

THE KEEWATIN INUIT  
AND INTERBAND TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS  
1717-1900

BY

RENÉE FOSSETT JONES

A thesis  
presented to the University of Manitoba  
in fulfillment of the  
thesis requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the  
Faculty of Graduate Studies

Department of History  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) Renee Fossett Jones

THE KEEWATIN INUIT  
AND INTERBAND TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS  
1717-1900

BY  
RENÉE FOSSETT JONES

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1989

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

## ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Inuit of west Hudson Bay were expanding southward from the area around Chesterfield Inlet into the fringes of Chipewyan territory. Almost simultaneously with the move into new territory, they established first contact with Europeans. Between 1718 and 1790, Hudson's Bay Company ships made frequent trading voyages to the coast camps. While the Inuit learned about European trading methods, in some ways adapting their own ways to those of the newcomers, in other ways forcing changes upon the Company, they maintained relations, including trade, with the Chipewyan to the south and west, and with more northerly Inuit groups.

After the Hudson's Bay Company trading voyages ended in 1790, the south Keewatin people began to make regular trips to the post at Churchill combining their harvesting of marine mammal oils with trading activity. In the process they began to spend more time inland, hunting greater numbers of the furs most in demand by the Company, and amassing a surplus of European goods. The surplus was much in demand by other Inuit groups farther to the north.

Although a purely native trade existed before Europeans arrived in the arctic, the number of trade items was limited and trading contacts were probably infrequent. The presence

of highly desirable European items on the west coast of Hudson Bay led to an increase in the number and frequency of trading contacts among Inuit groups. Pre-contact Inuit geographical knowledge was extensive, and routes linking neighbouring bands from Siberia to Greenland were known. Certain sites along the travel routes, frequented by more than one group or band, had long been gathering places where social, economic and commercial activities took place, and they continued to be used as trade centres for the dissemination of European goods.

Perhaps because opportunities to trade were limited in the pre-contact situation, the Keewatin Inuit seem to have lacked trading rituals of the kind developed by many North American Indian groups. Goods exchange was not connected to individual prestige or alliances between groups. Inuit perceptions and conduct of trade paralleled European commercial understandings and behaviour more closely than those of their neighbours.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research and writing, though solitary in the execution, are nevertheless social activities, growing out of the hands and minds of many people. The person most closely associated with my work over the past two years has been my teacher, faculty advisor, thesis supervisor, and friend, Professor Jennifer S.H. Brown, of the University of Winnipeg. To her go my first words of thanks. To the members of my thesis committee, Professor D.N. Sprague and Professor Jean Friesen of the University of Manitoba, and Professor Chris Meiklejohn of the University of Winnipeg, I wish to express my appreciation. I recognize a further debt to both Dr Sprague and Dr Friesen who have also been my teachers and have taught me a great deal.

I am also indebted to the librarians of the Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, especially those in the Inter-Library Loan Department, and to the archivists of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

The last word of thanks must go to Professor Gerald Friesen of the University of Manitoba, although in chronological order his was the first word of encouragement that set me on my course.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract. . . . .	iv
Chapter	
1 EVIDENCE AND EYE-WITNESSES . . . . .	1
2 TAXONOMIES, TERRITORIES, MIUTS AND MAPS. . . . .	18
3 THE KEEWATIN INUIT AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS, 1718-1790. . . . .	47
4 THE KEEWATIN INUIT AND THE TRADING POST, 1790-1830 .85	
5 THE KEEWATIN INUIT AND INTERBAND RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	115
6 PATTERNS OF INUIT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY. . . . .	143
7 CONCLUSION . . . . .	168
SOURCES. . . . .	182

## MAPS

Location of Inuit territorial groups . . . . .	19
Iligliuk's maps of Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island. . . . .	37
Survey map of Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island. . . . .	38
Ivaluardjuk's map of the east coast of Melville Peninsula and north Baffin Island . . . . .	39
Armou's map of coast from Lancaster Sound to Churchill . . . . .	44
Survey map of west coast of Hudson Bay. . . . .	44
West coast of Hudson Bay north of Churchill . . . . .	53
Central barren lands west of Hudson Bay . . . . .	114
Greenland . . . . .	144
North Alaskan Eskimo territories . . . . .	151
South Baffin Island . . . . .	156
Arctic coast and Victoria Island . . . . .	160

## CHAPTER 1

### EVIDENCE AND EYE-WITNESSES

#### Historiography of Inuit Trade and Communications

The existence of communications networks, including the exchange of ideas and objects, over great distances among the Inuit of the Canadian arctic is attested by the relative homogeneity of Inuit customs, language and material culture, noted by the earliest northern ethnographers (Boas 1964 [1888]:11; Rink 1975 [1891]:4,18) and by the presence of non-indigenous artifacts in places far distant from their points of origin. Archaeological evidence supports the notion that communications, commerce, and social relations persisted among widely-separated Inuit groups over many centuries both before and after the arrival of Europeans.

Manufactured objects found in the Canadian arctic far from their areas of origin raise questions concerning the means and circumstances of their relocation. Possible explanations exist for some of them. A pendant of Norse copper found on the east coast of Hudson Bay (McCartney and Mack 1973:336), a drilled bead of Scandinavian amber (Mathiassen 1927:72), iron boat rivets, knife blades, fragments of Norse chain mail and scraps of woven wool cloth discovered on Skraeling Island a few miles off the coast of Ellesmere Island (Schledermann 1981:575) in pre-sixteenth



century Inuit sites must also have come from Greenland and may have been moved by a number of different means -- transported by Norse explorers or Inuit travellers, or by a combination of both, and by several different routes.

Meteoritic iron tool and weapon fragments found at Naujan (Mathiassen 1927:72, 82-3), though not definitely identifiable as Norse, are also associated with Greenland; they could only have come from the Cape York, Greenland, meteorite shower<sup>1</sup> or the eastern coast of Ellesmere Island where a very few fragments from this shower are known to have landed (McCartney and Mack 1973:329,332).

William Fitzhugh suggests that the pendant and other objects may have been carried to the Richmond Gulf area by Norse explorers or traders. He believes that the presence of Norse items in Inuit territory has

forced a reappraisal of the previous model emphasizing unplanned and infrequent Eskimo interaction with Norse explorers. The growing number of new finds ... suggest that trade with Canadian Eskimo groups provided a significant incentive for Norse voyages west of Greenland (Fitzhugh 1985:29).

Peter Schledermann, the discoverer of the Skraeling Island artifacts, agrees that Norsemen may have reached Ellesmere Island or the coasts of Hudson Bay in spite of the absence of written records of such voyages, but he also suggests that Greenland Inuit may have acquired the objects

---

<sup>1</sup> Meteoritic iron is site-specific. Its place of origin can be identified by laboratory tests.

through trade with Norse residents of Greenland or by looting their abandoned villages, and that trade between Greenland and Canadian Inuit may account for their wide dispersion through the arctic (Schliedermann 1981:600).

Although European items from the period of southwest Greenland's Norse occupation are easily recognized as foreign objects and their presence in Inuit sites can be attributed to Norse voyaging, other objects, not associated with Greenland and Norse voyagers, can only have been transported to various sites by the indigenous peoples themselves. Metal-tipped "dartes," possibly arrow or spear heads, found on Silimiut Island just south of Cape Fullerton in Hudson Bay by Luke Foxe in 1631, have been variously identified as fashioned from nails salvaged from Jens Munk's abandoned ship (Christy 1894:320), as Norse iron from Greenland (McCartney and Mack 1973:334), and as native copper from the arctic coast (Merbs 1971:22). Whatever the real nature and origin of the "dartes," their occurrence at Silimiut can only be the result of Inuit long-distance harvesting of resources or by trade.

Objects made entirely of native materials in native styles are less easily recognized as imported items, but their presence in areas far from their place of origin can also be explained only by the existence of widespread Inuit communications, either long-distance resource harvesting or native trade systems. Items originating in Coronation Gulf

but found on the west coast of Hudson Bay point to an exchange network that could transport and transmit articles across a thousand miles, around or through the territories of at least four major native groups. Examples of articles from this category include the Coronation Gulf copper artifacts found in pre-sixteenth century sites at Naujan (Repulse Bay) during the Fifth Thule Expedition excavations (Mathiassen 1927:82-3), a Copper Eskimo ivory comb discovered at Pelly Bay (George Swinton, pers. comm. 1988), and an ivory pendant and seal skin shoes of Copper Eskimo design collected on the west coast of Hudson Bay, probably by Captain George Comer for Franz Boas (Boas 1975 [1901]:107-8,113). The five-hundred year old copper fragments from Naujan and the more recently manufactured items from the Comer-Boas collection indicate that the Inuit were able to move goods between the arctic coast and the west coast of Hudson Bay at least on some occasions prior to Euro-Inuit contact.

In the first scientific monograph on the Canadian Inuit, Franz Boas recognized that some essential raw materials had to be obtained from distant places, through trade or through harvesting. He concluded, however, that while long-distance resource harvesting occurred, travel and trade between groups seldom, if ever, took place. He believed that communication among Inuit bands was limited to immediately neighbouring groups who shared kinship links,

while more widely separated groups were strangers whose accidental encounters were often occasions of fear and mutual hostility (Boas 1964 [1888]:54,56).

Most other scientific ethnographers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries -- Gustav Holm, William Thalbitzer, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Diamond Jenness, Knud Rasmussen, Therkel Mathiasson and Kaj Birket-Smith -- believed that communication and commerce occurred between neighbouring bands within regional dialect groups.

Gustav Holm, investigating the Ammassalik people of East Greenland in 1883-85, the same period in which Boas was observing the people of south Baffin Island<sup>2</sup>, saw no evidence of long journeys undertaken in order to gather raw materials directly. Instead he confirmed what the missionary Hans Egede had written a century and a half earlier -- that East Greenlanders, like their compatriots, routinely made long journeys to get goods through trade, but did not engage in long-distance resource harvesting. Egede's South Greenland informants told him in 1728 that "two years previously natives had been among them from the east side, who had brought with them large pieces of whalebone, to

---

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas' The Central Eskimo, based on field work done in 1883-84 during the German Arctic Expedition, was published in 1888. In the same year Gustav Holm's Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagssalik Eskimo, based on observations made in 1883-85 during the Danish Expedition to Northeast Greenland, was published in Danish.

exchange them for other things they desired" (Thalbitzer 1914:334).

Vilhjalmur Stefansson's (1914) study of the Copper Eskimo remains the only inclusive description of the extent and mechanics of communications and commerce among Canadian Inuit groups. He believed that trading connections existed between neighbouring groups across the arctic from Siberia to the west coast of Hudson Bay. His description of Copper Eskimo trade systems, commodities and routes, however, did not include analysis of Inuit perceptions of trade, the rules by which trade was conducted, or the position and status of trading as a social activity within bands. Personal interviews, oral histories and remembered readings formed the basis of Stefansson's analysis, as he himself pointed out.

So far as a research might be based on the published or unpublished accounts of the explorers of the past, this essay will be found wanting, for the sources are not at hand where this is written. ... Books are not at hand for exact citations (Stefansson 1914:1,4).

He was writing while living in a tent on the arctic coast hoping that a boat would be able to make its way through floating ice pans to a rendezvous arranged a year earlier.

Knud Rasmussen, Therkel Mathiassen and Kaj Birket-Smith, of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, believed that interband trading relations had existed among Inuit for centuries in the Canadian arctic as they had in Greenland.

Rasmussen, in particular, theorized that the people made long voyages both to trade and to gather resources, and met regularly at designated 'market' centres similar to those of Greenland (1930b:27-28). However, the Fifth Thule Expedition report offered no detailed account of goods exchange among bands within the Caribou Eskimo regional group or between them and other groups comparable to Stefansson's description of Copper Eskimo trade networks. Research since 1950 has not filled these gaps. Although many sociological studies of Inuit adaptation to the permanent presence of southerners in the arctic have been done, few questions have been asked about Inuit history or economic relations before permanent European contact, and fewer answers suggested.

Of all Inuit groups, the Alaskan and Greenlandic have been most often studied. Reconstructions of North Alaskan trade by Robert F. Spencer (1959) and Douglas D. Anderson (1974) discussed trade routes and commodities, and also attempted to analyze native motivations and understandings of goods exchange.

Descriptions of Greenlandic economic life and trading activities also are limited to the post-contact period, for the obvious reason that Euro-Greenlandic contact first took place before A.D. 1000. The only study of native-controlled trade and goods exchange at the beginning of the second Danish colonization of Greenland in the eighteenth century

was done by Inge Klieven (1984). He gave little consideration to native motivations and the place of trade in social life.

Canadian Inuit commercial relations before permanent European contact have received little attention. Robert S. James (1973), James G.E. Smith (1981), and Smith and Ernest S. Burch Jr (1979) addressed one aspect of Inuit 'external affairs' -- their relations with their Chipewyan Indian neighbours. They concluded that trade, cooperative hunting, exchange of intellectual culture such as language and shamanistic arts, and seasonal sharing of territory were more characteristic of the relations between the two groups than the unremitting hostility described by Chief Factor James Knight (Knight 1932 [1717]). The only study which deals specifically with Canadian Inuit interband economic activity is James Savelle's 1985 reconstruction of Netsilik territorial expansion following the abandonment of three European ships<sup>3</sup> with their abundant supplies of wood and metal on the borders of Netsilik territory. Savelle has traced trade routes, noted the emergence of middlemen in native trade, and described the devastating effects of Netsilik expansion on neighbouring groups.

---

<sup>3</sup> Captain John Ross's ship, Victory, was abandoned on the east coast of Boothia Peninsula in 1832. The ships of the John Franklin Expedition, Erebus and Terror, were deserted by their crews in Victoria Strait off the northwest coast of King William Island in 1848.

Several reasons might be advanced to explain why Inuit history, in general, and Inuit commercial history, in particular, have not been adequately researched and written. Perhaps Inuit history has been ignored or denied because it does not conform to the familiar European patterns. All individuals in Inuit society tend to be occupied, not in invasion, conquest, treaty-making or manipulation of populations, as the 'movers and shakers' of some societies are, but in providing and caring for small family units in isolation. Such essentially peaceful, domestic activities have long been seen as both feminine and lower class, and in the traditionally male-centred and elitist context of older European historiography domestic and lower class concerns were not only undervalued, but often overlooked entirely. The apparent absence of political structures and military activity, and the domestic and isolated nature of the economy, have disqualified the Inuit past as serious history.

If the Inuit past has not been accepted and written as history, it has been repeatedly described as enduringly static, experiencing only minimal changes which are attributed to forces outside the control of the people concerned. The anthropologists' concept of the ethnographic present is a reason why the Inuit past has not been subjected to the usual methods of historical research and interpretation. The notion of an ethnographic present



reinforces, perhaps even arises from, the assumption that "only those people which have succeeded in organizing their society in some degree cease to be primitive savages and enter into history" (Carr 1964:127). The 'organization' referred to was, of course, organization which was recognizable to European historians, and involved obvious and identifiable institutions such as armies, banks, codified laws and law enforcement, centralized governments, and bureaucracies. Societies without these institutions, or in which these institutions take decidedly un-European forms, were, by definition, primitive and savage. The 'history' of which Carr writes is European history.<sup>4</sup>

Because socio-economic institutions similar to the European models were not immediately apparent, the earliest scientific observers of Inuit life assumed that complex, dynamic political and economic systems did not exist. This impression persists in spite of the work done by the first four scientific studies of Canadian arctic peoples: the Baffin Island field work of Franz Boas in 1883-84; the Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition to the Mackenzie Eskimo in 1908-12; the Canadian Arctic Expedition to study

---

<sup>4</sup> The use of the ethnonym 'European' in this context is misleading because it is not inclusive. Europeans are not the only people who have undervalued and ignored unfamiliar cultures, nor are historians. By the same token, Europeans and others, whether historians or not, have unhesitatingly recognized some unfamiliar societies, such as those of Pharaonic Egypt and Mohenjodaran India, as well as some modern Asian societies as neither primitive nor savage.

the Copper Eskimo in 1913-18, of which Vilhjalmur Stefansson and Diamond Jenness were members; and the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24, led by Knud Rasmussen, and including Kaj Birket-Smith and Therkel Mathiassen, which examined all the major groups of the Central Eskimo. The work done by these expeditions included detailed observation and description of Inuit customs, religious beliefs, occupations, recreations and physical characteristics; genealogies; a census; collecting of songs, music, folklore, and material artifacts; archaeological excavations; and oral histories. The resulting publications are a vast reservoir of observations of Inuit life within families and local residential bands, but large-group interactions, such as trade and commerce, interband meetings, long-distance travel, and 'foreign' relations were seldom observed or described.

The assumption that source material cannot exist in non-literate societies that create no contemporary, emic, 'documentary' accounts of events is yet another reason why little has been done to reconstruct Inuit history. However, observation does not have to be direct or emic. What is needed is, as Raymond Fogelson has pointed out, "an expanded conception of what constitutes documentation" (Fogelson 1989:134). Twentieth century 'observers' can view nineteenth century life through the accounts of eye-witnesses, whether written or oral histories, and through maps, artifacts and

mythologies. Rasmussen and Stefansson were, in effect, doing so when they recorded the oral histories of elderly informants, and Boas and Jenness did it when they searched explorers' accounts for clues about their subjects' past histories. Rasmussen's belief in an indigenous trading centre in the Canadian barren lands came from his acceptance of mythology as historical documentation.

The existence of a number of logs, diaries and journals kept by European explorers, traders, whalers, missionaries and travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the nature of the contact experience of the Canadian Inuit, particularly the Keewatin people, combine to make possible the retrieval of at least some west Hudson Bay pre-contact human history.

The contact experience of the Inuit differed considerably from that of Indian groups to the south. Encounters were brief, infrequent and sporadic. During the nearly two centuries between the first tenuous encounters at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the pervasive contact of the twentieth when Inuit life was heavily influenced by a permanent, alien presence, the intellectual culture, and to a large extent, the material culture of the west Hudson Bay people were only slightly affected.

Before whaling began in 1860 the Eskimo groups inhabiting western Hudson Bay and Foxe Basin had been affected very little by direct contact with European culture.... Eskimo-white contacts were few and far between and did not result in any

significant modification of the aboriginal culture (W.G.Ross 1985:16-17).

The encounters, nevertheless, provided an opportunity for observation and the production of written descriptions of a few aspects of native life. Most of the eye-witnesses were trained observers -- Hudson's Bay Company officers, ships' captains, and leaders of exploration or survey expeditions. They had not only education and rank but also orders from their superiors to keep complete and accurate records of their meetings with native peoples. The daily journals and account books of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Churchill from 1717 to 1860 and the logs of Company ships on the northwest coast between 1718 and 1790 contain considerable information on Inuit demography, material culture, and socio-economic relations, as do memoirs of a few Company employees. Other information and points of view are contained in the accounts written by explorers, expedition leaders, sportsmen, whalers, missionaries and civil servants between 1820 and 1920. Such second-hand accounts must be approached with caution and the biases and assumptions of the observers identified. Andrew Graham's description of seventeenth century Caribou Eskimo, for example, draws heavily on David Crantz' *History of Greenland* (1765) which does not apply to Canadian peoples, and on his own superficial experiences with the people of Hudson Strait as well as his encounters with the Hudson Bay Eskimo.

Richard Glover's cautionary remarks in his introduction to Graham's **Observations** are worth repeating.

