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### Résumé de l'article

Diamond Jenness (1886-1969) fut, durant la première moitié du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, une figure dominante en anthropologie au Canada. Cet article donne un aperçu historique-biographique des débuts de sa carrière mais porte surtout sur ses recherches de terrain en Nouvelle-Guinée en 1912 et dans le nord de l'Alaska et dans la région du golfe Coronation au Canada entre 1913 et 1916. Se basant particulièrement sur son journal inédit de terrain et sa correspondance personnelle, cet article identifie les liens entre ses recherches dans le Pacifique du sud et ses travaux dans l'Arctique et examine les sources des principaux thèmes qui seront élaborés plus tard dans sa carrière professionnelle. Nous nous attardons sur la période de trois ans que Jenness a passée comme membre de l'expédition de Stefansson dans l'Arctique canadien et sur son rôle dans la réalisation des objectifs anthropologiques de cette expédition.

# An Anthropologist's Apprenticeship: Diamond Jenness' Papuan and Arctic Fieldwork

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Diamond Jenness (1886-1969) was a major figure in Canadian anthropology during the first half of the century. This paper provides some biographical-historical details of his early career, concentrating on major fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in 1912, and in northern Alaska and Canada's Coronation Gulf region between 1913 and 1916. Relying mainly on Jenness' unpublished field diaries and personal correspondence, it identifies links between his work in the south Pacific and the Arctic, and examines the source of prominent themes that found expression during his later professional career. Particular attention is given to the three years Jenness served as a member of Stefansson's Canadian Arctic Expedition, and to his role in accomplishing the Expedition's anthropological objectives.

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Diamond Jenness (1886-1969) is best known for pioneering ethnographic work among the Copper Eskimos of Victoria Island. His *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, published in 1922, has recently been called the "best description of a single Eskimo tribe" in the anthropological literature (Collins, 1984:8). Jenness also made important contributions in other areas of anthropological knowledge - linguistic and biological affinities of northern aboriginal populations, Eskimo prehistory, Amerindian ethnology, and applied anthropology. Serving first as an ethnologist (1913-1925) in the Anthropological Division of Canada's Victoria Memorial Museum, a branch of the Geological Survey of Canada, then as Division chief (1926-1931, 1937-46), and finally as a consultant, Jenness was an important figure in professional anthropology in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.

Despite his many accomplishments, Jenness has received scarce mention in the history of anthropology, and is virtually ignored in studies of anthropology in Canada (e.g., Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 1975; Freedman, 1976). There are several factors that account for this. First, he worked in the shadow of Edward Sapir, the first chief of the Anthropological Division, founded in 1910. Sapir is widely credited with putting the discipline on solid professional footing by implementing a research programme devoted to accomplishing a systematic

anthropological survey of Canadian aboriginal peoples, and by recruiting university-trained scientists to carry out the programme's objectives (Darnell, 1976; Fenton, 1986; Preston, 1984). In view of his prominence within the field (e.g., Koerner, 1984; Cowan *et al.*, 1986), Sapir's Canadian sojourn may actually comprise only a minor part of his overall career. For Canadian anthropology, though, his influence was seminal, and has rightly captured considerable attention. As Sapir's successor in the Division, Jenness inherited a set of scientific priorities and objectives that were well-established and which he fully endorsed (e.g., Jenness, 1925-43: Jenness to Bolton, 12.21.1925). Yet during his tenure as chief, the combination of Depression-era financial stringency and growing bureaucratic constraints on Museum activities, notably fieldwork and publication, meant that Jenness had little leeway to further the Division's work, and actually struggled to maintain the place that Sapir had forged for anthropology within the federal government (Richling, 1989).

A second factor is that unlike Sapir, and indeed unlike a growing number of North American and European anthropologists of the time, Jenness spent the whole of his career at the Museum in Ottawa. Notwithstanding the rather auspicious beginnings anthropology enjoyed immediately following the Division's founding, the discipline was neither well-understood nor well-supported in Canada before World War II. The scope of its practitioners' work was severely limited in consequence, and the relative freedom of research enjoyed by university academics was forfeited to the vagaries of bureaucratic and political demands. Reluctant but still realistic about his situation, Jenness summed things up ably when he commented on the status of scientific publication at the Museum: "It is not a matter of what is good anthropology, but of what is policy for a government department, what it may or may not publish" (Jenness, 1925-43: Jenness to McIlwraith, 1.30.1929). Without the more amenable institutional surroundings universities ordinarily afford, and without the stimulation provided by regular contact with students and colleagues, Jenness' career unfolded in great measure as an accommodation to the particular contradictions inherent in the roles of civil servant and scientist (cf. Guédon, 1983).

Related to this last point, but of potentially more importance to the writing of disciplinary history, is the fact that Jenness' contributions to anthropological knowledge were primarily substantive, not theoretical. While he participated in several of the major debates of his time, most notably on the origins, affinities and sequences of New World Arctic cultures (e.g., Jenness, 1933, 1940), and so influenced the

development or reassessment of current viewpoints, Jenness' work did not address broader, more generalized theoretical issues in anthropology. Still, it would be wrong to dismiss or undervalue Jenness' numerous contributions to the four sub-fields of anthropology because his experience did not culminate in a synthesizing work, or because no 'school' of anthropological thought or practice, Canadian or otherwise, may be credited to him. Instead, we are obliged to consider his professional accomplishments within a socio-historical context defined by the specific conditions under which anthropology existed in Canada, and elsewhere, during the first half of this century.

What follows is intended to put the early years of Jenness' career into a historical-biographical context, a necessary first step toward a fuller examination of his place in disciplinary history. This paper looks at the man's early years in the field, and at formative influences on his approach to anthropology. Its main focus is on the experiences that formed the cornerstone of his career - fieldwork among the Copper Eskimos<sup>1</sup>. Preliminary attention is given to his lesser-known Papuan fieldwork, and to the circumstances that led him to shift scientific interest from the south Pacific to the Canadian north.

The main documentary sources upon which this essay is based are Jenness' correspondence and unpublished Arctic diaries. The latter constitute the only extant record of Jenness' field experiences, all other notes, journals and so forth long missing or destroyed. Correspondence from the period under study, similarly limited, constitutes the lone source on his New Guinea research. Comparatively little information is available about Jenness' early life in New Zealand or his student days at Oxford. These latter subjects, touched on only briefly here by way of biographical background, must await fuller treatment in subsequent work.

