

INUIT WOMEN AND GRAPHIC ARTS: FEMALE CREATIVITY AND ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

In contrast to the Euro-American art world and many fourth world societies, women have attained a remarkable place as leaders in the emerging Inuit art movement. The author examines this female preponderance in terms of artistic genius, economics, self-determination, traditional decision-making and southern marketing techniques.

Par opposition à l'art euro-américain et à l'art de beaucoup de pays sous-développés, les femmes sont parvenues à un stade remarquable comme guides dans le mouvement de l'art Inuit qui est encore en voie de développement. L'auteur étudie cette prépondérance féminine sur le plan du génie artistique, de l'économie, de l'autodétermination, de la résolution traditionnelle et des techniques de commercialisation méridionales.

Introduction

For nearly twenty years feminist art historians have been redressing the position of women in European and North American art as Gouma-Peterson and Mathews (1987) have noted in their exhaustive and admirable review of this on-going scholarly enterprise.¹ In contrast, relatively little attention has been paid to the current or historical situation of women artists in Fourth World societies.² In scores of traditional societies in Africa, Oceania and the New World, women engage in vital artistic pursuits ranging from painting, carving, and architectural design to print-making, beadwork, and textile arts. The literature on such arts is seldom informed by an interest in feminist issues; moreover, women's arts are seldom well-integrated into the general literature on ethnographic art.³ Yet examination of the varied positions of women artists in Fourth World societies provides a useful comparative approach to the topic of women and art. In this article I shall provide one such case-study, of women whose position in the arts seems to be an enviable one, both from the vantage point of modern Western art and from the vantage point of the history of art in Fourth World societies.

Most feminists might assume that I am imagining an artistic utopia if I describe a society in which:

- in the last 25 years, the nation's highest award to its citizens has four times been awarded to artists of this ethnic group, all of them women;
- the highest price ever realized at auction for a work on paper was for a work by a living woman artist;
- the only two widely distributed films on graphic artists are about women artists;
- the only monograph-length books on individual artists are about living women artists;
- juried editions of prints by recognized artists regularly consist of 40-80% work by women.

Yet such a society does exist in North America. Female artists among the Inuit of Canada have achieved an unparalleled level of participation and recognition in the graphic arts. Yet no one has ever seen fit to analyse this situation, or even to comment upon its uniqueness, although numerous studies have considered female Inuit artists, as the references cited in this essay demonstrate. It is anomalous, not only in terms of our experience of Euro-American culture, but also in terms of other developing cultures of the Fourth World. This article represents a preliminary analysis of the position

of female graphic artists among the Canadian Inuit. 4 Following a brief introduction to the Inuit and their arts, I shall examine the position of contemporary female graphic artists, both as Individuals and as members of Inuit-run co-operatives. I shall close with some observations about the Inuit artistic situation in relation to that in other developing societies.

The Canadian Inuit and their Art in Context

The Eskimo peoples have endured in the harsh northern region extending from Alaska to Greenland for several thousand years.⁵ Traditionally, they lived semi-nomadic lives as hunters, relying upon marine mammals, caribou and fish for their livelihood. Acculturation to European ways began in the mid-19th century. Despite contact with whalers, fur traders, missionaries, and government administrators, most Inuit continued their nomadic ways until the 1950's when famine, disease, and poverty forced them to settle in permanent villages set up by the Canadian government. Today roughly 25,000 Inuit make up one-tenth of one percent of Canada's population (Statistics Canada, 1984; Creery, 1983; Jacobs and Richardson III, 1983).

Traditionally, Inuit men carved small amulets and hunting tools while women sewed exquisitely tailored skin clothing. These items made for personal use, as well as small stone and ivory carvings made for sale to whalers and fur traders constituted Inuit art before 1950. The story of the development of the modern Inuit art industry has been often told, and will not be repeated in detail here (Graburn, 1983; Swinton, 1972). Suffice it to say that in the 1950's, through the agency of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild and the Hudson's Bay Company, Inuit stone and ivory carvings were successfully marketed in growing numbers in the south. Shortly thereafter, James Houston, an artist and government administrator in the north, who had initiated the southern marketing of Inuit stone carvings, taught Inuit in Cape Dorset how to make prints. These were successfully exhibited and sold in southern Canada for the first time in 1958. From one rudimentary lesson - one white artist teaching one Inuit artist the principles of image reproduction by inking an incised Ivory tusk and pressing it repeatedly onto paper - grew an enormous print-making enterprise.

