education for those who indicate an interest.

(Education Review 1965-66:6)

The Division itself was divided into six sections in 1966 (see fig. 1): school administration, curriculum, school services, vocational education, adult education and linguistics. Each section was responsible for producing specific programmes to aid in the carrying out of the objectives mentioned above. Each section also supplied service staff within its field of activity. Much of the work of these sections was carried out in the field. For the MacKenzie District the field office was at Fort Smith but for the Eastern Arctic (which included Quebec), the field office was in Ottawa. The field office was intended to co-ordinate all educational services within the district in much the same way as provincial school administrations. (Thorsteinson 1965:8). When Quebec became involved in organizing schools in the north in the mid 1960's, responsibility for northern schooling rested initially with both the Direction Générale du Nouveau-Québec (DGNQ) and the provincial Department of Education, an uneasy relationship.
at the best of times. (Hamelin 1979:171). Part of the DGNO's mandate was to provide the same services for the north as were available to other Québec citizens and to encourage the cultural and linguistic survival of the native people.

The DGNO continued to have problems with the provincial Department of Education and in 1968 it requested that a department with specific responsibility for northern education be developed. The Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec was created in 1969. The Quebec government appeared to be making a genuine attempt to introduce a more relevant form of schooling to the north. However, three years later, the Teachers association (Inuit and white teachers employed by the province) and a group of Inuit parents staged a school boycott in Fort Chimo to demonstrate against schooling policies for northern children. (Davis and Zannis 1973:104-105, L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972).

As well as citing the board for not providing relevant curriculum materials they criticized the organization of the board itself. Set up by Law 110 passed in 1968 (c.f. Revised Statutes of Quebec 1968) the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec differed from other school boards in that instead of elected school commissioners it had a manager and an assistant manager appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, upon recommendations made by the Minister of Education and the Minister of Natural Resources. The manager was to have the rights usually given to school commissioners but there was no Inuit involvement. The teachers' main criticism of the Commission Scolaire was that it
was a southern-based administrative structure and as such, totally out of touch with northern realities. (L’Inuit et "notre" système d’éducation 1972:40). Neither teachers nor parents were able to have any input into what was essentially a southern-imposed school administration.

It was the teachers who went north who had the greatest impact on the schooling experience of the Inuit. The Inuit had voiced their doubts about the teachers when they said in 1970 at a conference on Community development in the Canadian north, "The teachers to whom we have to give our children in the schools in our villages, are not adequately prepared for their job". (Arctic Institute 1973:113).

The majority of teachers who worked in the North were southern trained and non-native and 55% of them were under 30 years of age (Arctic Institute 1973:116). In the federal schools although there were native assistants there were no native teachers. These assistants were often the key to successful communication for the southern teachers who rarely understood any Inunittut, and the Inuit children who often didn’t understand English. Although the rule tended to be that only English was spoken at school, less rigid and more enlightened teachers like Eileen McArthur (1979, 1980) found their Inuit assistants invaluable for helping the youngest children to feel at home within the school environment. Ida Ningeuk (Mrs McArthur’s assistant) was of paramount importance in explaining school routine, telling children such fundamental things as where the toilets were and most importantly providing a link for the children between the known and the unknown.

In Mrs McArthur’s class her students had the added bonus of hearing stories told not only in English but also in Inunittut. In Mr McArthur’s
class with the older children, he encouraged cultural sharing. The children taught him Inuit language and explained particular customs and attitudes as the occasion warranted. (McArthur 1980:15 and Personal Communication). This type of approach was in marked contrast to the attitude of some other teachers who decided that as the main purpose of their teaching was to teach the Inuit children English, they themselves did not need to know any Inuit language and certainly had no intention of encouraging the two way cultural exchange which happened in the McArthurs' classrooms. (Willmott 1961:104).

The Quebec government was committed to the use of the vernacular in kindergarten, Grade 1 and 2 levels, and virtually all the teachers at this level were Inuit. Initially native teaching assistants were selected locally on an ad hoc basis. Most were young people who had had some form of formal schooling in the federal schools. Because few schools had existed before the fifties, few of the prospective assistant teachers had reached the equivalent of grade seven in a southern school. (Girard 1972:277). However the provincial government went ahead and chose assistants for classes at Fort Chimo, Wakeham Bay and Ivujivik. Those selected worked as assistants in the classes of southern teachers until they had reached a level of aptitude judged as enabling them to "assume almost full responsibility" for their class. (Girard 1972:277). In 1967 at Wakeham Bay the provincial government developed a teacher training course. This training session was followed by summer courses aimed at widening the student's general and pedagogical knowledge.
By the early 1970's the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec was employing 35 "competent but non-qualified Inuit to act as teachers. These Inuit were granted 'tolerance' (temporary permission to teach) by the Quebec Minister of Education, provided they follow an authorized in-service teacher training programme". (Cram 1978:177). The Commission Scolaire opened a full-time teacher training department in 1974 and this department asked McGill University to help in developing a suitable programme. The first eight students graduated from this course in 1978. However, in the early 1970's the picture was a fairly bleak one and Inuit working for the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec had a number of criticisms to make. The most serious concerned the total lack of communication between the school board and the people it was supposed to be serving.

