economic opportunities, and be accommodating to earn the Aborigines’ loyalty. By
the second stage Aborigines had lost their connection with the old order and were
no longer comfortable with the idea of a life completely separate from the mission-
ary settlement. Missionary staff responded to this development by shifting their
attention away from winning converts and toward treating the Aborigines under
their care as “inmates” who had to be closely disciplined. During these first two
stages Aborigines used the missions as refuges and bases of operations. Individuals
and whole groups moved in and out of these communities depending on internal
and external social and economic conditions. The third stage began in the 1950s
when state policy for Aborigines shifted from a segregationist to an assimilationist
mode. This change made alternative lifestyles possible and many Aborigines re-
plied by abandoning the mission communities. While outlining these broad
trends, Brock also notes that environmental circumstances and geographic location
strongly influenced the particular course of events in each community. Settlements
situated in harsh climates or terrain neutralized the power of European technology.
At such locations (Nepabunna was an example) and those remote from urban
development, Aborigines resisted white domination much longer. Although Brock
delineates general patterns in this way, she is also sensitive to the varied responses
of individual Aborigines to their changing circumstances. She personalizes her story
by including family and individual life histories at the end of each community case
study.

At the close of her study, Brock returns to the question of Aboriginal agency. She
concludes that at the local level Aborigines chose from a variety of options that
were available to them in their struggle to survive as a people in the new world
their colonial masters had created. They had little control at the macro level,
however. Ultimately the dominant white society set the parameters within which the
Aborigines were forced to operate. In the end, Brock decides that the lasting legacy
of the mission settlements was that they “created the circumstances for Aborigines
to establish large, close-knit communities based on shared experiences, intermar-
riage and association with land with which they identified”. In this respect, these
institutions played a role similar to that of ghettos in any society in which minority
groups have to endure unceasing discrimination.

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Pat Sandiford Grygier — A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic
PP. xix, 233.

One of the images which remains with me from my childhood in Hamilton is the
red neon cross that shone nightly from atop “The Mountain”. The cross was the
symbol of the Tuberculosis Society of Canada and marked the location of the
Mountain Sanitorium. Sanatoria were common sights on the periphery of many of
Canada’s cities and towns until the deinstitutionalization movement of the 1970s began. To a young person and indeed many adults, the Mountain Sanitorium connoted a fearsome place inhabited by mysterious people of unknown origin. Over the years the Mountain Sanitorium operated, no doubt tuberculosis patients from many different backgrounds and places passed through its doors. Pat Sandiford Grygier gives faces and voices to one group who lived there and in sanatoria like it across Canada from the 1950s until the early 1970s.

Sandiford Grygier’s book is a compelling account of how with the best of intentions the Canadian government uprooted Inuit adults and children and transported them south to institutions to be treated for tuberculosis. It is also an indictment of how government initially placed commercial interests ahead of the health of Canada’s First Nations peoples and later ignored the social costs of breaking up Inuit families when it did try to remedy their health problems.

Sandiford Grygier divides her book into three parts, the first consisting of four contextual chapters. Chapter 1 provides a history of tuberculosis in Canada, and the second describes the geographic organization of the various Inuit groups and their ways of life. The third focuses on the role that the Hudson’s Bay Company and missionaries played in the North, while chapter 4 is devoted to the role of the government and the police. As the author would probably be the first to admit, all of these chapters are at best partial accounts, and those interested in a more critical and detailed analysis of the Inuit and their ways of life or the historical development of northern Canada would be wise to seek out other sources.

It is not until Part 2 that the real story begins. Chapters 5 to 7 are an account of government indifference, interdepartmental squabbling, and finally implementation of a programme which placed expediency and clinical results ahead of the social well-being of the Inuit. Illustrative of government indifference was its consistent refusal to build sanatoria in the North, although as early as 1929 Dr. R. D. Martin, the medical health officer at Coppermine, began reporting a growing number of tuberculosis cases among the Inuit. Through the 1930s medical care for the Inuit was the responsibility of the Department of Mines and Resources. Not until 1945 did the new Department of National Health and Welfare take over this role, but the squabbling between the two departments continued through the 1950s and 1960s. In 1946, through the Indian Health Service, a campaign began to screen the Inuit for tuberculosis and remove those who were infected to southern sanatoria. As Sandiford Grygier points out, this became the strategy used through the 1960s with only minor modifications. With little regard for the social consequences, the government uprooted Inuit from their families and thrust them into a completely alien and isolating environment. Extensive quotations from some health workers involved in the campaign and from outside observers paint a picture of incompetence and indifference on the part of most of those responsible. These quotes also give voice to some of the pain and anguish felt by the Inuit.

Chapter 8 is an examination of the treatment of the Inuit once they arrived at the sanatoria in southern Canada. The sanatoria staff were ill-prepared to deal with people whose ways of life were so completely different from anything they had ever experienced. The account is one of the Inuit and the staff trying to adapt, but one
also senses how isolated the Inuit must have felt. Using excerpts from interviews, Sandiford Grygier allows the Inuit, who had in some cases spent years in the sanatoria, to convey their isolation and loneliness.

Even more disturbing is the discussion in chapter 9 of the treatment Inuit received when it was time for them to return to the North. Descriptions of Inuit being sent to the wrong communities, people returned to their communities dressed in southern clothes completely unsuitable for the Arctic winter, or children being left alone on frozen lakes to be picked up by families who had never been informed of their return would have been unbelievable had this book been written a decade ago. With the growing number of accounts of child abuse at residential schools in the south, however, the truth of these and many similar occurrences presented by Sandiford Grygier has a chilling effect.

Chapters 10 and 11 which complete this section update events in the Northwest Territories and Quebec and Newfoundland. The former chapter does demonstrate that the worst of the abuses of the system used to fight tuberculosis in the 1950s and 1960s were slowly remedied through the 1970s. By 1980 tuberculosis had all but disappeared as a cause of death among the Inuit, and morbidity rates had dropped to very small numbers. Chapter 11 seems out of place, however. Sandiford Grygier goes back to the beginning of the century to show how the outbreak of tuberculosis among the Inuit of Quebec and Newfoundland was handled in a “distinct but similar” fashion compared to its treatment in the rest of Canada. As a result, the chronological flow and, more importantly, the major arguments of the book are interrupted. This material should have been integrated into earlier chapters.

Part 3 consists of only one chapter, in which Sandiford Grygier summarizes her findings and provides what she calls “one person’s point of view”. Given the findings, her critical view of the failure of successive governments to treat the Inuit as equals is easy to accept. The chapter, however, also exemplifies what is missing throughout the book: an overarching framework to the narrative by which the author planned to assess the history of the treatment of the Inuit for tuberculosis. Had Sandiford Grygier begun the book with such a discussion, her conclusions might have offered a more meaningful proscription of past practice as First Nations move toward self-government and implementation of programmes in the 1990s.

In telling the story of how tuberculosis wreaked havoc on the lives of the Inuit in northern Canada, Sandiford Grygier has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the consequences of the contact between Canada’s First Nations and the European population which has come to dominate this country. The book can also be read as a case study of the mismanagement and the types of programmes which have marked the history of relationships between Canada’s First Nations and the federal government. Finally, for all of us who grew up in a community with a sanatorium on the edge of town, some of the mysteries of who were there and how they were treated have now been clarified.

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