Printmaking: The Artists

In the Arctic, the making of fine art prints has been an artistic and economic success story for nearly thirty years. Five communities issue their own annual print editions; another is issued jointly on an intermittent basis by the communities of Arctic Quebec. Women's art has been routinely included in large numbers in annual print editions since their inception. A ran-

domly chosen sample of seven print editions from four communities within the last fifteen years reveals that work by female artists generally comprises more than half of the prints produced:

Cape Dorset	1977: 59%	1986: 57%
Holman Island	1972: 62%	1973: 82%
Povungnituk	1980: 40%	
Baker Lake	1976: 55%	1987: 81%

Women's facility with different aspects of the graphic arts process - from drawing on paper, to cutting stencils, to printing multiple images - has often been attributed to the similarities of these processes to traditional female arts of skin sewing and clothing manufacture. Inuit women cut and worked skins into tailored clothing, often inseting or appliqueing skin pieces of contrasting color, or beading pictorial designs (Driscoll, 1980; Watt, 1980: figures 206; 241; 248). Through these traditional arts, women were accustomed to the artistic modes of pattern, outline, and two-dimensional form, and took readily to graphic arts when such avenues were open to them. Some Native artists corroborate this relationship between modern graphic arts and traditional clothing arts. Kenojuak of Cape Dorset recalls:

I think I was one of the first ones to start drawing. I just drew anything. I think Saumik [James Houston] asked me to start making drawings because I used to make people and igloos and thngs like that out of sealskin [i.e., inset pictures and designs in different shades of sealskin]. I guess that is how he got the idea I could draw (Dorset 79, 1979:37).

Kenojuak's colleague, Mary Ashoona, referring to her own 1978 print "Sea Maids," says;

Because I didn't know how to draw very well, I used a cut paper to measure these figures. I used the cut paper to trace them. It's like when you are making a dress or some clothing, you always use a measurement (Dorset 78, 1978:26-27).

And yet, another indigenous opinion offers a surprising perspective concerning women's success in the graphic arts. Oshaweetuk, a very successful male carver and printmaker from Cape Dorset observed,

...the ladies prints are always higher priced than the men's prints...because the ladies are not thinking only about animals, like the men always think, but of something from their own ideas (Iglauer, 1979:109).

Three artists who have achieved the most acclaim for their work and who, indeed, "always think of something from their own ideas," are the Cape Dorset artists Pitseolak (1904-1983) and Kenojuak (1927-), and the Baker Lake artist Jessie Oonark (c.1906-1985). Each has achieved spectacular recognition for her work, recognition that has not yet been achieved in the same fashion by male colleagues.⁶ It would not be an exaggeration to call Pitseolak, Kenojuak, and Oonark the three most renowned Inuit graphic artists. Each was elected to membership in the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (Pitseolak and Kenojuak in 1974, Oonark in 1975), and each was awarded the Order of Canada, the country's highest recognition of achievement by a citizen (Kenojuak in 1967, Pitseolak in 1977, and Oonark in 1984). Along with one other artist, Helen Kalvak of Holman Island (in 1978), they are the only Inuit artists to be honored in this fashion.

Each of these artists has been the subject of a book. Pitseolak's oral autobiography illustrated with her own drawings was published in 1971 (Eber, 1971), while Kenojuak and Oonark have each had a major museum retrospective with accompanying scholarly monograph (Blodgett, 1985; Blodgett and Bouchard, 1986). They are the only Inuit artists whose work has been studied so intensively. Kenojuak's prints have been in almost all of the Cape Dorset annual print collections (Figure 1); moreover, over 1,400 of her drawings are catalogued in the collection of the cooperative at Cape Dorset (Blodgett, 1985:15). Her work reached a wide audience with the 1962 film *Kenojuak* released by the National Film Board of Canada. Her work has also been reproduced on Canadian postage stamps (as has that of several other Inuit artists, both male and female). Over 200 of Pitseolak's drawings have been translated into prints and issued in the Cape Dorset annual collections (Blodgett, 1983:129) (Plate 31), and her illustrated autobiography has been transformed into an animated film.

Jessie Oonark's talent was recognized in the late 1950's, and her drawings were sent from Baker Lake to Cape Dorset (the only settlement issuing prints at the time). Works by Oonark were included in the 1960 and 1961 Cape Dorset print editions (Oonark is still the only outsider ever included in the Cape Dorset collections). Later, Oonark's singular talent was rewarded by an art advisor at Baker Lake who gave her her own studio to work in and a small salary to free her creativity from economic or physical constraints (Blodgett and Bouchard, 1986:18). Oonark was a major force in the development of the graphic arts at Baker Lake in the 1960's and 70's.