Combien de temps encore devrons-nous attendre avant d'avoir le droit de dire et de faire ce que nous voulons pour notre peuple? (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972:39).

Many of them also claimed that the Commission Scolaire had failed to carry out its stated aim of providing schooling in Inuittitut in the early years.

While many of the southern trained non-native teachers were both dedicated and conscientious, their southern training had essentially prepared them to teach in that form of cultural environment.

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1 For further details about this programme see Cram 1978.

2 A more detailed examination of the Inuit point of view will be made in the final section of this thesis.
The academic knowledge and the moral values that they acquire and develop belong in essence to the society which has formed them—as opposed to the culture of the dominated society. (Girard 1973:115).

The turnover of the teachers was very high. A study done on teachers in the north (Koenig 1972) showed that only 23% of elementary teachers stayed in the north for longer than three years. This fact had serious consequences for the quality of schooling given the Inuit. A southern teacher generally spent the first two years in the north learning to understand the new environment and dealing with the different professional problems which were part of this environment.

Over 50% of elementary-level teachers leave when they just begin to be productive, and when real integration with their northern native community becomes a possibility. (Girard 1973:119).

A study which examined northern teachers' reasons for this high turnover (Cram 1972) attributed their dissatisfaction with the job to the following points: the teachers found it difficult to make the connection between the northern context and the stated objectives of the school; the teachers became increasingly frustrated with the fact that they were rarely if ever asked to participate in developing the school programme and curriculûm and they were also frustrated by working for a school system which made no allowance for local participation. (Girard 1973:119). Seventy teachers who worked for the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec expressed similar criticisms.

A notre arrivée, notre conception de l'éducation se confondait avec les schèmes de pensée acquis au Sud. Il eut été difficile qu'il en fût autrement, car nous n'avions reçu aucun entraînement spécial ayant pu nous préparer à la situation transculturelle existant dans les écoles du Nord. 
Rien ne différençait notre vision de l'école nordique, sinon bien sûr la vague préoccupation d'intégrer les détails folkloriques si bien consacré (igloo, kayak, chasse, pêche, etc.) aux matières prévues au programme. (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972: 42).

These teachers went on to comment that not only were there problems from the initial culture shock but that they felt that the Commission Scolaire du Nouveau-Québec had simply moved a whole system of southern schooling north, with out making any attempt to adapt the schooling to the specific needs and problems of the north and the Inuit pupils. (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972: 43). Among the dedicated teachers who went north these frustrations obviously took their toll and helped to produce the high turnover. However in many other cases it appeared that teachers simply regarded the North as a stepping stone in their career and in fact had no intention of staying more than a couple of years. (Arctic Institute 1973: 124). Southern teachers are seen as being part of the exploitation of the north. (Forty-four per cent of teachers admitted that they came north for the money. Arctic Institute 1973: 121).

A study done in the early 1970's on why teachers went north (Westgate and Ross 1973) generalized that there were three major types of motivation. There were those individuals who were responding to what they saw as an opportunity to "make a contribution" to northern education and development by working in a small community with native children who were going through a process of accelerated and possibly...
traumatic social and cultural change. A second group tended to look at
the experience more from their own point of view. They considered that
living and working in such a different physical and cultural milieu
and having to accept a great deal of individual responsibility by
running the school and taking part in community affairs would provide
them with both enrichment and satisfaction. A third group, already
mentioned above also thought of the job in more personal terms but in
the material sense of higher salaries and paid holiday fares. (Westgate
and Ross 1973:11). Teachers in this last group rarely remained in the
North very long. Teachers who shared the first two motivations, after
the initial shock of northern realities, frequently made determined
attempts at coming to grips with the northern problems.

Whatever the reasons for the high turnover rate of teachers in
the North, this seriously affected the quality of schooling which existed
for Inuit children. Particularly in a small community the school was
the teacher and every time the teacher changed so did the school en-
vironment. Continuity is of key importance in the educational experience
of children, particularly at the elementary stage.