Graham can have met Eskimos there [on Hudson Straits] on two occasions at most, on his voyages out in 1749 and 1770. As a youth he had sailed on the trading voyages north from Churchill in 1750, 1751 and 1752 to Knapp's Bay, Navel's Bay and Whale Cove. He had also known well the four Eskimo youths who had been at Churchill in 1774 and 1775. Anthropologists must then be warned, first, that Graham's observations cover two quite different groups of Eskimos; second, that he had seen very little of either on their native hunting grounds; third, that he had seen them there only in summer; and fourth, that much of what he has to say consists of boyhood recollections written down by a middle-aged man (Glover 1969:xl<sup>ii</sup>-xl<sup>iii</sup>).<sup>5</sup>

However, if the personal and cultural biases of eye-witnesses are understood and critically analysed, their observations provide considerable information on the events and activities of the Inuit past.

The last descriptions of Keewatin peoples to be written before permanent contact with newcomers are the abundant oral histories included in the **Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition** of 1921-24. In addition to the written records, artifacts and native-drawn maps are sources of information on Inuit activities during the pre- and early contact periods.

---

<sup>5</sup> Glover's choice of anthropologists, rather than historians, as the target of his warning reveals his own assumption that the Inuit past would be of interest to the former, but not the latter -- a failure to recognize the existence of an Inuit **history**.

Even a cursory search of these logs, diaries and journals suggests that pre-twentieth century Inuit were no strangers to exploration, emigration and long-distance travel, to interband goods exchange and trade, nor to the successful conduct of 'foreign relations' leading to peaceful commerce or the failed diplomacy which resulted in hostility and warfare.

This study will first review the classification of Inuit societies developed by European scholars and attempt to identify the socioterritorial categories of those societies from an Inuit perspective. In Chapter Two the relationship between taxonomy, territoriality, and mobility will be explored through analysis of Inuit language and native-drawn maps.

Chapters Three to Five examine the nature and extent of Keewatin Inuit communications and trade relations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of the relevant documentation falls naturally into three categories, which coincide with time periods. First are the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and explorers in the 1717-1790 period. With few exceptions, the writers asked for and received very little information about Inuit activities. They recorded only what they observed directly, although it was often from a distance, and their accounts have little to say about Inuit interband relations. They do, to a certain extent, reflect the perceptions and points of view of the native

group from which most of their informants were drawn, the Chipewyan. Chapter Three begins with a brief description of the origin and location of the Keewatin Inuit at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and goes on to reconstruct their intercultural relations with traders and Chipewyan.

In the next period, 1790-1830, when a few Inuit were personally known to the writers, Hudson's Bay Company personnel and travellers such as John Franklin and John West were able to record some details supplied by native informants. Chapter Four, then, is concerned with Inuit relations within their own communities as related by them, and with Chipewyan and Europeans, as perceived by all three groups.

The third type of record, originating in the 1830 to 1920 period, consists of accounts of explorers and travellers who were actually within Eskimo territory and were able to make first-hand observations of activities within Inuit society, as well as record informant information. Chapter Five draws upon these sources to describe trading activity over long distances as conducted by the Inuit in their own country among their own people.

The detailed scrutiny of the Keewatin Inuit in these three chapters is followed by short descriptions of the

trading styles and systems of four other territorial groups<sup>6</sup> (Chapter Six). The descriptions are useful in analyzing, through comparison of all five groups, some formative factors in the development of indigenous trade systems, and the mechanics of Keewatin Inuit trade relations.

Finally, the conclusion returns to the larger questions of the nature of that trade, the extent to which trade was part of other social institutions, and the comparative positions of Keewatin Inuit trading patterns and those developed by other territorial groups.

---

<sup>6</sup> Alaskan, Copper, South Baffin Island and Greenlandic; Siberian Eskimo societies are not considered.



## CHAPTER 2

### TAXONOMIES, TERRITORIES, MIUTS AND MAPS

Before looking at the evidence for pre-twentieth century Inuit inter-band relations it is necessary to identify the groups under discussion, establish their locations, and assess their geographical mobility. Two taxonomies exist -- a European classification developed between 1870 and 1925, which attempts to establish cultural, territorial and ethnic borders, and which has been projected backwards in time, ignoring emergences, dissolutions and regroupings of demographic units; and an Inuit categorization, unwritten but implicit in the language. Neither is comprehensive, precise, or an accurate reflection of reality, but both are useful in establishing Inuit territoriality, self-identification, geographical knowledge and mobility.

The earliest European classifications of indigenous arctic peoples were those of Heinrich Rink, a mid-nineteenth century Royal Inspector of South Greenland and enthusiastic ethnographer, and Franz Boas. Rink divided the 'Eskimo race' into six groups: the Greenlanders, the Labradorians, the Mackenzie River Eskimo, the Alaskans, the Siberians, and the little known and mysterious Central Eskimo of Baffin Island and the west Hudson Bay barren lands (Rink 1975 [1891]:4) on the basis of geography rather than cultural differences. Boas agreed, except for the Labradorian

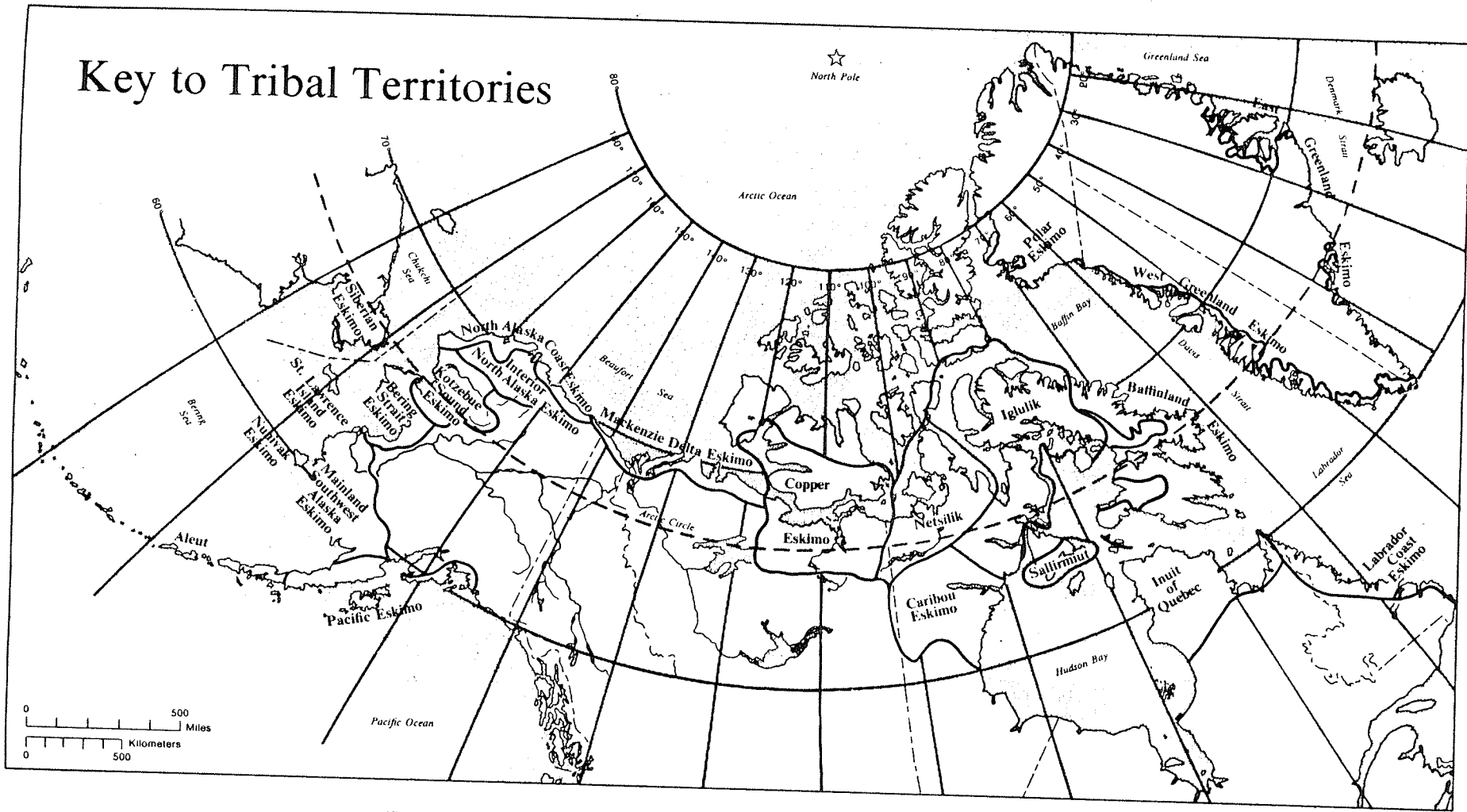


Figure 2-1 Location of Inuit territorial groups (Handbook of North American Indians. 5. Arctic. ix).

designation, which he rejected on the grounds that the proximity of Labrador to South Baffin Island militated against the development of two distinct cultures (Boas 1964 [1888]:12). His own fieldwork resulted in the identification of all the south Baffin Island bands and the accounts of Sir John Ross, Dr John Rae, Charles Francis Hall, and Frederick Schwatka made him aware of some Canadian mainland groups (Boas 1964 [1888]:37,45) although his knowledge of what he and Rink called the 'Central Eskimo' was sketchy and incomplete.

Between 1908 and 1918, the Stefansson-Anderson Expedition and the Canadian Arctic Expedition visited and described the most westerly Central Eskimo group, the Coronation Gulf-Victoria Island people whom Stefansson named the Copper Eskimo, and about whose existence neither Rink nor Boas had known. Stefansson studied at least thirteen sub-groups, all with ties to different wintering locations, but also all linguistically and culturally related. He noted widespread kinship among individuals of all sub-groups, although the presence of unrelated immigrants from other communities living permanently among the Copper Eskimo was not unusual.

The last steps in identifying and grouping the Canadian Inuit were taken by the Fifth Thule Expedition. Like their predecessors among the Copper Eskimo, the members of the expedition sought to identify indigenous populations by

cultural characteristics. During the first field-work winter, 1921-22, spent at Danish Island off the coast of Melville Peninsula, they realized that the east coast of the peninsula and north Baffin Island were occupied by groups "so closely related that they must be regarded as forming one Eskimo tribe with in all essentials a uniform culture" (Mathiassen 1928:1). Mathiassen gave them the 'tribal' name, Iglulik Eskimo. The three groups making up the 'tribe' were the Tununirmiut of north Baffin Island, and the Iglulingmiut and Aivilingmiut on the northeast and southeast coasts of Melville Peninsual, respectively.

During 1922-23, the expedition visited and described the people of west Hudson Bay, to whom they gave the name 'Caribou Eskimo.'<sup>7</sup> Four sub-groups within the designation were identified -- the Qairnirmiut of Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet (known to the whalers and Boas as the Kinepetu), the Sauneqtormiut south of Chesterfield Inlet, the Harvaqtormiut of the lower Kazan and Dubawnt Rivers, and the Padlermiut occupying the area south of Whale Cove from the coast inland as far as the Kazan River (Rasmussen

---

<sup>7</sup> The name was not intended to suggest that the west Hudson Bay people were cervine-dependent, but that their tool kit and technology were better adapted to inland life than those of other Inuit groups. In much of the literature since 1923, 'Caribou Eskimo' has been used for all the Keewatin Inuit groups both inland and coastal, excluding only those of Back River (the Uqusiksalikmiut). Francis Harper (1964) and Frank Vallee (1967), with somewhat greater accuracy, reserve 'Caribou Eskimo' for the Ahiammiut of the upper Kazan River.

1930a:5n). Rasmussen identified a fifth group, the Padlimiut, people of the river mouth (paq=river mouth), near Cape Eskimo, with slight differences in language, material culture and ecological adaptation. After some hesitation, Birket-Smith rejected Rasmussen's distinction, and identified both inland and coast groups as Padlimiut<sup>8</sup> (Rasmussen 1930a:5n).

In 1923, the Expedition located and identified the last of the unknown Inuit groups, the Netsilik people of Boothia Peninsula. The arctic ethnographic map since 1923 has shown seven related, but distinct, Inuit groups in Canada -- the Labrador, Baffin Island, Iglulik, Caribou, Netsilik, Copper and Mackenzie Eskimo. Outside of Canada, seven territorial groups have been identified in Alaska, two in Greenland, and one in Siberia.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Knud Rasmussen's first language was Greenlandic Inuktitut. Birket-Smith had been formally trained in linguistics and phonetics. It is difficult to decide which man's ear might have been the more acute. Rasmussen's recognition of distinct coastal and inland groups is supported by Robert Williamson (1975), who uses the designation Padlermiut for the inland people, and Avviamiut for the coast dwellers.

<sup>9</sup> People tend not to fit neatly into hierarchies and taxonomies, so there were, of course, some loose ends. The Uqsiksalikmiut of the lower Back River were neither Netsilik nor Caribou, having some characteristics in common with both while remaining recognizably distinct from both in dialect, clothing styles, and some religious practices. The Sallirmiut of Southampton Island and the Sinimiut of Felly Bay were extinct before the Fifth Thule investigations. The Sallirmiut seem to have been almost totally isolated from all other Inuit, at least during the nineteenth century. Reports of the Sinimiut of Committee Bay found in Rae

(continued...)

Within each of the large territorial groups identified by scholars as discrete cultural-linguistic units were, and to a certain extent still are, a number of smaller ones, recognized by the Inuit themselves as taxonomic divisions. Both the large territorial groups and their smaller sub-units have been indiscriminately called 'tribes' in much of the literature, both primary and secondary. As well, many of the explorers, traders and other early eye-witnesses used the word to describe small family camps, local groups comprised of several families, and sometimes even the Inuit as a whole.

The word 'tribe' has not only lost its meaning through indiscriminate and varied use; it is inadequate on other grounds, as Jenness and Birket-Smith, among others, have pointed out.

Earlier writers have distinguished a number of "tribes" among the Copper Eskimos; but the term "tribe" if we use it at all, should be given a very broad interpretation, for the groups into which these natives divide themselves have none of the permanence and stability that we are accustomed to associate with tribes in other parts of the world (Jenness 1922:32).

---

<sup>9</sup> (...continued)

(1850:110,113,124;1855:842,938) and Hall (1879:225,386) give too little information for any conclusions to be drawn about the actual existence of this group. Ross (1835:263), in several crossings of the area, never found anybody there. The old camp sites he saw need not have been left by the so-called Sinimiut. Informants' reports of the Sinimiut collected by Birket-Smith (1945:16) are not complete enough to place that group either firmly inside the Netsilik group, or in an intermediate position similar to the Uqusiksalikmiut.

Birket-Smith suggested the word should be used with caution, pointing out that among Eskimos "the unit which may be regarded as a tribe is to a certain degree arbitrary, as a tribe has a purely geographical but never political character" (1936:225). While Morton Fried identified the use of the word 'race' "as the single most egregious case of meaninglessness" in anthropology, he viewed 'tribe' as figuring "prominently on the list of putative technical terms ranked in order of degree of ambiguity as reflected in multifarious definitions" (Fried 1966:5).

Words are as important in history as they are in anthropology, and definitions are necessary. David Damas suggested that 'tribe' might be useful in discussing at least some groups, for instance the Netsilik, Copper, and Iglulik Eskimo, if its meaning is restricted to the one developed by June Helm for the Northern Athapaskans (Damas 1984:3).

The "tribe" may be defined as the greatest extension of population throughout which there is sufficient inter-marriage to maintain many-sided social communication (Helm 1968:118).

The definition does not quite fit the large territorial groups such as the Copper or Caribou Eskimo. Not all Copper or Caribou Eskimo sub-units, for example, intermarried or recognized kinship with members of other sub-units.

The basic dictionary definition, perhaps because it is less precise, may fit more comfortably.

Tribe : a social group comprising numerous families, clans, or generations together with slaves, dependents, or adopted strangers (Webster 1983).

The seven linguistically, culturally and territorially distinct groups of the Canadian arctic -- the Labrador, Baffin Island, Iglulik, Caribou, Netsilik, Copper and Mackenzie Eskimo -- do fulfil the requirements of the definition. However, 'tribe' does, as Birket-Smith noted, carry with it connotations of political organization which were lacking in pre-twentieth century Canadian Inuit societies. A less loaded, if more cumbersome, term for these large units is 'territorial group.'

Territories were separated from each other by uninhabited, generally unharvested areas. Members of a territorial group recognized a geographical range as a collective homeland, moved freely and without fear throughout it in the course of harvesting resources, and felt able to ask for assistance from, or alternatively, obligated to offer it to, all other members of the group. At certain seasons the sub-units of the territorial group met for co-operative resource gathering and for social activities. Non-members of the territorial group were viewed as strangers to be received with caution, with whom there was no obligation to share scarce essential resources, although the extension of hospitality to strangers was a social imperative whenever possible. While Inuit culture



and language from Alaska to Greenland were remarkably homogeneous over many centuries, differences between territorial groups were pointed enough that each was identifiable by its specialized vocabulary, altered meanings and pronunciations; by its unique clothing, hair and cosmetic styles; by the structural and material design of kayaks and lodges; and by its decorative arts. Each group also manifested minor differences in cosmogony and mythology.

Territorial groups were divided into a number of sub-units.<sup>10</sup> The concept of the 'regional band', also suggested by Helm (1968:118-121), is appropriate in describing them. She defined a 'regional band' as the largest discrete socioterritorial group occupying a territory with sufficient resources to support its members over many generations, and as sharing a recognized genetic or affinal kinship. Speaking of the Dogrib regional bands, she pointed out that typically the total membership of the band does not come together except to perform seasonal tasks such as fall fishing.

While it is useful, even necessary, to identify territorial groups for purposes of study and discussion, it is important to emphasize that they are etic categories.

---

<sup>10</sup>Sub-units existed for economic reasons. There were no political divisions or institutionalized leadership or government roles among the Central Eskimo.

Inuktitut does not contain a word for 'race,' or one for any particular 'race,' or even one that describes the Inuit themselves as a whole. 'Inuit' simply means 'people' and until the 1950s all races of human beings were included in it.<sup>11</sup> The only social units recognized by Inuit were groups which fit the definition of 'regional bands' developed by Helm in her work with the Dogrib Indians -- that is, social units sharing a common genetic inheritance, and occupying regions with sufficient resources for subsistence over a number of generations. The single most obvious and unique characteristic of an Inuit regional band was its self-identification in terms of a specific feature of the territory it occupied. The suffix 'miut,' meaning 'the people of,' is the basis of Inuit band names.<sup>12</sup> For example, the Kungmiut (kuuk=river, miut=people of) are the 'people of the river.' Similarly, all sub-units of the

---

<sup>11</sup>For a very brief discussion of 'Eskimo' and 'Inuit' as ethnonyms, see Mary-Rousselière (1986). Rousselière's article contains the text of a letter from John R. Sperry, former Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, in which he explains that in Inuktitut one can talk about a regional band in terms of -miut groups or about all human beings, but not about members of any unit in between. Williamson points out that neither the language nor the world-view of the Canadian Inuit reflects a "sense of total ethnic-group loyalty, still less of a sense of identification on a pan-Eskimo or national scale" (1974:31). Sperry, Rousselière and Williamson, all long-time arctic residents and fluent Inuktitut-speakers, were talking about the language and world-view as they existed before the 1950s.

<sup>12</sup>See Thomas Correll (1972) for a discussion of Inuktitut and the use of the suffix -miut.

Caribou Eskimo territorial group identified themselves by a geographical descriptor: Harvaqtormiut, people from where the rapids are; Qairnirmiut, people of the bedrock; Sauneqtormiut, people of the place with the bones; Ahiairmiut, people who live out of the way; Padlermiut, people of the willow thicket.

