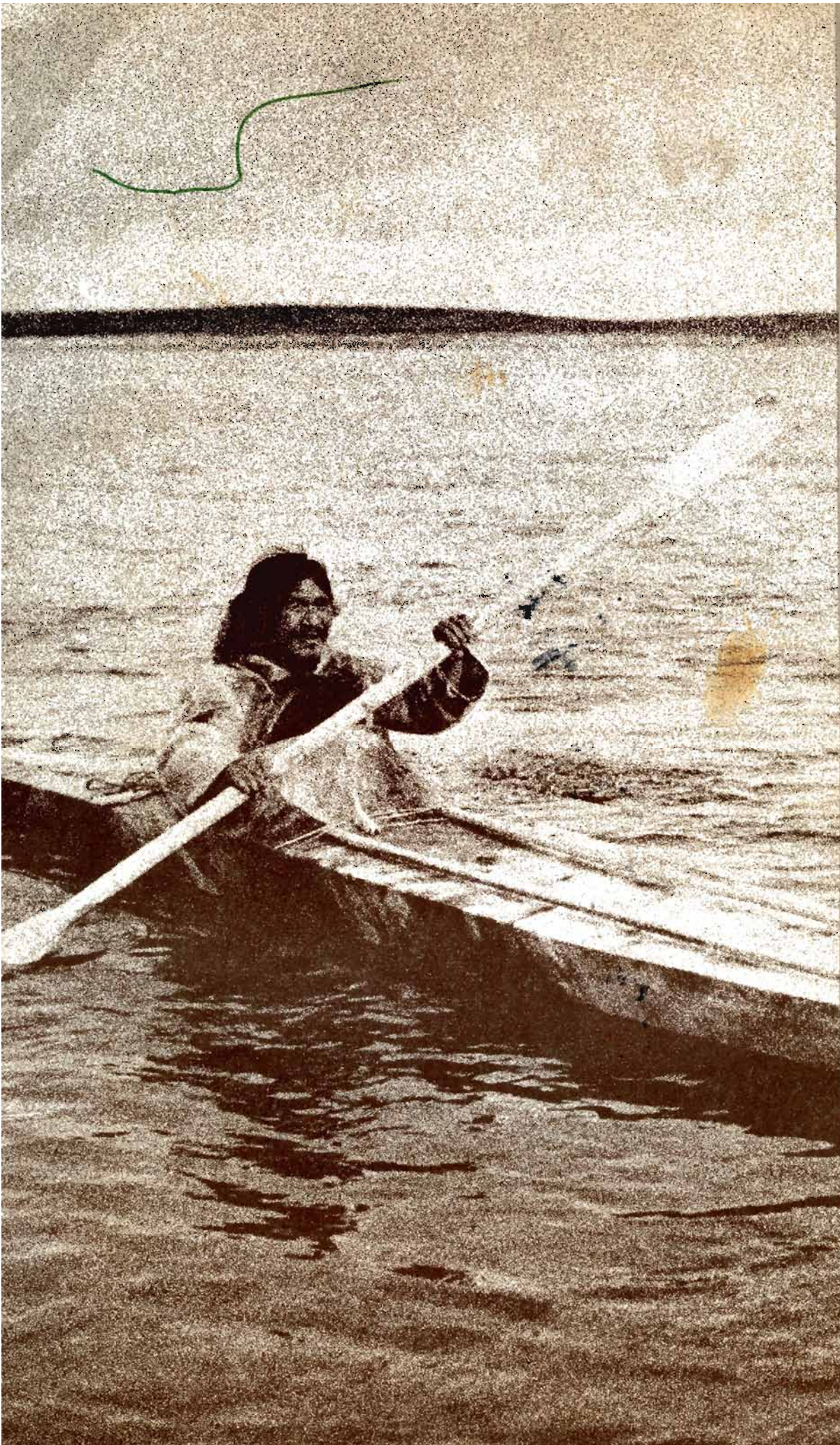




SIX

## **The Netsilik Eskimos at the Inland Camps**



**Man: A Course of Study**

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# THE NETSILIK ESKIMOS AT THE INLAND CAMPS

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# PREFACE

## WHAT IS A MAN?

Far north, where the ice shelf lies on the waters of the Arctic Ocean, are holes where seals rise to breathe. In season, and according to complex plans laid down by the ancestors, men come to these holes. Alone, wrapped in garments of fur, a man waits beside a seal's blowhole. A cold wind blows across the ice and snow. The man waits. A black shadow appears. The man stands ready with his harpoon. Drawing upon the advice of friends and kinsmen, basing his actions upon years of play and practice, he casts his weapon. It strikes the seal, and the handle breaks away leaving a barbed hook embedded in the animal's flesh. The seal dives and the line attached to the hook burns across the gloved hands of the hunter. The water churns and the harpoon handle bobs against the ice on the side of the blowhole. Centuries of experience have led to the perfection of the man's clothing and his weapon. Even so, the man has difficulty gaining a firm grip upon the harpoon line. The man is half frozen and weak from hunger. The seal is bleeding and in need of oxygen. Man and seal, two animals, are tugging on opposite ends of the same line. There is a good probability that neither one will survive. The man puts forth his greatest effort. His feet begin to slip. He is lost, alone. His being cries out for help. Suddenly, behind him, pulling on the line, he feels the hands of father, grandfather and all who died before. These are the spirits of the ancestors stretching in an almost invisible line behind the hunter toward the mist and blackness of the distant shore. With a last burst of strength, man, the hunter, heaves the seal from the water, cuts its throat and drinks the outward pulsing blood.

Man and seal are both warm-blooded mammals. The Eskimo recognizes the kinship and seems to see in the seal a kind of nobility in which the seal yields up its soul so other souls may live. The differences between the two animals are not great. The seal is smaller and has slightly less brain tissue per pound of body weight. The flesh and blood and bones of a seal are much like those of a man. The seal is adapted to life in the Arctic; man is a newcomer there. Man learns from experience; so does the seal. The seal observes the world around him and learns all of the basic tricks of survival. The man also observes and learns. Both animals learn complicated routines, do tricks, and appear in circuses. Neither the eye of the camera nor the knife of a surgeon can tell us precisely what it is that gives the man his edge over the seal.

What is it that man has and the seal lacks? If man is only a warm-blooded mammal like the seal, then the study of man remains a branch of biology and we can find out most of what needs to be known about him by studying the birds and the bees, the white rats and the salivating dogs. The great divide between man and all other animals is expressed in the man's harpoon, clothing and brain -- not just the shape of the brain, but what goes on inside it. The Eskimo and all men possess sets of beliefs, feelings, and practices which have been handed down across uncounted generations. Men are capable of expressing themselves and communicating in terms of symbolic codes called languages, games or art forms. Men are heir to a vast accumulation of experience. They are recipients of a grand message containing the wisdom and folly of all the preceding generations of mankind. The ancestral spirits which help the Eskimo are only partly imagined -- the wisdom and knowledge of the ancestors give aid to every man. The art of harpooning seals can be learned from a book.

The culture-building capacity sets man apart from all other known animals. This capacity permits men to communicate by means of language, to cooperate in solving problems, to raise and train children, to develop unique interpretations of the nature of things, and to form organizations. Almost everything that man does is done by some animal somewhere, but there is no animal capable of doing all the things that men do. No man long exists without the help and love of other humans. No man exists unless he becomes in some way a part of the great message that is culture.\*

\*From Culture in Process by Alan R. Beals. Copyright (c) 1967 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

## SECTION I THE NETSILIK WORLD

### Life at a Stone-Weir Fishing Camp in Late Summer

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Here begins the study of man in society. He has been called the culture-builder, the ethical creature, the toolmaker, the dream animal. All these descriptions share a common thread, for they are based on man's ability to symbolize and on his gift -- or burden -- of self-awareness. Without language and consciousness, man could not define right and wrong; he could not abstract, hypothesize, predict; he could not invent or describe tools. By all these actions, man creates a world of his own invention and transmits it from generation to generation. This cultural, man-made world differs from society to society, but it rests on abilities common to all men.

In the Netsilik unit, the children see man in what might be called his Eskimo incarnation. It opens with Netsilik thoughts and beliefs that are examples of the "rage to explain" present in man everywhere. As the children go on, they discover the limitations of observation as a method of studying people. Observation, no matter how careful, cannot tell what a behavior means to a Netsilik. To understand the meaning of things and events, we must listen to myths, beliefs and personal stories of the Netsilik. We have learned these things from Knud Rasmussen, a man who visited the Netsilik and recorded their stories and conversations as well as their actions. Language, the foundation of culture, also enables us to find out about other people.

The first Netsilik people that the children find out about are the members of the family seen on film -- Itimangnark, Kingnuk, Umiapik. We see these people first as individuals and later as representatives of all Netsilik families. Through their lives the children trace the yearly migration pattern that enables the Netsilik to hunt successfully the game that live in one of the world's harshest environments.

NOTE: The Talk to Teachers entitled "World View" provides background on Netsilik beliefs. Teachers are urged to read it before teaching this section, and it is suggested that they read through page 32 of this manual.

## A. Man Lives in Two Worlds

2 DAYS

Man's new world was "invisible" in that it lay, not so much in his surroundings as in man's brain, in his way of looking at the world around him and at the social environment he was beginning to create in his tiny human groupings. He was becoming something the world had never seen before -- a dream animal -- living at least partially within a secret universe of his own creation and sharing that secret universe in his head with other, similar heads. Symbolic communication had begun. Man had escaped out of the eternal present of the animal world into a knowledge of past and future. The unseen gods, the powers behind the world of phenomenal appearance, began to stalk through his dreams.

Loren Eiseley, The Immense Journey

Man lives in two worlds, one of things he can touch and another of things he cannot touch. The world of the intangible includes the meanings that man attaches to his environment and his actions. To know man, we must inquire into these meanings; to know the Netsilik, we must listen to their stories, legends and myths.

Film, "Fishing at the Stone Weir,"  
Part I (first 8 min., 16mm; or  
cartridge 1, Super-8 <sup>mm</sup>)

Record, "Words Rise Up"

Booklets: Songs and Stories of the  
Netsilik Eskimos  
This World We Know

Film projector

Screen

Phonograph

Notebooks for children

Optional: Copies of the  
Old Testament



## 1. INTRODUCING THE NETSILIK AND THE TUNDRA

Introduce the film, "Fishing at the Stone Weir," by asking the class to consider such questions as:

What does this film tell you about Netsilik life?

In what ways are these people like you?

Does anything in the film surprise you?

Show the film up to the point where the family finishes putting up the tent.

The students may enjoy keeping personal notebooks to record impressions of the Netsilik or questions they want to explore. They can refer to their notebooks from time to time to see how their ideas have changed or to record new ideas. Some children may prefer to consider their notebooks private. If they are willing to share their ideas, however, the whole class will benefit.

## 2. THE NETSILIK INNER WORLD

As the Eskimo hunter and his family silently cross the tundra their thoughts are many. Some may be unique, reflecting their personal impressions and experiences, while others are likely to be based on knowledge and experiences shared by all Netsilik. This lesson focuses on beliefs shared by all Netsilik. Their myths offer an explanation of the origin and structure of the world. Play "Thunder and Lightning" on the record "Words Rise Up." "Thunder and Lightning" and several other poems about origins of natural phenomena appear in the book Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos. After playing the record, divide the class into small groups and ask each group to read aloud one of the following poems:

"The Earth and the People"

"Day and Night and How They Came to Be"

"The Things in the Sky"

"Sun and Moon"

"Thunder and Lightning"

The last two poems can be read dramatically by assigning roles to three children: narrator, boy and girl.

Following this, the children listen to more Netsilik explanations -- "Stories of Beginning Times," on "Words Rise Up." Drawing on this record and the previous poems, the children can discuss the following questions:

What do these songs and stories tell us about the Netsilik inner world?

Why would the Netsilik want to explain these things?

### 3. OTHER VIEWS OF ORIGINS

All men wonder how things in their world came to be. Ask the class to think about the various ways we explain the origin of our world. In a research assignment children can compare "Stories of Beginning Times" in This World We Know with some of our own views on origins.

Encourage interested children to expand the research project to include origin stories and myths from other cultures. The children should look for common themes as well as differences. (This research is a good example of what the children might record in their notebooks.)

FILM NOTES: FISHING AT THE STONE WEIR, PART I (first 8 minutes, natural sound)

It is early August, the time of the year in the Arctic when mosquitoes abound. Itimangnark, his wife Kingnuk, and their adopted son Umiapik are traveling to a place on the Kugardjuk River where they will fish for Arctic char. Kingnuk picks up a little arctic cotton as she sloshes through the marshy tundra; later she will use it for kindling for the fire. Both adults are heavily loaded with all the possessions they will need at this time of the year. Utah, the family dog, carries the sealskin tent and the soapstone cooking pot.

As the family nears the fishing place, they see a tent near the river's edge. They are happy to find that young Kakiarmiut has arrived before them. Itimangnark puts up his tent nearby. (See note in The Data Book about the two kinds of tents the Netsilik use.)

(Notes on the remaining 22 minutes of this film appear at the end of the next lesson.)



## B. The Physical and the Symbolic Worlds Influence Man's Behavior

2 DAYS

Everywhere the sun, moon and stars, the climates and weathers, have meanings for people. Though meanings vary, we are alike in all countries and tribes in trying to read what sky, land and sea say to us. Alike and ever alike we are on all continents in the need of love, food, clothing, work, speech, worship, sleep, games, dancing, fun. From tropics to arctics humanity lives with these needs so alike, so inexorably alike.\*

We can learn much about man by observing his behavior, just as we learn about other animals by observation. But man is a symbolizing creature, and we must inquire into the meaning of his behavior if we are to understand humanness.

Film, "Fishing at the Stone Weir,"  
Part I (last 22 min., 16mm; or  
cartridge 2, Super-8mm)  
Booklet, This World We Know

Film projector  
Screen  
Drawing paper and  
crayons

### 1. OBSERVING LIFE AT A FISH CAMP

In the film "Fishing at the Stone Weir," many aspects of human life (family relationships, play, learning, technology) blend together to form two days of life in a Netsilik camp. Throughout the Netsilik lessons, we isolate one or another of these aspects to analyze it. The films, in contrast, do

\*From Carl Sandburg's Prologue to The Family of Man, created by Edward Steichen for The Museum of Modern Art. Copyright 1955 by The Museum of Modern Art, New York, and reprinted with its permission.

not focus on any one aspect; they attempt to show the continuity, the wholeness, of the people's lives.

Before showing this segment of the film, divide the children into five groups and ask each group to watch for one of the following:

- how the Netsilik are getting food
- how they are caring for their young
- what things men are doing
- what things the woman is doing
- what things the boy is doing (notice especially his playing)

Introduce the Eskimo family to the children: Umiapik (oo-MY-apik), the boy; Kingnuk (KING-nook), his mother; Itimangnark (ity-MAHNG-nark), his father. Encourage comments during the film. If some children react negatively to the scenes of cutting up dead fish, eating fish eyes and eating uncooked food, have them discuss why they feel that way. In the following quotation a Frenchman who traveled among the Eskimos in the 1930's relates his own initial disgust with the unfamiliar, and the way his tastes changed in a short time.

Even to-day, as I write, it is still difficult for me to explain how it happened that I was able to accustom myself to this life, so that within a month a description like this would seem to me stupid, would seem a recital of non-essentials and a neglect of everything consequent in Eskimo existence.

Fortunately, I was too overcome with weariness to be able to think. Details met my eye and offended it, but they could not react as far as the brain. My box had been dragged in, and like an automaton I opened it in order to find something to eat, something "white" that would preserve me from all this. My soup was not there! Had I forgotten it? Probably; and for the reason that I had thought about it too much not to forget it.... What was I to eat? That frozen fish? That repellent snow-covered thing I could hear grating in their teeth as they chewed?

The household stared at me, and I needed no word of Eskimo to understand what they were thinking: not only had this white man no tidbits to offer to them, he had not even brought his own grub. They said nothing, but their disapproval was unmistakable. Sick at heart, I crept into my bag and fell asleep without a morsel of food. . . .

After a brief few weeks, all this had dropped away from me. I do not mean that I had stopped yearning for telephones and motor cars, things I should always be able to live without. I mean that the thought of a daily change of linen was gone from my mind; that a joint of beef would not have made my mouth water, and I loved the taste of frozen fish, particularly if it had frozen instantaneously and retained its pristine savour all through the winter. As a matter of fact, I do not remember being served anything in France as much to my taste.\*

## 2. INTERPRETING LIFE AT A FISH CAMP

Many of the activities the people in the film engage in are clear to us without further explanation; they are closely related to our own activities. We see the people erect a tent for shelter, repair the fish trap, catch, clean and eat fish, and entertain one another. Other scenes are not as clear. We must know more about the people and their thoughts to understand what they are doing.

What activities in the film could you understand immediately?

Which of these might also happen in your life?

What actions did you have trouble understanding?