### *Fieldwork in New Guinea*

Born on February 10, 1886 at Wellington, New Zealand to George and Hannah Jenness, Diamond Jenness was the youngest of fourteen children, six boys and eight girls. Jenness excelled in academics, entering Wellington's Victoria University College on a scholarship in 1904. Concentrating on classical studies, he completed a B.A. in 1907, and an M.A. a year later. On the strength of his scholastic record, Jenness entered Balliol College, Oxford, intending to continue with Latin and Greek. Soon after arriving, however, he was attracted to anthropology by two fellow students, C. Marius Barbeau and Wilson

Wallis. Studying under R.R. Marett, himself a noted classicist, Jenness received a Diploma in Anthropology in 1910.

With Marett's assistance, Jenness obtained funding from Oxford's Committee of Anthropology for a year of research in Papua New Guinea. His field site was the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago of southeastern New Guinea, though he actually spent most of 1912 around the main Methodist mission post at Bwaidoga, on Goodenough Island. Jenness' sister May and her husband, Reverend Andrew Ballantyne, had been stationed here for several years. Ballantyne was knowledgeable about many facets of regional social and cultural life, and spoke both Bwaidogan and Dobuan. As a result, Jenness relied on his brother-in-law as an interpreter; the two also collaborated in the field, publishing their anthropological findings in two co-authored reports (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 1.20.1912; Jenness and Ballantyne, 1920, 1928)<sup>2</sup>.

At the time, the D'Entrecasteaux region was poorly known to anthropology. Jenness' field objectives included obtaining ethnological specimens for Henry Balfour of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum, and making anthropometrical observations among the local population. Though he later denied having much knowledge of physical anthropology (Boas, n.d.: Jenness to Boas, 3.23.1920), Jenness did receive training in this area at Oxford from F.S. Knowles<sup>3</sup>.

In addition to these responsibilities, Jenness studied the social institutions of villagers scattered around Goodenough and nearby Fergusson Islands, their ritual and economic ties with Trobriand Islanders and other neighboring peoples, and aspects of intellectual culture: religion, mythology, and morality. In these latter subjects his approach was influenced by Marett's predilection for examining the psychology of 'primitive cultures', particularly belief systems (Lowie, 1937:109-11; Jenness and Ballantyne, 1920:202ff.). Though never a central concern in his research over the years, Jenness periodically published on subjects in the area of culture and personality studies (e.g., Jenness, 1929, 1955; McClellan, 1981:40).

Jenness' first fieldwork endowed him with a number of important impressions and experiences that were to influence his work in the Arctic beginning less than a year later. Of these, three warrant particular mention: his views on the role of agents of change; the delicate balance of subsistence, cooperation, and survival; and field methods.

It is difficult to determine the nature of Jenness' first-hand knowledge of the indigenous population of his native New Zealand, though he did enjoy boyhood friendships with local Maori youths (Can-

ada, 1947:308-09)<sup>4</sup>. We find little indication that he expected to meet pristine 'primitive' peoples, untouched by Western culture, in New Guinea. Spending most of his time around the Bwaidoga mission, his native informants and acquaintances were typically well-versed in European ways, and heartily suspicious of colonial authorities, traders, and the like. Jenness observed similar distrust in the less-acculturated villagers of the hinterland. He explained to Marett that the Islanders feared summary imprisonment for alleged offenses such as engaging in shamanism, or the loss of young men to forced labour in mines or on plantations (Jenness, n.d.:4.11.1912).

Missionaries were the only class of whites enjoying amicable relations with the local inhabitants: "the name 'missionali' serves as a passport everywhere" (*Ibid.*). Jenness appears to have been without strong religious convictions, and was not favourably disposed toward missionaries as a matter of course. Rather, he was a pragmatist, judging the worthiness of mission work by the practicality, not the ideological bent, of its teaching and example. Jenness found the Methodists in the D'Entrecasteaux achieving this ideal, as he later did a young Anglican missionary at Coronation Gulf, and the Moravians in Labrador (Jenness, 1965).

Jenness was neither a romantic nor an opponent of European civilization's inexorable advance on indigenous society. Instead, he advocated change that encouraged native peoples to function as full partners in the new society. To this end, he sometimes found occasion, both in New Guinea and later in the Arctic, to act as a middleman between natives and newcomers, often with the goal of preventing the latter's unwarranted intrusions into local affairs (e.g., Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 7.26.1912; Jenness, 1913-16: 5.15-17.1916; Richling, 1988). This perspective on change and advocacy was strengthened by Jenness' northern sojourn, and found voice throughout the rest of his career (e.g., Jenness, 1918, 1944, 1968).

From his first days in the field in January, 1912, Jenness developed an appreciation for the precariousness of local subsistence, the fine line between well-being and disaster, and the mitigating role of mutual aid. A prolonged drought that began the summer before his arrival led to famine in early winter. As a result, much time at Bwaidoga was given over to efforts to meet the people's basic material needs, including doling out rations of rice and biscuits from the mission's stores, and providing tobacco which some Bwaidogans used to purchase food from villagers along the coast (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 4.11.1912). Though rains came

again in the summer of 1912, some question remained about how well the people would manage until they could harvest their root crops. And in the meantime, the mission's own supplies had run precariously low.

A participant in the mission's relief efforts, Jenness appears to have been distant from the experience at the same time, regretting that its occurrence had interfered with his research plans. He wrote to Marett: "Why did I not come here a year earlier? - it would have made anthropologizing much easier" (Jenness, n.d.:7.26.1912). By contrast, conditions in the Arctic rarely permitted that sort of aloofness. In the absence of mission stations, regular government patrols and other connections to the outside, close cooperation and interdependence with his companions were essential to Jenness' work, and survival, in northern Alaska and Canada.

In the absence of field journals or notebooks, we are hard pressed to assess the methods Jenness employed in his New Guinea research. Using the mission station as a base, he conducted formal interviews with informants who related information about customs and so forth. He adopted a style of questioning derived from a set of anthropological 'queries' outlined by James Frazier (Frazier, 1907). In spite of his earlier training in Latin and Greek, Jenness was uncomfortable with linguistic methodology, making little progress with learning Bwaidogan. Instead, he relied on Ballantyne's on-the-spot interpreting and translations of textual material. When conditions permitted, Jenness visited outlying areas of Goodenough and Fergusson Islands. Ordinarily spending less than a day in any one village, he made ethnological observations, and acquired artifacts for the Pitt Rivers Museum.