That members of a particular miut identified themselves and their miut with a specific region is indicated by the use of tongue-twister songs to teach geography to Inuit children. The songs, chanted the way other children sing 'ring-around-a-rosy,' begin with the name of a place near the centre of the miut's accustomed range and consist of the names of villages, topographical features, or memorialized sites, ending at the outer limit of the miut's normal movements.

This was an old practice they employed to teach the children about their land. Each "tongue-twister" was a sequence that depicted an **apkuut**: a river, a stretch of coast, a sequence of hills, etc. Most important, they either started with or included [their own village] in each case. The end of those children's name chains together depicted the boundaries of [their country] (Correll 1972:178).

Inuit children learned dozens of name-chains. The last places in the chains, taken together, marked the outermost extent of the miut's customary range.

In addition to identification with specific territories, regional bands (miuts) exhibited distinctive linguistic differences, each group having some unique

vocabulary and pronunciation. Members of a miut recognized a common genetic inheritance and had kinship ties with nearly all other members of the group, although temporary residents from other miuts or even other territorial groups were common. The marriage universe was almost entirely contained within the regional band.<sup>19</sup> Technology, art and design, mythology, and shamanistic practice varied from one regional band to another, but the differences were much less pronounced than those that existed between territorial groups.

Because the land was unable to support large populations in any one area for periods longer than a few days in some cases, a few months in others, regional bands (miuts) divided into a number of smaller units that might be termed local bands, camps, or residential groups. Writing of the Dogrib Indians, Helm has characterized a local band as

exploit[ing] a range, often as a subunit within a regional band ... distinctive as a spatial grouping—together of kinsmen, characteristically structured around a core sibling set, ... [with] some degree of temporal duration (Helm 1968:121).

---

<sup>19</sup>This is closely associated with band membership. Takornaq, an Aivilingmio from Wager Bay, claimed that if she were to take another husband, it would not matter whether he was Aivilingmio, Iglulingmio or Tununermio (all miuts within the Iglulik Eskimo territorial group), even Qairnirmio (another, but neighbouring, territorial group), but as to whether she would ever marry a Netsilingmio? "Never!" (Mathiassen 1928:23).

Until the 1950s, such local bands were the basis of Inuit social and economic life. Kinship was the main determinant of membership, the population consisting of siblings with their families, or two or three generations of one family. The size of residential groups varied. At certain periods of the year, or in resource-poor areas, they sometimes dissolved into scattered camps each consisting of a single nuclear family. At other times, two or more camps joined forces in order to co-operate in harvesting temporarily available resources, such as fish or caribou, or to assist in the performance of a task, such as boat-building. Some activities, wood-gathering or sealing, for example, might bring together a number of local bands, possibly even the entire miut, and provide an opportunity for courting, trading, feasting, exchanging news, and conducting large-group social and religious activities.

In sum, Inuit primary loyalties and self-identification were associated with the residential camp whose members shared close, often nuclear, family relationships, personal histories and hunting territories. Secondary identification was with adjacent camps among whom there were known and acknowledged kinship ties, shared group history, a common dialect and nearly identical subsistence economies. Together these camps constituted the miut. Although camp membership tended to be stable, the same hunters and their families returning to shared camps year after year (a

circumstance which led to the anthropological identification of the hunting partnership as characteristic of Inuit social organization), it was also fluid.

Miut membership was similarly dynamic.

That a man is an Iglulingmio as a rule means nothing more than that for the present he is living in the Iglulik area ... one hears occasionally that this or that person is an Iglulingmio because he was born in Iglulik, or even because his mother was born in Iglulik; thus this term has no fixed definition" (Mathiassen 1928:21).

A Copper Eskimo expressed it in the words: "I have many homes. It makes no difference which you call my home ... for I have lived in all those places" (Jenness 1922:32). Self-designation as a member of one regional band did not preclude simultaneous membership in other groups, also sometimes identified by the suffix 'miut.' A Qairnirmio and a Harvaqtormio living in adjacent summer lake-fishing camps might both claim to be Nunamiut, inland dwellers, to distinguish themselves from Qairnirmiut spending the summer far down the river, whom they might temporarily identify as Sinamiut, coast dwellers. Nor were specific groups always identified in the same way by all other groups. Cumberland Sound miuts identified the Igloodik people as Aggomiut, [aggu = windward], while Pond Inlet residents called them Iglulingmiut [illu = house]; south Baffin Island groups referred to all miuts north of them as Aggomiut (Boas 1964 [1888]:16).

European explorers frequently mentioned immigrant families crossing both territorial and regional (miut) group boundaries to spend periods of several years in other miuts, even becoming permanent, 'naturalized' members of the group to which they had emigrated. No genetic kinship may originally have existed between these people and their adopted bands, although fictive relationships were sometimes sought and established, and subsequent generations had consanguineal ties. Complete assimilation into the new band and loss of loyalty to the old seemed to be the usual result of immigration.

A man will be bound to one more closely than to any of the rest, and will usually call himself a member of that group, though he may be living at the time in another far remote. But the longer he remains in his new home the weaker grow the ties that bind him to the old, till finally he merges in the group with which he is living and calls himself by its name (Jenness 1922:33).

The geographical dispersion of three Iglulik Eskimo brothers, Ivaluardjuk, Utsutsiaq and Aua, recorded by Therkel Mathiassen, is an example of the ease with which emigration, 'naturalization' and extended visits occurred. Ivaluardjuk was born at Igloolik, probably around 1860, spent six years living at Admiralty Inlet and another five years at Pond Inlet, after which he emigrated to Cape Fullerton and Repulse Bay, where he came to regard himself, and was accepted by others, as an Aivilingmio. His older brother, Utsutsiaq, also born at Igloolik, lived at Repulse

Bay, Igloolik and Admiralty Inlet, before settling in Pond Inlet as a member of the Tununermiut where he still was in the 1920s. A younger brother, Aua, had spent most of his life at Igloolik. Mathiassen commented, "It is a common thing in a family to meet one member among the Aivilingmiut, another among the Iglulingmiut and a third among the Tununermiut" (Mathiassen 1928:21-22).

Knowledge of miuts other than the natal one and the willingness to visit or emigrate to them displayed by Ivaluardjuk and his brothers were typical of many Inuit. The extent of their familiarity with both home and 'foreign' territories, and the range of their mobility are revealed in Inuit maps. About fifty such maps drawn at the request of Europeans and with European materials were collected between 1822 and 1924. In addition, virtually every nineteenth-century account of Europeans living or travelling with Inuit mentions native mapmaking. The frequency and facility with which Inuit individuals produced maps indicates a deep interest in and understanding of geography, cartography, location and mobility.

Inuit maps were typically three-dimensional representations of territory drawn in sand or snow with islands and elevations indicated by stones, bones or other handy materials. Captain Thomas Beechey witnessed the creation of a dioramic map of the northwestern coast of



Alaska in 1826.<sup>14</sup> The natives among whom he was camped first drew a representation of the shoreline with a stick in the sand, then piled pebbles at the proper places to represent islands. Hills, mountains and river beds were created from stones and various-sized piles of sand (Huish 1836:397).

Because they were ephemeral and non-portable, they were primarily adjuncts in the giving of verbal instructions, serving as teaching aids or mnemonic devices to enable a traveller to become familiar with unknown territory in advance. The maps were constructed in sand or snow

when travel instructions were given from one person to another.... [A traveller] made a point of discussing his plans with another who had been there. The latter would then draw a map in the sand or snow and explain the most desirable travel route and the natural landmarks which were of aid in finding one's way. The map was thus drawn during the course of explanation (Spencer 1955:46).

When maps were made for Europeans with pencil and paper, the verbal component remained the essential characteristic of Inuit maps. Knud Rasmussen noted the usefulness of the map maker's instructions even though he and his party had portable maps with them.

We worked our way forward by means of the map Pukerluk had drawn for us, and, finding without difficulty both ridges and the special crossing over the river that **he had advised us to make for**, now that the ice was being undermined by the

---

<sup>14</sup>See also James P. Ronda's description of a relief map constructed on the ground by a Shoshoni headman, Cameahwait, for Lewis and Clark in 1805 (Ronda 1987:82).

running water, we arrived at the village without any delays whatever (Rasmussen 1930a:31; emphasis added).<sup>15</sup>

The importance of the verbal component in Inuit cartography and territorial knowledge cannot be overstressed. As the tongue-twister name-chain games show, everyone was expected to learn the sequences of place-names along travel routes of the home region at least as far as the uninhabited areas that separated them from neighbouring bands. As noted earlier, mental maps were instilled into young minds by means of the "tongue-twister" game. Some of the places in the name-chains were the sites of historical events -- the place where the Indian was killed, the lost glove lake, the bad luck crossing. Others were camping, hunting and harvesting sites represented on the maps by dots, crosses and other symbols and marked in reality by arrangements of stones<sup>16</sup> which particularized sections of

---

<sup>15</sup>For a different interpretation of Inuit maps, see Spink and Moodie 1972. In their discussion of a map of a route between Mikoligjuak and Churchill, drawn by Igjugarjuk, a Padlermic cartographer, they claim that "the exact route taken [by Igjugarjuk] cannot be followed on the surveyed map but it at least gives an impression of the terrain and features portrayed by the Eskimo" (12-13). I believe that a traveller with some arctic experience could use the map, even without verbal instructions to cover the route. The map does much more than "give an impression of the terrain" even as a graphic representation only, and, used in conjunction with the verbal instructions that were intended to preface its use, it would have provided all the necessary information for the journey.

<sup>16</sup>In Copper Eskimo dialects the signposts are called 'nakkatain.'

the endlessly similar barren lands. Low rock walls parallel to a stretch of river indicated a caribou crossing place; similar walls at right angles to a lakeshore pointed to good fishing spots. Rock cairns served as route markers. Their presence and meaning were so obvious that even strangers to the land and the culture used them to chart their way through the labyrinths of lakes and tributaries (Back 1836:348; Anderson 1855:passim; Hanbury 1903:184).

While rock signposts scattered over the land identified areas much frequented by travellers, the maps themselves indicate actual distances covered by individuals. Many Inuit maps show familiarity with places hundreds of miles apart. A map drawn by Igjugarjuk, a Padlermio, shows extensive, intimate knowledge of a route between Churchill and Chantrey Inlet of more than 600 air miles (950 kilometres), perhaps twice that in ground miles. Other charts show familiarity with even more distant places. Iligliuk, an Iglulingmio woman, drew a map of the area between Pond Inlet and Wager Bay for Captain Parry in 1822 (Fig. 2-2a,2b) showing an overland route of at least 450 straight-line miles (725 kilometres) requiring about 28 days, and a second sea-ice route slightly longer in terms of miles but, because of easier travelling conditions, shorter in terms of time. The verbal instructions that accompanied the map, written down by Captain Parry (1824: facing 197), give the locations of a soapstone quarry and a surface

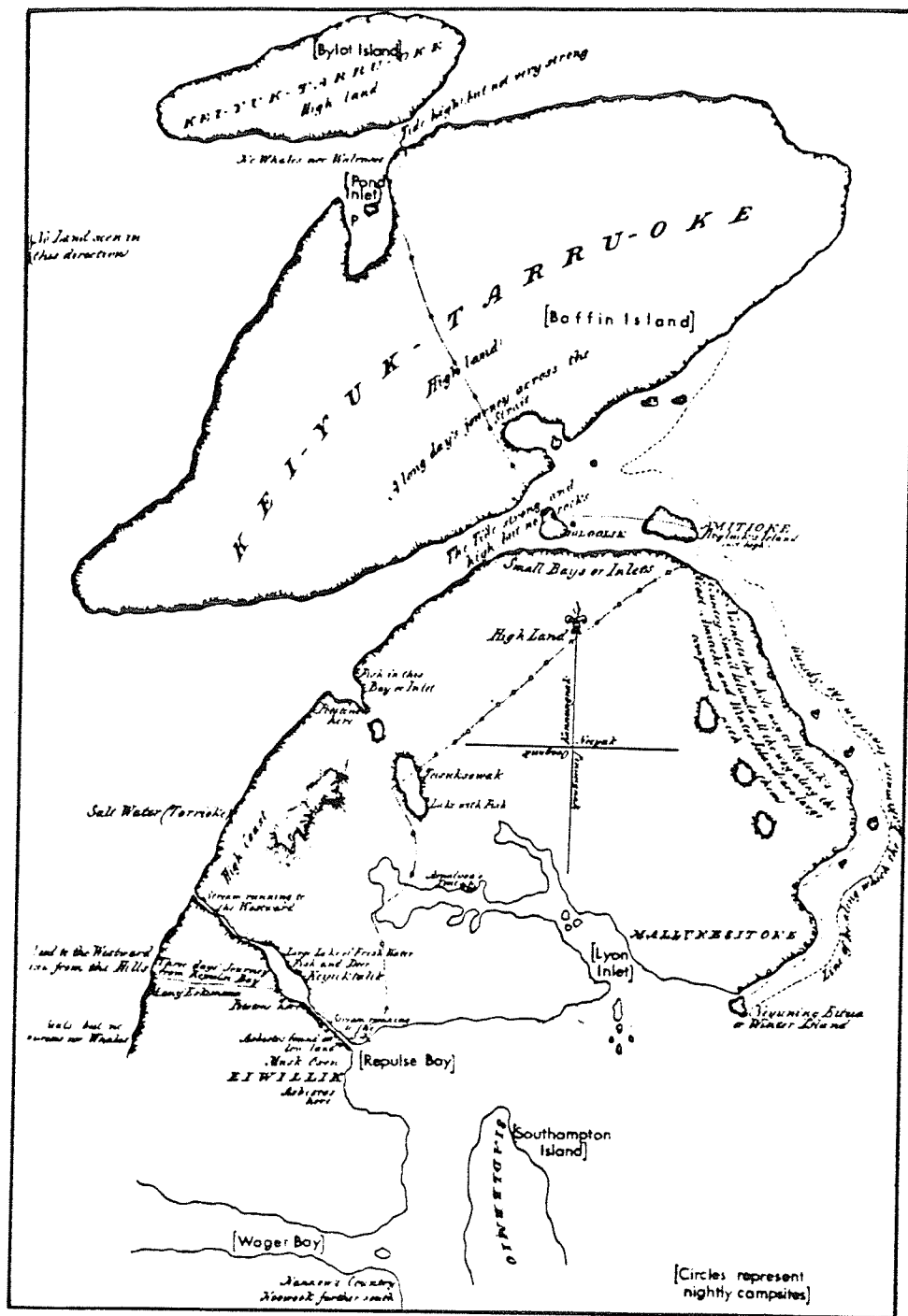


Figure 2-2a Iligliuk's map of Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island (Spink and Moodie 1972:55 [Parry 1824: facing 198]).

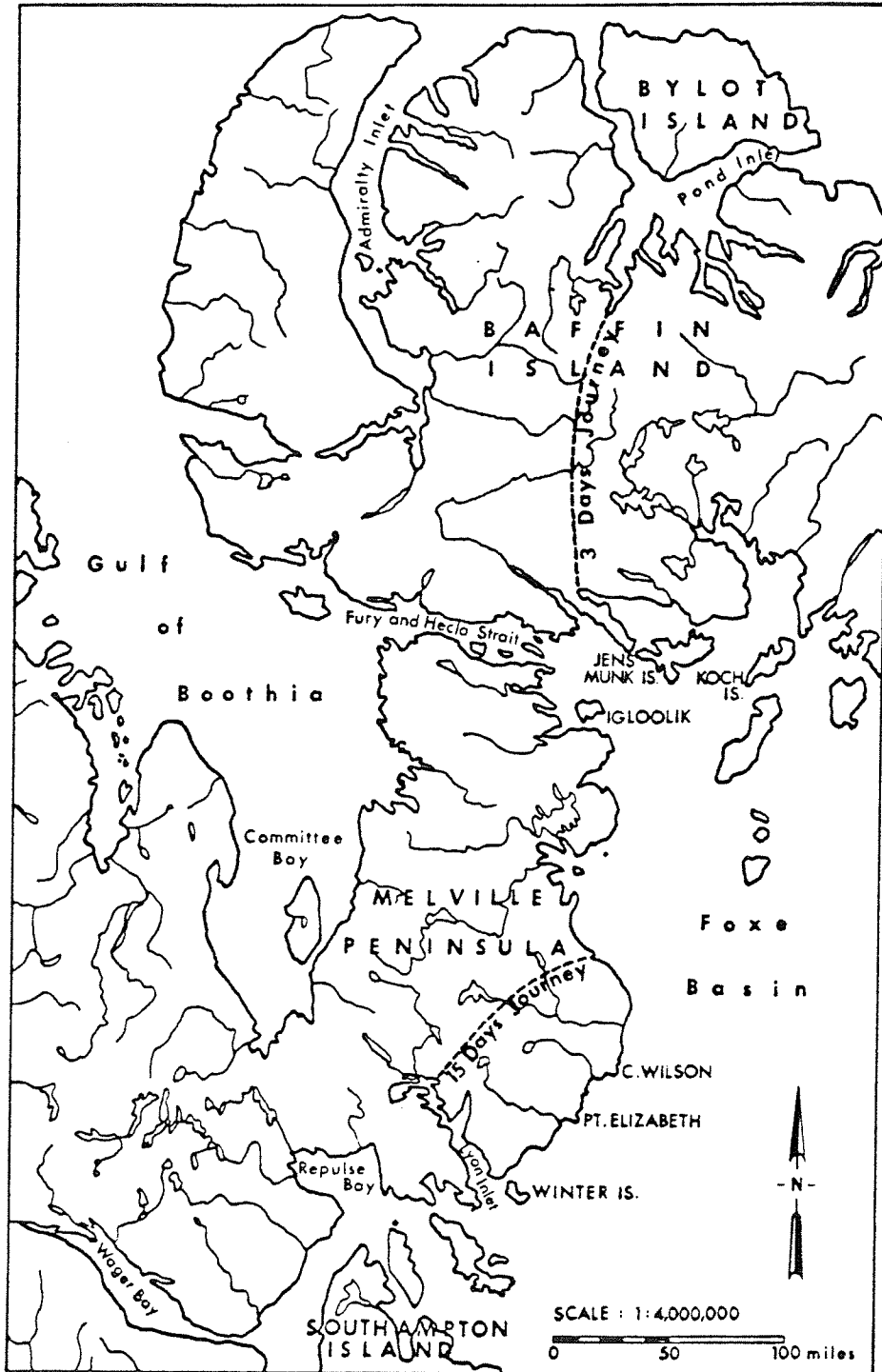


Figure 2-2b Survey map of Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island (Spink and Moodie 1972:54).