Figure 1: Kenojuak, "Composition," stonecut, 1967.

The individual style and subject matter of each of these artists emerges vividly in the work. Pitseolak's prints and drawings are reflective, depicting episodic narratives of traditional Inuit ways. Her scenes of camp life recall a time when Inuit did not live in wooden houses in permanent settlements, when snowmobiles, satellite dishes and helicopters were unknown. In Pitseolak's prints, the human figures are actively involved in camping, fording the river with the dogs, or playing an Inuit ball game (Plate 31). In this 1980 print, the artist captures two girls at play in a field of their footprints. The same bittersweet memories of the old ways are evident in Pitseolak's autobiography:

Another game was the Eskimo tennis! This is how we played this game - we threw a ball underhand and tried to catch it in a sealskin racket. The racket was called an 'autuk'. We made the ball from caribou skin and stuffed it with something. We used to play this game alot, even in winter. It was a good game, but they don't play it now; they are following the world (Eber, 1971).

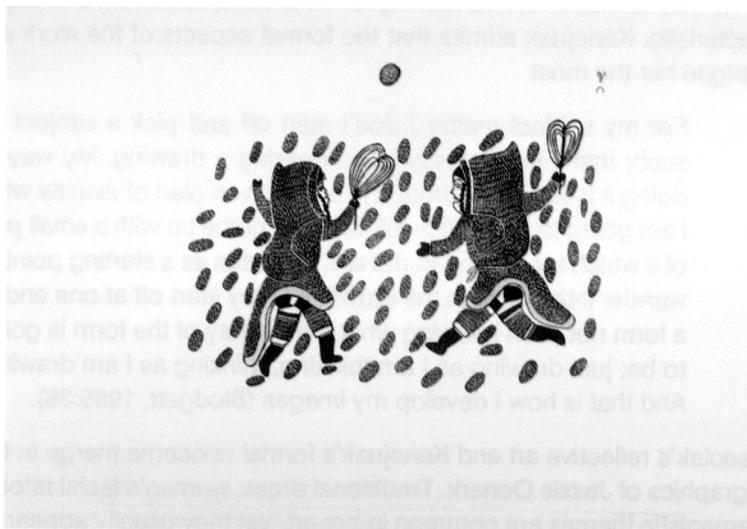


Plate 31: Pitseolak, "A Game with a Ball," stonecut and stencil, 1980.

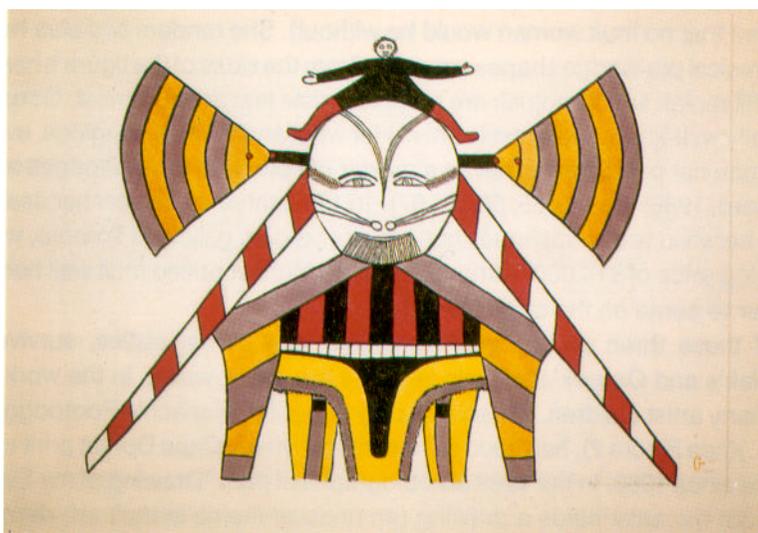


Plate 32: Jessie Oonark, "Big Woman," stonecut and stencil, 1974

In contrast to Pitseolak's universe of palpable remembrances, Kenojuak is concerned with an interior, imaginative universe, in which animals and humans conjoin in sinuous, pleasing shapes. Her 1967 print, "Composition" (Figure 1), with its mutative, interlocking forms of owls, sea birds, and dogs, is characteristic. Kenojuak admits that the formal aspects of the work are what intrigue her the most.