The closest Jenness came to engaging in participant observation occurred in early summer when Ballantyne's attention to church business disrupted the routine of interviews at the mission. Travelling with a local policeman and a small party of Islanders, he visited some isolated hamlets in northern Goodenough where Europeans were said not yet to have set foot. He described the experience to Marett this way:

I seemed to get right down into native life. We had sing-songs at night - I copied down many of them. It was weird to sit in the circle round the fire with 20-30 natives about me swaying their heads & bodies to the tune of some mournful chant. Living & sleeping with them the barriers appeared to be broken down. They spoke quite freely of their customs... (Jenness, n.d.:7.26.1912).

What was a singular experience in New Guinea became the standard for Jenness' Arctic fieldwork. In the north, social intimacy, like cooperation in the daily round of subsistence activities, was inseparable from the work of anthropology. After nearly eight months on Goodenough, he confessed to his professor: "Sometimes I fear I have not got into the real native life ... I can't think 'native' tho' as I suppose one ought to, much as I try. Oxford skepticism is too much for me" (*Ibid.*). Jenness' Arctic letters and diary describe few similar doubts; rather, they chronicle his growing acceptance, and adoption, of many Inuit ways (e.g., Jenness, 1913-16:6.5.1915).

In December, 1912, one year after arriving at Bwaidoga, Jenness returned home to New Zealand. Though having planned to remain in the field for a year, his departure was sealed when he contracted a tropical fever in the fall (Swayze, 1960:46). The Jenness family had moved from Wellington to the nearby community of Lower Hutt, and it was here that he retired to recuperate from this illness, and to work up notes for his report to Oxford. Jenness soon recovered from his illness; however, he continued to suffer from periodic malarial ague that affected him during his earliest days at Bwaidoga (Jenness, n.d.:Jenness to Marett, 1.20.1912). Oddly enough, subsequent bouts of fever hampered him during his first Arctic winter, though he was able to control them with quinine tablets obtained from Charles Brower, a trader at Cape Smythe, Alaska (Sapir, 1910-25: Jenness to Sapir, 10.26.1913).

### *Joining the Canadian Arctic Expedition*

In February, 1913, Jenness received a telegram from Edward Sapir, inviting him to accompany the scientific expedition that Vilhjalmur Stefansson was to lead to the western Canadian Arctic in July. Known officially as the Canadian Arctic Expedition, the enterprise came under the authority of Canada's Department of Naval Affairs (Canada, 1914). Within a month of Sapir's offer, Jenness cabled his acceptance and prepared to sail for Canada. He reached Victoria, British Columbia on April 30, ready to join Stefansson's party.

Marius Barbeau, Jenness' Oxford classmate and, at the time, just beginning his own career at the National Museum, recommended his friend and colleague to Stefansson on the strength of Jenness' talents as an ethnologist (Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to Jenness, 4.18.1913). For his part, Stefansson's requirements for a suitable participant focused less on

scientific know-how than on personal attributes well-suited to the rigours of northern life. In a telegram to Sapir, he conditionally accepted Jenness' appointment "...if you consider him best man in Physique temperament training" (Sapir, 1910-25: Stefansson to Sapir, 2.28.1913)<sup>5</sup>. As his experience with the Expedition bore out, Jenness actually embodied Stefansson's notion of the ideal northern explorer and scientist: possessing the physical and mental qualities to endure Arctic conditions, including the requisite inclination and skills to subsist on local resources.

In spite of his apparent suitability for the position, why Jenness accepted the offer in the first place is somewhat of a mystery. For one thing, he appears not to have been interested in northern science, or even to have been familiar with the likes of Stefansson and Sapir (Swayze, 1960:47). Judging from his own letters at this time, Jenness' first preference was to remain in New Zealand, or at least the south Pacific, to continue with research and to take up a teaching post, if one were to become available. In the Expedition's early days he wrote about this to his former Classics professor George von Zedlitz. Once the northern sojourn was over, he planned to specialize in Melanesian and Polynesian ethnology, and to conduct "original researches in New Guinea again" (Jenness, n.d.:10.16.1913). But in view of the considerable difficulties Jenness encountered in raising funds for the D'Entrecasteaux work, prospects for a return to the field in the near future were not bright. The Oxford Committee of Anthropology had been able to provide £200 toward his Papuan trip, and this was only secured after Jenness' father guaranteed the total grant in the event the research was not completed (Jenness, n.d.: George Jenness to Marett, 11.7.1911). Jenness complained to Marett that he was already broke before setting foot in Bwaidoga. Among other worries, he feared that his lack of money would limit acquisition of artifacts for the Pitt Rivers Museum (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 4.11.1912).

For the short term, then, a job and income were paramount. The salary Sapir was authorized to offer - \$500 per year plus living costs in the field - "was not princely" (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 3.9.1913), especially since he had recently turned down a teaching post at home paying £50 more per year (Barbeau, 1912-33: Jenness to Barbeau, 7.7.1913). In all probability, the deciding factor was Jenness' conviction that the "expedition is rather important and likely to lead to something afterwards" (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 3.9.1913). This optimism was buoyed by what Jenness now knew to be Stefansson's considerable reputation for northern ex-

ploration and research, and by Sapir's offer of a position in Ottawa while he wrote up his Arctic findings. Unbeknown to Jenness at the time, accepting the invitation to join the Expedition shut the door on any further professional involvement in the south Pacific, and marked the beginning of a half century-long career dedicated to the aboriginal peoples of Canada.

### *Anthropology and the Canadian Arctic Expedition*

The Canadian Arctic Expedition was divided into two parties, one for exploration, the other for multi-disciplinary scientific investigations. The Northern Party, under Stefansson's command, was to devote itself to the search for new lands in the high Arctic. The Southern Party, consisting of ten scientists and led by the zoologist Rudolph Anderson, was to conduct research on the human, natural, and physical systems around Coronation Gulf. A number of the participants - including Anderson, Jenness, and a second anthropologist, Henri Beuchat - were seconded to the Expedition as staff members of the Geological Survey of Canada. The Survey, a branch of the federal Department of Mines, held responsibility for scientific programmes and operation of the Victoria Memorial Museum. Jenness and Beuchat's salaries were paid by the Survey, while their subsistence costs in the field were included in Parliament's general allocation to the Expedition (Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to Jenness, 4.18.1913).