Both Kingnuk and Itimangnark do many things that derive meaning from the symbolic world of the Netsilik. We cannot understand these behaviors without exploring the inner world of the Netsilik. Kingnuk braids her hair onto a stick, perhaps partly from vanity, but also to show by the colors of the binding strips that she has a son. She covers the eyes of the fish with ashes to ensure future good fishing. Itimang-

\*Gontran de Poncins, Kabloona (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), pp. 62, 261. Reprinted by permission of William Morrow & Company, Inc.

nark repairs his tools some distance from the fishing site, so he will not anger the spirits of his cosmos. Kingnuk and Itimangnark, and all Netsilik, feel more secure when their actions are in harmony with their beliefs.

To find out why Kingnuk covers the fish eyes with ashes and why Itimangnark repairs his leister (LEE-ster) away from the fishing site, the children can read the last page of the chapter "The Ancient Rules of Life" in This World We Know.

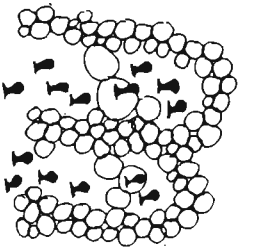
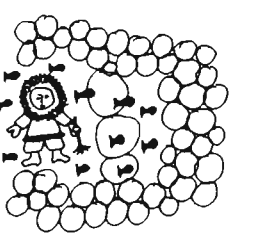
Why do the Netsilik follow these rules?

How would they feel if they did not do what the rules required?

From what you have observed in the film and heard on the record, what other things do you think the Netsilik might care about?

The children might enjoy making "storyboards" at several points in the unit. Each child divides a piece of drawing paper into eight boxes: the top four boxes for illustrations, and the bottom boxes for captions. In this lesson, each child could choose several ideas which were presented earlier by the small groups. Some children may wish to caption their pictures with dialogue and others with explanations.

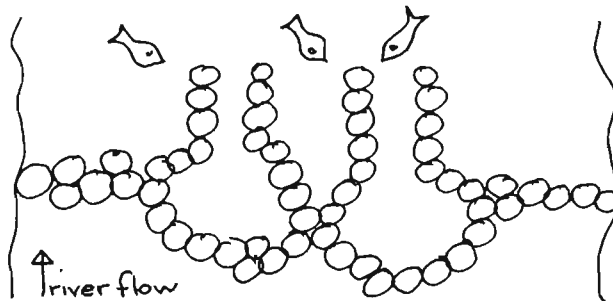
Sample Storyboard:

|                                                                                                  |                                                                                     |                                                                                      |                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|               |  |  |      |
| <p>Salmon come over to swim. Little do they know there is a trap. Well, they just found out.</p> | <p>Itimangnark goes to catch the salmon for his dinner. The poor salmon!</p>        | <p>Look at all the fish Itimangnark caught!</p>                                      | <p>"I will put some ashes on the salmon to keep the evil spirits away," said Kingnuk.</p> |



FILM NOTES: FISHING AT THE STONE WEIR, PART I (last 22 minutes, natural sound)

The first task at the river camp is to repair the weir, which was damaged by winter ice. The men work in the icy water for hours. It takes them three days to repair the weir.



While the men are working, Kingnuk skins a duck and makes a balloon of the intestines for Umiapik. Later she dresses her hair in traditional Netsilik fashion: she divides her hair in half and uses strips of caribou skin to bind each half to a short wooden stick. The style is decorative in its contrast of light and dark. It is also utilitarian, because it keeps her long hair out of her way as she goes about her work. In the closeups, her thimble holder and needle case can be seen hanging from the front of her parka. Clothing soaked during yesterday's work on the weir hangs on the guylines of the tent to dry. After she has fixed her hair, Kingnuk gives Umiapik a drink of water from the sealskin bucket near the tent.

The next morning, the weir is full of fish. The men go to the weir with their leisters and spear fish as quickly as they can. As soon as one is speared, the fisherman takes it off the leister and strings it on a long line with a toggle pin at one end. He holds the line in his teeth and continues fishing. At the river's edge, Umiapik plays at fishing, using a tiny leister to spear imaginary fish.

The Netsilik Eskimos believe that animals, like humans, have souls and are able to communicate after death. Kingnuk takes special care to rub ashes on the eyes of the fish from the first catch, so that they will not see their approaching brothers and tell them of their fate.

With the first catch ashore, Kingnuk cleans the fish with her ulu (crescent-shaped woman's knife), gathering the fat bellies for oil, and tossing the refuse to the dogs.

Meanwhile, Itimangnark goes some distance from camp to fix his leister. He makes a hole in a piece of musk-ox horn with his bow drill, fits the piece into the groove in the shaft of the leister, and pounds it into place. Then he binds the prong in place with sinew. When the repair is complete, he replaces his tools in a fishskin tool bag.

All important fishing places are regarded as sacred, and fishing has many special taboos associated with it: women should not sew and men should not repair their gear near the stone weir, lest the spirits be offended.

Kingnuk stops her work for a moment to cut out the eye of a fish to offer Umiapik -- a special delicacy for him. Umiapik throws a fishhead to Utah, who gobbles it down and looks for more.

The men rejoin Kingnuk and Umiapik and they all sit together while the men eat pieces of salmon.

## C. Knud Rasmussen and His Journal

2 DAYS

"Give me dogs and winter and you can keep the rest!"

Knud Rasmussen, in "Knud"

During his visit in 1923 with the Netsilik Eskimos, the Danish ethnographer Knud Rasmussen recorded his experiences in a journal. In this lesson, students meet Rasmussen, the man who gathered much of our information on the Netsilik -- their customs, beliefs and stories. This lesson explains the source of the data on the Eskimos and tells why we study the Netsilik of 1923. (See note on pp. 19-20.)

Booklet, A Journey to the Arctic  
Film, "Knud" (31 min., narrated)

Screen  
Film projector  
Globe  
Canada map (see suggestions  
in A Guide to the Course,  
p. 23)

NOTE: "The Netsilik Eskimos" in Talks to Teachers is adapted from Rasmussen's detailed account of his travels among the Netsilik. Teachers will find it fascinating reading and an invaluable source of information.

### 1. HOW DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE NETSILIK?

Students should locate the Pelly Bay area (latitude:  $68^{\circ}$  N, longitude:  $90^{\circ}$  W), where the Netsilik live, on a globe or a map of Canada. A reference point in the United States is helpful; for example, Minneapolis is directly south of Pelly Bay; Pelly Bay is halfway between Minneapolis and the North Pole.

"Knud," a film biography of Knud Rasmussen, shows the events leading up to and following his famous journey across the North American Arctic. After watching the film, the children should be introduced to A Journey to the Arctic, the booklet that will be the main reference for this unit. Read the first paragraph in "Who Are the Eskimos" (page 4).

Why did Rasmussen make his journey?

Why was Rasmussen told, "You are the only man who can make this journey"?

How did Rasmussen learn the skills he needed for this sled trip?

Additional information about Rasmussen's preparations for the journey is found in "Growing Up in the Arctic," "The Expedition to North America," and "Who Are the Eskimos?" (pp. 1-6). Interested students might read these chapters and report new information to the class.

## 2. RASMUSSEN'S FIRST MEETING WITH THE NETSILIK

The dramatic story of Rasmussen's visit with Orpingalik (orpin-GAL-ik) and his hunt for Igsivalitak (igsi-VAL-itok) might be discussed and illustrated by students working in small groups. Assign the following reading to five groups:

- a. "Setting Out" and "Crossing Rae Isthmus"
- b. "Meeting Eskimos" and "With Orpingalik and His Family"
- c. "More About Orpingalik and His Family"
- d. "Parting with Orpingalik" and "Near Pelly Bay"
- e. "The Hunt for Igsivalitak"

Each group should meet to discuss the highlights of its section, decide which events should be illustrated, and prepare illustrations. Then, as the groups are taking turns presenting their illustrations, the entire story is told. Focus the discussion on the role of the ethnographer:

What kinds of information was Rasmussen looking for?

How did he collect information?

What are the major obstacles to learning about people in another culture?



### 3. USING THE JOURNAL

Point out to the class that the diary-like organization will help them learn what the Netsilik do at different times of the year. Be sure the children understand that the Netsilik tribe was just one of the several Eskimo groups that Rasmussen visited. (On page 5 in A Journey to the Arctic, the names and locations of all the tribes of Eskimos are given.)

After reading about Orpingalik's family, direct the children to the entries for August 5, 7, 8 and 10, which describe life at a fishing camp much like that in the film "Fishing at the Stone Weir."

How was the camp Rasmussen visited different from the camp in the film?

The journal entries vary in reading level, so that each child, no matter what his reading ability, can enjoy and be challenged by some part of the booklet. If you foresee that your students will not be able to read and understand an entry, you might record it on tape so they can listen to it instead.

A Journey to the Arctic will be used throughout the course, although there are many entries that are not called for in any lesson. When time allows, encourage the children to read whole sections of the booklet, rather than isolated entries. Children interested in the work of an ethnographer should read how Rasmussen studied amulets in the camp in Wellington Strait (pp. 44-48).

#### NOTE: WHY STUDY THE NETSILIK OF 1923?

Almost all children are curious about the films used throughout this unit. They will be interested to know that the films were made in the early 1960's by a team of highly skilled photographers and scientists who were interested in preserving on film the traditional culture of the Netsilik Eskimos before all memory of it was lost. The Eskimos in the films are the present day inhabitants of Pelly Bay. Their parents or grandparents were the Pelly Bay Eskimos Rasmussen visited in 1923.

The people in the film are the last generation of Netsilik Eskimos to be brought up in the traditional culture, and thus, they are the last people who could reenact the traditional ways from their own memories. Some of them met Rasmussen when he traveled through their area. They can remember well the time before they had continuous contact with the outside world. This is the time re-created in the films. This unit examines the Netsilik culture as it was when the influence from outside cultures was only slight, coming from the handful of explorers who had made their way into the area. We talk about that time throughout the teacher's guide as though it were "now."

All societies are always in the process of change, but change in the Netsilik culture accelerated after the establishment of trading posts in the area and the introduction of the gun. The lives of Pelly Bay people today are quite different from those shown in the films. (A description of "The Changing Lives of Canada's Eskimos" appears in Talks to Teachers.)

The films do not pretend to show life in the Arctic in the 1960's, a fact the children will know from other films, television and books. Sharing the purpose of the Netsilik film project with the children will prevent any feelings of deception. At the end of the sea ice unit a lesson is suggested that gives further information about present day Netsilik life. It includes a filmstrip, related activities, and a bibliography. In this lesson children will give reports on individual research projects. The research projects will focus on modern Eskimo life, either among the Netsilik or other groups. Not all Eskimo groups have had similar experiences and these projects will reflect differences as well as similarities. There are many sources for such research and the children should be told at this time of the project, and the sources for research should be indicated: newspapers, encyclopaedias, books for children and films. The Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa 4, Canada is another source of much material on present-day Eskimos and on government programs to help them. (We suggest that you look at the lesson on page 88, The Netsilik Eskimos on the Sea Ice. Some questions are suggested that children might consider in their reports.)

NOTE: The films used in this course are part of a larger series made about the traditional life of the Netsilik Eskimos. The other films in the series are listed under "Supplementary Films" in A Guide to the Course.

## D. The Family

1 DAY

Almost all human beings live in some kind of family and have some concept of what a "family" is. A "family" is not the same in every society; even within our own society some people consider remote relations as "family" while others barely acknowledge their existence. Netsilik and American families -- in fact, families everywhere -- reveal basic and fundamental similarities. Everywhere the family provides for the material needs of its members; it allows a younger generation to grow up with care and affection; and it provides for the teaching of skills, attitudes and beliefs to the young.

Photomurals: The Netsilik Family  
Outside a Tent  
Itimangnark  
Kingnuk  
Umiapik  
Booklet, A Journey to the Arctic

Overhead projector  
Screen  
Blank transparencies  
Pentel pens  
Chart paper  
Drawing paper

### 1. WHAT IS A FAMILY?

Refer to the photomural of the Netsilik family outside the tent. These three people, Itimangnark, his wife Kingnuk, and their son Umiapik, are the focus of this unit. It is autumn in this photo and the people relax outside their sealskin tent. Umiapik plays with pieces of caribou antler left from previous hunts.

Identify for the class each family member by name (father -- Itimangnark, mother -- Kingnuk, and son -- Umiapik).

What other people can the word family include?

With this question it will probably be necessary to distinguish between different kinds of families. The extended family can include all people related by blood or marriage; thus grandmothers, cousins and brothers-in-law can fall into this category. The immediate family (also called the nuclear family) consists only of parents and their children. Among the Netsilik, as well as among Americans, people usually belong to two immediate families during their lifetimes -- the family from which they come and the family that they establish.

## 2. WHY IS IT IMPORTANT FOR HUMAN BEINGS TO LIVE IN FAMILIES?

Almost all human beings live in families. The family serves some important functions, such as raising the young and sharing tasks that help to assure the survival of the species. But the utilitarian quality of family life is not the main reason why people live together; they live in families because they enjoy being together. Some of the following questions may help the children consider the importance of family living. You may want to divide the class into groups and give different questions to each group.

What are the advantages of living in family groups?

How does living in a family help Umiapik? How does it help you?

What choices are there for families that do not happen to like to live together?

At what times in life is it most necessary to live in a family?

What does the family provide at these times?

How can the size of a family determine what each member does?

If you had your choice, would you rather belong to a large family, a small family or none at all? Why?

## 3. NETSILIK FAMILIES

Because Eskimo and American families are similar in structure, understanding their own family relationships helps the children to understand the Netsilik family. The April 14 journal entry describes Netsilik

family life. If the reading is done at home, the children can contrast it with their own family life and with what they know about American family life in general. Each child might respond by writing a report at home describing a scene that occurred in his family sometime in the evening, including typical conversations, and then answer the question below.

Which of these activities would also be a part of Netsilik family life? Which would not?

#### 4. DIAGRAMMING A FAMILY

The following method of diagramming a family illustrates certain features such as generational and sex differences which are useful in discussing how people are related. It uses few symbols and is widely accepted. Use the blackboard or an overhead projector to introduce this standard method, as follows:



A triangle stands for a man or boy.



A circle stands for a woman or girl.



An = sign between a triangle and a circle means that they are married.



A vertical line from the = sign with a triangle or a circle at the bottom shows a child of a married couple.

(Therefore, a line shows a blood relationship and an = sign shows a marriage relationship: the two ways in which people in families are related.)



A horizontal line with triangles and circles below it shows brothers and sisters in the same family, with the oldest on the left.

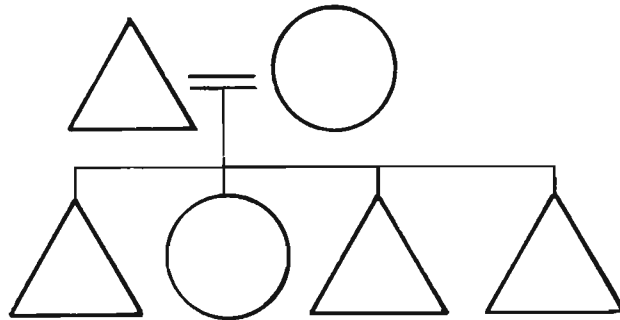
Different levels show different generations.



For absent or deceased family members the symbol may be shown as illustrated.



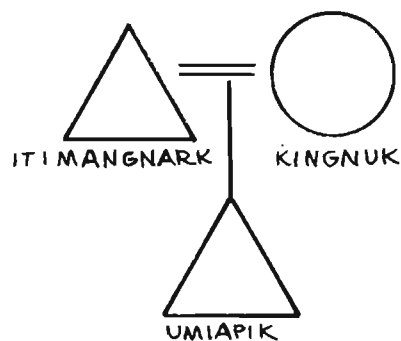
A completed nuclear family chart would look like this:



Using this chart, ask the children to identify the parents and explain how they figured it out.

How can you tell which brother or sister is older than another?

At this point, the children can try this new system with their own families, while the teacher makes a large diagram of the Eskimo family shown in the photomural.



The three photomurals of the Netsilik family members might be put on the bulletin board.

KINGNUK - Umiapik's mother pauses in her work on caribou skin. Attached to the front of her parka is her sewing kit. She carries her needles in a bone needle case while a thimble of thick seal or caribou skin hangs from a carved bone thimble holder. Her needles are fashioned from the tiny wing bones of birds, sharpened at one end and pierced at the other. Caribou sinew is used for thread.

ITIMANGNARK - Ready to hunt caribou, Itimangnark sits in the cockpit of his kayak. He holds a double-bladed paddle in his hands. The shafts of the two spears are held securely under tightly stretched thongs just in front of the paddler. The thong strips are drawn through a drilled piece of antler which is placed on the sealskin cover of the kayak. The tips of the spears (not shown) slide into loops of antler sewn to the cover near the bow.

UMIAPIK - The five-year-old adopted son of Itimangnark and Kingnuk stands pensively, toy balloon in hand. The balloon, a bit of bird intestine tied at both ends, was made by Kingnuk. The guyline of the family's tent runs across the picture behind Umiapik's head.

---

#### OPTIONAL

Suggest that the children bring family photographs from home and attach them to their family diagrams to make a bulletin board display. (These diagrams can be expanded later when the extended family is studied.)