For my subject matter I don't start off and pick a subject as such; that's not my way of addressing a drawing. My way of doing it is to start without a preconceived plan of exactly what I am going to execute in full, and so I come up with a small part of it which is pleasing to me and I use that as a starting point to wander into, through the drawing. I may start off at one end of a form not even knowing what the entirety of the form is going to be; just drawing as I am thinking, thinking as I am drawing. And that is how I develop my images (Blodgett, 1985:36).

Pitseolak's reflective art and Kenojuak's formal concerns merge in the strong graphics of Jessie Oonark. Traditional dress, women's facial tattoos, and shamanistic themes are common in her art, yet they usually appear as isolated, fragmentary forms, shaped into a graphically bold image rather than a comprehensible narrative. In her 1974 print "Big Woman" (Plate 32), the clothing embellishments and wrapped hair braids of a traditional Inuit woman are rendered in simple forms and bright colors. One of Oonark's familiar icons is the ulu or woman's curved utility knife (an all-purpose instrument that no Inuit woman would be without). She renders two ulus here as whimsical pie-wedge shapes emerging from the sides of the figure's head. While Pitseolak and Kenojuak are graphic artists first and foremost, Oonark is equally well-known as a textile artist. Her wool and felt wall hangings, even more than her prints, reveal her as a master of color and form (Blodgett and Bouchard, 1986: Figures 55, 58, 59, 67). In 1987, three years after her death, one of her vivid textile appliques hung in a private art gallery in Toronto, with an asking price of \$14,000, without doubt the highest priced Inuit wall hanging ever to come on the open market.

Of these three artists, only Kenojuak, now in her sixties, survives. Pitseolak's and Oonark's artistic legacies live on, however, in the work of their many artist children. Pitseolak's only daughter, Napachie Pootoogook (1938-) (see Figure 2), has been represented in many Cape Dorset print collections since 1960. In her 1982 autobiographical print "Drawing of my Tent" (Plate 33) the artist holds a drawing (an unusual theme in Inuit art) depicting an old style skin tent; behind her stands a modern canvas tent, with its regular seams, large expanse, and wooden door. A child in a baseball cap



Figure 2: *Photo of Cape Dorset artists Pitseolak and her daughter Napachie.*

emerges from the door. Napachie's visual reflections on self and art, present and past tradition, and modernization, encapsulate the realities of Inuit art and life today. Napachie's narrative mode is shared by another second generation artist, Victoria Mamnguqsualuk (1930-), one of Jessie Oonark's eight artistically gifted children. Mamnguqsualuk's bold depictions of Inuit myth have been widely celebrated (Plate 34) (Moore, 1986). Like her mother, she moves easily between the realms of graphic arts and textiles.

The artists discussed above are only exceptional because of the degree of their renown and financial success. Scores of other women make their livings at least in part through graphic arts. Some, like Iquginnaaq of Baker Lake, may first pick up a pencil after age 70, and earn income and artistic acclaim after the death of a spouse. In contrast, Caroline Tukulak and Mary Qumaluk recently started working in the Povungnituk print shop while still in their teens (Catalogue of the 1987 Povungnituk Print Collection). Perhaps they shall be the celebrated graphic artists of the 1990's.