Jenness spent a month and a half in Victoria, B.C. before the party set sail for the Arctic on June 17. During the layover he read some of the literature on Inuit ethnology, worked on his D'Entrecasteaux report, and awaited the arrival of the other scientists. Henri Beuchat did not reach Victoria until early June. The two men had not met previously. However, during his Oxford days Jenness travelled to Paris with Barbeau, and there met a number of the scholars who belonged to the *Année Sociologique* group, Durkheim's students and colleagues (Harris, 1968:482). Beuchat was a member of this group and, perhaps lone among them, willing to undertake the kind of fieldwork he was soon to embark upon in the Arctic. At Victoria, and later aboard the ship en route northward, Beuchat and Jenness enjoyed an amiable personal and professional relationship. Jenness described his new colleague as an "absolute encyclopedia of knowledge", and welcomed him as a "delightful companion" (Barbeau, 1912-53: Jenness to Barbeau, 7.7.1913). Jenness may have recorded further



details of his relationship with Beuchat during these early days. However, when he left the Expedition ship on September 20, 1913, the first pages of his diary were left aboard, eventually to be lost forever when the vessel sank several months later (see below). This explains why the diary's first entry is dated September 20 rather than June 17.

Beuchat was a specialist in New World aboriginal populations, publishing several works on Amerindian archaeology and linguistics, and collaborating with Marcel Mauss on the classic *Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés eskimos* (1904-05)<sup>6</sup>. He joined the Expedition, also on Barbeau's recommendation, from a conservator's position at the Ministry of Fine Arts in his native France, showing "unexampled enthusiasm" at the opportunity to study first-hand many of the issues long of interest to him (Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to McConnell, 11.17.1914)<sup>7</sup>. Despite his eminent scientific qualifications, though, Beuchat lacked the physical attributes for Arctic life - strength and stamina - and the field experience, that Stefansson welcomed in Jenness. Anderson believed Beuchat was unsuited to the harsh conditions he would face, and was a potential liability to the Expedition (Hunt, 1986:75). Some question will always remain about whether these shortcomings played a role in Beuchat's untimely death in the aftermath of the *Karluk* disaster in the winter of 1914.

Owing to the marked differences in Jenness and Beuchat's training and experience, they settled on a division of labour that gave Jenness responsibility for physical anthropology and material culture, including the collection of skeletal and ethnographic specimens for the Victoria Memorial Museum; Beuchat was to look after linguistics, religion, social organization, and other ethnographic topics. While they expected to work together at Coronation Gulf, each was prepared to work in the other's fields of specialization, should circumstances warrant. During the long sea voyage north, Beuchat tutored his colleague in methods of phonetic transcription, a weakness that earlier had limited Jenness' Papuan research (Sapir, 1910-25: Jenness to Sapir, 5.13.1913). Sapir had initially been unaware of Jenness' interest in linguistics, and of his efforts to master Thalbitzer's (1904) phonetic system. He explained:

I had not written to you in regard to linguistic matters, as I had imagined perhaps mistakenly that your training and interests had not been along these lines, and I am therefore doubly pleased to find that you expect to pay attention to this aspect of the work. (Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to Jenness, 5.7.1913).

Beuchat and Jenness hoped to employ the same system of transcription so that each might use the other's textual material.

Some time in Victoria was regrettably lost to a wrangle over last-minute bureaucratic details. R.W. Brock, head of the Geological Survey, wanted Jenness and Beuchat to sign contracts formalizing their appointments with the Survey. Jenness found many of the contract's terms and conditions too restrictive, and its language unclear on issues such as his right to retain photographic negatives, and to keep a private journal. Sapir assured him that the diary was exempt from contractual obligations (Sapir, 1910-25:5.28.1913). However, before the ship left Victoria, Stefansson himself reopened the issue, insisting that all diaries were Expedition property. Under strong protest from Jenness and several of his colleagues, however, Stefansson relented.

Jenness suspected that Stefansson had designs on the journals for reasons related to Stefansson's own publication plans. The commander had already made exclusive arrangements to provide Expedition stories to two major newspapers, the *London Chronicle* and the *New York Times* (Hunt, 1986:66). Moreover, there was some question about whether these arrangements figured in the rather awkward regulation that all letters to the outside be channelled through Ottawa. "Some thought they would be opened & examined there, to prevent leakage of news" (Balfour, n.d.: Jenness to Balfour, 7.3.1913). This dispute foreshadowed the internal conflicts that were to plague the Expedition throughout its life, causing dissension in the ranks of the scientists, and leading some to challenge Stefansson's leadership in public (e.g., Jenness, 1922b).

The issue of salary, too, left Jenness and Beuchat feeling exploited. They learned in conversation with their fellow scientists from the Geological Survey that these men were receiving minimum salaries of \$2,000 per year, their regular pay (Balfour, n.d.: Jenness to Balfour, 7.3.1913). By contrast, the two anthropologists received \$500 per year. In a complaint that was to prove sadly ironic, Beuchat wrote of this inequity to Sapir, saying that "Mr. Jenness and myself are the worst paid of all the scientists here. We hope that the future will pay us for this mean treatment" (Sapir, 1910-25:7.15.1913).

The problems and annoyances - both real and imagined - of the Expedition's early days were rendered insignificant by events that started to unfold in August, 1913. The *Karluk*, jammed in heavy ice, drifted eastward along the north Alaskan coast for over a month. In the vicinity of Flaxman Island,

Stefansson dispatched Jenness and Beuchat to Herschel Island, an important whaling station. Ice conditions prevented them from travelling more than two miles from the ship, and they soon returned. A few days later, on September 20, Stefansson led a party of seven, including Jenness, back onto the ice in an effort to resupply the ship with fresh caribou meat from the mainland. Eight days passed before they reached their destination. In their absence, the *Karluk* disappeared, drifting off with the currents. Nearly four months later, on January 11, 1914, it was crushed and sunk by heavy ice off the Siberian coast. Among those who remained with the ship, eight, including Henri Beuchat, eventually died trying to reach land. Survivors of the wreck were finally rescued from Wrangel Island the following September (e.g., Hunt, 1986; McKinlay, 1976; Stefansson, 1921).