Even the strongly motivated teacher who went north faced severe
problems. Generally she had no initiation into the northern context
until she reached it. She knew little, if anything about the historical
economic or human reality of the North or the cultural dimension of the
native northerners. The government held special orientation sessions
for newly hired teachers but at the most these sessions lasted for three
weeks, (often only one) and frequently seemed to be more taken up with
explaining to teachers how to function as civil servants and what forms
to fill in. (Repburn 1963:17-18, Arctic Institute 1973:136, Mrs
Eileen McArthur-personal communication). The handbook Teaching in
Arctic Quebec (DIAND 1971) designed for prospective teachers concentered its first ten pages on teachers' salaries and conditions and
regulations regarding employment and disposed of "The People" in two
very short paragraphs. Then followed a brief description of each
settlement, and the booklet finished with a description of prices paid
locally for groceries and other goods.

There were of course teachers who tried hard to make schooling a
more relevant experience for Inuit children. When Marjorie Hinds (1958),
got north to Port Harrison in the late 1940's she was going to
actually set up the first federal school. She was classified as
"a welfare teacher" which meant that

The duties of welfare teachers would be to attend
to the welfare of the natives as well as to teach
in school. The work concerned education and wel-
fare for adults as well as children. (Hinds 1958:19).

One of her duties was to dispense government relief; like Eileen
McArthur who some twelve years later also went to teach in Port Harrison
and discovered that as community teachers she and her husband would be
on duty 49 weeks of the year (McArthur 1979), Marjorie Hinds discovered
that teaching in the north was a full-time activity.

Initially she was responsible for setting up the new school in a
disused Anglican Mission. She had no special school materials adapted
to the northern situation and she also had to cope with trying to fit
some form of schooling into the Inuit way of life which at this time was
still semi-nomadic. Like some of the missionaries before her she went out to the camps in an effort to maintain some form of consistent schooling. Expecting Inuit children to turn up to the school door regularly each day was neither realistic nor possible especially when many of the children might be miles away from the settlement at a sealing camp.

In her first year in Port Harrison Miss Hinds organized leaders among the older camp children who came most often to the settlement. They were responsible for collecting all the other children's books for correction and taking back further work to be done. When it was possible to travel into the settlement all the children might come to school but often at different times. (Hinds 1958: 107). In her second year she went out to the seal camps and held school sessions in her tent. She arranged that while there was daylight every school age child should receive some instruction in 'the three R's'. The children also had exercises (homework) to do in their tents. When they had completed these they brought them to Miss Hinds for correction. This elastic form of schooling allowed the children time to go hunting or fishing or to play. It was, however, difficult for the teacher, who was constantly on call in her tent. Trips to the camps lasted a short time and for the rest of the year the children followed a form of correspondence courses. (Willmott 1961:105). Marjorie Hinds left Port Harrison in 1954 and by 1958 the programme of camp education had been abandoned.

In 1961 when Eileen McArthur and her husband went to teach in Port Harrison, camp children were being encouraged to come into the
settlement and stay at one of the small hostels organized for this purpose. In the first year there were two hostels, one with eight beds and one with four. Each hostel was run by an Inuit couple and some assistants. By 1965 there were three such hostels operating. (McArthur 1980: 15). Although such hostels were a genuine attempt to provide camp children with schooling within their own environment (rather than shipping them out to a large residential school) they still removed the children from their family environment and the traditional cycle. In many cases the camp families gave up their semi-nomadic existence and moved permanently into the settlement because they wished to be with the children.

Many teachers who went north found themselves teaching in a situation which was to become very fashionable in schools sometime later. This was the type of village school or rural school model with a class actually containing a wide range of ages and grades (McArthur 1980: 15). Northern teachers of course, rarely had any choice as far as school organization was concerned. In Iyujivik in 1965-66, for example, the only teacher was responsible for 25 pupils, 6 in grade 1, 1 in grade 2, 9 in grade 3, 6 in grade 4 and 3 in grade 5 (see table 1). In such a situation, organization is of key importance but as mentioned earlier Inuit children found it very difficult to cope with southern forms of school organization. Problems of organization were much the same for Federal and Provincial teachers (although a significantly smaller number of pupils attended provincial schools: see table 2).

It was frequently difficult to get children to school on time as Inuit families tended to have a more relaxed attitude to time in general.
At certain times of the year the school would be empty as children joined their parents on a seal hunt or went fishing. School organization, whether federal or provincial made no allowances for the seasonal interests of the Inuit and the school calendar which was followed was that of the southern schools. (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972:43). It was not just the school calendar which ignored northern realities; perhaps the most glaring examples of irrelevance were found in the curriculum and materials used within northern schools.