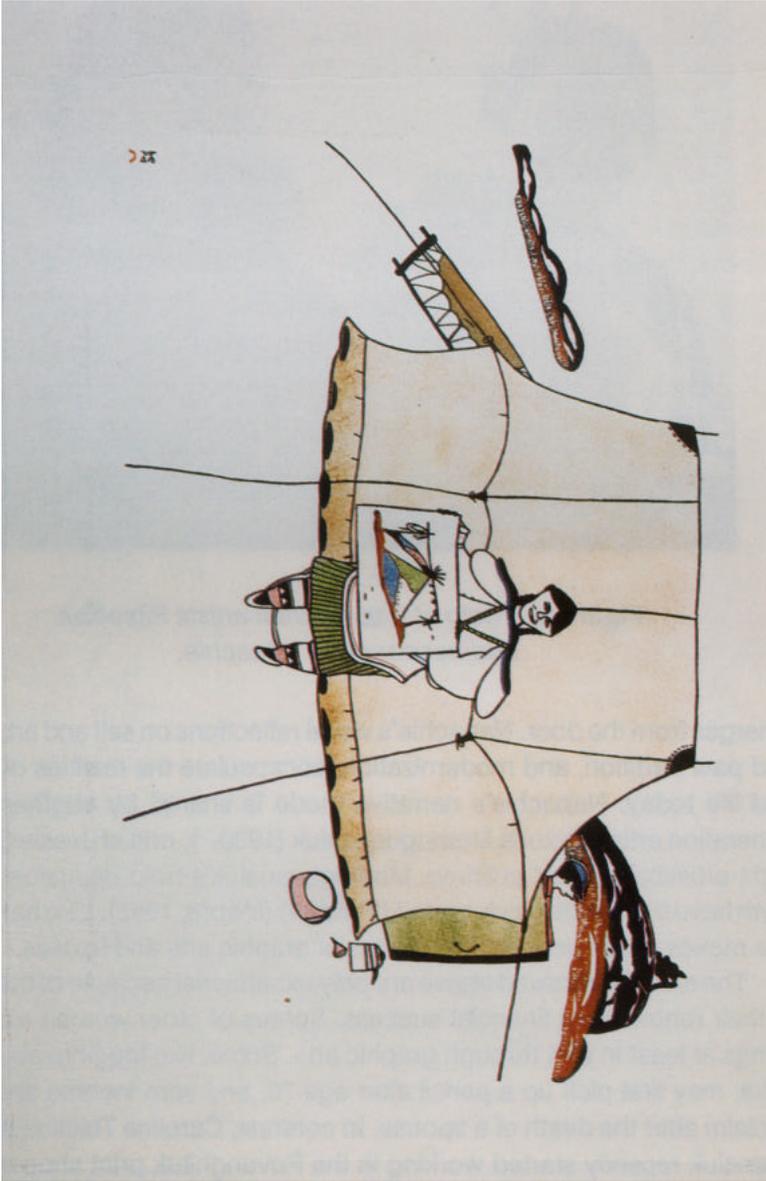


Plate 33: *Napachie, "Drawing of my Tent," stonecut and pencil, 1982.*



Plate 34: Victoria Mamnguqsualuk, "Flesh Eating Monster,"
Stone cut and stencil, 1983-4.

Graphic Artists and the Co-operative Movement

The Inuit co-operative movement started in the 1950's in response to the breakdown of the traditional Inuit economy and the ensuing reliance upon a cash-based system. Its initial leaders were, for the most part, the most successful male hunters and trappers, i.e., those who formerly were among the highest status members of a relatively egalitarian society (Graburn, 1981:107-121). The co-op is at the heart of the contemporary Inuit community. By featuring consensus, limited hierarchy, and group effort, it continues traditional Inuit ideals. Art co-ops were among the first to be created, although in many communities fishing and other activities are far more profitable.

While individual women artists may be financially successful, in most communities their individual success is only part of the picture. One must also analyse women's involvement in the selection and production processes within the print shops, for only by sharing control over all aspects of the artistic process will women be fully engaged members of the decision-making body.

As we have seen, female graphic artists are amply represented in annual print collections from every community, yet this does not necessarily reflect a correspondingly active participation in the structure and hierarchy of the cooperatives which issue the prints. Women's participation in the day-to-day running of the co-ops varies considerably from community to community. Generalizations made on the basis of one community's practices have little bearing on what occurs in other villages. Examples from three of the five major print-making co-ops will illustrate this situation.

Cape Dorset.

The oldest and most profitable print co-op, the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative at Cape Dorset has marketed annual editions since 1959, with a cumulative production of nearly 2,000 different images (usually in editions of 50 or fewer). In Cape Dorset, graphic artists - both male and female - generally sell drawings to the co-op. This has been the practice since print-making was first introduced. From a large inventory of drawings, the co-op staff decides which images to print in a particular year. Several techniques are used in print-making: stencil, etching, engraving, lithography, and an unusual stone-cut process that is unique to the Inuit. This involves cutting the image right into the stone block from which the prints are to be made. It is a process analogous to Japanese woodcut techniques, and is the most often used method of printmaking in the Arctic.

For the first 20 years at Cape Dorset, a small, closely knit group of nine men did all the stone cutting and printing (Goetz, 1977:42), among them

successful sculptors and graphic artists as well as men interested mainly in the wage labor. More recently, several women have had sporadic involvement in the print shop, including a couple of female lithographers (Dorset 79, 1979:72). The Cape Dorset situation, in which almost all aspects of the technical processes are male-controlled, suggests an exclusionary process that clearly is nonexistent in other aspects of the graphics program. As seen in the cases of Pitseolak, Kenojuak, and Napachie, women have always been amply represented in the Dorset print collections, and are among the most renowned artists in the community (Plate 31, Figure 1, Plate 33).