Virtually nothing is known about where, when, or how Beuchat met his end. As late as November, 1914, Sapir still held open the possibility that he might yet be found alive. In a rather disheartening postscript to Beuchat's death, Sapir faced repeated frustration attempting to arrange a pension - \$500 per year - for Beuchat's widowed mother. Hard pressed by conditions in wartime France and now deprived of her sole means of support, Mme. Beuchat placed great hope on receiving a small subsidy from the Canadian government. Sapir was unable to wrest this concession from his superiors, or even to prevent Beuchat's Geological Survey paycheques, at the time being forwarded to his mother, from being cut off (Barbeau, 1912-53: Mme. Beuchat to Barbeau, 1.16.1915; Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to McConnell, 11.17.1914, 5.12.1915).

News of the disaster, and of Beuchat's fate, was long in reaching Jenness and the others. In the late summer of 1914 they learned that the *Karluk's* passengers had been rescued. Jenness mistakenly believed Beuchat was among the survivors. He wrote to Barbeau that he had recently sent his absent colleague a short note, "saying how greatly I miss him up here but congratulating him on his safe emergence from the Arctic wastes" (Barbeau, 1912-53:8.10.1914). Unknown to Jenness at the time, his friend was lost, and he had suddenly inherited all of the Expedition's anthropological duties, and a truncated schedule in which to accomplish them.

### *A Season in Northern Alaska*

Unable to reach Coronation Gulf as planned, the Southern Party passed its first winter in northern Alaska. After leaving the *Karluk*, Jenness made his

way to Cape Smythe, staying for several weeks. In November, he headed eastward to Cape Halkett, on Harrison Bay, where he made his first, prolonged observations of native life. Accompanied by Alfred Hobson (a.k.a. Brick), a young Point Barrow 'half-caste' whom Stefansson had hired as an interpreter, Jenness boarded with two inland Inupiat families from the Colville River area. His hosts were reluctant to talk about their customs and traditions. Still, Jenness remained with them until early February, 1914 when, facing a severe food shortage, he returned to Point Barrow.

Unlike his experience on Goodenough Island, conditions during his first season in northern Alaska impressed Jenness with how fine a line separated survival and starvation in the Arctic, and with the various strategies - both material and psychological - needed to cope with the ever-present danger of shortage. Not unexpectedly, his diary contains many references to eating, the relative merits of European and local foods, customs of food preparation and consumption, and the varying effects of diet on his own health and temperament. At Harrison Bay, dwindling provisions forced his hosts to limit their daily fare; by early January, 1914 he complained: "I am beginning to wonder what it is like not to be hungry" (Jenness, 1913-16:1.6.1914). At the same time, he appreciated the need for "mathematical housewifery" at the table, particularly since the families with whom he boarded were inlanders, and so were well-acquainted with periodic scarcity (Jenness, 1913-16:12.10.1913).

During his three months' at Cape Halkett, Jenness made considerable headway with the local Inupiat dialect. Still feeling less than confident in his abilities as a linguist, he remarked in a letter to Sapir that "It seems a shame that ... M. Beuchat should be debarred from working here [Harrison Bay] with me... where his genius for language would have so much scope" (Sapir, 1910-25:12.2.1913)<sup>8</sup>. His difficulties were compounded by the fact that all of his books, including Thalbitzer's work on phonetic transcription, had been left behind on the *Karluk*. Later on in the winter, still frustrated with learning a language so "frightfully difficult" (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to von Zedlitz, 6.29.1914), Jenness took comfort when one of his Inupiat companions told him that Stefansson had struggled for two years before becoming conversant. Needless to say, Jenness accepted the man's offer of long hours of personal instruction (Jenness, 1913-16:3.16.1914). Despite his self-doubts, Jenness proved the most linguistically accomplished of the Southern Party's members, occasionally assuming the role of official



interpreter during the second and third years (Sapir, 1910-25: Anderson to Sapir, 7.29.1915).

Apart from his linguistic studies, Jenness also collected local folklore, concentrating on cat's cradles and their accompanying songs. Though admitting to a child-like fascination with string figures (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to von Zedlitz, 6.29.1914), this collection also had broader, ethnological value. Using a method developed by W.H.R. Rivers and A.C. Haddon (1902), he recorded about 100 different patterns that included examples from different areas of Alaska and Siberia. Jenness believed this information would be useful in unravelling the complex diffusion of "the different branches of the Eskimo race" (Canada, 1915:174; Jenness, 1924). Without the use of a phonograph until he reached Coronation Gulf the following summer, Jenness recorded cat's cradle songs by ear, transcribing the music in notational form. He later revised his notes with the aid of a harmonium at the Point Barrow mission station (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to Marett, 8.2.1914).

In the months before the Southern Party departed for Coronation Gulf, Jenness made his way to Barter Island, west of Herschel Island along the Alaskan coast, to excavate a number of occupation sites identified by Stefansson several years before. Arriving on the island in early June, 1914, he lived with a local Inupiat family, and employed two of its members to assist with the work. Though he may have acquired some first-hand knowledge of archaeological practice while visiting French paleolithic sites during his Oxford days, for all intents and purposes Jenness was a novice at field techniques. Over fifty years later, he described himself as a "scrounger in the earth" (Hall, 1987:18) at Barter Island, interested in uncovering evidence of past inhabitants, but uninformed by the systematic methodologies and theories that typify modern archaeology.

Inupiat periodically visited the Barter Island ruins, collecting artifacts for sale to white explorers and traders. While there, Jenness met a man, Teriglu, who had come for that very purpose. The two worked out an agreement about who would dig where. Jenness begrudged Teriglu's "most annoyingly good fortune" when the latter unearthed two complete skeletons and all their personal possessions. All the specimens were purchased for the Museum (Jenness, 1913-16:6.30.1914).

Despite uncooperative weather and partially frozen ground, over sixty ruins were examined. Greatly disappointed at not finishing the job to his own satisfaction, Jenness' efforts still yielded a large and informative collection of artifacts that were

eventually deposited at the Museum in Ottawa (Jenness, 1913-16:7.22.1914). This was among the first systematic archaeological investigations undertaken in northern Alaska. Although he published several important papers on northern archaeology during his career - including one that identified Dorset Eskimo culture (1925) - Jenness never reported on Barter Island<sup>9</sup>.