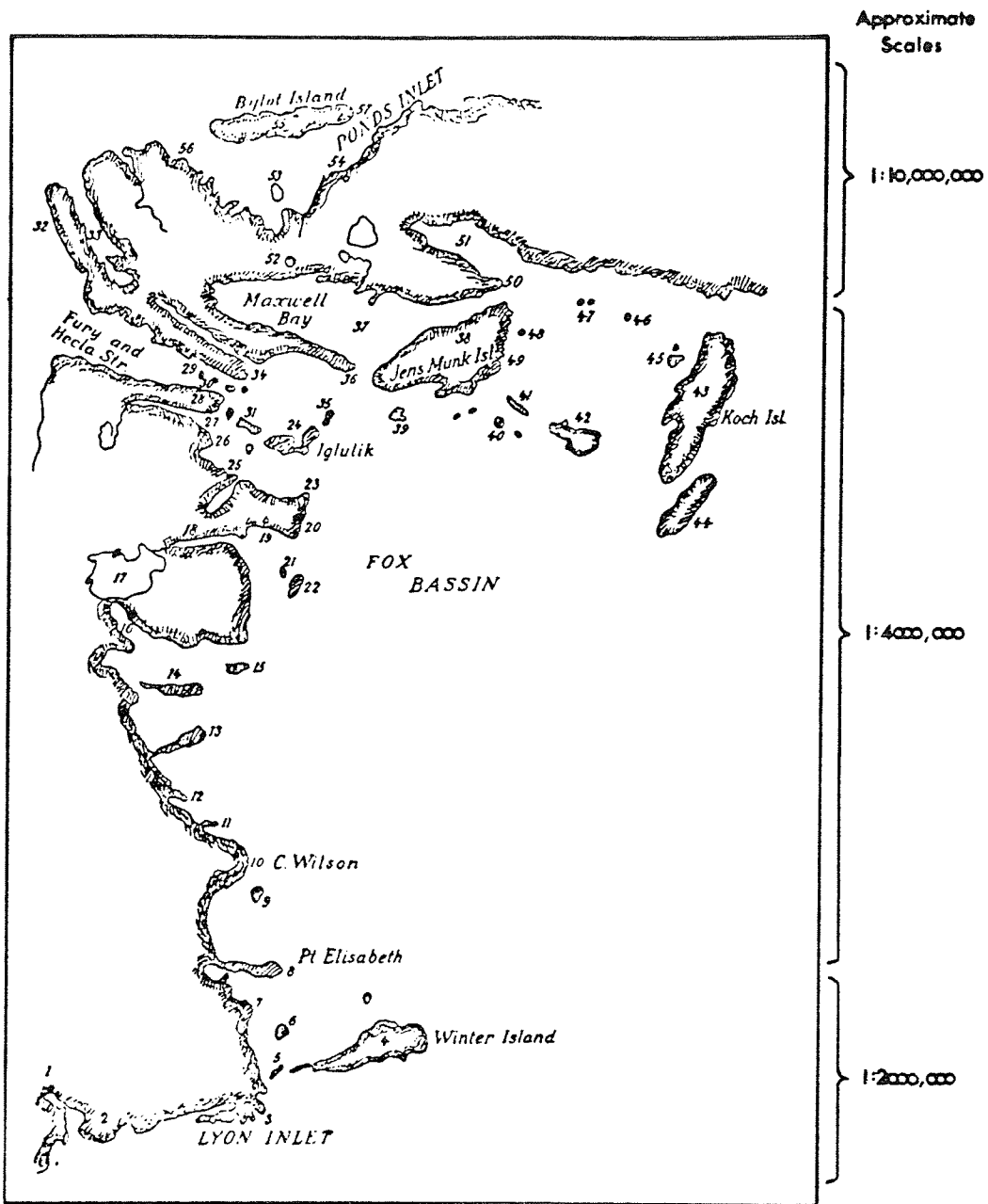


Figure 2-5 Ivaluardjuk's map of the east coast of Melville Peninsula and north Baffin Island (Spink and Moodie 1972:63 [Rasmussen 1930a: facing 98]).

asbestos deposit, and tell where areas of good fishing and hunting could usually be found, as well as describing the tides and obstacles to navigation in Fury and Hecla Strait.

A century later, Ivaluardjuk, also an Iglulingmio, drew maps of the Pond Inlet-Repulse Bay route for the Fifth Thule Expedition. In many ways they were similar to Iligliuk's. Among useful information noted in the verbal instructions accompanying one of his maps (Fig. 2-3) was the location of a peat bog where moss for fires and lamp wicks could be found (Rasmussen 1930b:97-99).

Netsilik cartographers were also familiar with areas outside their own hunting territories. Early in 1830, while Captain John Ross was wintering just north of Lord Mayor's Bay on Boothia Peninsula, Tulluahu and Tiagashu visited the Victory. Shown a chart of Melville Peninsula, they identified Igloolik and Repulse Bay, and named certain individuals living at each place. On request, Tulluahu made a sketch of the route he and Tiagashu had taken to Hudson Bay, marking each overnight camp, nine in all, with a small dot. Tiagashu then drew the coast of Boothia Peninsula to the north, identifying for Ross every place where salmon or other fish could be found in abundance. Tulluahu added several inland lakes, and a nine day route that he said led west to salt water (J. Ross 1835:254-5).

Neither man was entirely satisfied with the maps, saying that a much better geographer in their party should

be brought in to give his opinion. The next day, Tiagashu arrived with "the promised hydrographer," Ikmallik, who made some minor corrections to the sketch of Boothia Peninsula. Shown a naval chart of the Gulf of Boothia from Repulse Bay to Prince Regent Sound, both he and Tiagashu recognized Wager and Repulse Bays, and identified the lakes of Melville Peninsula (J. Ross 1835:259).

Like Tulluahi and Tiagashu, Captain Parry's friend, Toolemak, "a sensible and intelligent man" in all other ways, was not a great draftsman by European standards.

His performance in this way, if taken alone, was not a very intelligible delineation of the coast. By dint however of a great deal of talking on his part, and some exercise of patience on ours, we at length obtained a **copious verbal illustration** of his sketch, which confirmed all our former accounts (Parry 1824:303; emphasis added).

Inuit cartographers as late as 1920 held basic concepts about the purpose, content and style of maps essentially different from European ideas. Their maps contained information relevant to the practical purposes for which they were made. Apparent distortions of distance actually expressed the concept that distance and difficulty are both essential elements in a map's content. The fusion of the two produced information about required travel time. Such information was of critical importance to a traveller who had to know before setting out how many days the route took



occur, making it necessary to carry a kayak or take tools for sled-making. The lack of directional orientation of topographical features was irrelevant in maps whose purpose was to indicate features that formed part of a route rather than to locate them in relation to one another. The absence of features not directly necessary to the following of a route did not reflect ignorance of surrounding terrain, but rather of careful selection of easily recognizable, essential landmarks, and rejection of extraneous information that might cause confusion. The marks that seem so undecipherable in the absence of a legend were not a mystery when the maps were used as the map makers intended them to be used -- as temporary illustrative teaching aids for the transfer of geographical information.

The intimate geographical knowledge displayed by these cartographers suggests that repeated travel over vast distances was not only a normal part of their own lives, but part of their society's life as well. Mathiassen described, for example, an unnamed Tununermio who was familiar with the "whole of the country" between Chesterfield Inlet and Pond Inlet, and had travelled to Piling, North Devon, Cornwallis Island, North Somerset and Prince of Wales Islands as well (Mathiassen 1928:98).

Armou, a resident of Repulse Bay and therefore probably an Aivilingmio, drew a map for Charles Francis Hall in 1866, showing a route from Lancaster Sound to Fort Churchill,

"that he had voyaged and traveled over in his lifetime." Hall estimated the route covered about 966 nautical miles (more than 1100 ground miles or 1770 kilometres) and in Hall's estimation, probably six times that distance in actual miles travelled (Hall 1879:63-64, 225-6) (Fig. 2-4a, 4b).

Other lengthy journeys seem to have been made by many individuals, and in each group that Parry, Ross, Hall and Rasmussen encountered, at least some men and women were able to draw accurate maps. The maps that have survived, and the many others mentioned in the literature provide evidence of an arctic-wide communications network. It is possible to trace the links in the network from the southeast coast of Baffin Island westward to the Mackenzie River valley, and north as far as Devon Island.

Itu, a Nugumio of Cumberland Sound, drew a map of the Cumberland Sound-Frobisher Bay region in the early 1880s showing familiarity with the southeast coast of Baffin Island and parts of the interior (Boas 1964 [1888]:236). Ongerluk, an Iglulingmio, produced a map for Hall at Igloolik in 1868 showing the west coast of Baffin Island from Igloolik as far south as Kujuak Lake. While he was drawing the map, a bystander, Nuliajuk, added the information that from the southernmost point on Ongerluk's map, one could see a mountain near Kujuak, which lay on the route to Cumberland

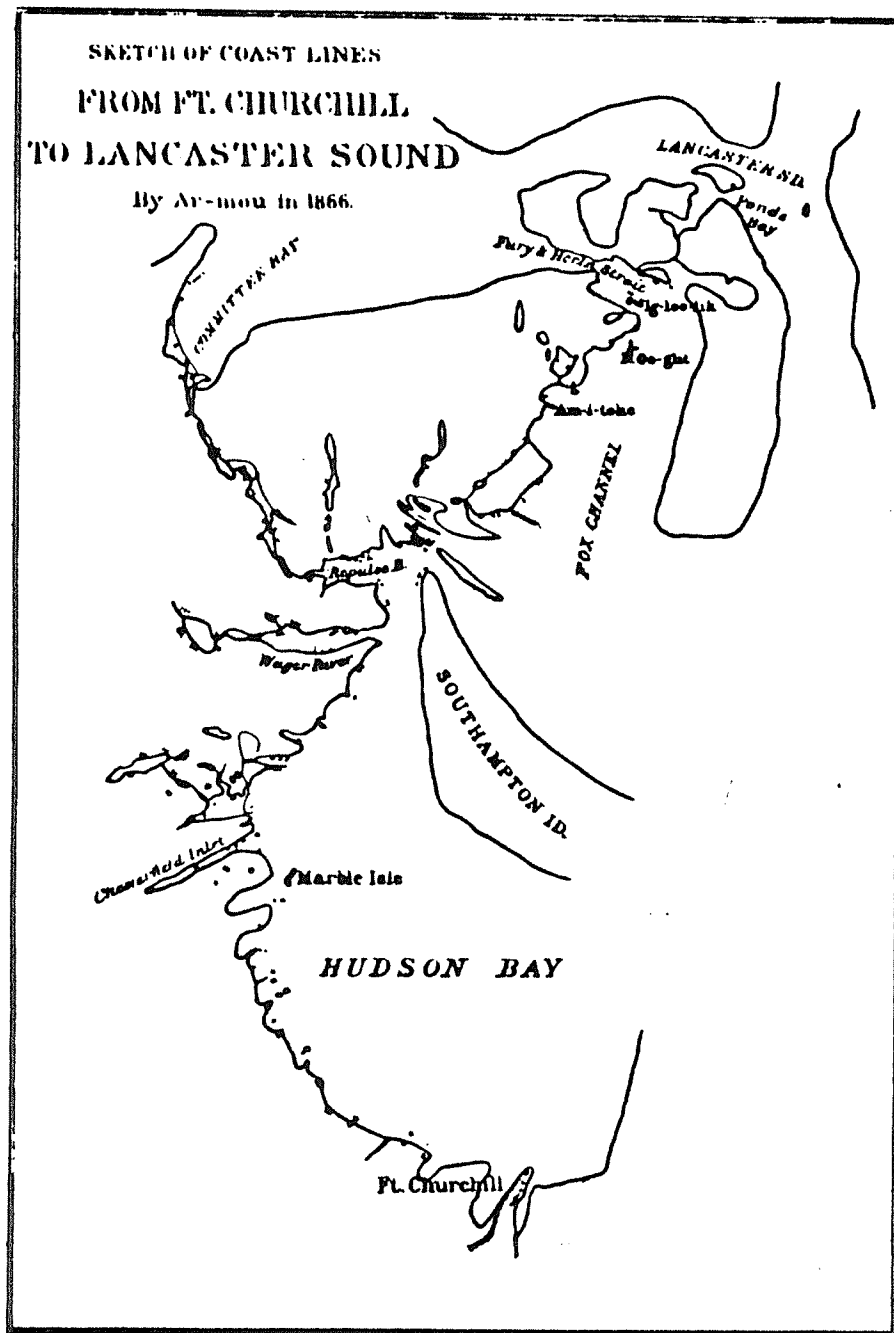


Figure 2-4a Ar-mou's map of coast from Lancaster Sound to Churchill (Spink and Moodie 1972:63 [Hall 1879: facing 225]).

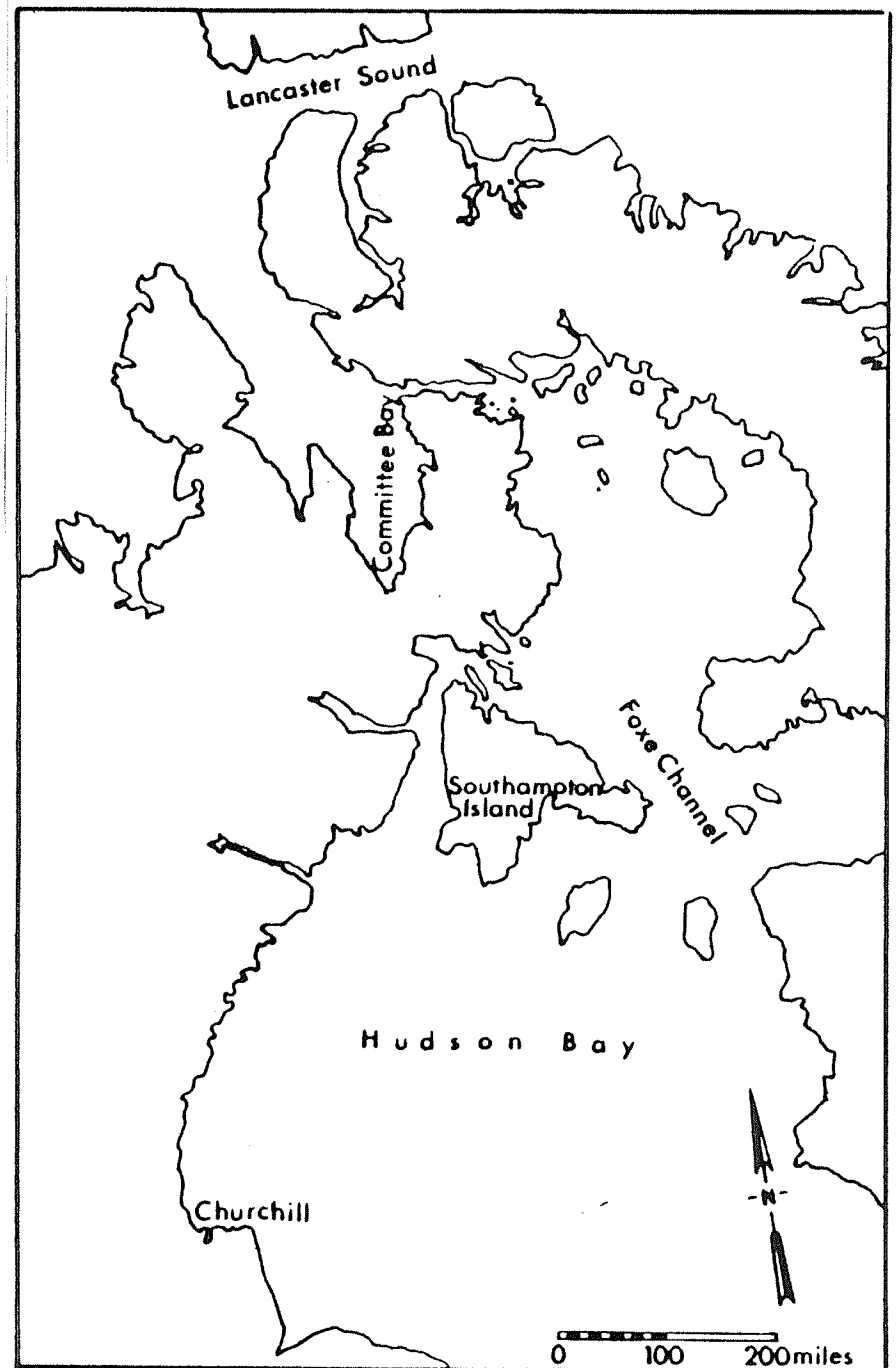


Figure 2-4b Survey map of west coast of Hudson Bay (Spink and Moodie 1972:62).

Sound.<sup>17</sup> Amergoo, another bystander, then volunteered that her birthplace was Cumberland Sound, and that when she and her people emigrated to Igloolik, they travelled west and north on precisely the route drawn and described by Ongerluk and Nuliajuk (Hall 1879:354-5). From this it can be concluded that the people of Cumberland Sound, familiar with the regions of Baffin Island to the south (Boas's evidence), were also familiar with a route westward across Baffin Island, past Kujuak to the coast, and north to Igloolik (Amergoo's evidence). At the same time, the people of Igloolik knew of the route to Kujuak (Ongerluk's evidence) and from there eastward across Baffin Island to Cumberland Sound (Nuliajuk's evidence).

Analysis of other maps and eye-witness account shows that the Igloolik-Cumberland Sound route intersects with the Pond Inlet-Fort Churchill route described by Iligliuk (1822), Armou (1866) and Ivaluardjuk (1922). Yet a third route, described by a Pond Inlet resident, led from Igloolik northward to Devon and Cornwallis Islands, and south again to Somerset and Prince of Wales Islands (Mathiassen 1928:98). The last two islands feature in a map drawn by

---

<sup>17</sup>In his *Narrative of the second arctic expedition* (1879:355) Hall calls the end-point of the route described by Ongerluk, Nuliajuk and Amergoo by the name "Northumberland Inlet." It is clear, however, from his identification of the place as the homeland of Joe and Tookoolitoo Ebierbing (442-3) that he meant Cumberland Sound.

Itqilik, a Netsilingmiot, showing the hunting grounds of his band as far south as the Boothia Isthmus (Rasmussen 1931c: facing page 106).

Several maps of the Caribou Eskimo bands, collected by Rasmussen, overlap with those of the Iglulingmiut on the northeast and with the Netsilingmiut on the northwest. Two of Igjugarjuk's charts, already described, link Churchill with Chantrey Inlet by way of an inland route. Chantrey Inlet appears again in a map of the area from Baker Lake west to Adelaide Peninsula, King William Island, and Queen Maud Gulf, drawn by the Netsilingmiot, Ipuitsiq (Rasmussen 1931: facing 480).

Maps drawn by individuals from Baffin Island, Igloodik, Caribou, Netsilik and Copper Eskimo bands show that each band knew of routes leading to neighbouring territories, and sometimes beyond. The range and overlapping of areas familiar to different bands indicate that communication between neighbouring groups was easy and frequent, confirming the evidence of most explorers and other observers. Communication between widely-separated bands was also entirely possible and not particularly difficult, even, as Stefansson (1914:8) suggested, between groups as far apart as Siberia and Greenland.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE KEEWATIN INUIT AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The miuts of the southern Keewatin in the eighteenth century were not the same as those identified by the Fifth Thule Expedition in the 1920s. Some of them did not exist before about 1700. Using documentary, linguistic and archaeological evidence in a well-reasoned argument against Inuit occupation of the southern Keewatin before the eighteenth century, Ernest S. Burch (1978) suggested that the people of Roes Welcome arrived there via the coast from the Coronation Gulf area sometime after A.D. 1000 when Thule culture people spread from Alaska to Greenland over the course of a few centuries. Because of the Chipewyan occupation of the southern Keewatin, the immigrants were prevented from moving south of Rankin Inlet. Late in the fifteenth century, a group of Coronation Gulf people left the arctic coast in response to deteriorating climatic conditions brought about by the Little Ice Age, and moved overland towards Baker Lake. From there they joined and assimilated with the Thule-descended bands already in residence, or replaced them, or both. By 1715, they were just beginning to move south along the coast and up the rivers that empty into the Chesterfield Inlet-Baker Lake-

Thelon River waterway into areas seasonally vacated by the Chipewyan.