---

## E. Migratory Life on the Tundra

2 DAYS

The arctic climate and environment impose certain limitations on human life. At the same time, the environment contains the necessary resources for survival. To hunt successfully, the Eskimo must know the environment in which he hunts and the behavior patterns of the game animals he stalks. The Netsilik travel widely as they hunt different animals and they have no one place they consider home. They are attached to their land by tradition and decision. (Additional data on the migration cycle can be found on p. 29.)

|                                      |                     |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Booklets: <u>The Arctic</u>          | Drawing paper       |
| <u>Songs and Stories of the</u>      | Crayons             |
| <u>Netsilik Eskimos</u>              | Film projector      |
| Film, "Life on the Tundra" (14 min.) | Filmstrip projector |
| Filmstrip, "Netsilik Life," frames   | Screen              |
| 1-4                                  | Dittoed checklist   |
| Pelly Bay map                        |                     |

### 1. THE ARCTIC LAND

Have the children read The Arctic, pp. 1-11, to learn about the arctic environment.

### 2. THE ARCTIC ANIMALS

With the information from the book in mind, the children design and draw an animal that could survive in the Arctic. It need not look like any

existing animal. The children should make sure, however, that every characteristic they give their animal helps it to survive. Before they start to draw they should consider the checklist below. When they have finished, they should be prepared to defend before the class their animal's ability to survive.

Where does the animal get food?

Does it migrate?

How does it defend itself?

How many young does a female have in her lifetime?

How many survive to reproduce?

When and where are its young born?

Which behaviors in the young are innate and which must be learned in order to survive?

Show the film "Life on the Tundra," which tells much about the barren ground caribou. Invite the class to read about the real animals in The Arctic, pp. 12-38, perhaps as homework. Once again, the reading material lends itself to independent or small group activity since each child need not study every animal.

### 3. MIGRATION IN SEARCH OF GAME

Of all the game animals in the Pelly Bay region, the caribou and the seal are the most numerous and useful to the Netsilik. Seal are hunted in the winter and in the spring on the sea ice; in the fall the Netsilik concentrate on hunting caribou. Fish also are a staple, caught throughout the year; in caribou and seal hunting times they provide additional food, a welcome change in the diet of the Netsilik.

Gather the children around the Pelly Bay map and trace the route of Itimangnark's family from the fish camp on the Kugardjuk River to the shore of Amartok Lake, a favorite caribou-hunting place of the Netsilik.

The caribou-hunting season follows stone-weir fishing and usually lasts about four weeks. Use frames 1-4 from the filmstrip, "Netsilik Life," to show the routes taken by several Netsilik families as they migrate from camp to camp through the course of a single year. Although the routes differ among families and from year to year, the seasonal hunting pattern remains the same.

Why might different families travel to different areas?

Who do you think makes the decision about where to travel?

What would such a decision be based on?

The Netsilik describe the journey from Amartok Lake to the fish camp, a distance of about thirty miles, as three "sleeps." They measure distance by time; a journey is measured in terms of the number of times they must stop to sleep. A "sleep" is a relative rather than an absolute standard, depending on traveling conditions and the number of daylight hours. Ask the children if they ever measure distance by time.

Travel is a constant theme in myth, poem and song. The children should read "Travel Song" in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos.

How do you think the man in this poem feels about traveling?

How might different Netsilik people feel? a young boy? an old man? a mother with an infant?

After discussing the Netsilik in this poem, the children could draw the pictures that came to mind as they read the story.

#### NOTES ON FILMSTRIP

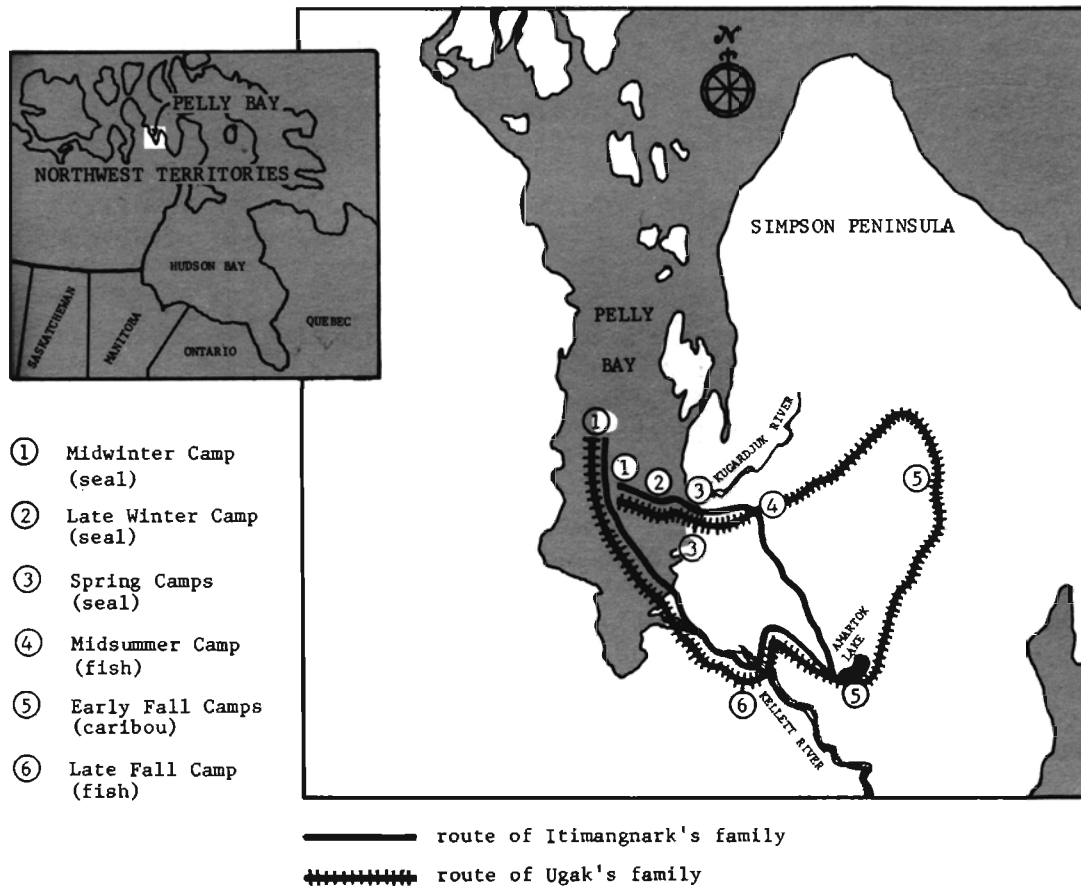
FRAME 1. The annual migration route of Itimangnark and Irkowagtuk.

FRAME 2. The migration route of Ugak and Nerlongayok.

FRAME 3. The migration route of Tungilik and Kakiarmiut.

FRAME 4. The migration route of Sigguk and Allakanuark.





#### NOTE: FLEXIBILITY AND THE MIGRATION CYCLE

The Netsilik are migratory hunters who travel from one area to another in search of game. In summer and autumn they live on the land surrounding Pelly Bay; in winter and spring they live on the ice-covered bay. These people, living half of the year inland and half on the sea ice, think and feel very differently about the two phases of the migration cycle. They think of life on the sea ice as a time of excitement, ceremony, conflict and danger, and life on the land as a time of relaxation, security and calm pleasure. The division of the year affects every part of Netsilik life: technology, social relationships and religious practices.

In summer and fall, small groups of Netsilik are scattered inland around Pelly Bay. A group may consist of no more than an immediate family. The man hunts and the woman does domestic tasks and cares for children. An immediate family can live by itself, but Netsilik families rarely do. More often, closely related families live together at the inland camps in an extended family group.

At a typical camp in August, several men build or repair stone weirs to trap Arctic char. Their families help with the fishing and clean and store the catch. In early autumn, this same group may travel together to an inland lake to intercept the migrating caribou herds. Again, although a hunter and his family could live alone, a few families usually live together at caribou camp because the most efficient method of hunting requires the cooperation of several men. In late autumn, this same group might travel to a river camp to fish through the ice.

The sequence -- fishing at the weir, caribou hunting, spearing fish through the ice -- is followed every year. While inland, the Netsilik occasionally hunt musk oxen, foxes and hares, but none of these animals plays a large part in their lives because their presence is not regularly predictable.

In early winter the Netsilik move out onto ice. At this camp they hunt differently, their relationship with spirits is more precarious, and, above all, they live in a large group of perhaps fifty people, consisting of several distantly related or unrelated families. Their major prey in winter and spring is the ringed seal. It is possible for a lone hunter to harpoon seals through their breathing holes, but his livelihood is tenuous at best. Ten to fifteen hunters hunting together and sharing the returns of the hunt usually assures food for all. If the supply of seals diminishes in one area, the whole group moves to a new location.

From this glimpse of the seasonal hunting cycle, it is clear that Netsilik hunting technology provides the means for efficient hunting of the right animal at the right time. Every Netsilik hunter has the knowledge, skills and tools for various hunting techniques; should one method fail, he tries another. Flexibility is necessary for survival, since at any time the game may fail in a particular area or a given technique may prove unproductive. Alternative techniques, even though not equally efficient, are a valuable reserve in unusual circumstances. Another kind of flexibility, that of alternative social groups, is equally valuable. Netsilik social organization must be flexible enough for small, independent groups to exist and yet it must maintain a sufficiently complex structure so that many small groups can come together and live harmoniously in a large camp.

## FILM NOTES: LIFE ON THE TUNDRA (14 minutes, narrated)

In Canada (and in Europe and Asia) there is a vast area stretching north from the edge of the forests to the Arctic Ocean. This is the tundra, the barren lands, a flat, frozen plain patterned with thousands of lakes and rivers. Only the surface of the ground thaws in the summer; below is permafrost, earth that is always frozen. Because the moisture of the melted surface soil cannot drain away, the summer tundra is an endless marsh, soft and wet under foot.

The face of northern Canada was carved ten or fifteen thousand years ago by the movement of glaciers. In the tundra their passing is apparent everywhere. Long, narrow lakes were scooped out by the movement of the ice, and ancient streams hidden deep within glaciers deposited as their river beds snakelike ridges of sand and gravel called eskers.

The seasonal change contributes to the appearance of the tundra by forming what geologists call polygonal ground. As the ground freezes and thaws over and over again, stones buried deep in the earth are brought to the surface. The ridges of stones form large polygons that pattern the tundra like a huge quilt.

Summers are short in the Arctic. In the far north near the sea, May is the month of snowstorms. Spring does not come until June. Only July and early August are summerlike, because the snow comes again in late August or early September. The short growing season -- hardly more than a month -- and the shallow depth of thawed soil limit the vegetation of the tundra. No trees grow there, but grasslike sedges, mosses and lichens grow in abundance. In the short summer there is a colorful variety of flowering plants. All of these plants must spread their roots wide rather than deep, so the tundra vegetation forms a dense carpet on the surface of the land.

Animals, too, must have special characteristics to live in the tundra. They must be able to survive the bitter winters and they must be able to feed on the limited vegetation or on other animals. Musk oxen roam through the northern areas, and huge brown bear are found farther south near the forests. Small animals and birds abound. The brief summer brings forth an insect population of great vigor and variety.

Through this vast area the caribou herds migrate north in the spring to their summer grazing grounds near the Arctic Ocean and back again in the autumn across the tundra to the forests in the south, where the ground thaws to a greater depth and trees can grow in abundance. Year after year, generation after generation, the great herds travel the same routes north in the spring and south in the fall.

The reproductive cycle of the caribou is in pace with this migratory pattern. The cows go north in the spring, bear their calves not far from the summer grazing grounds, and then are joined by the bulls. Through the summer the calves grow rapidly, so by autumn they are strong enough to make the trip back to the forests. In the fall, the herds leave the forests for a brief time to go out on the tundra to mate. Then they return to the shelter of the trees to spend the winter. They paw through the snow to find mosses and lichens until the first signs of spring appear. Then they start again on their annual journey into what are called the barren lands -- lands that are in fact far from barren.

## SECTION II THE HUNTING WAY OF LIFE

### Life at a Caribou-Hunting Camp in Early Autumn

This land of ours  
has become habitable  
because we came here  
and learned how to hunt game.

From Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos

|                                                                 |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| A. A Plan for Hunting (1 day)                                   | 35 |
| B. Tools (2 days)                                               | 38 |
| C. Designing a Tool (1 day)                                     | 42 |
| D. How Netsilik Tools Are Used: The Bow and Arrow Game (2 days) | 46 |
| E. Crossing-Place Hunting (2 days)                              | 50 |
| F. The Crossing-Place Hunting Game (2 1/2 days)                 | 56 |
| G. Sharing at Caribou Camp (1 day)                              | 61 |
| H. The Birth of a Hunter (2 days)                               | 66 |

All men belong to the same species. In order to survive, the members of this species require a physical environment similar to the African savanna. But man inhabits all parts of the world and soon may live under the sea and on the moon. Tools, and an organized way of using them, enable men to live almost everywhere. They enable him to create his own environment in clothing and shelter. This way, he envelops himself in a man-made pocket of temperate zone wherever he goes.

We define tools as objects that perform useful work by modifying the physical and social environment. Animals other than man make and use tools, but only man uses tools in a programmatic way. A technological program consists of a sequence of steps which, together, constitute

the solution to a problem. The program exists in the mind of the person who uses it. He can alter the program by substituting parts; he can predict how such alterations will affect other parts of the program. Technological programs, requiring the use of language and symbols, are flexible because of man's ability to abstract, imagine and remember.

In this section, we describe a program for hunting. In it, a hunter finds, approaches, kills, retrieves and uses his prey. The steps of this program are always the same, although within each step a hunter can substitute a different tool or technique according to circumstance. Everyone uses technological programs; we follow a basic plan to bake a cake or change a tire. A cook may substitute brown sugar for white, but everyone must make a batter before baking the cake.

The Netsilik caribou-hunting camp is a particularly good place to look at technology. The traditional Netsilik caribou-hunting tools are bow and arrow, kayak and spear. The children see some of these tools being used in the film "At the Caribou Crossing Place" Part II and later have an opportunity to test hunting strategies in simulated hunting games. But what about the people who use the tools? They add to the program extensive knowledge of their physical environment and various plans for cooperation. The last two topics look at relations between people at a caribou camp, including the steps taken at the birth of a boy to prepare him for the hunting way of life.

The article "Why Technology in a Course on Man?" in Talks to Teachers will give teachers a useful perspective on the material in this section.

Man of today, the atomic manipulator, the aeronaut who flies faster than sound, has precisely the same brain and body as his ancestors of twenty thousand years ago who painted the last Ice Age mammoths on the walls of caves in France....it is man's ideas that have evolved and changed the world about him....he is physically antique in this robot world he has created. All that sustains him is the small globe of gray matter through which spin his ever-changing conceptions of the universe.

Loren Eiseley, The Immense Journey



## A. A Plan for Hunting

1 DAY

In the hunter's mind is a plan for the hunt. Before he can use his prey, he must find it, come close enough to kill it, and retrieve it. Many predators follow this pattern, but man does so with greater flexibility because of his self-awareness. He can draw on experiences of the past, speculate about the future, plan alternatives and evaluate the results. A model hunt requires the children to plan their own hunting programs.

Booklets, Antler and Fang  
Stalking the Paper Clip

Paper clips  
Blank squares of paper  
(about the size of an  
Eskimo card)

### 1. WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS IN HUNTING ANY ANIMAL?

The children read Antler and Fang, and consider the problems a predator faces in hunting caribou. (If possible, have the children read this booklet before class.) The booklet focuses on the way wolves hunt caribou, and ends with an analysis of the steps many predators follow to hunt successfully: find, approach, kill, retrieve and use.

How does the wolf accomplish these steps?

What structures and behaviors enable the wolf to hunt caribou?

At the end of the booklet are four speculative questions which are not answered in the text. Before the children answer these questions, a classroom hunt will broaden their notion of general hunting problems.

## 2. THE PAPER CLIP AND ITS PREDATORS

Before class, hide paper clips of varying sizes in different places in the children's desks. Bend a few out of shape as shown in Stalking the Paper Clip. Pose the problem of finding, approaching, "killing," retrieving and using a paper clip before telling the children that some paper clips are already "hiding" in the classroom. After the children read Stalking the Paper Clip they can plan their own hunts.

Children have found many ways to solve the "capture" problem within its artificial, hands-off restriction; they have used teeth, scissors, scotch tape and pencils to carry the paper clip to their desk tops. In finding a new use (for this they can use their hands), children have fashioned tie clasps, pencil holders and replacements for lost buttons.

Review the steps of a hunting plan by asking the children how they solved the problems. After the hunt, children could write amusing stories describing what happened in each of the stages of their own hunt.

## 3. MAN: THE CARIBOU'S PREDATOR

How might a slow-running, dull-toothed creature catch a caribou?

Each child should answer this question in his own way. Using a blank square of paper for each problem raised at the end of Antler and Fang, he writes the step on one side and draws or writes a possible solution on the other. Divide the class in half, and ask one half to solve

each of the four problems, using only materials naturally available to man in the Arctic (spears, but not rifles, for instance). Encourage the other half of the class to solve the problems as if they were not restricted to any one environment. Have children from the two groups compare their solutions for the class.