Curriculum

Early missionary education involved teaching both adults and children how to read, so that they could read the hymn book and the Bible, or training them to memorise sections from both these sources. Other missionaries added a little more to this approach:

> each week we added to our repertoire of hymns. This was also true of the prayers and Bible verses. Finally, we studied the syllabic characters and arithmetic. At this stage of the Eskimo's development neither the children nor the adults had much use for arithmetic, but it seemed necessary for them to become familiar with the English method of counting. It put them at less of a disadvantage with the white men in the country. (Fleming 1956: 75)

Not all northern missionaries were as narrow in their approach; some like Father André Steinmann, developed a more comprehensive curriculum and organized a type of formal schooling. In Povungnituk before the advent of the federal school, Father Steinmann ran a school for seventy-five children. He divided the children into three groups depending on their age and taught each group once a day (Steinmann 1977: 275). He taught in Inuttitut.
Notre école ne ressemblait donc en rien à celles du sud. Elle était faite, exclusivement pour les Inuit — pour les aider à améliorer eux-mêmes leurs conditions de vie sans pour autant en faire de futurs chômeurs instruits. (Steinmann 1977: 276).

In an effort to make his school more relevant to the children's everyday experience, a number of times each week he and the children would pay a visit on one of the families. The parents would tell the group of children how their son and/or daughter took part in the daily life of the family. At the end of the visit the group would award the child a grade depending on how much they felt he or she contributed within the family. Steinmann commented that parents told him that this practice encouraged children to help willingly around the home. (An interesting variation of merit awards or gold stars used in a traditional classroom setting.) Father Steinmann also placed great importance on other forms of practical learning relevant to the children's life in the North such as building an igloo, using a gun, training dogs and using a sled, as well as teaching the use of money and encouraging "the development of a healthy mind in a healthy body". (Steinmann 1977: 280). Individual missionaries obviously developed idiosyncratic methods of schooling closely related to how they saw the priorities of their particular situation. In the church residential schools the approach tended to be far more rigid particularly in the use of language. (Brant and Hobart 1966: 59). In some schools all teaching was in English and children were strongly discouraged from using their own language at any time. This practice contributed to the schizophrenic nature of the residential school experience, so completely divorced from the child's northern lifestyle.
Minnie Freeman (1978) experienced two residential schools. At St. Thomas Anglican School, in Moosonee, Mrs Freeman was the only Inuk child; she had to learn two languages at the same time, English and Cree and Cree had three different dialects. She was frequently very lonely and found the school routine unfamiliar and at times totally incomprehensible, (c.f. her experience in her first church service Freeman 1978: 105). Some years later Mrs Freeman was sent to the Catholic Residential School at Fort George. Once again she had a new language to cope with, French, and as the second language of the nuns was Cree and/or English she remained at a considerable disadvantage. After early mass, breakfast and the performance of a particular chore (working in the kitchen, the dining room, the dispensary or the laundry) the children went into class.

In the class, we said a prayer, sang O Canada and God save the King. We memorized catechism for half an hour and one of the priests would come up and give us religion lessons. Each of us had to stand up and recite what we had memorized. Our teacher would then come back, and we would study history, spelling and arithmetic. All was silence during class unless we had to speak for our teacher. Other days we would have Home economics, sewing and knitting, learning ingredients and baking. Some days we went for a stroll and some days we would have library day. History, I could never understand. The four continents or the nine (at that time) provinces of Canada did not mean anything to me. I had no idea what Canada was. As far as I was concerned, there was only Cape Hope Island, Charlton Island, Old Factory, Moose Factory and Fort George and all the little islands that I knew by their Inuit names. (Freeman 1978: 116).
The federal day schools which were opened in each community (see map 6) at least did not remove the child from his or her home for elementary education, but the curriculum they followed and the materials they used were frequently as irrelevant to the northern child's experience as that used by the larger residential schools. In 1952 the Federal government decided, as an interim measure, that provincial school curricula would be adopted in northern schools. This meant that schools in Northern Quebec were using the curriculum of the Protestant School Board of Quebec, or at times Ontario's. In 1963 the Glassco Commission recommended the same approach. (Frederickson 1965:4). The interim measure, supposedly only temporary, had already lasted for ten years and was to go on longer even though the government admitted that

While the adoption of the various provincial programmes was a necessary expedient, it was soon realized that they were ill-suited to the needs of the children and to the social, cultural and economic situations confronting the teachers... (Frederickson 1965:43).

In the 1965-66 Education Review the Federal government claimed that in the development of northern school programmes it subscribed to the following principles:

1. Cultural inclusion - an intentional reference in every unit of instruction to the cultural experience and environment of the child.
2. Cultural enrichment - the inclusion of learning experiences and materials to compensate for lacks in the child's environment.
3. Pedagogical selection - the selection by teachers of enriching programs and activities which will be interesting, challenging and meaningful to the child. (1965-66:9).