The archaeology of the coast supports Burch's interpretation. The oldest known sites, found between Rankin Inlet and Wager Bay, indicate a Thule presence, arriving from the north in the twelfth century, and subsequently occupying the region continuously into historic times (McCartney 1971:717,726). Between Rankin Inlet and Cape Eskimo, superficial surveys have revealed house ruins tentatively identified as ancient Dorset sites (Mathiassen 1927:107), some undated house ruins that may be Thule (Birket-Smith 1929:5-11), and an abundance of historic material (Clark 1977:108-114). South of Cape Eskimo, little archaeological work has been done, but surveys indicate no prehistoric sites.<sup>18</sup>

The observations of explorers and traders on the bay coast also support the notion that Inuit did not occupy the area before 1718. When the Hudson's Bay Company built its post at the mouth of the Churchill River in 1717, Inuit had never been seen by Europeans on the northwest coast of Hudson Bay, and there are no records of encounters between them during the period. The first European to land on that

---

<sup>18</sup>Burch's theory also explains all the archaeological, linguistic and documentary problems relating to the occupation of the middle Thelon River area and the linguistic and cultural affinities between Caribou and Copper Eskimo groups.

coast was Jens Munk, who saw no natives, either Inuit or Chipewyan (Munk 1980 [1620]:20). For a century following Munk's 1619 landfall in the Churchill River estuary, European visitors saw only graves, ruins and abandoned sites along the west coast. In 1631 and 1632, Captains Luke Foxe and Thomas James saw neither inhabitants nor recent campsites. In 1686, an exploration party of Hudson's Bay Company men from York Factory found similar types of ruins at the mouth of the Churchill River (Cooke and Holland 1970:323; Knight 1932 [1717]:18), but again there was no apparent resident population. Three years later, a party of men sent from York Factory to build a whale fishery remained at the Churchill River from April to August without seeing a single native person. During that time, Henry Kelsey and a Chipewyan youth, hoping to locate resident populations of Chipewyan, sailed about sixty miles (100 kilometers) to the north until heavy ice stopped them at Hubbard Island from where they walked a further 120 miles (200 kilometers) to Cape Eskimo<sup>19</sup> meeting no one along the way. Kelsey's

---

<sup>19</sup>Cape Eskimo is the peninsula on the southern edge of Knapp's Bay about 300 kilometers north of Churchill, the site of the twentieth century settlement of Eskimo Point. The same name was used by the fur traders during the eighteenth and nineteenth century to designate a camp site at the mouth of the Churchill River used by the Inuit on their trading trips to the fort after 1790. In 1989, the more northerly Eskimo Point was renamed Arviat, which means 'the place of the bowhead whale.' To minimize confusion over these place names, the pre-twentieth century names used by the traders and the Inuit will be used.



Markentin and Ruggles say that the map was "drawn for James Knight by several Northern Indians" and that "the original sketch was made by Knight" (1970:86). Possibly they mean that a map was drawn by one or more Chipewyan and copied by Knight who added place names and comments before sending it to London. Additions were made later in London, the most obvious being a comment about Captain Middleton's voyage to Wager Inlet in 1741-42.

Yathkyed and Dubawnt Lakes and the upper Kazan and Dubawnt the southern Keewatin interior, Chipewyan territory included shared territory. As late as 1770-72 when Hearne crossed and inland, were either Chipewyan territory or in some sense was established, the areas south of Rankin Inlet, both coast northern neighbours suggests that when the post at Churchill of Churchill and with the approximate whereabouts of their Chipewyan familiarity with the coast immediately north 1970:87).<sup>20</sup> No European had yet seen these inhabitants. and inhabit along this shore" (Markentin and Ruggles along the coast north of Whale Cove where "Usqueways began south of Chesterfield Inlet was occupied by Chipewyan except James Knight at York Factory in 1716 indicated that the area "Native map seventeen rivers beyond Churchill," given to Chipewyan and Cree information. For instance, the so-called inhabited the coast north of Churchill was based on The European belief that an as yet unknown race lived somewhere to the north. different people, considered hostile to his own countrymen, companion, unfamiliar with the area, knew only that a

Rivers, at least in the summer when the caribou moved into the barren lands.

The offshore islands south of Rankin Inlet were also frequented by Chipewyan in summer (Hearne 1958 [1795]:217n) as well as by Inuit. On Captain Scroggs' 1722 voyage to Roes Welcome in the Whalebone, the Chipewyan hunters who accompanied him asked to be put ashore near Marble Island, saying they were within a few days' walking distance of their own country (Ellis 1748:81). A similar incident occurred in 1742, when hunters accompanying Captain Middleton left the ship at Marble Island, expecting to be at their homes within a few days (B42/a/23;<sup>21</sup> Middleton 1748:81<sup>22</sup>). The reports do not mention encounters between the returning hunters and Inuit, or the nature of any such meetings, but they do suggest that the two groups either shared their border regions or felt reasonably secure in crossing the boundaries. The Chipewyan range did not, however, include Chesterfield Inlet. William Christopher noted in 1762 that the northern Indians were "not acquainted

---

<sup>21</sup>Citations in this form indicate documents in the Hudson's Bay Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba. For full citation see Sources.

<sup>22</sup>See also Arthur Dobbs who claimed that the two men were put ashore against their wishes, "some hundred miles distant from their own country" in an area where they were surrounded by their enemies (1742:96). Dobbs' knowledge of both country and events was second-hand and his interpretations were coloured by a strong prejudice against the Hudson's Bay Company.

with that river" (B42/a/57, August 5-6, 1762). The northernmost limit of Chipewyan territory, then, was somewhere south of Rankin Inlet both inland and on the coast.

If Inuit were not living on the coast south of Rankin Inlet in the seventeenth century, they were certainly there in 1718 and later, although in small numbers and for short periods in the summers only. Hudson's Bay Company sloops found them at Knapp's Bay, Nevil's Bay, Whale Cove and Marble Island on at least thirty occasions between 1719 and 1790. They did not, however, spend the winters there, and the Company's men believed they wintered inland from their summer camps. In 1762, Moses Norton identified a river just north of Knapp's Bay as the route between the summer and winter quarters of the Knapp's Bay band (B42/a/58, July 20, 1762). A young man from Marble Island, brought to Churchill to learn English in 1771, told Captain Thomas Robinson, master of the Charlotte, that his people went to the mainland, that is Rankin Inlet, and inland to their winter quarters (Graham 1791:241). In 1778, the Charlotte reached Nevil's Bay and Whale Cove in late July only to find the summer camps dismantled and the people gone. The captain assumed they had gone inland for the winter (B42/a/99). Hearne believed that the people living south of Rankin Inlet, who were seen regularly every summer at Knapp's Bay, Nevil's Bay and Whale Cove, wintered at Yathkyed Lake. In

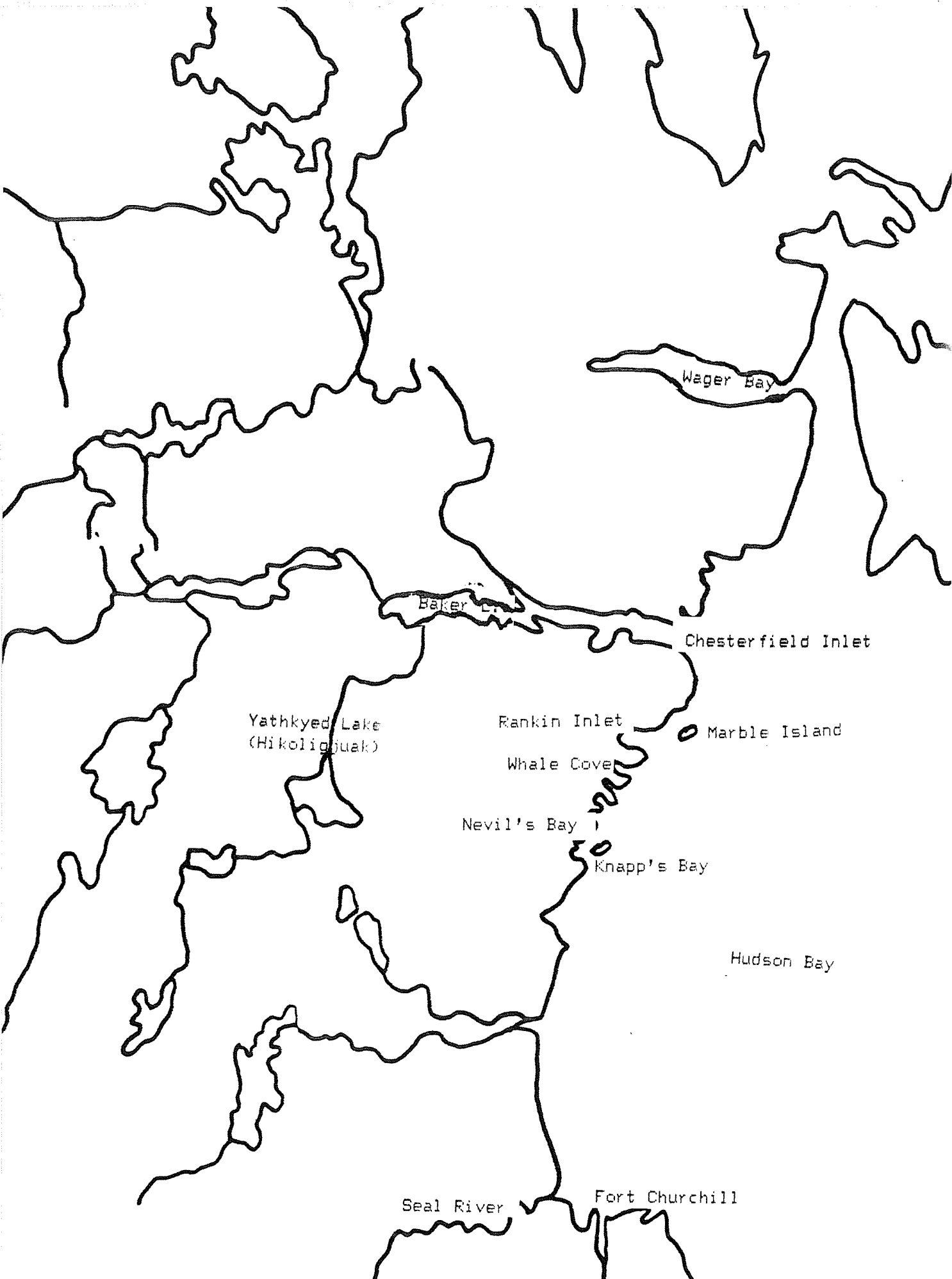


Figure 3 West coast of Hudson Bay north of Churchill

1790 the London Committee's decision to send Captain Charles Duncan to Chesterfield Inlet to look for a link between the inlet and Yathkyed Lake was based on a belief that the coast people spent the winters at a single, large village or encampment "where Mr Hearne says all the Esquimaux winter that are seen by the Churchill sloop in summer" (C7/175:4).

At Baker Lake, itself an inland lake, the same pattern was evident. Moses Norton's journal of his trip to Baker Lake on the Churchill in 1762 reported that the people who usually summered on the lake wintered up the Kazan River.

We chaulked out the river and lake and made signs we wanted a large river and woods, etc., but they chaulked out that the little rivulet with the falls in which we was and **up which they go to their winter quarters** and they made sines there was no other river here but that and that the woods was a great way up" (B42/a/58, August 12, 1762). [Emphasis added]

Thirty years later, Charles Duncan on the Beaver sailed up Chesterfield Inlet to Baker Lake and back between August 1 and September 3 without seeing any Inuit, and assumed they had gone to their winter camps (C205).

When the Hudson's Bay Company established itself at Churchill in 1717, then, the coast inhabitants appear to have been fairly new arrivals, occupying offshore islands and a narrow strip of coast during summer and the near hinterland in winter when the Chipewyan had withdrawn west and south. The southern limit of Inuit occupation was

Knapp's Bay and the western limit Hikoligjuak or Yathkyed Lake.

The first encounter between Inuit and European on the west coast of Hudson Bay apparently took place in the summer of 1718 and was repeated annually for five years. "Large numbers" of Eskimo were on the coast somewhere north of Churchill in the summer of 1718 when Kelsey sent David Vaughan on a northward voyage to find and make contact with them. Vaughan failed to record the exact latitude of the meeting or meetings, and if he described events in any detail, his report has not survived. It did, however, rekindle Kelsey's interest in seeing the region and its people for himself (B239/b/1, June 20, 1719)). In 1719 he sailed north in the Prosperous, with Captain John Hancock in the Success as companion. "Many" people were camped at latitude 62° 40', Whale Cove, when Kelsey arrived. They agreed to two kinds of trade. The first transaction involved "some Whalebone Oyle and some Sea Horse teeth" (B239/b/1:2,17,25), presumably in exchange for trade goods which Kelsey did not identify. The second transaction was the exchange of emissaries. Kelsey had taken two Indian slave boys, named Andrew and Daniel,<sup>23</sup> with him, and his offer to exchange them with the Whale Cove people for two of

---

<sup>23</sup>The journals contain no information about whether Andrew and Daniel were Chipewyan or Cree, or how they came to be 'slaves.' It is unclear exactly what meaning the traders and journalists attached to the word 'slave.'

their own boys was accepted. He renamed them Sharper and Jerry. His motive was to use them, once they had learned English language and habits, as goodwill ambassadors to the Inuit community. Inuit motives are more difficult to discern. In view of later incidents of Inuit parents giving temporary custody of their children to the traders, they may have had basically the same ends in mind -- the education of some band members in English language, customs, and technology to enable them to benefit from their relations with the newcomers.

Over the winter, as Kelsey had hoped, the "ladds ... proved very agreeable" and learned English quickly (B239/b/1:25). They returned north the next year, 1720, with Captain Hancock, whose orders were to sail to latitude 61° ,

seeking Eskimos and trading with them, being sure to treat [them] very civilly.... to inquire and discover the best river or safe harbour that shall be most convenient for those people to bring their commodities to.... When you come to Lake's Cove you are to deliver the Esquimoe called Sharper to his friends and take one or both the Complanlies slaves viz Andrelw or Daniel as you see best and you are to persuade the Esquimoe wee call Jerry to proceed to the northward with you assuring them that you will bring him to his friends as you returne and you will give him good at any time you leave him (B239/b/1:29).

Andrew and Daniel, as it turned out, had not survived the winter (B239/a/5, August 10, 1720), but the families and friends of Sharper and Jerry were pleased at their safe return, and friendly relations were established between the

Inuit and the Company's representatives. The miut did not agree to the London Committee's suggestion that Jerry remain with the sloop as interpreter, and, like Sharper, he stayed with his people. The miut benefited by whatever knowledge and skills the boys had learned at the fort. For the Company, the experiment involved both profit and loss. It cost them not just the expenses of the two boys for a year, but the services of the two Indian "slaves" who did not live through the winter. On the plus side of the ledger, when Kelsey and Richard Norton sailed in the Prosperous in 1722, it was to "an established rendez-vous with the Eskimos" at Whale, or Lake's, Cove (Williams 1962:21).

Whatever benefits the Company or the Inuit might have expected to follow the establishment of friendly relations between them did not come to fruition, at least for the next fifteen years. On the 1722 voyage, Captain Scroggs met and traded half-heartedly with a few Inuit groups on the northward voyage to Chesterfield Inlet, where he reversed at the first sign of difficulty, in this case ice at the entrance of Roes Welcome, and put into Marble Island. The Inuit on the island were aware of or had previously met white men -- they had ship's fittings and other items from the Albany and the Discovery, ships that had sailed from England under the command of James Knight in 1719 in search of the rich mines described by the Indians (Williams 1962:25). The loss of the Knight expedition and the low



returns from the trading voyages checked any desire on the part of the Company and its men to venture into the dangerous and unprofitable arctic, and the tenuous, newly established contact and commerce between cultures was temporarily ended by the Europeans.

In 1737, in a new attempt to establish an Inuit trade, the Company sent two sloops, the Churchill under Captain James Napper, and the Musquash under Captain Robert Crowe, north to Whale Cove with instructions to arrange annual trade meetings with the Inuit. The five-week voyage resulted in a return for the Company of 100 pounds of whalebone, twenty pounds of ivory, three barrels of blubber, and some narwhal tusks described as "unicorn" horns (B42/a/17:44; A6/5:10; A11/13:40). During six nearly identical voyages between 1738 and 1744, the Inuit brought similar amounts of the same products to trade. The trip described in Captain Francis Smith's 1744 log (B42/a/26) was typical of the trading voyages between 1737 and 1755. The Churchill left the fort on July 1<sup>24</sup> and arrived at Knapp's Bay seven days later. No inhabitants were visible upon the ship's arrival, but they were within earshot and responded

---

<sup>24</sup>The Julian (Old Style) calendar year was longer than the solar year, and by the sixteenth century the vernal equinox was ten days out of place. The Gregorian (New Style) calendar, adopted by Roman Catholic countries in 1582, set this right by moving New Year's to January 1, instead of March 1, and dropping the ten days between March 11 and March 21. England adopted the new calendar in 1752.

to the ship's guns. On July 8, ten "cances," that is, kayaks, came out to the ship ready to trade. A day later, in a new anchorage a few leagues<sup>25</sup> distant, eight canoes arrived, six from one side of the cove and two from the other. On July 10, Smith moved about three leagues farther up the bay where he found one tent occupied by one family who had one bag of oil for him. He worked the sloop down the cove, seeing no more camps, tents, or people on the beach, and set his course northward.

At Whale Cove five days later, the beach again seemed deserted. People did not appear in response to Smith's guns until twenty-four hours later. On July 16, thirty-seven canoes came alongside at one time, loaded with whale oil and bone. Few visitors came the next day; on July 18 there were none; and on July 19, only two. The people made no response to the guns on July 20, and Smith, concluding that they had no more products to trade (B42/a/26:33), headed back to the fort. For the Inuit, trading was not a procedure to be drawn out, nor was it accompanied by any kind of social activity that involved the traders; they traded what they had and went about their business.

---

<sup>25</sup>A league is a linear measure that can vary from about 4 kilometers to 7.5 kilometers.

Country items taken in trade were seven pelts -- five wolf, two wolverine and one marten; twelve hogsheads<sup>26</sup> of whale oil; eighty pounds of whale fin; and 112 pounds of whalebone.

Items traded or given to the people were<sup>27</sup> :

3 pounds beads	6 middling hatchets	9 pairs hawks' bells
9 fire steels	15 small hatchets	24 coat buttons
24 awls	12 bayonets	60 waistcoat buttons
4 ivory combs	6 pair scissors	5 alchemy spoons
3 mirrors	9 ice chisels	3 scrapers
27 plain rings	83 knives	
7 seal rings	45 quilting needles	

(B42/a/26:38)

Beads, bells, combs, rings, mirrors and needles were among the articles listed as presents. The people's choices were, for the most part, useful additions to hunting equipment.

Two changes in the trading pattern began in 1754. One was the purchase of provisions locally. On earlier voyages, the sloops' crews, usually including one or two Chipewyan hunters, had hunted and set fish nets to supply their own table. On the 1754 voyage, Captain Walker counted fewer than 150 people on the coast and island between Knapp's Bay

---

<sup>26</sup>A hogshead in American usage is equal to 63 gallons. In other usage it can contain anywhere from 63 to 140 gallons.