## B. Tools

2 DAYS

Our lives are constantly affected by tools, from the alarm clock that wakens us to the bed we fall into at night. This lesson defines tools as all objects that perform useful work for us by modifying our physical and our social environments.

Some tools modify both environments. For example, the automobile changed the physical environment because it led to building super-highways, parking lots and gasoline stations. It changed the social environment by allowing more flexibility in choice of home and job. A tool that solves one problem may at the same time create a new one. For example, the automobile has increased air pollution as it has increased our mobility.

Eskimo cards

Booklet, The Data Book (10 copies)

"Why Technology in a Course on

Man?" in Talks to Teachers

Tool box (see list below)

Drawing paper

### 1. WHAT IS A TOOL?

Many of the children's solutions to the problems of caribou hunting in the previous topic probably included use of tools. Children could describe their suggested tools and tell how their uses would solve the problem. List the tools children mention.

The Tool Box: Collect at least ten of the items listed below or others of your own choice. As you distribute the tools, explain to the children that any object that performs useful work for man by modifying his physical and/or social environment is a tool. Ask the children to examine several of these objects to see how they might usefully modify the environment.

|                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| Shoelaces        | Library card    |
| Shower cap       | Coat hooks      |
| Soap             | Sponge          |
| Bandage          | Eating utensils |
| Thimble          | Pen             |
| Tape measure     | Carbon paper    |
| Magnifying glass | Compass         |
| Postage stamp    | Credit card     |
| Money            | Key             |
| Lipstick         | Watch           |
| Candle           | Envelope        |
| Button           | Soda straw      |

## 2. HOW DO TOOLS HELP US?

Compile a chart with the class using some of their ideas.

| Tool         | Useful Work Done to Modify the Environment                                         |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Coat hook    | Keeps clothing off the floor                                                       |
| Library card | Identifies bearer to the library; gives person the right to borrow                 |
| Pen          | Records ideas to communicate with those not present; records notes for future use. |

Children might also enjoy thinking of some unusual alternative uses for the tools they have; for example, shoelaces could be used to tie

together a pack of baseball cards, or a dime could be used as a screwdriver.

Since a tool is any object that performs useful work, the students will be surprised to find out that they have, in fact, many tools on their persons. Ask the boys to take some items from their pockets and the girls some items from their handbags. As each child lists his objects, ask him whether or not the item is a tool. If it is, what useful work does it do? How does it modify his environment?

### 3. THE STORY ARTIFACTS CAN TELL

Material objects in a culture often can be looked at from several points of view. For example, a bracelet may be a tool because it performs the "useful work" of attracting attention to oneself and thus affects the wearer's social environment. On the level of esthetics, a bracelet may express appreciation of some art form; and on another social level it can be a symbol of status. Therefore, many of the items in the Tool Box may do more than perform what many children would consider "useful work." Some children could explore these different levels with certain items from the box, such as eating utensils, lipstick or candle, or others not in the box, such as a wedding ring.

### 4. HOW DO TOOLS HELP THE NETSILIK?

Divide the children into six small groups, give each group a set of Eskimo cards and a copy of The Data Book, and have them divide the cards among themselves. After studying his cards and relevant information from The Data Book, each student chooses one he thinks is an interesting tool. He then makes a sketch that shows clearly how his tool is used to modify the environment. Looking at his cards, he can consider the question:

What can you tell about Netsilik life from these artifacts?



---

OPTIONAL

- a. Many tools amplify our senses, our muscles, or our ability to communicate. The class could be divided into three groups. One group of children might enjoy listing as many tools as they can think of which amplify the human senses of sight and hearing; for example, eyeglasses amplify sight, a loudspeaker amplifies hearing. (At the same time they might like to consider why there are no ways for amplifying our sense of smell.) A second group could list tools which amplify locomotive ability, such as a bicycle. And a third group could think of tools which amplify the ability to communicate, such as a telephone.
- b. Archaeologists working to uncover ancient cultures record the details about all items they discover. As the records grow, a story unfolds, and the archaeologist can tell much about the culture of the people. The children can use the lists of the objects in their pockets and handbags to make an outsider's guess about our lives.

What do these people care about?

Which items are necessary for survival?

What good are the non-survival tools?

The children might exchange their personal tool lists, pretending that they don't know anything of the other person or his environment, and as a home assignment write an "archaeological report" on what student life in that community is like, based only on the items on the list.

---

## C. Designing a Tool

1 DAY

There are several kinds of simulation exercises used in this unit. One type is making a miniature model of an object, such as the styrofoam igloo to be constructed later. Another is role-playing a situation, as when the children hunted a paper clip. A third type, used in this lesson, asks the children to solve a technological problem analogous to a problem in the Netsilik culture.

In this lesson the children first become physically involved in the properties of materials, and then they solve a problem of their choice by designing a tool. The objective of the second exercise is not the final product itself but rather the solving of a problem within certain restrictions.

There are several steps in the toolmaking process, any one of which presents several choices: the problem must be defined, a method of solution chosen, and the appropriate materials selected and modified to fit their eventual use. The last step is to test the completed tool in the problem situation.

Tongue depressors (or wooden  
coffee stirrers or soda straws)  
Paper  
Foot-long pieces of string

### 1. CONSIDERING THE PROPERTIES OF MATERIALS BEFORE MAKING A TOOL

So that the children can consider the properties of some materials,

give each child a piece of paper, a tongue depressor (or wooden coffee stirrer or soda straw), and a piece of string about one foot long. (The children may not regard these materials as useful in solving any problem but they can see that Eskimos also make tools with three materials which are roughly analogous to these: skin/paper, bone/tongue depressor, and sinew/string.) Ask the children, either individually or in pairs, to join any of these three materials in some way and then to explain to someone what properties of the materials allowed them to be put together in that way.

#### Example

Joint -- tongue depressor stuck through paper; string tied around tongue depressor

Properties -- tongue depressor is hard and semirigid; paper is thin, and easily torn; string can be bent without breaking.

#### MATERIALS AND THEIR PROPERTIES (for your information):

| <u>Tongue depressor:</u> | <u>Paper:</u>              | <u>String:</u>       |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| is semirigid             | is flat                    | is round             |
| is flat                  | is thin                    | is long              |
| is long                  | can be manipulated (easily | is thin              |
| is thin                  | folded, creased,           | is flexible          |
| has round ends           | scored, rolled,            | can be cut           |
| will break easily        | torn, crumpled,            | can be unraveled     |
| will float               | written on, etc.)          | doesn't stretch much |
| can be burned            |                            | is pretty strong     |
| is light orange in color |                            |                      |
| is straight              |                            |                      |
| is hard                  |                            |                      |

## 2. DESIGNING A TOOL

Now that the children have focused on the properties of the materials, they are ready to select one of the following projects. They should decide how to approach the problem, select additional quantities of the three materials and assemble a tool that they can demonstrate to a group or to the whole class. (At least half a class period will be needed for this part of the lesson.)

Problems:

Make a container for a pack of loose Eskimo cards.

Make a gift for a friend that will make him happy.

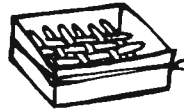
Make something that makes a pleasing sound.

Make something that will be fun to play with.

Make something to help you pass the time.

NOTE: Make available to the children additional quantities of paper, tongue depressors and string.

One pair of children invented this tool for containing Eskimo cards.



Several tongue depressors are woven together to make a base. The sides are made of paper held upright by being tucked into the interlaced tongue depressors and wrapped around with string.

OPTIONAL

- a. Ordinary paper has properties that allow it to perform surprising functions. Children can try to do one of the following with a sheet of paper:

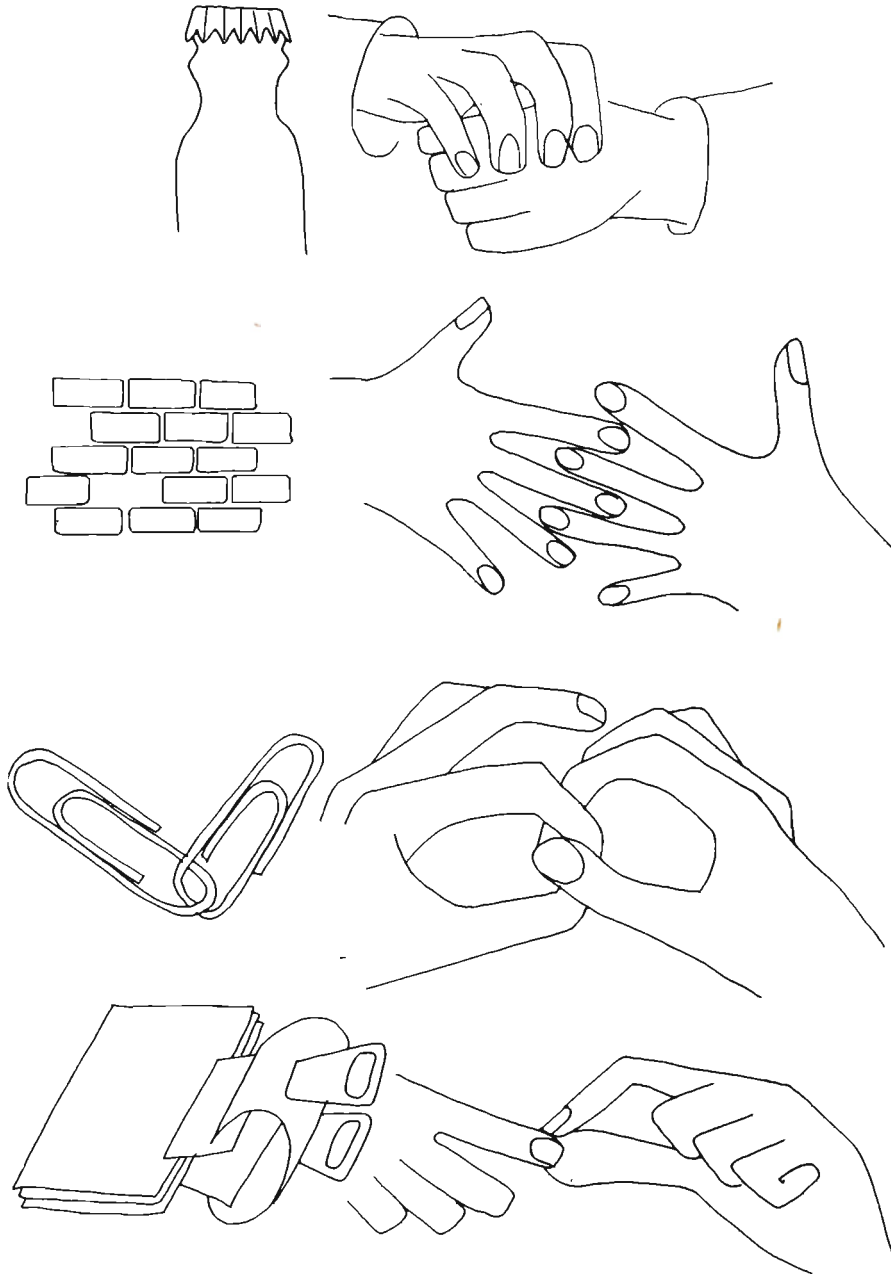
Hold up a brick  
Make a high tower  
Make a plane that will sail across the room  
Make a decoration

- b. Tools help man obtain and prepare the food he eats. In America we have many tools for this purpose -- knives, forks, pots, can-openers, stoves and many others. Using any available materials, the children can try to invent a tool which would help solve one of the following problems:

Peel an orange  
Keep hands clean while eating jam  
Carry two uncooked eggs home from school and back  
Keep six crackers from breaking  
Keep a pat of butter from melting

- c. One way to make an object or make an object perform useful work is to connect it to something else, as the children have probably found out in this lesson. For example, if a jar is likely to spill, a top can be put on it; if a piece of bone for making a bow is not long enough, two pieces can be tied together.

To help children look for the ways things are connected to each other, we suggest a game called "Joints." To play "Joints," a child simply uses his hands and fingers to demonstrate the kind of joint he is thinking of. Other children can guess the joint being made. For example:



## D. How Netsilik Tools Are Used: The Bow and Arrow Game

In this lesson the children consider how a Netsilik bow and arrow is used. They then play a hunting game in which the bow and arrow helps man approach and kill the fast-running caribou. This game is a simplified model of one aspect of Eskimo life; it allows children, working in small groups, to experiment with different strategies for solving a problem.

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic  
The Data Book  
Tablet of Game maps  
Direction Indicators (dice)  
Rulesheets for "Caribou Hunting  
with Bow and Arrow" (set of 15)  
Eskimo cards

Black and red pencils  
Optional: Screen, blank  
transparencies, over-  
head projector

### 1. HOW DOES MAN HUNT WITH THE BOW AND ARROW?

One tool (or tool combination) which the Netsilik use is the bow and arrow. The children could look briefly at the Eskimo card of the bow and, using the information on the card in The Data Book and the ideas from earlier lessons on tools, consider the following questions:

What useful work does a bow do? How does it do it?

What work does the arrow do? How does it do it?

What ability of the hunter does the bow and arrow amplify?  
(Reaching ability -- it closes the distance between fast  
prey and slower hunter.)

Have the children read the journal entry for September 18, which describes how the Netsilik hunt caribou with bow and arrow. As they read, they should consider particularly how the steps of find, approach, kill, retrieve and use are done in this hunting method.

A tool alone will not solve a problem; what else is necessary?  
(It must be used by someone with skill, and at the right moment.)

## 2. INTRODUCING AND PLAYING THE GAME

Groups of three children play the game around a map that represents ten square miles near Pelly Bay. Two Eskimo players intercept a herd of caribou moved by a third player during a fall migration. After several games have been completed, it is important to discuss successful strategies and the difficulties involved in this hunting method.

Before introducing the game, remind the children that the Netsilik hunt the caribou for a few weeks in the late summer and early fall when the animals start their southerly migration, because at that time the animals' coats are the best for making clothing. The animals are also fat from summer grazing, and the meat often lasts through the autumn or longer. (Caribou are hunted for meat at other times of year, but the fall hunt is the major one.)

Divide the children into groups of three, and give each group a game map. We have found that groups of three girls or three boys work well. It also helps to include in each group one child who tends to lead the others. You may introduce the rules in one of three ways:

- (a) Before the class begins (perhaps the previous day), teach the game to five or six children, using the rule sheet and the game map. These children can then teach the game to the other children.



- (b) Distribute the rulesheets and game maps, colored pencils and dice to each group of three players. Read through the rule-sheet with the class, discussing any difficulties. They can start a game without having mastered all the rules, and can use the rule sheet for reference as they play. Referring to the sheet will be especially important for the fright rules.
- (c) Prepare in advance an overhead transparency for both pages of the rule sheet. Then after the children are divided into groups of three, each with a game map, project each page on the screen and discuss each rule. As the groups begin to play, they can use the rules for reference.

#### TO PLAY THE GAME -- A SUMMARY

1. Give each group one red and two black pencils, a pair of Direction Indicators (one with South faces and the other with East and West faces), and copies of the game rules.
2. Each group chooses one person to be the Caribou Player; the other two are Eskimo Hunters.
3. Each group fills in game number, date and names on the bottom of the game map.
4. Hunters each place a black dot anywhere in the lower half of the map to show their starting locations.
5. Caribou Player makes the first move by rolling the dice and drawing a red arrow for the number of spaces and the direction indicated.
6. Hunters each move one dot wherever they choose (or they can remain still).
7. The three players continue to alternate moves until the herd moves off the map or reaches the lake.
8. At the end of a game, the players record the number of caribou killed.
9. In subsequent games children should rotate their roles as Hunter or Caribou Player.

#### 3. USING THE GAME EXPERIENCE

After each game, the children plan their next hunt by discussing their completed maps. The maps can be displayed around the classroom as they are completed. When each group has played two or three times, the

class might consider the strategies and results by discussing these questions:

What was the average number of caribou killed in each group?

What strategies were most successful?

What are some of the difficulties in bow and arrow hunting?

(A hunter cannot corner the herd; as soon as he shoots, the herd flees.)

Keeping in mind that each game sheet stands for one day's hunt, and the caribou season is only a few weeks long, could a hunter be sure of providing enough skins for his family by hunting with a bow? (See A Journey to the Arctic, September 1 and 4.)

How is this game similar to or different from a real Eskimo bow and arrow hunt, in regard to the skills, the learning and the sequence of steps necessary for success in hunting?

## E. Crossing-Place Hunting

2 DAYS

This lesson introduces the favorite and most successful caribou-hunting technique of the Netsilik, hunting with kayaks. Several men chase the herd into the water where others wait with kayaks to spear the animals. This cooperative technique requires careful planning and special tools. In addition, like all Netsilik hunting, it is accompanied by magic words and respect for the souls of the prey.

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic  
Songs and Stories of the  
Netsilik Eskimos  
This World We Know  
The Data Book

Screen  
 Projector  
 Drawing paper

Film, "At the Caribou Crossing Place,"  
 Part II (29 min., Cartridge 3 and 4  
 Super 8mm)  
 Pelly Bay map  
 Poster, Hunting Caribou at a Crossing  
 Place

### 1. WHAT SLOWS THE CARIBOU DOWN?

It is difficult to hunt caribou with bow and arrow because the caribou run so fast. Antler and Fang states that caribou run much faster than men. Review the scenes in the film "Life on the Tundra" that show migrating herds swimming across a narrow body of water.