In reality the transplanted southern curriculum was often taught virtually unchanged. However willing some of the teachers might have
been to add relevant cultural components, they were limited by two important considerations: their own lack of knowledge of the northern situation and the lack of any support materials which dealt specifically with the north.

As none of the teachers spoke Inuitut their first task was to teach their pupils English. The problems of achieving this with southern curriculum materials must have been almost unsurmountable. Gwen Pruden who taught school in George River commented

One of my special difficulties is that I have no special teaching books for Eskimos. I use southern books, the "Dick and Jane" books of the Curriculum Foundation Series, about farms and automobiles and houses, apartment living in a city, the milkman, and the mailman who comes to the houses. It may be good for them to learn all this, but at the beginning it's very confusing. Sally is helping Mother set the table and Dick is working with Father in the garden, when it should be something about catching seals or caribou hunting, or other things with which they are familiar. (Iglauer 1979: 201).

In the same book Iglauer gives a vivid picture of Inuit men being taught the English words mother and father from cards with pictures of a white woman in a pink dress holding flowers and a white man holding a baseball bat. (1979: 201).

There were those teachers like Marjorie Hinds who felt that as she was attempting to help the Inuit bridge the gap between two cultures, southern school materials at least served to introduce them to "the white man's world". (Hinds 1958: 103). However at the same time she considered that schooling should be part of living and integrated into the children's daily lives. Individual teachers in the North did try to incorporate some form of cultural heritage into the schooling experience.
In Port Harrison, Eileen McArthur mentions that with the help of the local community the teachers encouraged their pupils to take part in the traditional activities. The boys would go off hunting during the weekend with some of the men and during the week Inuit women would come to the school and demonstrate and explain traditional crafts. (McArthur Feb. 1950:15).

Generally however the elementary school curriculum in the north concentrated on the same basic subject areas which existed in southern schools: arithmetic, spelling, writing, reading, with lessons in social studies (history and geography) art and music. The learning of English was the most important concern and permeated every aspect of the school. (Varkony 1967:82,96). In the provincial schools, although the language policy was different there were still severe problems, compounded by Quebec's aim to have the first three years of schooling in Inuitut. Initially a Quebec provincial teacher was the official class teacher but she had an Inuit assistant who was a future Inuit teacher in training. These assistants were learning French as almost all of them had been educated in the Federal School System and therefore spoke English. The children in the class were coming into contact with three languages. They were also having problems in learning to write. While having daily contact with both French and English, they were also learning to write their own language. There were two forms of writing Inuitut, in syllabics (a system of symbols adapted by Rev. E.J.Peck) or using normalised a Roman alphabet writing system developed by Ottawa. Both these methods were taught
in some schools making a heavy load for the children involved. (Reid 1978:31).

As with the federal schools the provincial schools followed the curriculum of southern Québec schools. Provincial teachers were also short of relevant teaching materials and strongly criticized the Commission Sources for the lack of text books in the native language. (Davis and Zannis 1973:104-105). In their opinion the Commission made no attempt to develop a relevant form of schooling for the north. 

Dans les écoles où nous enseignons, tout ou presque vient du Sud: programmes, méthodes, manuels, moyens techniques, normes et structures administratives et évidemment décisions. (L'Inuit et notre système d'éducation 1972:43).

A few teachers like Yves Michaud learned Inuittitut and became very involved in Inuit society as well as developing written materials in Inuittitut for use in the schools. (Reid 1978:29). Others did their best to add some relevance to the southern curriculum by introducing Inuit content. There were also those who used their southern curriculum materials without understanding its implications.

The book Mrs Aubin taught from was made in France for teaching French in the United States and elsewhere, and said something like: "Why don't you give each child a French name, just for purpose of the class?" (Reid 1978: 30).

So Inuit children who already had an English name because of the Anglican missionary heritage, were given a French name for use in school. It is not surprising that both pupils and parents tended to see schooling as a completely separate experience divorced from their everyday life. (Willmott 1961: 108).
The Experience of the Colonized

On the surface at least, the initial attitude of the Inuit towards the practice of schooling was one of acceptance. They listened while missionaries and teachers told them of the importance of schooling for their children’s future and the children went to school, not always regularly, but they did attend. This apparent acquiescence mislead some administrators into making statements such as

parents... not only wish to send their children to school, but willingly wave them farewell as they board a plane and are wafted many miles from home to stay months on end in a well-managed residence adjacent to a school. (Thorsteinsson 1965: 104).

Missionaries and administrators alike made such assumptions because outwardly the Inuit remained calm and cheerful in such situations. The Inuit had a strong cultural tradition of controlling strong emotion (c.f. Briggs, 1978). Because traditional band society required a high level of cooperation for survival, emotional friction could be disastrous for the group and so such behavior was actively discouraged, among both the children and adults.