<sup>27</sup>Smith's books did not quite balance. There are differences between the quantities of goods traded listed in the daily journal and the lists at the end of the journal. There are also small discrepancies between the list of goods taken from the Fort Churchill stores, and those traded or returned. Smith did not mention gifts in the journal's daily entries, but he did make several short lists headed "Presents" on the back page and cover of the journal.

and Marble Island, and traded only insignificant amounts of the usual items -- thirty or forty pounds of whalebone and about a tun<sup>28</sup> of oil. But on July 21, he made the first purchase of food supplies from the Inuit -- one hundred pounds of deer<sup>29</sup> flesh and twelve tongues. The offer to trade provisions seems to have originated with the Inuit. The Churchill anchored at Knapp's Bay just after 6 p.m. on July 20, firing her guns to alert the natives. During the bright night hours, Walker had the men set two fishnets and sent the Indian hunters inland after deer. Before they returned, the Inuit arrived to trade, offering venison, tongues, and oil. The timing of the incident indicates that the residents had the meat and oil in readiness for the ship, and in response to the call of her guns, brought them to the anchorage. Caribou were not abundant in the area that year -- the Indian hunters returned after twenty-four hours with only one animal, in the following twenty-four hours killed only one more, and for the next twelve days, until the ship headed south, were unable to find or kill any

---

<sup>28</sup>A tun refers to a cask used especially for wine containing unspecified amounts of liquid, but most frequently being equal to 252 gallons.

<sup>29</sup>Terms used by Company journalists to refer to the barren land caribou included caribou, deer, and reindeer, and its meat and skins as venison, deerflesh, deerskin, reindeer meat, and so on indiscriminately. As late as the 1960s, 'deer' was still the word most commonly used by both Inuit and non-Inuit residents of west Hudson Bay when speaking English. The Inuktitut 'tuktu' was used to describe caribou, reindeer, deer, and most other cervines.

others. That professional hunters with guns were unsuccessful in finding game suggests that considerable forethought lay behind the Inuit possession of at least twelve caribou and a hundredweight of meat, which they had transported from some inland point to the trading rendezvous.

Another change in the pattern of trade was also instigated by the Inuit. Visitors to the ship saw kettles in possession of the ships' cook and wanted them. Walker noted in the trade summary for the voyage that of twelve one-quart tin pots on board for the use of the crew, five had been sold to Inuit, and of twelve one-pint pots, eight had been sold (B42/a/43). Trade goods the next year included sixteen large and sixteen small tin pots, all of which were traded, and a dozen saucepans, of which eight were sold (B42/a/45). The customers had begun to make their preferences known. Pots, kettles, and sauce pans became staple trade items, as did tobacco after its introduction in 1762.

In 1755, Inuit wishes prompted Captain John Bean, the new master of the Churchill, to make yet another change in the usual trading routine. Instead of waiting for the people to come alongside the ship in their kayaks, carrying what whalebone and oil they could, Bean organized shore parties which he led himself, and visited all the tents at each camp. "At 10 am went on shore with 5 men well armed to

trade with the natives for at this place they do not bring their oil off themselves" (B42/a/45:10). He took with him samples of pelts, and on discovering two wolf skins in one of the tents, traded for them and encouraged the people to get more. From then on, the country products traded to the sloops included pelts of various kinds, venison, and salmon.

Seventeen-fifty-five, that year of many changes, was also the year of the most obviously dramatic event in the eighteenth century coastal trade, which befell one Inuit camp at Knapp's Bay with immediate and tragic consequences. It was, in part, the result of Chipewyan and Inuit co-occupation of the coast.

The means by which Chipewyan and Inuit had instituted and maintained a shared-territory relationship during the early eighteenth century are impossible to reconstruct. European observations suggest that their relations ranged from hostility amounting to war to peaceful coexistence. Kelsey, on the basis of Chipewyan information, believed that poor relations were the norm. He wrote the London Committee in February, 1719, that, for the good of the trade, the Company must "deter those Indians from warring against the Esquimaoes" (B239/b/1:26).

Hearne also believed that Chipewyan-Inuit relations were generally stormy.

The only protection the Esquimaux have from the fury of their enemies, is their remote situation in Winter, and their residing chiefly on islands and peninsulas in Summer, which renders them less

liable to be surprised during that Season. But even this secluded life does not prevent them Northern Indians from harassing them greatly (Hearne 1958 [1795]:217n).

A violent encounter in the point and counterpoint of Inuit-Chipewyan relations took place in 1725 when "the Usquomays had been to warr with them [Chipewyan] & had murdered Severall of them also they found the Albany friggot where she was lost" (B42/a/5:24). If the "warr" and the discovery of the wrecked Albany occurred in the same place, the area can be identified as Marble Island.

Not all encounters ended in bloodshed, however. The Churchill journalist of 1721 recorded a conversation with a Chipewyan who said that he and his people had traded with the Eskimo the previous summer, that is in 1720, having seen "a great quantity of them and that they had made a peace with them; they saying that they traded together they giving them knives and alls, the other returning small copper lances and arrow heads" (B42/a/1:127).

An incident in Wager Bay in 1747, described by Charles Swaine, a member of the California's crew, suggests that some kind of intercultural, co-residential activities took place at least occasionally. Swaine saw two people dressed in Inuit-style clothing, speaking Eskimo, and freely participating in Inuit camp life, although they were "in

Complexion<sup>30</sup> and Manner, very different from the Eskimaux," and appeared to be novices at using kayaks (Swaine 1748 cited in Smith and Burch 1979:81; Janes 1973:44). As Smith and Burch point out:

The significant point is the probability that here were two Chipewyan, alive and well and living with Inuit in some capacity or other, at least 300 kilometers to the northeast of the outer extremity of known Chipewyan territory (Smith and Burch 1979:81).

Even Hearne, witness to the Bloody Falls massacre, commented on the amicable encounters that sometimes took place. Matonabee, for instance, had been to the Copper River area before his 1771 trip with Hearne and had given the people presents (Hearne 1958 [1795]:224n).

The incident at Knapp's Bay in 1755 happened partly because Inuit and Chipewyan frequented neighbouring and overlapping territories, and partly because the Hudson's Bay Company, on the basis of Chipewyan descriptions of the hostility between them, chose to separate its encounters with the two groups. The Chipewyan had for some time been complaining that the Company made special concessions to the Inuit by sending sloops to their camps to trade, while insisting that they, the Chipewyan, walk a distance of some 150 kilometers to trade at the fort (B42/a/45, July 15;

---

<sup>30</sup>Janes' paraphrase of Swaine's description is "an individual of markedly fairer complexion [than the Eskimo], completely unacquainted with the management of a kayak. Yet, he did speak the Eskimo language."



B42/a/47:2). Captain Bean's orders in 1755 were to trade at the usual places with the Inuit, and with them only, ignoring all Chipewyan efforts to participate in the sloop trade. On the second or third day at sea, Bean saw a smoke signal, and recognized it as the usual means by which the Chipewyan indicated that they wanted to trade. Following orders, Bean ignored the signal and made the usual round from Knapp's Bay to Whale Cove and back to Churchill. In November, a Chipewyan hunter employed by the Company met a band of his compatriots who told him they had signalled for the boat to stop and trade with them, believing that the Company ought to give them the same service it gave the Inuit. Being ignored, they shadowed the sloop along the coast, arriving at Knapp's Bay in time to see the trading between Inuit and the Churchill, and attacked the camp as soon as the boat sailed, killing some sixteen or eighteen people. On the next year's voyage, Bean went ashore at Knapp's Bay and saw "all the fatal proof ... clothes all tore, bones lying around, tents lying all in a heap"

(B42/a/47:2).<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>Hearne puts the incident in 1756, the number of deaths at more than forty, and the reason for the attack as revenge for the deaths of two Chipewyan leaders attributed to Inuit conjuring. He also commented that for some years after the massacre no Eskimo were seen at Knapp's Bay, although he records in the same paragraph that the people there in 1756 sent a young man to spend the winter at Churchill, which agrees with the evidence of the Company's journals (Hearne 1795:217-18n). Since the events took place eleven years before Hearne joined the Company in 1766, he

(continued...)

The Chipewyan insistence on trading at the coast near their summer homes is an example of their unwillingness to be managed by the Hudson's Bay Company. That the Company tried to separate the Chipewyan and Inuit trade, and thought of the two groups as separate sets of customers is evident in Bean's 1755 orders and from the list of goods commonly carried for the Inuit trade -- there were no guns, powder, or shot, no tobacco, and none of the clothing, medals and regalia that the Company used when designating trading captains among the Indians. That the Chipewyan and Inuit thought of themselves as non-communicating 'nations' is not so clear.

In the two decades following the Knapp's Bay massacre, Chipewyan came more frequently, and in increasing numbers, to meet the sloop. By 1764, peaceful coexistence of the two groups at Knapp's Bay was taken for granted by the Company's men.

Some of the N[orthern] I[ndians] has been with some of the Esquimays Last Summer about the Cape & Traffick with them for their Trinkets &c, and is now Tollerably well Reconciled with each other as

---

<sup>91</sup>(...continued)

must have heard the story at second or third hand. No doubt with the passage of more than a decade, the story had changed somewhat. That Hearne recorded the incident as he heard it is not surprising. Richard Glover, in editing Hearne's memoirs, did not set the record straight, even though he had access to Bean's log and other Company records. In writing the introduction to Andrew Graham's Observations, he repeated the errors. Hearne's uncorrected version of events is frequently cited in the secondary literature.

they have always been bitter Enemys hitherto (B42/a/62, November 16).

In spite of assurances of truce between the two groups, the Company continued to make efforts to separate them, and to warn them away from violence. At Knapp's Bay in 1764, Magnus Johnston set different trading hours for them, and kept two lists of trade goods expended and country goods taken on board. In 1765 he reported seven tents and about thirty souls among the Eskimo and a "large gang of Nor" Indians to the number of 60 or 70 with venison to Trade" (B42/a/63, July 19). On July 20 he traded first with the Indians, who wanted powder and shot in return for venison and twenty-one pelts; later in the day he traded with the Inuit, who brought seal oil and two wolf skins. On the 21st, the Indian trade was again conducted in the morning, the Indians bringing twelve marten pelts, one black bear skin, and more venison. The Inuit came out to the boat later, but had nothing to trade. Recognizing a trusted Chipewyan named Hissty among the Indian traders, Johnston took him aside and talked to him about the importance of keeping the peace. Hissty agreed, telling the ship captain that he intended to camp on the borders of Inuit territory, and promising that if they made friendly overtures, he would teach them how to trap furs to trade (B42/a/63, July 22).

In 1766, Magnus Johnston counted three Inuit tents and twenty-seven Chipewyan ones (B42/a/65, July 23). In 1770 he

complained that so many Chipewyan were coming that the trade goods ran out before the voyage was half done (B42/a/81). The Chipewyan presence was reflected in the stock assortment list, which included blankets, yard goods, brandy, fish hooks, powder and shot after 1765.

Johnston attempted to introduce the Inuit to the trading captain system used by the Company with some Indian groups, with interesting results.

[I warned them] not to be at variance with the Northern Indians and showed the Cape & Sword which the Gov. had sent by me to give to the most likely person whom I thought might have the greater influence over the rest, which they seemingly all Very readily agreed to (B42/a/63, July 19, 1765).

He gave the tokens of esteem to an "ancient ould man." Forty-eight hours later the "ould man" brought them back to Johnston, explaining that he was afraid of his countrymen's jealousy if he accepted them. No one could persuade him to change his mind. A few days later, Johnston and his interpreter tried to convince another member of the band to come to Churchill, which he agreed someday to do, meanwhile offering to trade his thirteen-year old son for six or seven Made Beaver worth of trade goods. Along with the goods, Johnston bestowed on him the cape and sword. As the boat was leaving Knapp's Bay, the new trading captain tried to reclaim his son. Finding the Company's servants determined to keep the youngster, the man brought another son to the

boat so that neither of his sons would be without a familiar companion in a strange country (B42/a/63, July 19-26, 1765).

Young Eskimo boys had been wintering at Churchill off and on since the beginning of the coastal trade, but at whose instigation is unclear. Certainly the Company hoped the boys would learn English language and customs, and become emissaries and agents for it, able to

acquaint their countrymen to be ready at the sea-side with what commodities of trade they can procure against the arrival of a vessel next summer; also for them to inform others whom they may meet with (Graham 1969 [1791]:239).

The first temporary transfer of custody was in 1719, when Kelsey brought the two boys called Sharper and Jerry from Knapp's Bay. After 1750, the practice became almost routine. Nor were young boys the only interpreter/ambassadors trained at Churchill. In 1762, speaking of a proposed voyage of discovery, Captain Christopher noted "I lately heard of an Esquemay being at York Fort who attains [Eher?] Language and as fluent as ever, which if true might be of infinite consequences towards the said discovery" (B42/a/57:19).

In 1765, the sloop sailed north with an Inuit woman named Doll on board as interpreter (B42/a/63; B42/a/77, July 15), possibly the same person mentioned by Christopher. It was Doll who interpreted for Magnus Johnston in his efforts to find an Inuit trading captain and in arranging the purchase of two boys for the price of a half dozen beaver

skins. Doll was Johnston's interpreter again the next year when the Churchill sailed into Knapp's Bay where the father of the two boys was waiting in his kayak, ready to climb aboard even before the anchor was dropped. Johnston was sure the boys, with their newly acquired language skills and their fine English clothes, would impress their countrymen. Speaking through Doll, he asked that the boys be allowed to return to Churchill that very summer. Their father refused, explaining that the boys had to stay home for at least a year to show their people how to use guns. Johnston promptly gave him a gun, powder and ball (B42/a/65, July 26).

The entire incident, beginning in the summer of 1765 and ending the following summer, casts some light on how the Inuit understood their relations with the European traders. Johnston's offer of a trading captaincy had been repudiated by the first candidate on the grounds that his acceptance of special gifts would cause jealousy among other band members. With the "fluent" Doll to interpret, there could have been little chance of a misunderstanding on the part of the Inuit or Johnston. The "ould man" was clearly rejecting the overt leadership role and possibly also the possession of unearned and unshared symbols of status. His rejection, however, was not immediate, but came only after forty-eight hours had elapsed, during which time he had plenty of opportunity to discuss the situation with others in the camp and to gauge

their reactions. The second man, the father of the boys, also had that period to think about offering his son to Johnston, and to discuss the plan. Having offered his first son, he freely accepted trade goods, cape and sword, apparently not concerned about the jealousy of his neighbours. Had they already agreed that in giving up his son for a year, he had earned the right to the wealth offered by Johnston? Had the father, or perhaps the miut, decided that they had something to gain from the education the boy would receive at the fort? Certainly, when the boy and his brother were returned, their father assumed they had learned to use guns and would teach their people how to use them, and Johnston's gift of a gun, powder and shot was accepted with no hesitation and no scruples about jealousy among his countrymen.

Two years later, the Knapp's Bay band and the Whale Cove band each sent at least one young man to the fort, one of whom took a kayak with him (Graham 1969 [1791]:215; Hearne 1958 [1795]:218n). Petee Gunn spent the winter of 1768 at the fort, and was replaced the following year by St. Helena, a ten year old boy. In 1770, Petee Gunn was back and shared the attentions of the Company's servants with Pocko, from Whale Cove, St. Helena, another ten year old named Sueshe, and Allrarack who was "the Company's slave," and for whom there was no possibility of going home to stay

(B42/a/B1, August 3).<sup>32</sup> Both St. Helena and Sueshe returned to the fort to continue their education in foreign ways during the winter of 1771. They were joined by a young man from Marble Island, who, while learning the language and the trade, was also a valuable source of information about the seasonal movements of his people, and about the habits of the black whales around the island (Graham 1969 [1791]:241). St. Helena wintered once more at the fort in 1772. In 1774, Andrew Graham gave guns to four young men and taught them to shoot, as Company men had been doing since the young people first began to winter at the post (Graham 1969 [1791]:236). Hoebuck arrived at the end of the 1775 summer, and again in 1777 after spending a year at home. In the intervening year, at least one boy, Santey, was also tutored by the Company's employees.

Youngsters were not the only Inuit willing to visit foreign places. In 1777, three adults from the Whale Cove camp, two men and a woman, had to be forcibly removed from the sloop after they had boarded carrying their personal possessions in sealskin bags and relayed to the captain their desire to see Churchill and spend the winter there (B42/a/B1, August 3).

---

<sup>32</sup>As in the case of Andrew and Daniel, the word 'slave,' used by Johnston and applied to Allrarack, is unclear. Allrarack is the only one of the many boys who wintered at Fort Churchill who is never mentioned as going back to his people. No clues occur in the journals to explain why.



Bringing the young people to Churchill to learn language and commerce in the English manner had little effect on the sloop trade, which made no steady or significant gains during the forty years of regular traffic. George Holt, master of the Charlotte in 1780, tried to encourage the Inuit to increase their productivity. Taking two Chipewyan trading captains, Chechinaha the Elder and Chechinaha the Younger, with him, he visited the Eskimo tents, giving the trading captains beads to give to the women and flints and tobacco for the men

in order to make Friendship between them. This I did in the presence of the Eskimaux that they might see where the riches came from. Afterwards gave the women each a pair of hawks Bells and a few Beads for the children (B42/a/101, July 12).

The pretty luxuries and the personal relationships, however, were not particularly effective in increasing the trade. Holt discovered that the people had their own standard of value based on the risk and effort required to produce their commodities and would not trade them without what they considered adequate compensation.

[I gave] encouragement after the rate of 10 Beaver a hogshead and find they will not take that paines for oils where their risk is so much in their canoes unless they are well paid, all the Oils I am likely to trade is part of their winter stock

produced from the Seals, Clapmatch<sup>33</sup> and White Whales (B42/a/101, July 12).

Even the good will of Sueshe, who "when a boy was at Churchill and knew me well... [and] speaks the Southern Indian [Cree] Tongue well" did not affect the Inuit trade (B42/a/101, July 14).

The increase in pelts taken was due entirely to the presence of Chipewyan at Knapp's Bay, and not to the Inuit, who rarely hunted in territory where fur-bearing animals other than wolves were to be found (B42/a/65:13). If the returnees put into practice anything of what they learned, it was not of any particular benefit to the Company. The benefits to the people would seem to have been greater. The case of the man who sent two sons to the fort can serve as an example. The boys learned some English which enabled them to understand the newcomers better than the newcomers understood them, acquired clothes and some household goods, gained at least some comprehension of British habits of thought and trading methods, and increased their understanding of European technology, that is, the construction, use, care and repair of items such as guns and

---

<sup>33</sup>Clapmatch was a term applied to the hooded seal. The similarity between the deflated proboscis of the hooded seal and a toque-like cap with a floppy crown worn by British seaman led to the term being applied to the cap as well. Hooded seals bought from the Inuit and caps sold to them are both listed as clapmatches in some of the Hudson's Bay Company account books. An unnamed clerk with a sense of humour entered 'Clapmatch' in corresponding credit and debit columns of the 1823 Eskimo Trading Book.

traps. The price of their educations must surely have been homesickness, loneliness, and the frustrations of isolation among strangers from another culture, which the friendly attentions and well-meant concern of the Company's servants probably mitigated but could not eliminate. The boys' father got trade goods to the value of seven Made Beaver, a gun, and two sons with an intercultural education and the latest technological skills for the family business, at the price of ten months of anxiety over their welfare. The family got a guarantee of preferred customer treatment in its future dealings with the Company. This guarantee, from the Company's point of view, was implicit in its recognition of the father as a trading captain, entitled to gifts and a first chance to trade. The Inuit may have understood the guarantee in much the same terms -- the yearly presence among them of Chipewyan who functioned within the Company's system, of their own youths educated in Company ways at the fort, and of an Inuit interpreter, may have given them an understanding of the system as the Europeans saw it. They may also have seen the temporary granting of child custody to the Company in terms of their own understanding of partnerships.