Where do caribou move most slowly?

What would an Eskimo need to hunt caribou in the water?

## 2. HOW CAN A HUNTER CONTROL WHERE THE CARIBOU CROSS WATER?

Use the Pelly Bay map to show that caribou herds migrate south along various routes on Simpson Peninsula, occasionally swimming across rivers and lakes. Itimangnark and his relatives usually go to Amartok Lake to intercept the herds. (There are usually three to six hunters and their families at a caribou camp; at the camp in the film, there are four.)

Gather the children around the poster, Hunting Caribou at a Crossing Place, and show them how the building of inukshuks (i-NOOK-shooks) insures that caribou swim across the lake, and how the division of labor among the men enables them to kill the swimming animals. The following questions will help the children understand the strategy of the hunt.

How are the herds diverted into the water? (Beaters chase them; piles of stones, called "inukshuks" -- "image of man" -- divert the herds to the crossing place.)

From what you know about a caribou's senses, can you tell how inukshuks help force the animals into the water? (Caribou have poor eyesight; they mistake inukshuks for men and shy away from them.)

What are the hunters in kayaks doing? (Waiting on the opposite shore until the caribou are driven into the water.)

## 3. WHAT DOES A KAYAK HUNT LOOK LIKE?

Describe "At the Caribou Crossing Place" Part II briefly before showing it so the children will not be caught unawares by the killing of the caribou. Show the film to the point where Itimangnark drags the dead caribou onto the beach. After the film is over, give the children a chance to express their reactions in any one of several ways: class or small group discussion, small group role-play of the entire hunt, illustration of key scenes from the film or creative writing. Here are some questions which could help the children reflect on and discuss their reactions to the film:

Have you ever seen or experienced anything else that made you feel the same way?....perhaps something you saw on television or film?

Is your reaction to the killing of the caribou connected with other feelings about violence or cruelty or anything else?

How are we taught that certain things are cruel?

What do you consider cruel?

How do you feel if you see a grown-up or an older child hit a young child?

In some instances we accept killing and even cruelty. Should one ever be cruel?

What things do we do which the Netsilik might consider unnecessarily cruel or violent?

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#### OPTIONAL

The last part of "At the Caribou Crossing Place" shows the skinning of the animal. You might want to pick up the film again at this point and run it through to the end.

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#### 4. HOW CAN A HUNTER INSURE GOOD HUNTING?

In addition to being at the right place at the right time with the right people and equipment, a hunter insures his luck in other ways. To understand how important it is for a hunter to be on good terms with the souls of the animals he hunts, the children should read "Souls and Spirits" in This World We Know.

What things did the Netsilik do at the fish weir camp to keep them on good terms with spirits?

Why does a hunter think he can communicate with caribou far away?

A Netsilik can use magic words to bring himself good luck in hunting. When the hunter tries to lure the caribou, for example, he may refer to the plant that the caribou eats: lichen, or reindeer moss. The children can read "Magic Words for Hunting Caribou" in Songs and Stories of the

Netsilik Eskimos or listen to it on the record. They might also read the description of magic words in The Data Book.

Why would a hunter feel the need to use magic words? (Magic words give the Netsilik hunter a feeling of control.)

In what other unsure situations might an Eskimo rely upon magic words?

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#### OPTIONAL

The children might try to write their own magic words that would be appropriate to one of the above situations. Or they could list "ritual" behaviors which they know about in America, or indeed follow themselves. (Athletes often wear the same piece of "lucky" clothing for every game; a standard practice for a baseball announcer is to refrain from calling a game a "no-hitter" until the game is completed.)

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FILM NOTES: AT THE CARIBOU CROSSING PLACE, PART II (29 minutes, natural sound)

Early in autumn, the caribou collect in herds and begin their migration south. At their camp at a crossing place, Itimangnark and his family are joined by two young hunters. The visitors throw off their packs and help themselves to bits of caribou meat hanging to dry on the guylines of the tent. The four men talk together about the game in the area and make plans for a hunt.

Around the lake on the other side from the camp, the four men build inukshuks on a long slope leading down to the water. The inukshuks are made of stones and proportioned to resemble the figure of a man. To the caribou, with their poor eyesight, the inukshuks look the same as men, and the animals avoid them. The Eskimos construct long rows of inukshuks near crossing places to direct the caribou to the spot most advantageous to the hunters. The beaters chase the caribou toward the inukshuks, which act as another group of men herding the animals toward the water.

While the men are away Kingnuk sits in the doorway of the tent cleaning a sealskin parka, and Umiapik plays with the dried white caribou bones left from an earlier camp.

The men complete the construction of the inukshuks. Although the inukshuks are only about two thirds the size of a man, their proportions are such that from a distance it is difficult to tell which are men and which are stones.

Two young caribou crop the moss and lichen out of sight of the hunters. Back at the camp, Umiapik crawls on all fours pretending to be a caribou nibbling the turf.

After their work, the men relax on the tundra. The visitors pick berries, and Itimangnark swats a mosquito on his face as he rests. Far away, a lone caribou sights an inukshuk and shies away from it. The hunters are silhouetted against the horizon as they head back to the camp.

The next day, the visitors watch for caribou on the other side of the lake from the camp. The honking of geese overhead attracts the attention of one, and he turns to see several birds settle on a pond nearby. Suddenly he sees a young caribou on a distant hillside. More animals appear, and the visitors are off running after them, chasing them toward the inukshuks.

From a lookout near the camp, Itimangnark and Irkowagtok spot the caribou just as the beaters start their pursuit. The two hunters run down the bank to their kayaks. Two animals, a cow and a half-grown calf, enter the water on the other side of the lake. As soon



as they are swimming, the two brothers push off in their kayaks and paddle furiously toward the animals to cut them off from shore. Irkowagtok paddles after the cow and Itimangnark follows the calf.

Caribou are strong swimmers, but the men in kayaks are faster. When they are close to the animals, they thrust at them repeatedly with their long, sharp-bladed spears. After many thrusts, the animals are so weak from loss of blood that they can no longer hold their heads above the water. They drown, and their pursuers have only to take them to shore. Irkowagtok strings a throng around the cow's antlers and ties her close to the side of his kayak to drag her to the beach.

When he has steadied his kayak at the edge of the beach, Irkowagtok hauls the carcass of the cow well up on shore. Itimangnark has killed the calf and is bringing it to shore. Kingnuk and Umiapik have come down to the beach to meet the men. Irkowagtok carries his kayak up from the water. (End cartridge 3, Super-8mm) Umiapik helps Kingnuk drag the calf high up on the beach and Itimangnark tends to his kayak.

Itimangnark helps Irkowagtok butcher his animal. When the animal is freshly killed, the skin peels off cleanly from the flesh. Umiapik and his mother watch the butchering with interest. Irkowagtok does most of the butchering, because it was his kill. As he works with his short hunting knife, he stops for a moment and cuts out one of the eyes to give to Umiapik as a delicacy. He cuts the legs at the joints and puts them aside. Then, he lifts the prime meat from either side of the spine; these steaks overlie the sheets of sinew that are valuable for so many purposes to the Eskimos. Finally, he cuts hand holes in the forepart of the carcass so he and Itimangnark can carry the carcass and the head farther up the beach. Near a pile of stones the two brothers, with the help of Umiapik and Kingnuk, cache the carcass for later use.

After the hunt, the visitors sprawl on the sunny slope. Umiapik teases one of them as he pretends to nap. Kingnuk carries water from the lake in a stone pot and Itimangnark cuts sections of caribou and puts them in the pot for stewing. Irkowagtok and one of the visitors crack the caribou leg bones that had been set aside and eat their marrow. While Itimangnark finishes cutting the meat, Kingnuk watches the cooking pot.

The four men sit in a semicircle near the tent discussing the day's hunt until Kingnuk brings out the stewed meat on a flat stone platter. Whatever food is available is always shared with guests, so each man takes a piece for himself and the feast is begun. In the warm afternoon sunlight, this is a time for jokes and happy conversation.

## F. The Crossing-Place Hunting Game

2½ DAYS

The crossing-place version of the Caribou Hunting Game gives children an opportunity to contrast the efficiency of the crossing-place method of hunting with that of the bow and arrow method. Students combine several components of the hunt -- inukshuk building, cooperation among hunters, and kayak placement -- into an overall strategy. Speed of hunter and prey, caribou behavior when frightened, kayak placement, and migration routes are the variables to be considered.

Tablet of Game maps  
 Direction Indicators (dice)  
 Rulesheets for "Caribou Hunting  
 at a Crossing Place" (set of  
 15)  
 Eskimo cards  
 Booklet, Songs and Stories of the  
 Netsilik Eskimos  
 "The Changing Lives of Canada's  
 Eskimos" in Talks to Teachers

Black and red pencils  
 Optional: Screen,  
 blank transparencies,  
 overhead projector

### 1. INTRODUCING AND PLAYING THE GAME

Divide the children into groups of three players, as in Caribou Hunting with Bow and Arrow, and give each group a game map. You could introduce the rules again in any of the ways mentioned for the Bow and Arrow version. This version of the Caribou Hunting Game introduces cooperation between beaters and kayakers; together they get more caribou by chasing the herd into the water where the animals can be easily speared.

The primary problem for the children is how to use the inukshuks to help get the herd into the water where the kayakers are waiting.

#### TO PLAY THE GAME -- A SUMMARY

1. Give out 1 red and 2 black pencils, Direction Indicators and copies of the game rules.
2. Have each group choose one Caribou Player and two Eskimo Players.
3. Each group fills in the information called for at the bottom of the game sheet.
4. Each Eskimo Player locates his Kayaker on the south shore of the lake and places his Beater anywhere north of the lake, but no closer than ten dots from the herd's starting point.
5. Before the herd starts to move, each Beater can place four inukshuks wherever he wants.
6. The herd takes its first move as in the Bow and Arrow game, and the Eskimo Players then take their turns.
7. They continue to alternate moves until the herd escapes, or reaches the south shore of the Lake.
8. At the end of the game, the players record the number of caribou killed.
9. Children should rotate roles for the next game.

#### 2. IMPROVING STRATEGIES

After each play of the game, players should use the record of the completed game to improve their strategy. (The completed game maps could again be displayed around the classroom.) Children seem more willing to try different strategies if they know in advance that it is possible for two Eskimo Players to kill as many as ten caribou in this game.

At the end of the first class period, ask each child to write an answer to these questions:

What advice would you give to someone who has not played the game about how to catch the most caribou in any one hunt?

What advantages does the crossing-place method have over the bow and arrow method?

How is this game similar to and different from a real caribou hunt at a crossing place?

### 3. SUMMARIZING

After the second or third play of the game, each team might select the record map of their most successful hunt and explain to the rest of the class why the hunt was so successful.

The following questions will suggest some of the advantages and problems of hunting with a kayak.

Why are four or five hunters a workable number for the caribou camp? Why would two be too few; twenty be too many?

What is the advantage of placing both kayaks at the same crossing place?

How might this be a disadvantage?

Hunting from a kayak requires that men cooperate with each other, make and use appropriate tools, and plan ahead so that they can be at the right place, at the right time, with the right people and the right equipment.

Can you think of any situations in the United States in which several people must cooperate in order to get a job done?

Are tools used?

Do people have to plan ahead?

Who makes the decisions?

Most situations the children will suggest, like building a bridge or scoring a hockey goal, require all three components. Encourage children to elaborate on who cooperates and how, what equipment is needed, and what kind of planning is required for each situation.

#### 4. VARYING THE GAME RULES

Some classes have made up new rules as they become familiar with the game; the only restriction is that the rules must be consistent with the data on Eskimo caribou hunting. If the children do not evolve their own changes, one or more of the following variations may interest them.

What effects do these changes produce on caribou migration and Eskimo strategy?

- (a) Move the starting point for the caribou herd several dots to the east or west.
- (b) Make up a rule for caribou being scared by smell, specifying the direction of the wind, the distance (in dots) at which a caribou herd can smell a man, whether caribou can smell inukshuks, and how far the herd would flee when it is frightened by human smell. (One group decided that the wind would always blow from east to west, that caribou could smell only men and not inukshuks, and that caribou smelled men from two dots away as long as the men were upwind of the herd.)
- (c) Make up a rule for building additional inukshuks during the game as the herd migrates. (One group decided that it would take one Beater three turns to complete an inukshuk during the game, that an incomplete inukshuk could not scare the herd, and that being allowed to build inukshuks during the game meant that the Beaters should only be allowed three instead of four inukshuks apiece before the game begins.)

#### 5. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE RIFLE

Before the Eskimos had rifles, their hunting did not seriously reduce the numbers of game animals. After the rifle was introduced, the Netsilik reduced the herds of caribou by killing as many animals as they could -- often more than they needed. The film "Life on the Tundra" underlines this effect on the caribou herds.

NOTE: The discussion of the effect of the rifle may range into the area of conservation. If so, a useful book for resource reading on the subject is The Alien Animals, by George Laycock (New York: Natural History Press, 1967).

The effects of the introduction of the rifle on aspects of Eskimo culture other than hunting technology are discussed in the article "The Changing Lives of Canada's Eskimos." (Some parts of this article may be appropriate to read to the class.) The changes described will be studied in greater depth later in the unit. For now the class might speculate about some of the changes caused by the rifle.

Do hunters with rifles need to cooperate and to live together?

How might hunting with rifles change the kinds of groups people would live in during caribou-hunting time?

How might hunting with rifles change the magic words the hunters use?

---

#### OPTIONAL

- a. The poem "The Lazy Tunrit" in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos (and on "Words Rise Up") shows a humorous aspect of caribou hunting, and at the same time tells much about the values of the Netsilik. The story describes how a Tunrit man hunted (or rather avoided hunting) caribou. (The Tunrits, the ancient inhabitants of the Netsiliks' land, were great caribou hunters.) After reading this poem or listening to the record, the children might think about what caribou hunting means to these people.

What ideas might a Netsilik parent or grandparent teach through this story? (Everyone admires a hard-working hunter; wives admire husbands who are providers; no one likes a fake!)

Can you think of any stories that you might have been told for the same reason (for example, the fables of Aesop)?

- b. Have the children make a song or a story about hunting or one of the hunting games. Other children might use the Eskimo cards, selecting those cards which show objects relevant to a hunt and then writing a cumulative story. Amulet, caribou, kayak, spear, paddle, parka, spirit, magic words, tent and thong can all be incorporated into an imaginative story.
-

## G. Sharing at Caribou Camp

1 DAY

Usually the people who live together in the caribou camp are relatives. An extended family group is large enough so that men can hunt cooperatively, yet small enough so that there will be caribou meat and skins for all. Relatives expect both to share and to hunt with one another. Survival in the winter depends on cooperation among family members in the fall, as well as on the availability of caribou and the success of the hunt.

But what is the plight of a hunter who has no relatives? The story of Kaluarsuk raises the issue of how the Netsilik treat those who are related to them and those who are not.

Record, "Words Rise Up"  
Booklet, A Journey to the Arctic  
Set of Netsilik Portraits (11 photos)

Drawing paper and crayons  
Phonograph  
Chart paper and Magic  
Marker

### 1. A FAMOUS HUNTING STORY

The story of Kaluarsuk (kal-oo-AR-sook), a famous tale among the Netsilik, tells of life in a caribou-hunting camp of long ago. Point out that Kuvkilik (koov-KILL-ick), a member of the camp in the story, is too old to hunt. Darken the room, if possible, to heighten the effect of the story. (It is a good idea to play it through twice before discussing it.) You might want to distribute dittoed copies of Kaluarsuk and cast your own "radio" play.



How do you think Kaluarsuk became a great hunter (a point that the story leaves ambiguous)?

How does Kuvkilik feel about Kaluarsuk? How can you tell?

Why does Kaluarsuk's wife act toward him the way she does?

How do Kuvkilik and his wife obtain food?

If one of Kuvkilik's sons broke his arm, what would happen to his family? Would they starve?

Why do the Netsilik enjoy this story so much?

## 2. SHARING AMONG RELATIVES AND NONRELATIVES

The story of Kaluarsuk provides a good opportunity to discuss how the Netsilik treat relatives as opposed to the way they treat people outside the family. Kuvkilik's sons give meat and skins to their parents, yet Kaluarsuk has to beg for "the worst little scraps of meat."

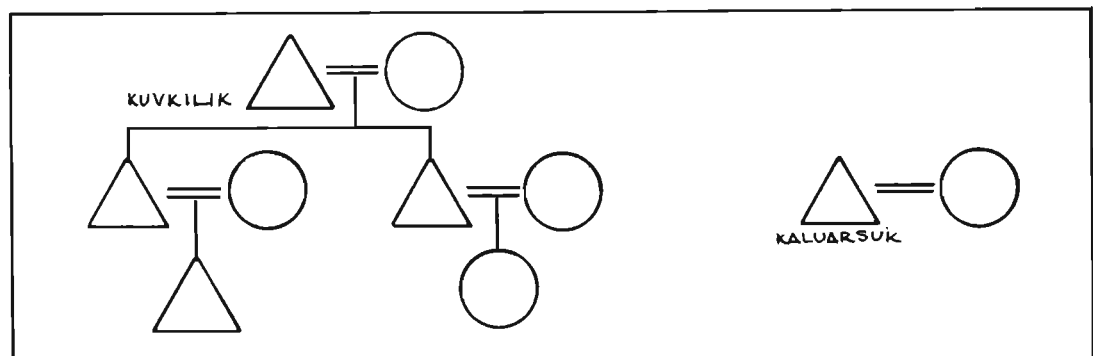
The children can read the journal entry for September 11, which describes how hunters ordinarily share the caribou.