Another aspect of this apparent "willingness to wave farewell" lay in a deeper Inuit attitude to life in general. Willmott (1961) advances the theory that the Eskimo’s attitude toward the environment is summed up in the word "arunamut" which literally means "because nothing can be done", and implies "therefore we must face the situation without regret". Ever since the white man entered the Arctic, the Eskimo has said "arunamut" to all his incomprehensible antics. (Willmot 1961: 125).
However the reality of the situation of sending their children off to residential schools meant far more to the Inuit than either the missionary or administrator seemed able (or willing) to comprehend.

You remember your parents, your brothers and sisters - how they looked that day - while the (plane) is outside, waiting for you. You remember the pain in your heart, and you don’t really want to look into your parents’ eyes as you see the unhappiness and hurt in them, even though your father is trying to cover it up as best he can. This is the time you feel a strong emotional moment with them, but at the same time you don’t want to show it by breaking down... So you try to be strong... (Tagoona 1971: 63).

In many places the choice was between residential schooling or no schooling at all and both Canadian Northern Service officers and missionaries were very persuasive at selling the importance of education. (Brant and Hobart 1966:61, Freeman 1978:103, 112-113). Teachers in residential schools commented that Inuit children rarely cried or complained and seemed quite happy at school. Brant and Hobart commented that

Most of the school personnel mistake the rather mask-like smiling faces surrounding them as evidence of good adjustment on the part of the children of a supposedly innately cheerful and happy people. (1966:61).

Inuit parents however generally counselled their children to control their emotions while at school so as not to upset teachers and staff.

My father walked beside me down to the boat, talking all the while “You must be obedient, you will experience no punishment that way. Never tease the other children no matter how they tease you, just go away and do not retaliate. Don’t touch other peoples things. Just do what you are asked to do, you will find it much more pleasant. It will not be long before you come back. Do not waste your time being lonely for home, because you will learn nothing that way.” (Freeman 1978: 113-114).
For children like Minnie Aodla Freeman the residential school experience was often a lonely and bewildering one. (Freeman:103-120). Unfamiliar language, routines, food and people made adjustment very difficult. Often when the child did manage to adjust it was at the cost of feeling ashamed of her own cultural heritage.

Along with the letter came a parcel: a pair of kamit (sealskin boots). Having been away from home for sometime the smell of the kamit seemed awful to me. Some girls began to make comments and vomiting sounds, saying "Eskimo, Eskimo". (Freeman' 1978: 106).

Children were often away from their home for years at a time, and on their return to the settlement found it very difficult to go back to a way of living which had been denigrated within the school setting. The school curriculum, concentrating as it did on southern culture and language implicitly devalued traditional culture. (Brant and Hobart 1966: 62-3).

Children who went to residential schools (whether missionary or later government run) often developed problem behaviour when they returned home: Parents commented that their children had changed.

It seems when the children come home, there is no improvement in their knowledge. Some of us notice that when our children return, their personalities seem damaged. They don't want to help us anymore and just want to lie around doing nothing. (Mingo Alaki, The Northerners 1974: 55).

When the first federal day schools were set up a great deal of pressure was brought to bear on the Inuit to ensure that their children went to school. As a result of this pressure, and because they did not like being away from their children, many families which had been leading a semi-nomadic life began to move to permanent settlements.
While many Inuit children enjoyed much of their elementary schooling they also found a great deal of it puzzling. One young Inuk from Sugluk commented to me, for example, that she had enough problems coping with the geography of her own area without learning about the map of Africa, an experience she remembers as totally bewildering.

Parents who had moved into settlements to be near their children while they went to school found that once the children had finished elementary school, they had to leave home to go to residential schools in Churchill, Ottawa or Great Whale River, and sometimes other high-schools. Like those parents whose children had gone to missionary residential schools the parents became increasingly unhappy about the effect schooling seemed to be having on the children.

Our children come out of this system knowing the names of all the places in the South but not the names of the places around their homes. Our children are losing their language. (Srumarapik, The Northerners 1974: 46).

While many Inuit parents thought it important that their children learnt English they were concerned at the way in which this was carried out.

In one Takamuit area school the junior teacher forbade the children to speak Eskimo (Inuittut) in school and she punished some of the children who did so. The Eskimo parents were very upset when they heard about this, as they (did) not believe in physical punishment of any kind, especially for speaking one’s own language. (Graburn 1969: 201).

Parents gradually became more outspoken about their doubts of schooling.

Although their children were supposed to be learning English, few of
them seemed to be acquiring any fluency. The parents had been told that schooling and further training would enable their children to find jobs in the north, and it was becoming increasingly obvious that this was not happening. In many settlements young people were returning home after finishing their schooling and were unable to find employment.