Partnerships, present to some degree in all Inuit societies, were (are?) relationships that created mutual rights and obligations to share property. Partnerships could be created at will by individuals or families through

namesaking (the sharing or bestowing of a name), spouse exchange, dancing, singing or wrestling together, becoming co-parents-in-law, and so on. Existing conditions could also be manipulated at will to activate implicit partnerships when attributes held in common were used to 'recognize' a relationship. For example, a newcomer bearing the same name as a parent or other relative of a resident might be recognized by all members of the group as a surrogate for the dead or absent person. Their mutual rights and obligations would be the same as those implied by the original genetic or fictive relationship or partnership. Attributes held in common could also be ignored if the people involved preferred not to recognize them. Sharing the parenthood role with Captain Johnston and/or the Company may have been understood by the Inuit as establishing a special relationship, as would be the case between two couples who were the biological and the adoptive parents of the same child.

In the incident described by Johnston, acceptance of the cape and sword may have been permissible for the father of the two boys who gave up custody of his children in return, but unacceptable in the case of the "ould man" who was unable to establish a relationship with the captain. It is impossible to say how much truth there is in these speculations. However, it is suggestive that more often than not the Inuit instigated the temporary surrender of

their children to the sloop captains, and it is clear that the families profited, within their own frame of reference, much more than the Company did.

While documentary evidence for economic relations between Inuit and Chipewyan in the 1720-1790 period exists, and assumptions about intercultural commercial activities during the cohabitation of the two groups at Knapp's Bay can safely be made, the sources yield fewer instances of interband trade and communication among the Inuit themselves. However, some evidence does indicate that the Inuit travelled outside their own miut territories in order to trade with each other. A recurring problem for the Company had been the paucity of trade at Marble Island year after year. Either the island was deserted, leading the Bay men to believe the people had already gone inland for the winter before the sloop's arrival, or they were, in the journalists' words, "very poor," having nothing to trade. In 1776 Johnston offered a more sophisticated explanation -- trade was bad because the people took everything they had to Whale Cove to trade (B42/a/93:32). Several possibilities are raised by his assertion. Perhaps the Marble Island people, (probably Sauneqtormiut), had learned from experience that the sloop often arrived so late that their only chance of trading before they had to withdraw to their winter quarters was to travel south and hope to arrive more or less when the sloop did, or to arrive ahead of the sloop

and trade with the Whale Cove miut. With the exception of the years 1775-77, the amount of whalebone traded annually along the coast between 1761 and 1790 varied from lows of 27 pounds in 1766 and 28 pounds in 1787 to highs of 282 pounds in 1771 and 342 pounds in 1785. In the three years from 1775 to 1777, much greater quantities were traded: 980 pounds in 1775; 2400 pounds in 1776; and 1400 pounds in 1777.<sup>34</sup> In the first two of these years, deerskins were also traded in unusually high quantities. It may be mere coincidence that these were years when the sloop captain reported that the people were gone from Marble Island before the sloop's arrival, or that only a few people were left and they had nothing to trade. The figures may, on the other hand, support Johnston's belief that the Marble Island people were traveling to Whale Cove to trade.

If they were trading in person, Johnston should have noticed, and noted, the presence of people from other areas, as he did on other occasions, and the rough head count done at each stop should have indicated an augmented population. Since no such evidence appeared in Johnston's logs, it seems likely that the Marble Island people were trading with the Whale Cove miut, who acted as their agents. It is difficult

---

<sup>34</sup>Seventeen-sixty-eight was also a bumper year at Whale Cove, yielding 828 pounds of whalebone, but because there is no information about the population and trade at Marble Island for that year, no connection can be made between the two.

to see what country products might have figured in such an inter-miut trade. Both groups had ready access to seal and caribou products, and they were equidistant from soapstone quarries, one within Aivilingmiut territory north of Chesterfield Inlet, and the other in the Knapp's Bay miut hinterland on the upper Tha-anne River. Acquisition of soapstone supplies for either group would have necessitated either long-distance resource harvesting by individuals or families, or trade with a neighbouring group, but neither group is likely to have acted as a soapstone middleman. Both groups also had more or less equally accessible wood resources, the Sauneqtormiut from several ships wrecked at Marble Island and from the Thelon River at the extreme western limit of their wintering grounds, and the Whale Cove people from the wooded area around the Menik Lakes. The Marble Island people would only have needed to trade for wood if supplies from the wrecked ships had run out, an unlikely eventuality considering the careful husbanding of scarce resources practiced by the Inuit. Walrus products also were available to both groups, though in greater quantities at the more northerly site.

Items both greatly desired and in short supply were, of course, European goods. The Whale Cove people were able to supply themselves by trading their products directly to the sloops. But to amass a surplus sufficient to become middlemen to the Marble Islanders presented problems.

A third possibility is that the Marble Island people took to Whale Cove items that, though available there, did not occur in sufficient numbers to satisfy the Company. Such an item was ivory. Although the Whale Cove people had enough walrus products to supply their own needs and some left for the purchase of European goods, the market was by no means sated. The Company was prepared to buy more. The Marble Islanders also had a sufficient subsistence supply of walrus products with some to spare for trade, but the Aivilingmiut and Iglulingmiut of Roes Welcome and the Melville Peninsula had even more. During the eighteenth century, these more northerly groups had no source, reliable or otherwise, of European goods, or of wood. Ivory, traded to the Sauneqtormiut of Marble Island, who in turn passed it on to the Whale Cove people may have purchased for them the only, and very precious, knives, scrapers and chisels of European origin that they had, as well as wood, a commodity that the Whale Cove people would have had no trouble finding in sufficient quantities.

In 1790, obeying the London Committee's orders, Captain George Taylor took the Churchill north on the last trading voyage. With him as interpreter was an Inuit boy who had spent the previous winter at the fort. The year might as well have been 1750 for all the evidence there was of change during the preceding forty years. At Knapp's Bay, there



were a few tents, a total of fourteen canoes<sup>35</sup>, and a trade consisting of a few skins and one hogshead of oil. No Chipewyan trading captains, tents or trade goods stood on the beach (B42/a/115). When the Company had resumed the sloop trips in 1785 after a three year hiatus caused by the French destruction of the fort and its rebuilding, the Chipewyan were gone, perhaps because they had found an alternative trade outlet among the Montreal 'pedlars' in the Athabaska region (Wells 1982:123) and perhaps also because of the sharp decrease in their numbers caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1781-82.<sup>36</sup> At Nevil's Bay, there was no trade at all, although eighteen canoes came out to meet the sloop and the local residents said more people were expected soon. The young interpreter was left there with his father, "it being intirely his own choice to stay" (B42/a/115, July 14). At Whale Cove and Marble Island, trade was no better and the few skins brought on board were

---

<sup>35</sup>Most journal references to Inuit craft are to 'canoes.' In the eighteenth century on west Hudson Bay they would almost always have been kayaks although the people showed some interest in the jolly boats carried by the sloops, occasionally receiving one as a gift from traders and explorers or salvaging abandoned ones. In the 1960s the word 'canoe' was commonly used to refer to both open and closed small craft when speaking English, while 'kayak' was used when speaking Inuktitut.

<sup>36</sup>The question of whether or not smallpox spread to the Inuit in the 1780s is as yet unanswered. There are no references to the disease among them, but during the French-English conflict of those years there were few observers and fewer records being kept.

wet and of little value.

In the wet and miserable summer of 1790, little physical evidence remained to show that seventy years of trading contact had taken place among Inuit, Chipewyan and European. The venture had not resulted in any significant profits for the Company (Wells 1982:147); the little intercultural community at Knapp's Bay was gone; Chipewyan-Inuit contacts had ceased with the withdrawal of the Indians to the south and west; the camp trade had reverted to its 1720s quality and quantities. Inuit demography and seasonal round remained as they had been at the time of the first sloop voyage.

Social activity was also little changed at the end of the eighteenth century. In contrast to the sudden, pervasive, enduring European presence experienced by many North American native groups, the Inuit heartlands were not entered by strangers suddenly, in numbers, or for lengthy stays. Visitors arrived in ships during the short ice-free late-summer periods, stayed only briefly, and met only those Inuit who were at coastal summer camps. No trading posts were established north of Churchill for nearly two centuries. As a result there was never an Inuit home guard. If brief unions occurred between Inuit women and Company men during the short sloop visits, and under the circumstances it is probable that few, if any, did, there was no

commitment to, or contact with, progeny on the part of the European partner, and no métis generation emerged.

The trade with the Company had little effect on Inuit habits. More efficient technology was welcomed -- a tin pot is easier to carry and heats water more quickly than a soapstone one -- but its possession did nothing more than ease the difficulties of existence slightly.

Inuit relations with the Chipewyan may have changed as a result of the Hudson's Bay Company's presence, although considerable evidence suggests that in spite of sometimes hostile relations the two peoples had long experienced peaceful coexistence as well (Janes 1973; Dumond 1979; Smith 1981). That trade took place between the two peoples before the Company's peace-keeping missions is attested by the account of peaceful trade taking place between them in 1720 (B42/a/1:127).

What little evidence there is of interband trade among the Inuit suggests that the miuts were fully aware of each other's presence and territory and that some communication and trade existed between them.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE KEEWATIN INUIT AND THE TRADING POST, 1790-1830

Four years after the last Hudson's Bay Company trading voyage, the Inuit took action to re-establish their connection with the European traders. At the beginning of June, 1794, when the landfast ice still provided a safe and easy highway along the coast to Fort Churchill, sixty men, women and children arrived and set up camp a day's journey short of the post. They brought with them the commodity they were most accustomed to trade with the sloop captains -- seal blubber in quantities that probably represented the harvest of about 780 seals.<sup>37</sup>

The amount of work and time required to harvest nearly 800 seals can be roughly calculated by looking at the figures of the seal hunt conducted in the Churchill River later that year. In the eighteen days between June 8 and June 25, the fifteen men, working continuously according to

---

<sup>37</sup>The actual amount of blubber is not recorded either in tons or seals; however, it was valued by the trader at 390 Made Beaver in 1794 (B42/a/121a, June 5). The journals and account books in the 1790-1820 period do not give an approximate price per seal that could be used in estimating just how many seals, and therefore how much labour, were involved in producing the oil. In 1823, the Hudson's Bay Company traders placed a value of one-half Made Beaver for on one seal, one seal skin, or one seal's blubber (B42/d/111). Assuming that the Company's valuation underwent little change during the intervening thirty years, the quantity of seals represented by 390 Made Beaver would be about 780.

Company observers, in good weather and ideal sealing conditions, killed 154 seals, an average catch per hunter of one seal every other day, or one-half seal per man per day. The approximately 780 seals represented by 390 MB worth of oil, then, were produced at a cost of 1560 total man days of labour, or 104 days per man spent in the production of surplus goods, over and above what was necessary for subsistence. Assuming that each hunter maintained an average of one kill every two days, that sealing could take place every day for three months, which is unlikely, and that none of the catch was needed or used for subsistence, which is even more unlikely, then the fifteen hunters would still have been able to produce, at the most, 900 dead seals. The fifteen men brought to the post, then, either the upper limit of their personal production for the year, or the accumulated produce of between two and four years, (there having been no trading vessel since 1790), or they transported and traded more than their own catch, acting as agents for at least some other members of their miut, or some combination of all these possibilities. In any case, the blubber represented a maximum investment of labour.

The effort of producing enough oil to pay for the desired European goods, though strenuous, was within the capacity of the Knapp's Bay/Nevil's Bay/Whale Cove miut. The effort of transporting it may not have been. The weight

of the oil must have been in excess of 18,000 pounds,<sup>38</sup> carried on at least, but probably no more than, fifteen sleds.<sup>39</sup> The journey must have been difficult in terms of logistics. The great weight of the load would have ensured that no one rode, that human muscle was used to help pull the sleds, and that household and personal goods had been reduced to an extreme minimum.<sup>40</sup>

Having traded their oil, the hunters agreed to hunt seals at the mouth of the Churchill River until the season ended and then to switch to whaling, at least for a time. The chief trader, Thomas Stayner, was unable to persuade them to stay longer than their own timetables dictated, and they left for their own country on July 16 (B42/a/121a). Stayner's hope, expressed in 1791, that "the principal parts of the Esquimaux skins will be brought here by the natives,

---

<sup>38</sup>Even the smallest seal would yield about twenty pounds of oil.

<sup>39</sup>The journalist recorded that fifteen men came into the fort on June 2, leaving their families "a little way off." When the party came to trade on June 5, there were sixty souls in all, the usual ratio of one hunter to each family of four.

<sup>40</sup>A general rule of thumb for determining weight of loads is 200 pounds per dog. In this case, each sled, with a load of 1200 pounds, would have to be pulled by six dogs. Few, if any, families could have owned that many dogs. If the blubber was the combined produce of several residential groups conveyed to the fort by fifteen hunters and their families, the dogs may also have represented the combined wealth of several groups. The situation is open to interpretation as a case of some people acting as agents for a larger group, but there is not enough hard evidence to make this a firm conclusion.

and that they during their stay here in future years will procure a large quantity of whale, and seal oil"

(B42/a/116:22) was not to be immediately fulfilled. His fruitless persuasions of 1794 were the beginning of three decades of struggle between the Company, which wanted a summer population of potential sealers and whalers for hunting on the Cree home guard model<sup>41</sup>, and the Inuit, who came to the post to satisfy minimal needs for European goods, but were at the same time committed to maintaining their own subsistence economies far from the fort, and preferred to conduct their economic affairs in their own ways.

After their 1794 visit the Inuit began to make changes in their annual round. They had discovered that by coming to Churchill they could obtain some oil for their domestic needs and food for their families from the seal hunt, and simultaneously accumulate a surplus of oil for trading. In some years, entire families came to Churchill for the seal hunt, working just long enough to earn the European goods they wanted. In other years, they returned to their old camps on the coast. Occasionally a few hunters without

---

<sup>41</sup>Hearne described 'home-guard' Indians as "certain of the natives who are immediately employed under the protection of the Company's servants, reside on the plantation, and are employed in hunting for the Factory" (1958 [1795]:1xv).

their families went to Churchill, refusing to spend time sealing, and returned north as soon as possible.

More than sixty Inuit, including women and children, arrived at Fort Churchill on June 5, 1795, traded a small number of furs, and agreed to kill seals and whales for the Company, but, Stayner again complained, they "would not be persuaded to remain" more than a few days (B42/a/121a, July 16). It was fifteen years before large numbers of hunters brought their families to the post again. The following year, 1796, no Inuit showed up until July, when eight unaccompanied men brought furs worth 360 Made Beaver; they refused to hunt for the Company, and returned north immediately after trading (B42/a/122, July 4-5). In 1797, no Inuit appeared at the post (B42/a/123). In 1798 twenty-eight men, again unaccompanied by families, agreed to hunt seals at the mouth of the Churchill River and whales at the Seal River, but their stay was brief (B42/a/124:6). The pattern was repeated in 1804: only ten men arrived, without families, and hunted seal and whale only a few days before departing (B42/a/129:9-10). They had families to provide for farther north and working for the Company, even for a few weeks, did not fit their economic routine.

By 1810, when eighty men, women and children arrived at Fort Churchill, travelling by sleds and dogs (B42/a/135:7), the Company was ready to admit its inability to control Inuit trading and working habits. William Auld, conducting



an internal audit of the Company's business at Churchill in 1810-11, expressed doubts that any kind of fishery using Eskimo labour could be started near the fort because of their reluctance to remain long away from their own country. They insisted on being in their home hunting territory before the caribou made their retrograde migrations in late summer and fall (B42/a/136a:12). During the next decade, few Inuit were willing to work at sealing and whaling near Churchill, although many continued to come in to trade. On a few occasions, trading parties did hunt seal just north of the post, but they did so on their own terms, without Company supervision, according to their own timetables, and they traded only those parts of the seals that they did not want.

Inuit unwillingness to remain in the vicinity of the fort as hired hands for the Company was evident in 1813. That year a party agreed to hunt whales at Seal River, and were there on July 11 when fifteen of their compatriots arrived, travelling with a group of Chipewyan. After two days spent cutting up and rendering blubber on the beach at the fort, the new arrivals left for the whaling grounds. Their stay there was also short. The Company's boat arrived a week later to find all the Inuit gone. Another group, who the year before had promised to spend time hunting whales never showed up at all (B42/a/148, July 24).

In 1815 the party was not only much larger than usual; the period spent at the fort was unusually long. In June, July and August, more than thirty men hunted seals at Churchill and whales at Seal River, again to the satisfaction of the Company. Between June 3 and July 10, they brought in and rendered the blubber of 352 seals. From July 22 to August 3, they produced three-quarters of a ton of whale oil. The Company paid them and allowed them to trade, and they headed north for their winter quarters.

In 1816 only five men, with their families, made the trip to Churchill. The first three to arrive reported a very bad year for deer, resulting in few foxes, and their catch reflected the difficulties of that winter: 4 wolves, 4 wolverines, and 13 foxes. They spent the six weeks from May 28 to mid-July sealing. In a bad year, the Churchill seal hunt offered an acceptable alternative to hunger. The reduced purchasing power of the 1816 catch made the decision inevitable if they were to obtain European goods.

Sealing near the post, in spite of the Company's persuasions, remained an independent activity as it had been at Knapp's Bay. Seals killed by Inuit at the post were treated in the Company's books like any other customer-owned commodity; each man's catch was recorded, either at the post, or by a clerk working at the sealing ground, as flesh, oil, or skin, and the value entered as credit. The meat yield met immediate food needs, with a small surplus being

sold to the Company's cook for use in the servants' mess. Amounts delivered to the post kitchen were recorded beside the names of the hunters who brought the meat in, and each hunter was given credits for his own catch. Few seal skins and little oil ever showed up on the Company's books. Presumably, the people used these products as they always had.

The seal hunt, whether conducted at the post or farther north at the old summer campsites, yielded a number of products necessary to Inuit subsistence. The most desired seal product was oil for use in the lamps. Marine-mammal oil produces heat when it burns, in contrast to oil rendered from fish or caribou which provides crucially important light during the long winter darkness but little heat. A snowhouse lit by seal, whale or walrus oil is warm as well as bright. Oil for food could be had from fish or caribou, but production from these sources was labour-intensive compared to the easy harvesting of marine-mammals with abundant supplies of rich blubber. A second seal product, the skin, was greatly desired for making footwear, dog harnesses, and rope because of its toughness, durability and waterproof character compared to the relatively soft caribou skin.

Payment for the products of the whale hunts differed from that for the seal hunts. In sealing, the Inuit retained or traded the products of their own hunts as they

chose, the more productive hunters receiving correspondingly greater credit on their accounts. Hunters at the whaling ground were given gifts, usually blankets, with little allowance being made for individual productivity, although some entries in the Eskimo Trading Books suggest that harpooners and shore bosses may have received more substantial gratuities than rowers, flensers or boilers, and old Company whale boats and jolly boats were sometimes given to whaling teams collectively. Both Inuit and Company seemed to regard the whales as Company property, even before they were killed, although the traders frequently handed flensed carcasses over to the hunters.

The people who before 1790 spent their summers sealing on the coast and trading when the traders came to their doorstep did not alter their seasonal activities or the timing of them when the sloop voyages stopped. They did, over the next few years, begin to change their location. After 1790, instead of spending every summer at Knapp's Bay, Nevil's Bay and Whale Cove, they sometimes spent June and July at Churchill, sealing and trading as independent hunters on the same terms that had prevailed at the coast camps. It is worth noting that when they came prepared to hunt marine mammals at Churchill, they were accompanied by their families, and they established complete camps near the sealing grounds. In the years when they refused to hunt, they were invariably unaccompanied by women and children.