How do caribou hunters usually share?

Why did Kaluarsuk have to beg for meat?

Do you think that one of the brothers would have to beg if he were unsuccessful?

Either you or the children should make the following diagram on the blackboard or chart paper. It shows the relationships between relatives and nonrelatives in Kuvkilik's camp.



The members of Kuvkilik's camp are his wife, his sons and their wives and children. Kaluarsuk is not related to Kuvkilik's family.

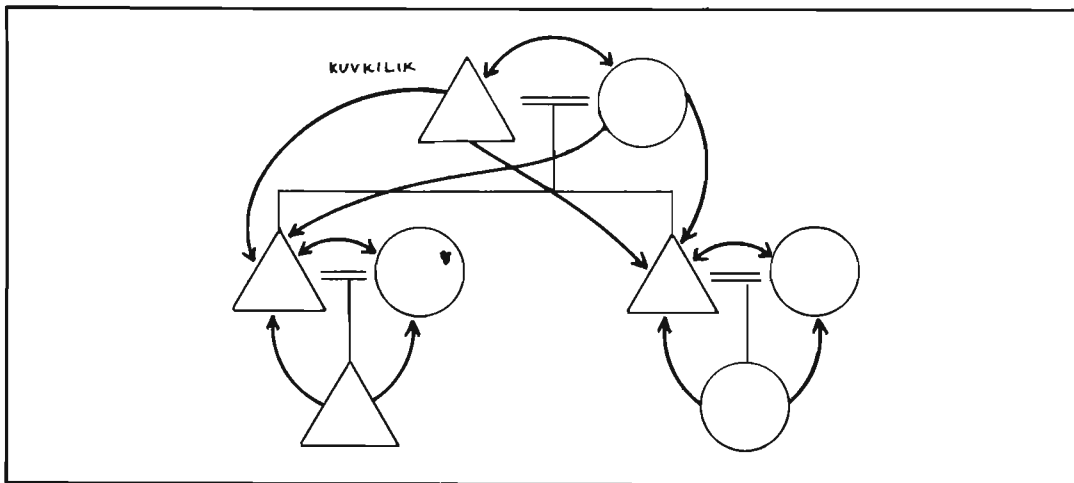
Which people are cousins?

Which are brothers?

Which people are related by marriage? by blood?

### 3. WHO DEPENDS ON WHOM AT THE CARIBOU CAMP?

To answer this question, several children can draw arrows on the diagram of Kuvkilik's family to show who produces and who receives food and clothing. Arrows are drawn from one person to another, pointing toward the receiver. If the two people are mutually dependent, a double arrow can be drawn.



Most of the arrows originate from people in the middle generation, the "provider" generation.

Why is the middle generation better able to be providers than the other two generations?

How would you draw arrows showing those who are depended upon for wisdom and advice? for comfort in distress? (Now the arrows originate from the middle and older generations which are a source of wisdom and emotional support.)

## OPTIONAL

- Some children might illustrate significant events from the Kaluarsuk tale on storyboards and make up captions for their illustrations.
- One group might make a large classroom chart showing the relationship among people at Itimangnark's camp (shown in the film "At the Caribou Camp," Part II). Give the children the following list of people at the camp and see if they can construct a diagram showing how these people are related.

Itimangnark

Kingnuk

Umiapik

Irkowagtok (irko-WAG-tok), the other kayak hunter, brother of Itimangnark

Nullut (NOO-lit), the wife of Irkowagtok

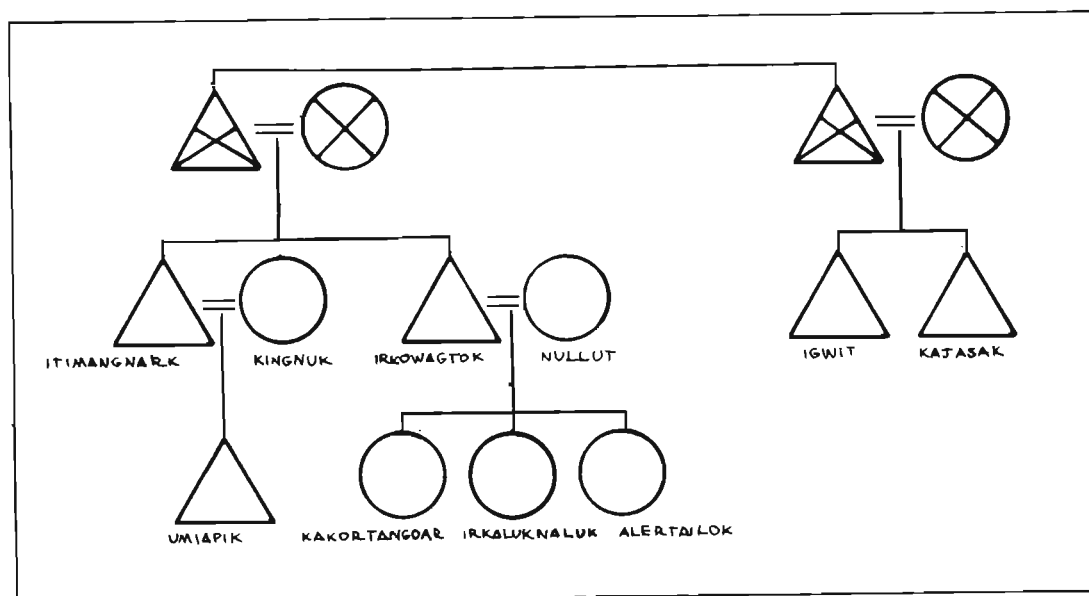
Kakortangoar (ka-kor-TAN-gowar), Irkaluknaluk (irka-LUCK-na-LUCK), and

Alertailok (aler-TIE-lock), their daughters

Igwit (EE-gwit) and Kajasak (KAH-jasak), the beaters, cousins of Itimangnark

One of the beaters was married, but his wife died; they had no children. Itimangnark's parents and his aunt and uncle are dead.

A completed diagram might look as follows:



To make the diagram more vivid, the children might mount photos of some of the people in it.

NETSILIK PORTRAITS (eleven photographs)

PHOTO 1. Irkowagtok\*, brother of Itimangnark

PHOTO 2. Nullut\*, wife of Irkowagtok

PHOTO 3. Alertailok\*, daughter of Nullut and Irkowagtok

PHOTO 4. Right: Irkaluknaluk\*, left: Kakortangoar\*, daughters of Irkowagtok and Nullut

PHOTO 5. Ugak, cousin of Itimangnark and Irkowagtok, brother to Igwit and Kajasak

PHOTO 6. Anningat, wife of Ugak and mother of Kringartok

PHOTO 7. Kringartok, daughter of Ugak and Anningat, with her baby Naluitok and her brother Immingark

PHOTO 8. Iluitsok, aunt of Sigguk

PHOTO 9. Sigguk, nephew of Iluitsok and hunter in the winter camp, with wife Aupaluktark, and daughter Krashuvik

PHOTO 10. Igwit\*, cousin of Itimangnark and Irkowagtok

PHOTO 11. Kajasak\*, cousin of Itimangnark and Irkowagtok

- c. Some children might like to add members of their extended family to their own family diagrams made in Section I. They could include photos or drawings.
- d. Some children might make cartoons showing various situations in which an American is dependent on another member of his family.

\*Present at Itimangnark's caribou camp

## H. The Birth of a Hunter

2 DAYS

The first cry of a newborn baby in  
Chicago or Zamboango, in  
Amsterdam or Rangoon, has the same  
pitch and key, each saying, "I am!  
I have come through! I belong!  
I am a member of the Family."\*

In every society, the birth of a baby is surrounded by customs, some of which celebrate the event and some of which protect the child and its family. These special customs are the first steps in inducting the child into his culture. A Netsilik begins the hunting way of life at birth.

Record, "Words Rise Up"  
Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic  
This World We Know

Phonograph  
Drawing paper and crayons

### 1. WHAT HAPPENS AT THE BIRTH OF AN ESKIMO CHILD?

The story "Birth of a Hunter" on the record, "Words Rise Up," tells what the Netsilik Eskimos do for a child when it is born. After listening to the story, the children should consider the following:

Why is the birth of a baby so important?

\*From Carl Sandburg's Prologue to The Family of Man, created by Edward Steichen for The Museum of Modern Art. Copyright 1955 by The Museum of Modern Art, New York, and reprinted with its permission.

Why is the birth of a baby a dangerous time?

What are some of the rules that the Netsilik follow at the time of birth? (A new mother must be isolated from the group and live for a time in a separate shelter; no one can help the mother when she gives birth; the husband may not enter the birth tent; no one may touch the new baby.)

Why would amulets and helping spirits be important at birth time?

From reading the sections of This World We Know entitled "Ancient Rules of Life" and "Souls and Spirits," the children will gain better understanding of Netsilik rules at birth and rules that a child learns as he grows up. (The children might do this reading before class.) They might also read the section on amulets in the journal (May 16), in which a young woman tells about amulets for the son she will have someday.

## 2. PROTECTING THE CHILD AND GIVING IT STRENGTH

A name is the earliest spiritual protection a new baby can have. The Netsilik believe that the name gives the infant the strength of the soul of the dead namesake. Thus the name protects the child against evil spirits and misfortune. The children might consider these questions:

Why does the other woman call out the names of the baby's dead relatives?

How could this naming help the Netsilik infant?

How else do Netsilik parents protect their children?

NOTE: Netsilik names are neither male nor female. Any name can be used for either sex.

## 3. BIRTH IN AMERICA

Ask each student to investigate the circumstances of his own birth. Allow several days for each child to write a report or create a storyboard giving the following information:

How did your parents prepare for your birth?

Where were you born?

What rules were observed at the time of your birth?

How was your name chosen? by whom? Is a name necessary?

How did your birth affect the rest of the family?

If the children wish to share their reports, they can observe differences and similarities within their own culture and compare customs followed at birth in the two cultures.

What are the similarities between the rituals or ceremonies of birth of American and Netsilik children?

How are the circumstances of Netsilik births different from those of American births? What do these differences tell you about the two societies?

---

#### OPTIONAL

Children might enjoy making "Birthday" cards to retroactively celebrate their own birth. The birthday card could include data on their sign of the Zodiac, birthstone, flower, and the meaning of each of these.

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## SECTION III NETSILIK FAMILIES

### Life at a Fishing Camp in Late Autumn

|                                                  |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|
| A. A Family at an Autumn River Camp (1 1/2 days) | 71 |
| B. Men and Women Prepare for Winter (2 days)     | 78 |
| C. How Itimangnark Got His Wife (1 day)          | 87 |
| D. Children Learning (3 days)                    | 88 |
| E. Family Ties and Expected Behaviors (2 days)   | 92 |

At one level of understanding, social life can be studied in terms of individuals and personalities. For example, we can think of Itimangnark, Kingnuk and Umiapik, the three people we see most, simply as three individuals with distinct personalities. At another level, we think of the family as a group consisting of husband and wife, their sons and daughters. At this level we are not concerned with individuals, such as Itimangnark and Irkowagtok, but with the positions that they hold (father, husband, brother). This section is concerned with the family group.

When anthropologists study a society, they look not only at the way people are related to each other, but also at the behavior that is a part of the relationship. They observe what happens between father and son, between husband and wife, brother and brother, relative and nonrelative, by looking at what people in these relationships actually do. Then they try to generalize about the relationship to understand how a group interacts. For instance, after considering many examples (Itimangnark shares caribou skins with Irkowagtok; one of Kuvkilik's sons shares caribou meat with his brother) we may say that a common behavior between Netsilik brothers is sharing of game.

In any society a child learns how to behave in everyday life and comes to expect certain kinds of behavior from others, especially family members. For example, he learns what he can expect from his mother and what his mother expects of him. As the child's experience widens, he realizes that his relationship with his mother is in many ways similar to and in some ways different from the relationship between other mothers and their children. He may also begin to realize that the behavior and expectations associated with the mother-child relationship are different from those in other relationships, such as principal-student, older brother-younger brother and friend-friend. Behavior which is generally associated with certain relationships (as opposed to behavior which is characteristic of particular individuals) may be called accepted behavior or accepted patterns of action.

Accepted patterns of behavior can be expressed in terms of ideal behavior. For example, "All Netsilik sons generously provide for their elderly parents." The people of the society may realize, however, that in reality there is a range of behavior. Some sons may give their mothers the best food, others may give an average amount, and still others may grudgingly provide just the scraps and "leftovers." In this unit, when we refer to accepted patterns of behavior we mean the acceptable range of behavior which actually occurs in relationships in social life.

While studying life at the autumn river camp, the children look at Itimangnark and his family as representative of the Netsilik family in general. They see them as an economically self-sufficient group characterized by division of labor, but a group that, in spite of its self-sufficiency, often chooses to live with others.

NOTE: "Man in the Social World," in Talks to Teachers, puts the ideas discussed in this introduction into the context of Netsilik society. Teachers will find familiarity with this article helpful in teaching this section.

## A. A Family at an Autumn River Camp

1½ DAYS

This lesson examines the independence of a Netsilik family. A hunter and his family could easily live alone in late autumn because fishing through river ice does not require cooperation among men. The camp, however, is made up of three families, headed by two brothers and a cousin, who have chosen to live together simply because they enjoy each other's company. This provides a perspective on Netsilik and American families in terms of both economic and emotional needs.

Film, "At the Autumn River Camp,"  
Part I (26 min.; cartridges 1  
and 2, Super-8mm)

Pelly Bay map

Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic  
The Data Book

Film projector  
Screen

### 1. SEVERAL FAMILIES CHOOSE TO LIVE TOGETHER

After the caribou-hunting season is over, the Netsilik move to fishing camps on inland rivers. Use the Pelly Bay map to trace the route of Itimangnark and his family as they move from Amartok Lake to the Kellett River. (See map on page 29.) Before showing the film, "At the Autumn River Camp," Part I, divide the children into groups and ask each group to watch one individual especially carefully, noting what he does and with whom he does it. (Point out that Ugak, a cousin, has joined the camp.) Each group should concentrate on the actions of one of the following people:

Itimangnark

Irkowagtok

Kingnuk

Nullut

Alertailok

Ugak

After the film, discuss the steps in river-ice fishing, contrasting them with the steps in caribou hunting at a crossing place.

Why would it be difficult for a lone man to hunt caribou at a crossing place?

Could Itimangnark and his family fish alone using the technique shown in the film?

Since autumn fishing does not require that Itimangnark, Irko-wagtok and Ugak camp together, why do you suppose they do?

Conclude these questions by asking the children for examples of things that they do with other people, even though they really don't have to (for instance, watching television with the child next door, mother drinking coffee with neighbors, going to the store with your friend, doing homework with a classmate, father going to a ballgame with men from his office).

The karmak seen in the film, a snow- or ice-walled shelter with a tent-skin roof, is ideal as a between-season dwelling. The children may read the journal entry for October 10 to find out how the karmak is built; there is also a description of it in The Data Book.

## 2. CONTRASTING NETSILIK AND AMERICAN FAMILIES IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

For part of the year, each Netsilik family lives almost entirely alone and provides for its own economic needs. In contrast to this, most American families are dependent at all times on a complex economic system.

The children might review the people who have a part in supplying the food that Umiapik eats. As a contrast, ask them to list all the people who contributed to bringing meat to their own dinner table last night and what they did. For example:

Father: earned money  
Mother: bought meat at store  
Grocer: sold meat  
Trucker: brought meat to store  
Meat inspector: made sure meat was good  
Slaughter-house workers: butchered animals  
Cattle-train men: brought animals to slaughter house  
Rancher: raised animals  
Veterinarian: took care of sick animals

How are the people who supply Umiapik's food related to each other?

How are the people who supply your food related to each other?

---

#### OPTIONAL

The "food chain" in our system is fairly involved, but a group of children might enjoy using a simplified chart of our economic system to show more explicitly the many people and activities involved in this process. The teacher can set up the chart for the children in four steps:

- a. List horizontally the main people involved in the flow of goods and services and what they do.
- b. Below each person in the chain, list all the people he depends on in his work.
- c. Use solid arrows to show the direction in which goods and services flow.
- d. Use dashed arrows to show the direction in which money flows.

After the chart is complete, discuss these questions:

What could break down in the system?

What might the effects be?