We feel especially irritated when we see white people coming here to do jobs that could be done by the Inuit. (Illisituk, The Northerners 1974:52).

Concerned with what seemed to be the failure of schooling to be responsive to their aspirations for their children, Inuit parents began to ask for a measure of control over the schooling their children received.

In February of this year, we asked the man in control of education, Mr ___ to move to the north so we could participate in the decisions he is making. We want to make decisions together. Too often, he acts as if he owned our children... We want to take over the education system gradually. Much of the Inuit life is perishing, and if we lose our language our way of life will be lost. (Sivuarapik, The Northerners 1974:47).

Parents whose children were attending provincial schools were of the same opinion.

Quelque chose doit être fait... L'Esquimau doit rester Esquimau et faire ce qu'il croit être le mieux. Il doit apprendre à vivre en Esquimau. A l'école, il apprend la façon des Blancs mais ce n'est pas suffisant. L'enfant doit apprendre à devenir un adulte esquimau. (Tukkipik. L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1972: 37).
By the 1970's parents were demanding some form of community control and Inuit teachers were supporting these demands for northern input into the Provincial system.

Combien de temps encore devons-nous attendre avant d'avoir le droit de dire et de faire ce que nous voulons pour notre peuple? Les Blancs ne peuvent pas s'imaginer ce que nous ressentons quand ils nous obligent à faire des choses qui servent à détroyer ce qui reste de notre culture. (L'Inuit et "notre" système d'éducation 1974:39).
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Inuit of Northern Quebec constituted an internal colony. They shared with many other groups, both colonial and internal colonial, the characteristics of this condition: a history of economic exploitation and cultural and political domination. Their schooling experience demonstrated the depth of the colonial relationship between the Inuit and Canadian governments, both federal and provincial. Like other colonized groups the initial form of schooling provided to the Inuit was missionary controlled, limited in content, and often denigrated or neglected native cultural beliefs and ideas. Government sponsored schooling perpetuated a vicious circle where low expectations were confirmed by low levels of achievement. There was little or no community involvement or control of the schooling provided. The curriculum bore little relationship to either the interests or to the cultural background of the Inuit. Teachers were usually non-native and frequently had no knowledge of the
traditional culture of the native people. The schooling experience whether at the residential school or in the village drove a wedge between the generations; Inuit parents were no longer able to communicate with their children and felt that a common cultural heritage was disappearing. Children in the system were marginalized, not only from their own society, but also from that of the colonizer. From both the parents' and the pupils' point of view schooling had failed to live up to the expectations raised by white educators and administrators.

Personally, I'm not pleased with the idea of sending kids to school. They don't seem to learn anything of value for the future. There is only one person from here that ever got a job as a result of having an education. (Annanak, The Northerners 1974:68).

Writers such as Memmi 1967 and Blauner 1972 have commented that community control of the education system is of key importance in the process of decolonization. The Inuit were finally given such control by the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975. Section 17 of this agreement set down the ground rules for the founding of the Kativik School Board. This School Board was to have sole responsibility for Inuit schooling in Northern Quebec. The organizational task facing the newly elected Board in July 1978 was a daunting one. Kativik's territory consisted of fifteen communities in an area larger than the Atlantic Provinces. None of these communities was connected by road, and telephone and radio communication was often problematic. The School Board was responsible for providing some form of central administration and support for approximately 2000 students and 150 teachers in these isolated communities. The School Board also had
responsibility for developing Inuitut teaching materials, in-service teacher training and administering post-secondary education.

In each Northern community an Education Committee is elected. These committees are generally delegated the following responsibilities by the Kativik School Board: hiring and retention of teachers, establishing the school calendar, deciding the language(s) of instruction at each level of schooling, developing programmes in Inuit culture and skills and hiring teachers to implement these programmes and hiring support staff and selecting adult education and training programmes for the community. The Education Committees also act as an advisory body to the Kativik School Board on matters concerning education within a specific community, and general education policy for Arctic Quebec. An Education Council was also set up. This Council consists of two representatives from each Education Committee and acts as a special advisory group to the School Board Commissioners, meeting with them twice a year. It was hoped that this form of organization would provide a structure which would ensure adequate participation by the people in all aspects of education in the community and...would quickly detect and solve administrative support and pedagogical problems at the community level. (Kativik Annual Report 1979:1).