This unexpected first season in Alaska prepared Jenness for the next two years among the Copper Eskimos. Apart from his scientific accomplishments, he also made progress with Inuktitut, and grew accustomed to the pace and rigour of daily life. In reflecting on the experience, though, he voiced doubts about the 'genuineness' of the native life and customs he was observing, convinced that the influence of white whalers and sealers had eroded the integrity of aboriginal culture, society, and biology. During the early months in Alaska, Jenness was preoccupied with the variety of peoples he met, taking particular note of cases of mixed ancestry. His diary contains descriptions of a young girl "...quite European in her features..." (Jenness, 1913-16:11.4.1913), or of a young man "...almost certainly of mixed blood" (Jenness, 1913-16:10.31.1913). En route to Coronation Gulf in the summer of 1914, he described an "interesting gathering of types" among whom he observed mixtures of "foreign blood & foreign customs": Inuit, Portuguese, French, and Negro (Jenness, 1913-16:8.11.1914, 8.19.1914). Anticipating quite different circumstances in the more isolated Coronation Gulf region to the east, Jenness delighted in the prospect of meeting "real stone-age Eskimos" (Sapir, 1910-25: Jenness to Sapir, 7.30.1914).

### *The Copper Eskimos*

The Southern Party reached Coronation Gulf aboard the auxiliary vessel North Star on August 28, 1914. The early fall was devoted to building a base camp at Bernard Harbour, on the southern side of Dolphin and Union Strait. In the ensuing two years, Jenness and his colleagues travelled into the surrounding countryside in pursuit of their respective objectives, but always welcomed a return to "our winter harbour" (Jenness, 1913-16:8.28.1914) with its comfortable quarters, well-stocked kitchen, and amiable company.

Within days of the party's arrival at Bernard Harbour, the first Inuit appeared, eager to trade and to learn about the strangers in their midst. Jenness quickly assumed the role of middleman, acting as

translator, bartering for ethnological specimens, necessities, and souvenirs, and policing the visitors' seemingly unbridled enthusiasm. These practical duties provided a natural opening for making anthropological observations, and for establishing personal contacts that would permit him to live and work among the people.

Though not without some knowledge of white men and their technology, having first come into direct contact with Europeans around 1910 (Damas, 1984; Hickey, 1984), the Copper Eskimos here were different from the Alaskans and Siberians Jenness had encountered the previous winter. Not quite a "stone-age" people, he found them 'primitive' nonetheless. He wrote that like most "primitive peoples", these Inuit rarely displayed individuality, a trait that made them at once highly tolerant of others, and amenable to the influence of strong personalities. He concluded that their "pliant wills" (Jenness, 1913-16:11.19.1914) left the Copper Eskimo susceptible to domination by outsiders. Jenness himself benefitted from this, using his control of barter as a lever to ensure the compliance of his native companions (e.g., Jenness, 1913-16:12.6.1914).

After sticking close to Bernard Harbour for two months, Jenness made several brief trips to nearby Inuit sealing camps during early winter. Accompanied by Palaiyak, a young man from the Mackenzie River region who hunted for the Southern Party and doubled as an interpreter, he found lodging with several different families, and made ethnographic and anthropometric observations among them. These trips were followed in February, 1915 by a quick journey to the Coppermine River and western Coronation Gulf with Rudolph Anderson. Once back at Bernard Harbour, Jenness began preparing for what would prove the most important work of his entire three-year Arctic sojourn: an eight month stay among the Puivlik (Puivlirmiut) of Victoria Island.

The objective of this protracted visit was to accompany the Copper Eskimo during the least well-known phase of their subsistence cycle - the long period in which small, flexible, highly mobile family groups rely on fish and caribou for their livelihood. Believing that this was to be the first time an anthropologist would witness Inuit life during this part of the year, Jenness was confident that his observations would make a significant and original contribution to northern ethnology (Sapir, 1910-25: Jenness to Sapir, 12.26.1915). Though he would travel without an interpreter, he did arrange to live with the Puivlirmiut family of Ikpukkuq and his wife Higilak (a.k.a. Taqtu) as their 'adopted son'. In exchange, he offered Ikpukkuq a rifle, tent, and

other European goods, to be paid upon his safe return to Bernard Harbour once the Dolphin and Union Strait had frozen over the following winter. Jenness left the company of his mates on April 13, 1915, and did not see them again until November 8.

Ikpukkuq and Higilak were willing and able informants, making Jenness' choice of travelling companions a highly satisfactory one (Jenness, 1913-16:4.28.1915). All the Puivlirmiut deferred to Jenness, as had their compatriots at Bernard Harbour, treating him as a 'big man' because of the supplies of ammunition and other goods at his disposal (Jenness, 1913-16:8.22.1915). Yet Ikpukkuq and Higilak also grew to know and respect their adopted son, and he them. Nowhere in the Diary is this made more apparent than during the months of June and July when Jenness suffered from dysentery. As their kinsman's strength ebbed and his indisposition worsened, the Inuit took pains to lighten Jenness' responsibilities around the camp, boiled his fish, and so forth, thereby aiding his recovery (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to von Zedlitz, 1.11.1916). These kindnesses were appreciated all the more since they occurred at a time when food and firewood were very scarce. Though Higilak, an accomplished shaman, believed the illness had been caused by sorcery (Jenness, 1913-16:7.16.1915), Jenness attributed it to a steady diet of raw meat and fish. During the months of his ailment, he often cheered himself with thoughts of returning to Bernard Harbour where he would feast on eggs, butter, bread, vegetables and the like. "It's a pity I can't adopt an Eskimo's digestion as well as his clothes..." (Jenness, 1913-16: 6.29.1915).

The anthropologist's presence during their inland migration paid the Puivlirmiut practical benefits apart from trade and the occasional meal of rice and chocolate from their guest's larder. Jenness was an able marksman, shooting caribou with proficiency, and shouldered his share of tasks in camp and on the trail. But he also demonstrated "second sight", an attribute the Inuit associated with shamanism (e.g., Jenness, 1913-16: 5.25.1915, 6.2.1915; Richling, 1988).