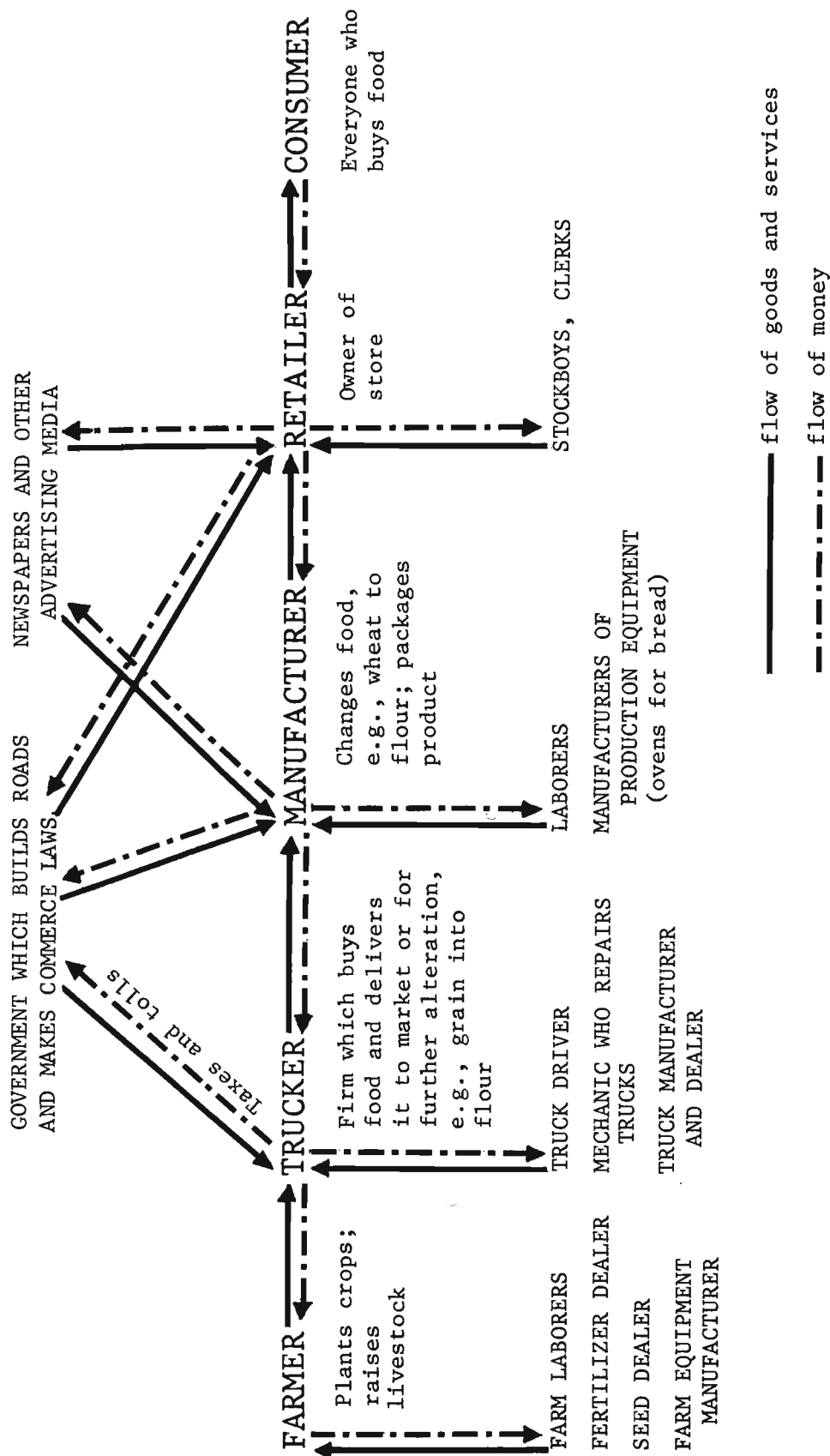
Where do consumers get the money to buy food? (It is important that students realize that most individuals are both producers and consumers.)

Why do we need laws to regulate the American system?

What part does advertising play in the system?

---

# AN AMERICAN FOOD CHAIN



## FILM NOTES: AUTUMN RIVER CAMP, PART I (26 minutes, natural sound)

By late October or early November, snow covers the ground. The only animals around are those that spend all year in the Arctic -- musk oxen, among others. (Nowadays these great, shaggy beasts are rarely seen around Pelly Bay.) Above the snow, bits of weed and grass and ground ivy quiver in the cold wind. On the hilltops occasional inukshuks can be seen.

A group of six fur-clad figures and a few dogs comes plodding through the drifted snow. Some men carry fishing leisters; others poke the snow with tent poles. All carry packs on their backs. Two small children ride crosswise atop their fathers' packs. The dogs too have heavy packs; they carry tent skins and cooking pots. The people struggle along, in some places wallowing in drifts up to their waists. As winter comes, the wind will pack the snow so hard that it is easy to walk on. Travel in that season is far easier than it is in the autumn.

As soon as the party reaches the river valley, the men probe in the snow seeking a good place to build karmaks (snow- or ice-walled shelters with skin roofs). They throw their bundles to the ground and immediately begin to build snow walls. The snow at this time of year is too soft to be cut out in large blocks. It is much more apt to break and disintegrate than it will be later in the year when the wind has packed it firm. Nor is it deep enough for the slabs to be cut on edge as they are in the winter; they must be cut flat.

The dogs wait patiently for someone to unstrap the tents from their backs. Meanwhile, the children play roughly with some young puppies. To the Eskimos, dogs are servants, not beloved pets. Finally the dogs are unloaded. Two of the men unfold a tent and prepare to spread it over the low snow wall. At the other karmak, the family pushes snow blocks in the door to make the sleeping platform. When the karmaks are finished the people drag their belongings into their new homes.

Two of the three families have completed their snow-walled houses. The third family found an abandoned ice wall. A few weeks earlier, when little snow had fallen, but the ice in the river was already thick, some travelers had built an ice-walled karmak. They cut slabs of ice from the river, dragged them up the bank and set them on end in a ring. Their tent skins formed the roof, as in a snow-walled karmak. In the bitter cold an ice wall lasts indefinitely, so Irkowagtok takes over this wall and Nullut chinks the cracks with snow. With the completion of the ice-walled tent each of the three families has a shelter for the night. (End cartridge 1, Super-8mm)

The next morning is bright and clear. In Irkowagtok's karmak Nullut wakes their daughter, Alertailok. While Alertailok is still buried in caribou sleeping skins, her mother looks through her hair for lice. She finds one and carefully puts it in the little girl's palm so she can see it and play with it. When the little girl is wide awake, Nullut pulls her upright and helps her put on a one-piece suit of caribou skin, a fur hood trimmed with ermine, and caribou-skin mittens.

Nullut hands Irkowagtok some ragged pieces of thong and then begins to soften a boot with her teeth. Irkowagtok ties the thong to the jaw bone of a caribou to make a tiny sled for Alertailok. Alertailok tries to harness a small black puppy to her new toy.

Kingnuk and Nullut emerge from their karmaks, pick up their bone scoops and their carrying skins and set off toward the hills to gather moss. Alertailok, seeing them go, is crestfallen until she is comforted by her father. As the two women near the top of a hill a startled arctic hare hops away over the ridge. The women kick the snow aside and dig out the moss with their bone scoops. On the hill-tops where the snow is blown thin, moss is easy to dig. The women fill their carrying skins and start back to their karmaks. In the meantime, the men collect their fishing gear -- the long, three-pronged leister, the digging stick, the bone scoop and the lure -- and prepare to fish in the river.

Itimangnark, Irkowagtok, Kingnuk and six-year-old Umiapik walk down to the river, hidden under a thin blanket of snow. The men clear a patch of ice with their feet and dig holes with their digging sticks. At this time of year the ice on the river is eight inches to a foot thick. As the hole grows, they remove the slush and broken ice with a bone spoon. The sealskin one of the women used to gather moss now becomes a rug for her husband to kneel upon while he fishes. The tiny lures the men use are made of white bones and a bit of black fur dangling on a piece of sinew from a short stick.

When the hole is ready the men unwind their lures and drop them into the river. Each man jogs his lure with one hand and holds his fishing leister poised in the other. Only where the ice is thin enough to allow the men to see down into the water can this technique be used.

Back in the camp, Nullut scoops soft snow with a snow shovel and throws it onto the skin roof of the karmak. This thin layer of snow will help to keep the heat in the karmak.

Meanwhile the fishermen down at the river can be seen ducking their heads from time to time to blow on the surface of the water in the fishing holes to prevent ice from forming. At this time of year the temperature may be as low as 20 to 30 degrees below zero in the middle of the day. After a couple of hours the men gather their catch into



their carrying skins, scrape the ice from the fishing leisters, pack up their equipment and go back to the camp.

Nullut has set up her cooking pot between two snow-block windbreaks against the outside wall of her karmak. She uses a leather bucket to carry fire from the stone lamp inside to light the moss underneath the stone pot. She cuts up a fish or two into the pot and blows on the fire to keep it burning as brightly as possible.

The two fishermen carry their loads to a rocky knoll, loosen some stones with their feet or with other stones, and make a small cache for the fish they caught that day.

Presently the fish is cooked and the pot is passed into the karmak. Inside, Irkowagtok and his family, Nullut and Alertailok, eat happily, while outside it is grey and bleak and cold.

## B. Men and Women Prepare for Winter

2 DAYS

The making of the sled by men and the making of clothing by women are examples of the division of labor between Netsilik husband and wife. This division of labor establishes a cooperative bond between men and women; each feels he needs the other to perform the complementary tasks. Although distinctly different jobs are done by men and by women, the work done by each is not necessarily related to physical capacity. Women could fish or make a sled, just as men could cook or make parkas. But since the form of the division of labor in any society is culturally determined and consistent with the society's view of the correct role of men and women, Netsilik men and women each perform their own clearly defined tasks.

Film, "Autumn River Camp," Part II  
(32 min.; cartridges 1 and 2,  
Super-8mm)

Booklets: The Data Book  
A Journey to the Arctic  
This World We Know

Eskimo cards

Screen  
Film projector  
Drawing paper and crayons

### 1. HOW DO HUSBAND AND WIFE COOPERATE AT THE FISH CAMP?

Although a man can fish without help, he always needs the help of a woman at the camp. Ask the boys to list the tasks they saw Itimangnark perform in "Autumn River Camp," Part I (building karmak, fishing, unloading dogs), and ask the girls to do the same for Kingnuk's tasks (softening boots, gathering moss, tending the fire).

In what ways do men and women depend on each other?

## 2. DESIGNING A SLED

At the fall fishing camp the Netsilik make a sled to travel to the sea ice camp. Traditionally this is men's work. The children can list some of the requirements a sled must fulfill. It must:

last for the whole winter;  
be either storable or disposable when the spring comes;  
be strong enough to carry the small children and all the family's belongings;  
slide smoothly over ice and snow.

Divide the children into groups and give each group a set of the following Eskimo cards:

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| tent   | thong        |
| antler | caribou bone |
| fish   | moss         |

Explain that these cards show the materials the men use to make a sled. Each group should devise a way of making a sled that uses all these materials and record their ideas either in a paragraph or in a diagram.

In an exercise in Section II the children considered the properties of materials in relation to the function of the tool to be constructed. The children should be able to use this experience to make reasonable guesses here. In sharing their guesses with the class, they should tell what properties of the materials were exploited in their design.

## 3. MEN MAKE A SKIN SLED

Show the film "Autumn River Camp," Part II, and ask the children to watch for the ways the Netsilik use all the materials to make the sled. Point out that the family has now moved into an igloo and no longer needs the skin for a karmak roof.

After the film the children can use The Data Book and the film notes to answer the following questions:

How were the materials joined?

What properties of the materials allowed them to be used that way?

How may these materials be useful in other ways when the warm weather comes?

Antler: can be reused to make other tools

Bone: marrow can be sucked for food

Moss: cannot be reused; will all be worn off

Fish: can be eaten or fed to dogs

Tent skin: will be sewn back together and used for tent,  
karmak

Thong: used for tent guylines, etc.

At the end of this lesson there is an optional activity that asks the children to diagram the reuse of materials. This is an appropriate time to suggest the diagramming.

#### 4. WOMEN MAKE THE PARKAS

Each woman is responsible for sewing the clothing for her immediate family. In the film, Nullut sewed together caribou skins to make a parka. Divide the class into groups, each with one pack of Eskimo cards. With the parka card in front of them, each group then selects from the pack all those cards showing tools which are used by men or women during the making of a parka, beginning when the parka is the skin of a live animal. (The Data Book contains a detailed description of the parka.) They should separate the cards selected into men's tools and women's tools and write a statement of the task performed by each tool. You might want to go around to each group to hear their descriptions.

##### PARKA

##### Man's tools and tasks

Kayak: chases caribou

Spear: kills caribou

Thong: drags caribou onto  
beach

Knife: skins caribou

##### Woman's tools and tasks

Ulu: cuts caribou skin; cuts  
sinew from meat

Skin Scraper: cleans caribou  
skin

Needle and Sinew: sews pieces  
of skin together

As they finish, the children may take one of the objects listed below and draw a storyboard that shows the men's and women's tasks involved in making the object and the tools they use. The children might enjoy referring to The Data Book for information on each item.

Skin Sled

Boots

Bow and Arrow

Kayak (use September 9 journal entry as well as The Data Book)

#### 5. A GIFT FOR NULIAJUK

The end of the film "Autumn River Camp," Part II, showed the family on their way out to the sea ice to set up the winter seal camp. But before starting that trek the Netsilik make one additional preparation for the winter which is not shown in the film. They bury a set of seal bones in a crack in the ice as a gift for Nuliajuk, the sea spirit who controls the sea animals. The children will find out more about Nuliajuk during the Sea Ice Unit. For now, they should read the journal entry for October 27, which describes this preparation, and discuss:

What are the differences between preparing for winter in this way and other preparations like making a sled and sewing a parka?

---

#### OPTIONAL

- a. Rituals and Taboos About Sewing. Caribou-skin parkas are made after caribou hunting is finished but before seal hunting begins, because the souls of the seals would be offended if women were working on skins of another animal during sealing time. The children read the entries for September 5 and October 25 in the journal describing rules at caribou-hunting and sewing time. Using what they know about Netsilik belief in animal souls, the children should answer the following questions:

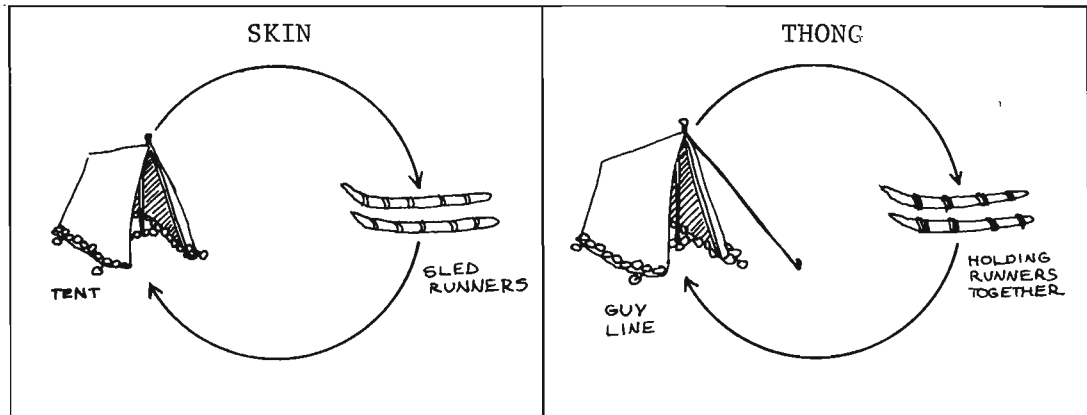
Why is it important for the Netsilik not to sew caribou skins at caribou-hunting time?

Why must they finish sewing all caribou skins by the time they reach the seal-hunting camp?

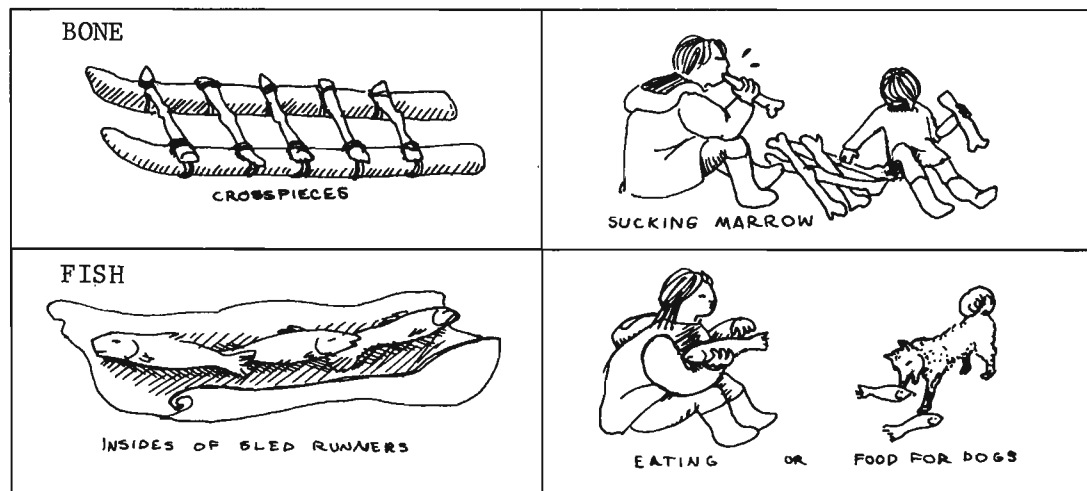
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For help in answering these questions, the children can review two sections, "The Ancient Rules of Life" and "Souls and Spirits," in This World We Know.