Baker Lake.

The Sanavik Co-operative at Baker Lake, incorporated in 1971, is unique in several respects. As Sheila and Jack Butler, artists and former southern advisors to the co-op who helped initiate this process, explain it:

At Baker Lake the printmakers work as a co-operating group. Individual identity merges without loss into group identity. The draughtsman who draws the picture and the printmaker who interprets it in stone or stencil are artists of equal importance in the creation of the print. Both draughtsman and printer sign the print and the product is known by their combined names (Butler and Butler, 1970:2).

A Baker Lake print, like those of the other communities, is based upon a drawing that was initially the vision of one person. These drawings are sometimes deliberately changed during the printing process: images may be reversed, portions left out, others emphasized (Plate 34).

In 1970, its first year of operation, the Baker Lake print shop employed 4 female and 7 male printers, who worked on translating artists' drawings into stonecut and stencilled prints (Plate 35). By 1982, those numbers were reversed. 7 Baker Lake consistently has among the highest number of women artists represented in the annual print collections: 81% of the prints in the 1987 edition were made from women's drawings, and over 60% of the images were printed by women. The Sanavik Co-op has had a female print shop manager, Ruby Arnga'naaq, who later became president of the co-op and member of the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council (1983-5). To the outside observer, graphic arts at Baker Lake seems to be an enterprise remarkably devoid of gender-based distinctions about art.

Povungnituk.

The printshop in Povungnituk opened in 1960, with the first annual edition of prints appearing in 1962. Povungnituk prints differ from those of other centers both in style and division of labor. The irregular shape of the stone



Plate 35: *Phot of Baker Lake printmaker Amitnaq carving stone block.*

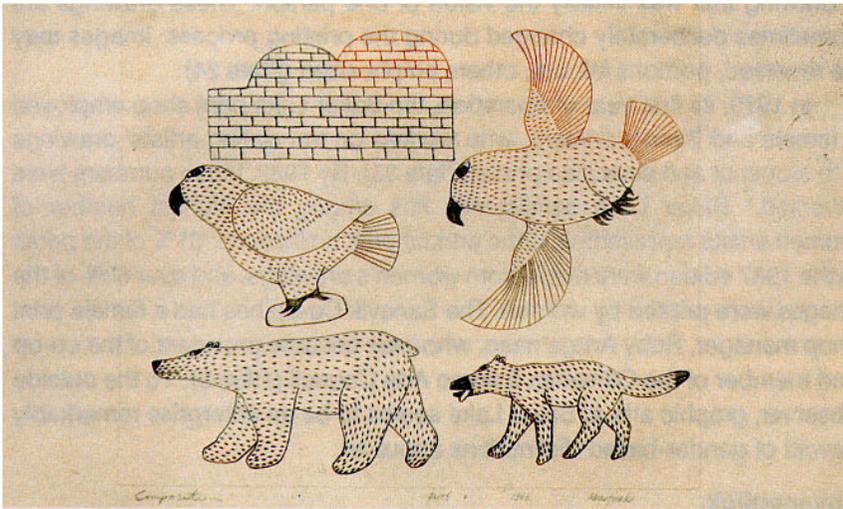


Plate 36: *Leah Qumaluk, "Cleaning Sealskins as the Birds are Arriving," Stonecut, 1985.*

block usually defines the printed image (see Plate 36). Most artists cut their own stone blocks at home and sell the printing stone to the co-op. Thus, the work in the print shop consists mainly of printing from an already cut stone rather than translating a drawing into a stone cut and then printing it. In the 1976 print catalog the editor states:

In Povungnituk, printing is considered women's work, and although the majority of artists are men, they never print their own blocks (Myers, 1976).

(In subsequent years, however, artists began to get involved in color choice for their prints, and sometimes to do their own inking; in 1978, stencilling was added to the repertory.) Although printing is considered "women's work," the print shop has usually had a male manager, except for 1972-77 when one of the female printers, Niali Timagiak, was manager. While printing may be a women's province, there is no similar gender-based distinction about who may carve the stones for printing. Women have been active graphic artists since the beginning of the program and both male and female artists cut their own stones. For example, Leah Qumaluk who has been a printer since 1960 when the print shop began, often carves and prints her own work (see Plate 36). As an artist who often controls all aspects of her own graphics, from initial idea to final printing, this puts her in an unusual category, shared by only a handful of other artists.