In 1979 the Education Council adopted the following aims and objectives for Inuit education. The purpose of education was fourfold: to enable the survival of the Inuk individual, the family and the community, to provide each person with the opportunity to develop to the limits of his desires and ability, to acquire the necessary training to earn
a living and to learn to work with others and understand both the local and the large society. The Council considered that Inuit education should be taught from the Inuit point of view and create awareness and understanding of what it is to be Inuit. While enabling each person to acquire the skills needed to live successfully in the north, education should also develop the skills needed to study western technology for those who wish to get an advanced western education. Curriculum concerns were to include a knowledge of Inuit culture, art and Inuititut language as well as past Inuit history, knowledge of the natural sciences and the social sciences including developing skills to understand the economic and social structures of Inuit and western society, mathematics appropriate to need and the learning of at least one western language. The school curriculum was to be altered and re-structured accordingly. (Kativik Annual Report 1979:7-8).

Part of Kativik's mandate was training of Inuit teachers. The Kativik teacher-training programme was offered jointly by McGill University and the Kativik School Board. This programme was recognised by the province which granted legal certification to the Inuit teachers upon completion of thirty credits. It was hoped that some Inuit would go on to get their Bachelor of Education. (Cram 1981:11).

The Kativik School Board has been in existence little more than half a decade and is still suffering from growing pains. Although more and more Inuit are being trained as teachers and administrators the Board must still also rely on non-Inuit staff. The contradiction
inherent in this situation has caused serious problems in similar situations (c.f. Blöcker 1982) and this is of great concern to the Inuit communities. There remains a shortage of suitable teaching materials relevant to both Northern language and culture and there are problems with school organization and accommodation. The issue of a second language continues to be a sore point in some communities and the contents of the curriculum have been criticised by both the more traditionally oriented and those who want a return to the more southern based curriculum of the past. Many remain optimistic however and point to the fact that Kativik's principle objective is an ongoing process, "to enable the Inuit to survive in a constantly changing, and sometimes threatening, world, without forgetting who they are and where they came from." (Kativik Annual Report 1979:9).
### APPENDIX

**Communities in Northern Quebec mentioned in text**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inuit</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kuujjuarapik</td>
<td>Great Whale River</td>
<td>Poste-de-la-Baieine</td>
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<td>Port Harrison</td>
<td>Inoucadjouac</td>
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<td>Sugluk</td>
<td>Saglouc</td>
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<td>Kuujjuaq</td>
<td>Fort Chimo</td>
<td>Fort Chimo</td>
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<td>George River</td>
<td>Port Nouveau Québec</td>
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<td>Killiniq</td>
<td>Port Burwell</td>
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<td>Mailasi</td>
<td>Fort George</td>
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(Kativik School Board, Teaching in Arctic Quebec, 1981, p. 5.)
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<td>Brody, Hugh</td>
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<td>Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development</td>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>Education Review. Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec.</td>
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<td>Carnoy, Martin</td>
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<td>Education and Cultural Imperialism</td>
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</table>
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Map 1 Northern Quebec. Place names mentioned in the text.
Map 2. Inuit and White population in Northern Quebec, 1970.
(Robitaille 1970:12).

Fort George and Great Whale River also have Indian populations of 1,235 and 310 respectively.
Map 5  Approximate dates of the establishment of permanent Inuit settlements in Northern Quebec. (Graburn 1969, The Northerners 1974).

Churches, H.B.C. Posts and R.C.M.P. Posts existed previously to these dates.
Map 6: The Establishment of Federal Schools in Northern Quebec.
Figure 1 Organization Chart: Direction Generale du Nouveau Quebec. (Department of Natural Resources. Annual Report 1967-68).
Figure 2 Organization Chart: Education Division, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. (DIAND Education Review 1965-66:2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
<th>No. of Classrooms</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>Enrolment by Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort Chimo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>24 25 30 18 16 3 5 4 2 1</td>
</tr>
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<td>George River</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26 14 3 1</td>
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<td>Koartak</td>
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<td>12 9</td>
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<td>Payne Bay</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8 9 11 9 9 2</td>
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<td>Wakeham Bay</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15 18 6</td>
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<td>6 1 9 6 3</td>
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Table 1. Number of Inuit pupils in Federal Schools in Northern Quebec 1965-66 (DIAHED Education Review 1965-66: 48).
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<td>George River</td>
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<td>Koartak</td>
<td>9 (24%)</td>
<td>25 (76%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Payne Bay</td>
<td>27 (47%)</td>
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<td>Wakeham Bay</td>
<td>31 (48%)</td>
<td>33 (54%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great Whale River</td>
<td>5 (2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Igloolik</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Port Harrison</td>
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<td>122 (100%)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Povungnituk</td>
<td>53 (27%)</td>
<td>143 (73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugluk</td>
<td>17 (14%)</td>
<td>102 (86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>180 (16%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>966 (84%)</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 2  Number of Inuit pupils in Federal and Provincial Elementary Schools 1971-72 (Craig 1973: 231-232).