The anthropologist's reputation as a shaman grew from innocent circumstances during his first month with the Puivlirmiut, the inadvertent misuse of a word when asking his 'sister' Qanajuk about Ikpukkuq's whereabouts. What he meant to say was: "is Ikpukkuq fishing?"; instead he said "has Ikpukkuq caught a fish?" Later on, this slip caught the attention of several people who learned that just as it was being uttered, Ikpukkuq had jigged a trout at a nearby lake. As a result, Jenness' fellows agreed that he possessed 'second sight', and immediately inquired of him if the Prince Albert Sound people<sup>10</sup>,

whom they hoped to meet, were nearby. Though he denied having such knowledge, the others were not convinced. Higilak resorted to divination to verify her son's abilities (Jenness, 1913-16:5.25.1915), and in the ensuing weeks consulted him on various matters, satisfied that his powers were greater, and more reliable, than her own. She also used articles of his clothing during 'seances' in order to conjure Jenness' familiars through them (e.g., Jenness, 1913-16: 5.26.1915, 5.28.1915, 6.5.1915).

We learn from his diary that Jenness was personally amused by the circumstances arising from his putative powers, but remained respectful of his companions' faith in them nonetheless. Believing that a white man's familiar spirits could appease the hostile spirits of other whites, Higilak performed a headlifting on Jenness just before he left the Arctic to insure that his familiars would come to the aid of her people in times of crisis (Jenness, 1913-16:4.5.1916).

Jenness' willingness to participate in seances, and to give advice on matters requiring supernatural intervention, bolstered traditional beliefs and practices at a time when Copper Eskimo society was experiencing the first effects of intrusive cultural influences. Yet at the same time, he played the part of cultural broker, drawing clear distinctions between the worlds of white men and Inuit, and providing some indication of when, and under what conditions, each fell under the guiding principles of the other. This was particularly evident in observance of taboos, especially those governing preparation and consumption of food. In one such case, the anthropologist attempted to fry caribou liver at the same time Higilak was cooking bear meat. She questioned the appropriateness of cooking them simultaneously since each animal belonged to a separate realm - land and sea - and therefore should not be combined. Jenness pointed out that the two were actually compatible since, in summer, the bear lived on the land. "This satisfied her - & gave me a good meal of fried liver" (Jenness, 1913-16:8.27.1915). A month later, a similar question arose about giving caribou marrow to the dogs. Higilak feared offending the spirits of deceased Inuit, but her son assured her this would not happen: "...being a white man it did not matter - there could be no offence" (Jenness, 1913-16:9.28.1915).

After the Puivlirmiut crossed the frozen strait from Victoria Island to Bernard Harbour, Jenness combined camp chores with short visits to outlying Inuit encampments where he collected folklore and made ethnographic observations. This routine continued into the spring. He travelled twice with a young Anglican missionary from Canada, Rev. H. Girling, who had arrived in Coronation Gulf in the

summer of 1915. On one occasion they spent a month with the Bathurst Inlet people, and on another went west to Point Clifton to investigate Inuit house ruins.

Girling was a knowledgeable and able companion on these ventures. Jenness welcomed the missionary's posting among the Copper Eskimos since Girling approached his work from a pragmatic, rather than a dogmatic perspective. He wrote to von Zedlitz that the missionary held

... broad views & a not too great belief in the importance of faith over work. ... I want to try & help him get a fair start, so that the natives will benefit & be more prepared to face other white men who may come in later. (Jenness, n.d.:1.11.1916)

One suspects that Jenness' brother-in-law, Andrew Ballantyne, followed a similar course among the Bwaidogans, and so impressed the young anthropologist with the 'proper' role of missions on acculturative frontiers.

By June, all members of the Southern Party had returned to Bernard Harbour, and attention turned to preparations for their departure. They set sail aboard the *Alaska* on July 13, 1916 en route to Nome, and Seattle. Jenness eventually reached Ottawa in September, bringing to a close a three-year Arctic venture that would shape the remainder of his professional career in anthropology.

## *Conclusion*

Six months before leaving Coronation Gulf, Jenness wrote of his colleagues and himself: "I think we are all tired of the Arctic...I certainly have no wish to see it again" (Jenness, n.d.: Jenness to von Zedlitz, 1.11.1916). And apart from a brief summer excursion to conduct archaeological research on Alaska's Bering Sea coast in 1926, he never did visit the far north again. Nor did he ever fulfill his earlier ambition of returning to the south Pacific for a career in Oceanic ethnology. Instead, as a permanent member of the National Museum of Canada's Anthropological Division for twenty-six years, Jenness devoted much of his career to northern issues, publishing numerous scientific and popular reports and papers<sup>11</sup>, corresponding and collaborating with Arctic researchers in North America and Europe, and participating in scholarly conferences dedicated to Arctic anthropology.

With his early fieldwork in New Guinea and the Canadian Arctic, Jenness was among the first generation of British-trained professional anthropolo-

gists to engage in intensive studies of 'limited areas' or single communities, after the lead of A.C. Haddon early in the twentieth century (Stocking, 1983:81). Fieldwork of this type was of longer standing in the United States (Urry, 1984:41-42), though by no means yet a standard practice. The style of Jenness' work among the Copper Eskimos especially was clearly consistent with the intensive approach, and his attempts to collect data in all sub-fields of anthropology proved equally compatible with the "Boasian four-square structure" (Preston, 1983:288) that Sapir was installing as a cornerstone of research at the National Museum. Finally, Jenness' heavy reliance on participant observation and his ability to conduct much of his research in Inuktitut, make this fieldwork very much in keeping with modern practice.

Apart from amassing a considerable amount of ethnographic detail from his stay at Coronation Gulf, Jenness' research also contributed important insights into the effect of seasonal ecological change on the annual round of Copper Eskimo subsistence, and on the relationship between season, group composition, and intellectual culture. Though no formal record exists to confirm it, it is highly likely that during the Expedition's early days, Jenness' colleague Beuchat discussed the theory of seasonal duality in Inuit social and religious formations that he and his better-known collaborator, Marcel Mauss, had presented in *Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés eskimos* (Mauss and Beuchat, 1904-05). Having lived with and observed the Puivlirmiut over the course of nearly two years, however, Jenness found that the theory was inapplicable to the Copper Eskimos. While recognizing the essential role of seasonal environmental change in influencing subsistence activities and the composition of domestic units, he argued that "...deux formes de groupement, correspondent à deux systèmes juridiques, deux morales, deux sortes d'économie domestique et de vie religieuse" (Mauss quoted in Jenness, 1922a:143) to which Mauss and Beuchat referred were not evident. Nor could he verify the latter's claim that season affected the nature of moral and religious precepts themselves, or the intensity to which they were adhered in daily life (*Ibid.*). Rather, Jenness' detailed descriptions of Copper Eskimo beliefs and practices suggest a considerable degree of continuity despite seasonal variation in the referents of taboos and rituals.