The variation in printshop practices is so extreme - from the overwhelmingly male stonecutting and printing crew at Cape Dorset, to the mixed group at Baker Lake, to the female printers of Povungnituk - that it does not seem to reveal much about indigenous practices or prejudices concerning women and art. One might set up a dichotomy between stone cutting as male activity (Cape Dorset) and the printing of images onto paper as female activity (Povungnituk), yet the Baker Lake situation mediates these extremes. Jack and Sheila Butler, the art advisors who helped set up the Baker Lake co-op, are both practicing artists. It is likely that they served as effective role models for the active participation of both sexes in all aspects of the graphics program. (This, despite the ironic fact that at first only Jack Butler was salaried by the Canadian Government). 8

Despite the differences in the participation of women in the print shops, in every community since the inception of the graphics programs, drawings were bought [from women as well as men. This, along with the splendid work done by so many women for the annual print collections, suggests an open-minded approach on the part of all southern art advisors who helped to set up these programs. The development of inuit stone carving followed a different course. According to Nelson Graburn, in the mid 1950's when the

Hudson's Bay Company posts in the north were commissioned by the Canadian Handicrafts Guild to buy carvings, many of the Hudson's Bay managers

...limited their purchases to carvings done by successful trappers, thereby insuring the flow of the most profitable goods, the skins. This policy effectively prevented women and disabled men from earning their monetary livelihood through carving, yet these were the very people who needed it most, being unable to trap or hunt (Graburn, 1976:45).

To this day, while some women pursue active careers as carvers, and some well-known artists like Kenojuak do both sculpture and drawing, women's position is much weaker in sculpture than in the graphic arts.

Inuit Graphic Arts in Comparative Context

In the strictest sense, graphic arts obviously are not "traditional" Inuit arts, for they are not made solely according to indigenous methods, nor are they primarily for use within Inuit society. Like many Fourth World arts today, including Navajo weaving, Pueblo pottery, and many types of African and Oceanic wood sculpture, they are acculturated arts, made mainly for sale to outsiders. Such arts have a primary economic function within their rapidly changing cultures, yet their artistic and anthropological importance within the cultures must not be overlooked. For the Inuit, contemporary art affirms their unique history as Inuit, recalls the old ways, and provides an alternative to welfare dependence.⁹

In the process of artistic interaction between traditional societies and the modern Western world, unexpected changes ensue when new materials, new markets, and new artistic processes are introduced. Occasionally, women's artistic and economic positions within the culture are strengthened because outside markets clamor for their arts. For example, in Pueblo societies of the American southwest, female artists who have maintained their traditional art of pottery making in the face of increasing cultural change have gained greater economic and political power within Pueblo society. Their art has brought them increasing wealth and high status; Pueblo men have not had an analogous artistic renaissance, and their status in the community has decreased (Wade, 1986). In the Americas, female artists as diverse as Navajo weavers and Shipibo potters, as well as Inuit graphic artists, have experienced a similar strengthening of their artistic status and economic position because of market demand for their arts. More often, colonization and the ensuing interference in indigenous artistic and economic systems by outsiders (with their Euro-centric and male-defined

models) has directly caused the erosion of women's status and economic position. 10

For this reason, the Inuit example is a particularly salutary one. An artistic climate exists that successfully combines Inuit artistic genius, economic self-determination, traditional modes of decision-making, and southern marketing techniques. In such a climate, women's creativity has flourished. Moreover, a relatively egalitarian situation in the arts has provided many women with a stronger economic base than that allotted to most women in emergent Fourth World societies. As photo-journalist John Reeves has remarked about Pitseolak and her colleagues at Cape Dorset:

The production of professional art at Cape Dorset had another dramatic side effect: it changed the status of Inuit women. Suddenly the pencil became as potent an instrument for survival as the spear had been, and a small woman can wield a pencil as adroitly as a big man. Widows no longer had to remarry a successful hunter to have food on the table for themselves and their children.

...the leading female artists in Cape Dorset are powerful figures in the community, commanding the kind of respect and privilege once reserved exclusively for the great male huntsmen. They are the prime supporters of their generally large families, and less financially effective male relatives often shelter behind their formidable earning power (Reeves, 1985:42).

It is no wonder that Pitseolak had this to say about herself as an artist:

To make prints is not easy. You must think first and this is hard to do, but I am happy doing the prints. After my husband died, I felt very alone and unwanted; making prints is what has made me happiest since he died. I am going to keep on doing them until they tell me to stop. If no one tells me to stop, I shall make them as long as I am well. If I can, I'll make them even after I am dead.