- b. Diagramming the Reuse of Materials. Some children might enjoy trying to make diagrams which show the different use and form of each nonconsumable material at different times in the year, year after year.



On the other hand, bone and fish cannot be used the same way twice.



- c. Altering Materials. The following exercise is suggested to give children, especially city-dwelling children, a sense of the way natural materials can be altered to adapt them to a new purpose. Have interested children experiment with the materials to deter-



FILM NOTES: AUTUMN RIVER CAMP, PART II (32 minutes, natural sound)

While the group has been at the river camp, enough snow has fallen so the men can build igloos -- warmer shelters than karmaks. As the film opens, Itimangnark, his brother Irkowagtok, and his adopted son Umiapik probe the snow to find a suitable location. Though there now is enough snow to build an igloo, it is not deep enough for blocks to be cut from the floor of the igloo as they will be later.

Near the building site, Umiapik and his cousin Alertailok play at fishing, poking away with their digging sticks and a knife to make their make-believe fishing holes deeper, and then peering into the holes as they have seen the adults doing.

As Itimangnark works inside the ring of snow blocks, spiraling them inwards and upwards, Kingnuk, with an extra caribou skin over her shoulders, shovels snow against the side of the igloo and packs it well. Finally, Itimangnark lifts up the key block, which has already been shaped so that it needs only some trimming around the edges before it is dropped into place to complete the dome. Itimangnark cuts a hole in the side of the igloo and comes out through the new doorway.

Itimangnark and Ugak drag Itimangnark's tent skin down to the river. This is the first step in the construction of one of the most ingenious products of Eskimo technology, a skin sled. Until the advent of trading posts, the Netsilik had for wood only the rare pieces of driftwood washed up on the shore or occasional small fragments obtained in trade with other tribes. In a land with no wood, where a sled was a necessity, some method had to be devised to make sled runners. The Netsilik Eskimos solved this problem by constructing a sled of the tent skin they no longer needed when they had moved into winter igloos.

To build the sled, the men first shovel clear an area of river ice, spread the tent out flat and cut it in half. They tie the ends of the rolled halves of the skin with thongs and lower them into the water through a hole chopped in the ice. The thongs are looped around a digging stick so the skins cannot be lost in the river.

While the skins are soaking, the men go back to their igloos for a snack. Kingnuk tends the stone lamp under the cooking pot with her stone wick-trimmer, and Itimangnark sits beside her on the sleeping platform. Kingnuk takes a frozen fish, cuts it with her ulu and hands a piece to Itimangnark. After he has eaten, he wipes his hands on a birdskin "towel."

From the doorway of her igloo Alertailok looks out across the snowy landscape. Her family too has moved to an igloo. Irkowagtok is scraping caribou hides for Nullut to make into clothing. Almost all



of the Eskimo clothing is made from caribou skin, because the skin is soft and durable, and the hollow-haired fur is very warm. The scraping tool has a bone handle and a metal blade. (In ancient times, the blade would have been flint.) He scrapes all remnants of flesh from the inside of the skins until they are brilliantly white; this cleans and softens the skins at the same time. Irkowagtok pauses to hone his scraping knife on a piece of black, fine-grained stone and then goes back to scraping. He is working stripped to the waist, showing the warmth of the igloo. Presently, Nullut pries out the eyes of the ptarmigan she is skinning and offers them to Alertailok, who eats them. Nullut makes a balloon for the little girl from the stomach of the bird. All three eat tidbits from the ptarmigan, and the scraping goes on.

Later, Ugak and Itimangnark haul the soaked skins out of the river and unroll them. They split some large fish and lay the halves of the fish shingle-fashion along one side of each section of skin. They roll the skins tightly over the fish and bind them with sealskin thongs. Then they stamp on the rolls to flatten them so they are oval in cross section. The ends of the two long rolls are turned up in one direction. An hour later the new sled runners will be frozen solid. (End cartridge 3, Super 8mm)

Back in her igloo, Nullut is scraping small areas of a skin and smoothing its edges before she begins to make it into a garment. She hands shreds of the scraping to Alertailok to chew on.

Later Itimangnark and Ugak return to the river carrying caribou antlers and leg bones to use as crosspieces between the two runners of the sled. The men remove the sealskin thongs, stand the runners on edge and lay the crosspieces at short intervals along the length of the sled. The crosspieces are bound tightly to the runners with the sealskin thongs that were used to shape the runners.

The preparation of the skins completed, Nullut starts to make a parka. First, she finds the center of a skin by examining the pattern on the fur side and she marks it by biting the skin with her teeth. She then evens the two sides by pulling with her teeth at the edge of the skin. She uses a piece of sinew to measure part of an old parka and marks the new skin accordingly. She cuts the new skin to size with a small, very sharp ulu.

The men are still working on the sled. Ugak has gathered some moss, which both men pound until it is pulverized. The moss mixed with dry snow is pushed into a hollow in the river ice and dampened with water. The two men apply the resulting sludge in a thick layer to the underside of the runners. They smooth the "tire" with their hands and leave it to freeze hard.

Back in the igloo Nullut takes the front and back panels of the new parka and tries one against the other. She sews them together in a neat series of overhand stitches using a bone needle threaded with sinew.

When the sled-runner coating has frozen, the men smooth it further with a knife. To finish the runners they spew mouthfuls of river water out onto a mitt of polar bear fur and quickly apply the moisture to the runners. This gives them a glazing of smooth ice that will make the sled slide easily over the snow.

The sled is ready to be loaded. It will be the means of transportation for the Eskimo and his family from November through April. By May the sun is so hot in the middle of the day that a special igloo is built to keep the sled from melting. At that time of year, any traveling is usually done at night. When the days get so warm that the igloos melt, the Eskimos take the sled apart, break up the bones and eat the marrow, eat the frozen fish or feed it to the dogs, sew together the skin from the two runners and again have the tent skin in time to begin using it for their summer homes.

Kingnuk and Ugak help Itimangnark pack the family's belongings on the new sled. Kingnuk wraps Umiapik in a skin and perches him on top of the load, and the family heads down the slope toward the river. They move along the river between the rock cliffs toward the coast.

## C. How Itimangnark Got His Wife

1 DAY

The True Play; How Itimangnark Got Kingnuk,  
The Girl He Really Wanted (10 copies)

The True Play is a light-hearted diversion from the sequence of lessons in this unit. It is intended to be humorous, even though it is based on the real journey Itimangnark made as a young man to claim Kingnuk. She had been promised to him at birth, but, just as in the play, her family had moved to a distant camp.

There are several ways in which this play could be performed:

- a. Straight play-reading, with children seated in front of the class.
- b. Radio play with sound effects. This could be put on tape and sent around to other classes.
- c. Walk-through with children reading from scripts.
- d. Pantomime. A group of children reads the script while another does the acting. This is useful when there is a wide diversity of reading ability in the class.
- e. Two different groups could prepare the play and present it to each other.
- f. Some children might enjoy adding lines to the play to expand it, or they might like changing the ending. The play could then be performed in any of the ways suggested above.

## D.Children Learning

3 DAYS

Before a child can take his place as an adult in his society, he must acquire the knowledge and experience that members of his society share. He must learn the necessary technological skills, such as how to hunt. He also must learn how to behave with others, including such things as appropriate people to cooperate or compete with. And he learns a way of looking at the world that enables him to interpret experiences. Children everywhere learn on their own, but societies everywhere supplement this independent learning by deliberate teaching.

The Netsilik child learns most of these things from members of his family. The American child learns the same kinds of things (skills, social behaviors, ways of looking at the world), but his learning takes place in schools, churches and clubs, as well as in the family.

Filmstrip, "Netsilik Life," frames 5-9  
Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic  
Songs and Stories of the  
Netsilik Eskimos  
The Observer's Handbook  
Record, "Words Rise Up"

Filmstrip projector  
Screen  
Phonograph  
Chart paper and magic  
markers

### 1. HOW NETSILIK CHILDREN LEARN

Encourage the children to consider the question:

How does a human being become a Netsilik, an American, an Italian, or a member of whatever society he grows up in?

With this perspective in mind, the children, divided into small groups or pairs, should choose one of the following activities:

- a. Reread "The Ancient Rules of Life" in This World We Know.

Make a list of the things mentioned in this chapter that Netsilik children have to learn.

Choose one item on your list and describe the ways it might be taught to a Netsilik child.

What are the differences between the ways you have learned about Netsilik beliefs and the ways Netsilik children learn about them?

- b. Listen to "The Woman Who Turned to Stone" and "Kaluarsuk" on the record, and look at other selections in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos to try to write an answer for the questions:

At what times in his life might Umiapik be told these stories?

What do you think Umiapik might learn from these stories?

- c. Look closely at frames 5-9 on the filmstrip, "Netsilik Life." Find as many clues as you can to things Netsilik boys and girls learn. Make one list for boys and another for girls. Underline each item that requires talk or explanation to learn. Which things on the list are similar to things you learn?

#### NOTES ON FILMSTRIP

FRAME 5. Umiapik watches as his father and his father's cousin, Ugak, remove the thong from the runners of the skin sled they are making.

FRAME 6. Inside a large ceremonial igloo, Nullut helps her daughter Alertailok get into her caribou-skin clothing. (Nullut, too, wears a caribou-skin parka.) Alertailok will soon learn how to dress herself. An oil lamp and a drying rack can be seen in the background.

FRAME 7. Umiapik watches his mother butcher a seal. In a sense, he is learning something about the division of labor and about how tools are used. It is late spring; along the shore and further inland, the snow has melted, and the family now lives in a tent. There is still ice on Pelly Bay, however, and so seal hunting continues -- at the breathing holes or as the animals lie on the ice basking in the sun.

FRAME 8. Warmly dressed in suits of caribou skin, Umiapik and his cousin Alertailok delight in playing with a small toy sled, which was made by Umiapik's father, Itimangnark. Children the world over learn by playing.

FRAME 9. Karmatsiark learns how to use an arrow from his older cousin, Itimangnark. When a child reaches the age of ten or twelve, serious instruction begins -- by explanation and practice.

## 2. WHAT AMERICAN CHILDREN LEARN

The children can prepare for this activity by making a list in advance of some of the important things that they have been taught or learned on their own. The list should include:

Things that are important to you  
Things that you believe are true  
How you think people should behave

After the children share some of their answers, they might discuss why they were taught all these things. This question can be expanded by one of the following assignments, in which the children's work should be considered private.

- a. Write a paper alone or with a friend describing the ways in which you want to be different from the adults you know.
- b. Interview your mother, if you are a girl, or your father, if you are a boy, on the question: In what ways do you want me to be like you when I am grown up?

### 3. INDEPENDENT PROJECT ON TEACHING AND LEARNING

After thinking about what American children learn, the students should consider how they learn. This independent project stresses, among other things, the importance of teaching in learning. The activities suggested are purposely open-ended, so the students can begin to look critically at the sources from which they learn, the range of these sources and the differences in the ways they learn.

The project is divided into two sections. The activities in the first allow students to examine and manipulate some aspect of the learning process; the questions in the second concern what schools should be like. Students can work in pairs or alone, choosing activities that interest them.

The activities have been printed in the booklet, The Observer's Handbook. Allow students to complete one or more projects from the first section before beginning the second section. Students should keep a record of their results, either in their notebooks or on separate paper. A week will be needed for each section.

At the end of the project, the class plans a schedule for a day's learning for themselves. A class period should be devoted to this planning several weeks after the learning projects are introduced. If circumstances permit, the class should follow at least part of the schedule they create.

## E. Family Ties and Expected Behaviors

2 DAYS

In the family each person has many different kinds of ties, such as husband-wife, brother-brother, father-son, and each tie has behaviors associated with it. For each relationship a person learns how he is expected to behave and what he can expect of others. By studying the ways many individual Netsilik fathers behave toward their children, we find that certain behaviors are common to most Netsilik fathers. From accumulated evidence we make generalizations about Netsilik fathers.

Filmstrip, "Netsilik Life," frames 9-11  
Booklets: A Journey to the Arctic  
Songs and Stories of the  
Netsilik Eskimos  
Record, "Words Rise Up"

Phonograph  
Filmstrip projector  
Screen  
3 x 5 cards

### 1. HOW DOES A NETSILIK MAN ACT TOWARD OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY?

Itimangnark is a father, and also a husband, brother, cousin and uncle. In each of these family ties, he knows how to behave and how others in the family expect him to behave. Frames 9-11 on the filmstrip, "Netsilik Life" give examples of Itimangnark's customary behavior toward his relatives. As they look at the frames, the children should think about:

What is Itimangnark doing, or what has he done?

For whom or to whom is he doing it?



# NOTES ON FILMSTRIP

FRAME 9. Itimangnark teaches his cousin Karmatsiark (kar-MAT-si-ark), Ugak's son, some of the fine points of archery.

FRAME 10. Itimangnark uses a lure and a leister to fish for Arctic char through the river ice: in this season of the year the family lives on the fish he catches. :),

FRAME 11. Umiapik playfully imitates his father in shaping the igloo walls while Itimangnark works in earnest; Itimangnark serves as a model for his son. (Kingnuk waits to begin chinking the cracks between the blocks of snow.)

## 2. WHAT BEHAVIORS ARE COMMON TO MOST NETSILIK MEN?

The children have now looked at examples of the behavior of only one Netsilik man, Itimangnark. They should turn to the journal and re-read the entry for April 14, which makes some general statements about Netsilik men as husbands and fathers. The children should discuss:

What does Rasmussen say about Netsilik men?

In order to make general statements such as "Children are treated well and affectionately," what behaviors do you think Rasmussen must have observed?

What questions might Rasmussen have asked the Netsilik in order to make these generalizations?

## 3. HOW IS A FAMILY AFFECTED WHEN ONE MEMBER CANNOT DO WHAT IS EXPECTED OF HIM?

Netsilik family life depends on each member behaving in a predictable way.

When someone fails to follow customary patterns of behavior, the whole family is affected. The children listen to the recording of "Orpingalik's Song" on "Words Rise Up" to learn how a sick hunter affects his family. Orpingalik was a famous hunter and angatok. He once told Rasmussen:

Man is moved like the ice floe drifting on the sea. When he feels joy, or fear, or sorrow, thoughts wash over him like waves, his breath comes in gasps and his heart pounds. Sometimes he remains frozen up inside, and then he is afraid to use words. Then we, who feel small, feel smaller. But sometimes it happens that the words we want rise up by themselves -- and then we get a new song. Songs are thoughts that flow out with our breath, when speaking is no longer enough.

Knud Rasmussen, The Netsilik Eskimos

After hearing "Orpingalik's Song," the children can read the poem in Songs and Stories of the Netsilik Eskimos if they wish before discussing the following questions:

What people were affected by Orpingalik's inability to hunt during caribou season?

Why didn't Orpingalik's family starve?

Why is Orpingalik unhappy, even though his family has been provided for?

What is important to an Eskimo hunter?

As homework, the children might read the entries for March 29, April 1 and April 5 in A Journey to the Arctic for more information on Orpingalik and his family. Their interest may be stimulated if you point out that in the next part of the course the films include a man named Sigguk, the real-life grandson of Orpingalik.

4. WHAT GENERALIZATIONS CAN WE MAKE ABOUT FAMILY BEHAVIOR IN OUR SOCIETY? Although each family is unique, some behaviors are common to almost all families. To make generalizations about the behavior of family members, we list the behaviors of many people and then look for common categories. Divide the class in half; ask one group to think of how mothers behave toward children and the other to think of how wives behave toward husbands. Give each student several 3 x 5 cards. On each he writes an example of a behavior his person (mother or wife) typically performs with or for the other person. They might illustrate their cards. When they have finished, pool all the Mother-Children cards and the Wife-Husband cards. Using the chalkboard, a bulletin board or chart paper, examine the list to make generalizations about common behavior of mothers and wives.

Which behaviors are similar in the Mother-Children column? (Taking a child to the zoo, teaching a daughter to knit and helping a child with homework might all be categorized as teaching behaviors.)

What general statements can you make about the behavior of most mothers toward their children? wives toward husbands?

Give an example of a behavior of a mother toward her children that is not common to most mothers.

What family roles does your mother have besides mother and wife? (Sister, daughter-in-law, aunt)

What general statements can you make about the behavior of most fathers toward their children? husbands toward their wives?

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#### OPTIONAL

Family Interviews. Children might interview four or five adults to learn more about family behavior. This is a good opportunity for children to use a new method of investigation, the interview, which is quite different from the behavioral observations that the children have done in the past. Their interviews might include the following questions:

How many brothers and sisters do you have?

How old should a child be before he can be left alone during the evening?

How do members of your family celebrate Thanksgiving?

What are two things you would punish your children for doing?

Compiling and tabulating the answers should reveal that for some questions there are widely varying answers, whereas the answers to others reveal common practices.

If children are interested in change in family behavior, they might compare the answers of people of different generations to selected questions. For instance, they could interview people of their grandparents' generation and compare them with people of their parents' generation on any two of the questions above.

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