Jenness' participation in the Canadian Arctic Expedition marked a significant turning point in his professional career, bringing him to Canada, and to the Museum, and redirecting his scientific interests toward the indigenous peoples of North America.

His two years among the Copper Eskimos occurred at a time when they, too, were at a turning point. Faced with steadily growing numbers of traders, policemen, missionaries, and other outsiders, profound changes in native life were inevitable. Jenness had seen the harsher consequences of this process in New Guinea where so many Goodenough Islanders had become strangers in their own land. He lamented the changes that had already unfolded among native Alaskans, and feared their eventual infiltration of Coronation Gulf society (e.g., Jenness, 1913-16:5.15-17.1916). He fittingly called a popular account of his stay with the Copper Eskimos "*People of the Twilight*", describing them as "those dwellers in the twilight who even then were awaiting the dawn of the new age ..." (Jenness, 1959:20).

In many ways, Jenness comprehended his first two field experiences more from a pragmatic than a romantic perspective. This was something that was to influence his later thinking on issues of modernization and native administration and policy, and to encourage his contributions to applied or "useful" anthropology (Weaver, 1976:86)<sup>12</sup>. As was typical of anthropologists early in the century, his fieldwork had a decidedly conservationist side: that is, he was interested in recording aspects of language, customs, technology and so forth at a time when aboriginal cultures, let alone entire populations, were on the verge of disappearing (e.g., Trigger, 1988). Yet as would become evident in subsequent writings, Jenness was not concerned with preserving some idealized, idiosyncratic notion of 'primitive culture', but rather with insuring equitable and just treatment for those whose lives were being transformed by the spread of Western ideas, administrative bureaucracy, technology and the like into the north.

Jenness eventually came to espouse integrationist views, not assimilationist ones, and argued that by the persistence of all forms of discrimination, including racial prejudice, economic marginality, poor nutrition and endemic disease, "...all the most promising avenues of progress are closed to [Indians and Inuit]" everywhere in Canada (Jenness, 1925-43: Jenness to Lesage, 4.5.1935). More to the point, in a letter to Father Sylvio Lesage, a missionary-priest working in the Mackenzie Valley, Jenness reasoned that

We do not really want to preserve their [Indians] racial purity, or their old customs; we want to give them a fair chance to enjoy the blessings of civilized life, to see their descendants merge by proper intermarriage with whites, and take a larger and larger part in the development of Canada's northland. (*Ibid.*)

Diamond Jenness richly endowed our understanding of the Arctic and its native populations, past and present, with his numerous publications on subjects as diverse as Inupiat folklore and Copper Eskimo material culture, Dorset prehistory and comparative Inuit administration. He also contributed to the wider research programme initiated by Sapir, making field studies among Sarcee (1938), Carrier (1943), Sekani (1937) and Coast Salish (1955) peoples in the west, and Ojibwa (1935) in northern Ontario, publishing the *Indians of Canada* (1932), the first comprehensive survey of Canada's native peoples, and by furthering the objectives of that programme as Sapir's successor as administrator of the Anthropological Division. Taken as a whole, Jenness' accomplishments constitute a valuable contribution to anthropological science during its formative period in Canada, and to the advancement of anthropological knowledge and practice in general.

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## NOTES

1. The name 'Copper Eskimo' is used here because of its appropriateness to Jenness' time and work. However, the contemporary designation 'Inuit' also appears, and is the preferred term.

2. Ballantyne died in 1916, leaving Jenness with notebooks and other papers with which to complete these studies.

3. In 1914, while Jenness was in the Arctic, Knowles returned to his native Canada and took up a post in the Anthropological Division of the Victoria Memorial Museum as head of the physical anthropology section (Canada, 1915:168).

4. In 1947, after his retirement from the National Museum, Jenness was called as an expert witness at joint Senate-Commons hearings on the Indian Act. In his testimony he recalled his Maori friends, speaking positively of the ways indigenous New Zealanders had been integrated into the mainstream of society (Canada, 1947).

5. In his initial recommendation, Sapir made special note of the fact that Jenness did not wear eyeglasses (Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to Stefansson, 2.26.1913).

6. Beuchat received a prize from L'Institut de France for his contributions to North and South American prehistory (Sapir, 1910-25: Sapir to McConnell, 11.17.1914).

7. Beuchat's invitation to travel to the Arctic is said to have been "... the first great joy of his life", since his ambition had long been "to live among the peoples with whom his imagination had dwelt for so long" (Barbeau, 1916:109).

8. Beuchat had busied himself aboard the *Karluk* with linguistic studies, collecting a word list from the few Inupiat on board the ship (Sapir, 1910-25: Jenness to Sapir, 10.26.1913).

9. Some notes from Jenness' Barter Island work are still in existence (Archeological Survey of Canada, MS. 85). Edwin Hall (1987) has recently written up the study's findings from this original manuscript material.

10. The Kanghirjuarmiut, or Prince Albert Sound Inuit, were the people among whom Stefansson claimed to have discovered 'blond Eskimos', descendants of mixed Inuit and Norse ancestry. Jenness observed no traces of 'blondness' among the Kanghirjuarmiut he met, and later published a report refuting Stefansson's assertions (Jenness, 1921).

11. A fairly complete bibliography of Jenness' writings is contained in de Laguna (1971).

12. Jenness' principal work in the field of applied or policy oriented anthropology was a five volume study of Eskimo Administration in Alaska, Canada, Labrador and Greenland (1962-1968), undertaken after his retirement from the National Museum. Despite a long-standing interest in policy issues, Jenness was hesitant to speak

publicly or write on such subjects because of his status as a civil servant. Typical of this view was his memorandum to T.R.L. MacInnes, Secretary of the Indian Affairs Branch, explaining his reluctance to participate in the 1939 Yale-University of Toronto Conference on North American Indians (see Loram and McIlwraith, 1943): "Government officials who take part in (the conference) enter with their hands tied. For political reasons, if for no other, they are not free to express their own opinions, or those of their superiors" (3.15.1939).

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