My son, Kumwartok, wants me to do some drawings to put around the house. But I think I will probably do some and take them to the Co-op (Eber, 1971).

NOTES

1. The research for this article was conducted under the auspices of a Faculty Research Grant from the Canadian Government. I would like to thank Maria Muehlen and Catherine Priest of the Inuit Art Section of Canada's Department of Northern Affairs, Ottawa, for their help during my research in Canada. I also benefitted greatly from discussions with Inuit art scholars Bernadette Driscoll, Jean Blodgett, and Marne Jackson. Any errors of fact or interpretation are, of course, my own.
2. The term "Fourth World" refers to those Native societies existing within the boundaries of larger political entities. They are usually numerically in the minority, and lack power within the hegemonic culture. Examples include the contemporary Maya of Guatemala, the Hopi of the American southwest, the Ndebele of South Africa, and the Inuit of Canada (the subject of this paper). The term "Fourth World" replaces the racist term "primitive" and the imprecise term "tribal", which were often formerly applied to such ethnic groups.
3. This is not the place to engage in a lengthy historiographic analysis of such issues. This author is currently at work on a book entitled *Female Artists of the Fourth World: Women and Art in Africa, Oceania, and the Americas* in which such issues will be addressed. Here I shall mention only a couple of noteworthy exceptions. Ethnographic art history conducted from a feminist perspective is prominent in the work of Jehanne Teilhet (1983). While not specifically based upon a feminist reading of art and culture Boone (1986) provides a fine analysis of African women as art patrons. Inuit women's art has been briefly considered in two feminist journals by Withers (1984) and Humez (1982).
4. While Inuit women also do stone carving and textile arts, limitations of space prevent me from considering those topics here. Briefly, women's position as sculptors is less strong than in graphic arts, while textile arts are the exclusive province of women. The Inuit printmaking programs, consisting as they do of annual juried editions of prints, are far easier to assess in terms of women's participation than Inuit stone carving, for which no easily quantifiable records exist.
5. While related in culture and language to Eskimos in Alaska and Greenland, the Eskimo peoples of Canada prefer to be called by their own name for themselves, Inuit, rather than the term Eskimo, an appellation given by neighboring Indian peoples. Furthermore, the term Inuit is officially recognized by the Canadian government. The artistic situation

described in this article exists only among Canadian Inuit, and does not reflect the cultural situation of Alaskan Eskimos, whose contemporary arts are quite unrelated.

6. This is not to say that male artists are not successful. Indeed, they are. Male artists such as Pudlo, Jamasie, and Kananginak of Cape Dorset, and Simon Tookoome and William Noah of Baker Lake are consistently represented in print offerings. Pudlo's work, in particular, commands high prices and has a devoted southern following. The 1990 Pudlo retrospective at Canada's National Gallery in Ottawa, and its accompanying monograph, puts Pudlo in the company of female artists Kenojuak and Jessie Oonark who have had similar retrospectives and catalogues (Routledge and Jackson, 1990). But to date, no male graphic artists have had major films, governmental awards such as the Order of Canada, or lengthy monographs on their work. There have been, however, some catalogues on individual male artists. See, for example, Blodgett, 1978, and Myers, 1977.
7. All such figures are drawn from information presented in the yearly print catalogs published by the Sanavik Co-operative.
8. Sheila Butler reports that after the first two months she did receive a salary: "...we were able to negotiate my hiring, but a contract at much less than half Jack's salary was the best we could do - even though we shared the same duties, share equal responsibility for aesthetic decisions, and put in the same number of hours." See Butler (1976:19).
9. The making of art for sale to outsiders has become one of the major economic bases for the Inuit. Sales of arts and crafts marketed through Inuit co-ops exceeded \$6.5 million dollars (Canadian) in 1978, with at least \$2 million dollars more through sales to the Hudson's Bay Company and other private entrepreneurs. This, of course, includes sculpture and textiles, as well as prints (Arctic Co-operatives, n.d.:5; Myers, 1984:132-152).
10. This has been repeatedly reported in the literature on colonization and economic development. See for example, Boserup (1971), Etienne and Leacock (1980), Bay (1982), Chambers (1983:80-81), Creevey (1986), Leacock (1981). See also Jules-Rosette (1984). Although she does not address women's declining status directly, it is implicit in what she writes about the marketing of mostly male tourist arts.

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