The first major change prompted by the cessation of the trading voyages was, then, locational. Archaeological evidence from the Knapp's Bay inland area (Irving 1968:49; Harp 1962:73-74) that Inuit did not live on the middle or upper Kazan River until the early nineteenth century is supported by the evidence of the Churchill journals. Inuit arrived at Churchill on May 28 in 1810, on June 1 in 1815, and on May 28 in 1816. The dates suggest that they came to the fort directly from their inland winter quarters, rather than down the coast from the eighteenth century locations of their summer camps. The change in the Company's trading location as far as the south Keewatin coast Inuit were concerned encouraged and facilitated their permanent move into the interior.

A second major change, intimately connected with the move inland, was the realization that the post offered a reasonably dependable alternative to subsistence hunting in bad years.

A tentative collective identification of the Inuit who frequented the Churchill post after 1794 is possible using information scattered through the post journals after 1810, and in the observations of Andrew Graham and John Franklin. In August, 1812, an Inuit trading party left a teen-aged boy at the fort in much the same way that boys were sent to the post on the trading sloops in the previous century. The boy, Tatanaaq, was renamed Augustine by the fur traders

after the month in which he arrived. He became a more or less permanent member of the staff. In 1819, in preparation for an overland expedition from York Factory to the arctic coast, the explorer John Franklin asked Governor William Williams for a Company Eskimo to act as emissary and interpreter on the trip. Williams promised to send Augustine, "the only one amongst them who understood English if he could be induced to go" (Franklin 1924 [1823]:27; B42/a/145:5). Augustine could be induced, for a remuneration of 100 MB, provided one of his own people went also. His choice was Junius, so-called because he had arrived at the fort in June, who was promised a wage of eighty MB. Both young men were outfitted for the journey at the Company's expense (B42/a/148, June 1).

In January, 1821, Augustine and Junius caught up with Franklin's main party at Fort Enterprise, where the Captain engaged in some useful ethnological field work. He learned from Augustine, whom he called Augustus, that the latter's people lived "a little to the northward of Churchill" spending the summers on the coast killing seals, and the winters at the inland lakes fishing, and hunting caribou and muskox (Franklin 1924 [1823]:234). Augustine reported a total of eighty-four adult men in his "tribe," six of them having two wives each. From this Franklin estimated a quite reasonable adult membership of around 170 people, and an unknown number of children (Franklin 1924 [1823]:234). Such

large (in Inuit terms) numbers of people could not be a residential group, or camp. The camps mentioned in the sloops' logs were seldom larger than fifteen tents, and often consisted of as few as two. Augustine must, therefore, have been talking about his miut. One hundred and seventy adults, plus fifty or so children, a conservative estimate, accords well with the total numbers of people counted by the ships' captains between 1750 and 1790. At no time did a sloop captain record seeing more than 300 people along the coast between Churchill and Marble Island; estimates frequently ranged from 150 to 300 people, the largest camps being at Knapp's Bay, Nevil's Bay, Whale Cove, and Marble Island, with smaller ones at Knight's Island, Bibby's Island and numerous unnamed mainland and island sites. The people seen at Marble Island can be left out of consideration as members of Augustine's miut, since they were specifically identified as living directly inland from Marble Island. The inhabitants of the coast between Knapp's Bay and Whale Cove were probably members of one miut, to which Augustine belonged.

What these people called themselves is uncertain. Andrew Graham (1969 [1791]:238) noted that the "tribes" inhabiting the coast were the Tahuiuck at Nevil's Bay, the Tekotheack at Whale Cove, the Ockshotheack at Marble Island, and the Achuiuck at Knapp's Bay. Tahuiuck and Tekotheack cannot be connected to any known or even likely tribal name,

nor do they have any meaning as words as rendered by Graham. Ockshotheack has been equated with the Ashockmiut or Shounocktowmiut mentioned by Captain Comer in 1905 (Meyer 1976:54). The name could be a garbled version of Sauneqtormiut (or Mauneqtormiut, 's' and 'h' being interchangeable in different dialects), the group occupying the Rankin Inlet inland area around the lower Kazan River in the early twentieth century (Birket-Smith 1929a:63-64). By the 1950s, the Rankin Inlet hinterland was occupied by the Harvaqtormiut, and the Sauneqtormiut occupied only a small area around Whale Cove (Williamson 1974:18).

The people designated Achuiuck by Graham lived at Knapp's Bay, and were therefore Augustine's people. It is possible that Achuiuck is a rendering of Ahiarimiut, (the 'h' in Ahiarimiut is pronounced like 'ch' in the Scottish 'loch'), a group living on the upper Kazan River and Ennadai Lake in the 1920s.<sup>42</sup> The word means 'People from the far-away place' or 'the out-of-the-way place' and could have been used in the eighteenth century to describe any group on the edges of usual Inuit territory. In the twentieth century, the concept of 'ahia' includes the idea of being

---

<sup>42</sup>The endings '-uk' and '-ut' indicate the third person singular and plural, respectively. Thus the concept 'ahia' (out of the way) followed by the suffix '-uk' results in 'ahiaiuk' (or 'achuiuck' if that is what Graham meant) meaning 'it is out of the way.' The concept 'ahia' and the suffix '-miut' combine to produce 'ahiarimiut,' meaning 'people from an out-of-the-way place'.



inland as well as out of the way. In the eighteenth century, it is possible that inland orientation was not yet part of the 'ahia' concept, and the people of Knapp's Bay may have been seen by themselves and by the more northerly groups as living in an 'out-of-the-way' place.

The temporary nature of many sites, changes of self-ascription resulting from band movements, and fluidity of miut membership make it impossible to identify with certainty any group over time. The anthropological penchant for classifying cultures is useful for understanding relationships and comparing systems, but counter-productive when it obscures the fact that the peoples thus being classified have their own internal dynamics. Fortunately many of the Inuit who frequented Churchill in the 1820s can be associated with Augustine's miut.

The story of Augustine's search for a wife reveals something of his people's priorities. After leaving him at the post in 1812, his residential group did not return for two years. By the spring of 1814 he was eagerly awaiting their arrival, and became even more anxious when twenty-one men, probably members of his miut but not part of his family's usual camp, arrived on July 6 with news of great interest to him. When five men from his own camp arrived on July 14, their stay was short. In the journalist's words,

Augustine, our Esquimaux lad who has been with us nearly two years left us with these 5 of his countrymen having been promised the hand of a

young woman by one of the party who were in on the 6th Inst (B42/a/148, July 14).

Their departure was precipitate. Matrimonial arrangements were more important than promises to hunt seals for the traders. Augustine and his five countrymen, probably male kin, left at once for the campsite of the hoped-for-bride. It was almost a year before Augustine reappeared with sixteen families from his village. They set up camp at Seahorse Gully and redeemed their promise to hunt seals and whales. Augustine, in the meantime, presented himself at the Company's servants' house with all his worldly goods, saying the father of his promised bride had refused him because he could not provide her family with the trade goods they wanted. The rejected suitor proclaimed himself ready to remain forever with the Company (B42/a/148, June 22, 1815).

Since their 1794 visit, when Augustine's people discovered that oil did not need to be harvested in the usual marine hunting areas and transported to the fort, they had been bringing more of the furs and skins desired by the Company. Two parties arrived in 1811. The first group, consisting of three men, brought £50 worth of pelts and ivory. The second group, thirteen men with families, arrived sometime in July, 1811, and brought the richest harvest of furs to date with a value just over £195 (Fig. 4-1).

Figure 4-1 Inuit Commodities, 1811 (B42/a/136a:25-26)

June, 1811	July 1811
71 prime white fox	290 prime white fox
2 prime blue fox	2 prime blue fox
1 blue fox, damaged	
14 white staged <sup>43</sup> fox, damaged	6 white staged fox
2 prime staged wolf skins	13 prime wolves
2 staged wolf skins	1 staged wolf
	15 prime wolverine
23 lbs sea horse teeth	1 old white bear skin
	1 prime marten

In 1814, 560 fox skins and thirty-nine wolf and wolverine pelts were brought by the twenty-one-man group that promised Augustine a bride. The five men from Augustine's own family camp arriving a week later brought 194 fox and wolf pelts, and two deerskins. At the end of July, 1815, sixteen men brought in another substantial catch of furs (Fig. 4-3). Inuit commodities during the 1810-1820 decade are indicative of changes the people were making in their economic life. Furs and skins had replaced oil as their primary trade item.

Inuit tastes in European trade goods changed more slowly. When faced with a greater variety of items at the factory than were normally carried on the sloops, they chose useful, necessary items, showing little inclination to buy luxury goods. With the exception of a quarter pound of

---

<sup>43</sup>'Staged' furs are those taken in the summer when they are no longer prime. Among twentieth century fur traders, the terms 'springy' and 'shelly' are more likely to be used.

Figure 4-2 Trade Goods, 1811 (B42/a/136a:25-26)

	June, 1811		July, 1811	
	Taken in trade	Presents	Taken in trade	Presents
beads, lbs	-	-	.5	5.5
bayonets	1	-	13	-
files	-	-	1	-
flints	8	20	58	13
needles	-	-	1	13
saws	-	-	4	-
knives	1	3	4	13
pots	-	-	1	-
tobacco, lbs	.25	1	8	3.5
guns, 3 foot	1	-	1	-
powder horns	-	-	1	-
powder, lbs	20	-	51	15
shot	-	12	1.5	20
cloth, yards	-	1	2.5	2
gun worms	-	3	-	13
biscuit, lbs	-	5	-	39
oatmeal, lbs	-	3	-	38
raisins, lbs	-	-	-	6
rings, ear	-	-	-	13
rings, finger	-	-	-	36
steels	-	3	-	13

Figure 4-3 Inuit Commodities, 1815 (B42/a/148, July 29; August 21)

July, 1815	August, 1815
675 prime white fox	279 fox
66 white stage fox	
7 blue fox	
23 wolverine	12 wolverine
36 prime wolves	57 wolves
17 stage wolves	
2 swan skins	

tobacco, they bought the same utilitarian items, mostly tools for hunting, that they had traded for since before 1750. They were given a substantial number of presents, including some baize cloth, an item apparently never used previously. William Auld noted in 1811 that the Company exerted some control over purchases.

We have never allowed them to taste spirituous liquors & unaccustomed as they are to this they have no excuse for loitering about the Factory by which the waste of provisions, tobacco etc is in a great measure prevented & accounts much for the profitable exchange in this barter (B42/a/136a:26).

At the same time that he was writing approvingly of the Company's refusal to trade liquor to the Inuit, Auld was careful to inform the London Committee that the people could not be manipulated in the choice of all their purchases. The most frequently sold items were specifically "requested by them" (B42/a/136a:22,24). Guns and related items had become part of the Inuit shopping list, and when they were not available, the customers could become "troublesome."

In 1815, a number of the men brought guns in need of repairs, which the blacksmith took care of, but the post could not supply the powder they wanted. Company servants, including Augustine, were sent on the ten-day round trip to York Factory to fetch supplies. The lateness of the season -- it was August 21 -- worried the waiting customers, who finally decided to return north without the desired powder. Forty-eight hours later, two of them returned, saying they had to have it and would wait for it. Early in September "our Esquemaux lad" returned from York Factory with the powder (B42/a/148, September 19).

Guns were also a lure that brought people not of Augustine's miut to the fort. In 1810 visitors were identified as having come from Wager Bay to get guns

(B42/a/135:9). In 1815, the traders and Augustine were surprised at the arrival of three men, strangers to them all, who were recorded only as being from "a very far country" and wanting muskets (B42/a/142:3). In 1822, twenty-two men from Augustine's miut brought four strangers with them when they came to trade. The four conveyed to the traders that they had come "from beyond Chesterfield Inlet" and one of them had never seen a white man before (B42/a/150, July 17).

The surprise visitors of November, 1828, were the first to make a trip to the post during the winter darkness. The party consisted of three men and a woman, who "report having been 20 days on the [way]. They came on the ice alongshore and brought only one seal" along with sixteen tongues, eight white fox, twelve deerskins and ninety-eight pounds of fat. The purpose of their visit was to buy ammunition (B42/a/156, November 18). In twenty days, on new ice, they could easily have covered more than 300 miles (482 kilometres). Their point of origin, like that of the 1810 and 1822 visitors, may well have been beyond Chesterfield Inlet.

The regular visitors to Churchill introduced a change in the pattern of trade in 1815, probably in response to Company methods. In years when Augustine's people stayed to hunt seal and whale, the Company frequently refused to give them trade goods to the full value of their furs until sealing and whaling were finished. The words of a

journalist a dozen years later sum up the Company's method for encouraging a maximum seal harvest.

The Esquimaux ... begged very hard to trade their furs in and return immediately to their families but being such a fine prospect of their killing seals and whales I would not listen to the requests -- consequently told them to leave their furs etc in the store the only means we have of compelling them to stop and go down to the old Fort to kill seals (B42/a/154, June 10, 1828).

In 1815, for the first but definitely not the last, time, the people emulated the traders, and held back a substantial part of their commodities. On August 21, a month after their arrival, they produced a second lot of furs, consisting of more than 25 percent of their total fox catch, 50 percent of the wolves, and 30 percent of their wolverines.

By the 1820s, the marine-mammal hunt at the post was becoming more than an occasional alternative to fall back on in times of need. In 1823,<sup>44</sup> fifty-nine men, most accompanied by families, traded at the post. The first group consisted of fifteen men with their families, who settled at Seahorse Gully. One of the men was Augustine's brother, Astanik; another was Astanik's step-son, Anaguniak. The products they brought reflected a combination of coast and inland harvesting -- ivory, skins and pelts of fox, deer, wolverine, wolf, marten, and muskox, muskox wool, some

---

<sup>44</sup>All information concerning Inuit activities at the post in 1823 is from the unpagged Eskimo Trading Book, 1823, B42/d/111.

line, a model canoe for the souvenir trade, and skin boots. Two men, Gahugana and Hulishituk, bought new guns, the latter at a cost of twelve MB; Kigugavegak paid four MB for a second-hand gun, and Kujuak paid twelve MB for one that was nearly new; Kajuk made a direct exchange of ten white fox furs for a second-hand gun. All fifteen men bought powder.

Another sixteen men traded a day or two later. The commodities they brought would seem to divide them into two groups, one with an inland orientation, the other still to some extent engaged in coastal activities. The first five to trade brought pelts and skins only, including substantial numbers of fox pelts compared to the other men, many of whom brought none at all. None of them brought ivory or other products associated with marine mammals. Four of them -- Hukutayuyuk, Sigatlegayuk, Utkana, and Edliek -- bought second-hand guns valued at eight, six, four and three Made Beaver. Of the other eleven men, nine of them brought ivory, but in small amounts -- two men had seven pounds each, one had five pounds, two had three pounds each, and the other had only two pounds, one pound, or "some." The rest of their commodities consisted of fox, wolf, wolverine, deer and muskox skins, and some muskox wool, all in much smaller quantities than were brought by the five more affluent hunters who bought guns. All of them bought powder, as well as tobacco, and some kind of metal cutting



tool -- a knife, bayonet, chisel or hatchet. The difference in buying power of the men with inland products and those with marine products suggests that inlanders were somewhat more affluent than their compatriots who maintained connections with the coast.

Last to arrive that year were twenty-eight men with families. Augustine and his friend, Utack, acting as advance men, arrived ahead of the main body and were sent back by the post master with presents of powder, shot and tobacco for the men, and oatmeal, biscuits, beads, powder and shot for their wives. This group of twenty-eight co-travellers can also be separated into two sub-groups, according to the goods they brought for trade, their activities while in Churchill, and the amount of personal knowledge entered in the account book by the Company's clerks. Presumably much of the information was obtained from Augustine.

Of nine men whose names head the account book list, only three actually traded on arrival. On the evening of June 3, Nahugawe delivered thirty-nine caribou tongues to the post. The next morning Alecamik received credit for twenty-two tongues, and Ullebuck the Elder was credited with four deer skins. The other six men, including Itiviana, brother of Junius and friend of Augustine, opened accounts, received small amounts of tobacco, powder and shot, but did not trade until August 11. During the intervening two

months, the men hunted seals and whales at the Churchill and Seal Rivers. On August 11, just before returning to their winter homes, the men traded. Alecamik traded in an old gun valued at two MB for a new one worth six. Apsayuak bought a new gun.

Seventeen others, with whom Augustine was closely associated, traded between June 4 and June 7 (See Figure 4-4). Five of them brought caribou tongues and skins which were credited to them when they opened their accounts. Like their ten travelling companions they spent June at the sealing grounds, but at the end of the month left without joining the whale hunt at Seal River.

Every one of the fifty-nine men, except a half dozen, each specifically identified as "a boy," bought powder. Nine bought guns, and two others brought guns in for repairs. For the first time goods that might be described as luxury items were purchased -- six coats, three shirts, a sash, four tobacco boxes, and six yards of gartering.

Although the people of Knapp's Bay had summered in a multicultural environment for two or three generations, many of the people from Augustine's miut were experiencing it for the first time. In 1815 several disturbances had to be dealt with by the traders. On June 9, an Inuit woman took a sauce pan from the Company's kitchen door, which her people returned, minus its handles, when pressed by the Company

Figure 4-4 A Camp of Augustine's Miut (B42/d/111, 1823)

Utack

Utack's son

Utack's daughter, who brought seals to be credited to her father's account.

Pingnaiwak, brother of Utack

Pingnaiwak's wife, who brought seals to be credited to his account.

Atagona

Kupak, son of Atagona, who brought some seals to be credited to his father's account, and transferred credit from his own to his father's account so the family could buy a kettle.

Utchiputak, son of Atagona

Hanawana

Attukatack, son of Hanawana, who twice brought seals to be credited to his father's account so the family could buy a kettle.

Uiuiak

'a boy,' son of Uiuiak

Utukuguyyak, son of Uiuiak

Kalikti and Ariuk (gender unknown); both brought seals to be credited to Utukuguyyak's account.

Anaqchuk, son of Uiuiak

Awituak

Benashuak

Katchthleghachiluk

Deewaweeak, son of Naetkilak

Augustine's brother and step-nephew were in the first group to arrive in 1823, but Augustine himself was travelling with the group noted above. His knowledge of the relationships in that group, plus the fact of his travelling with them, suggest that his closest ties were with them. He was married by this time and when he was not wintering at the fort, he may have lived in his wife's family's camp. The people whose names are underlined (and the unnamed 'Utack's son') are men who hunted seals at Churchill and had accounts in their own names. Kalikti and Ariuk were probably women. Other wives, daughters and children are not named in the trading book.

cook (B42/a/148:35). The Inuit understanding of private ownership was not the Company's. Nor was it Chipewyan. A week after the sauce pan incident, the Chipewyan complained to the post master for justice in the matter of a gun which they claimed an Eskimo had stolen from one of their number. At the tent village, they identified the accused, who was standing, gun in hand with four of his friends equipped with guns and bayonets, facing down fourteen armed Chipewyan. The trader confiscated the disputed gun, gave it to its self-proclaimed Indian owner, and sent him and his friends away to their own camp before questioning the Inuit. Their story was that one of their people had exchanged guns with a Chipewyan, who, on careful inspection, judged it to be useless. The original owner, however, refused to reverse the exchange. When questioned, all the Chipewyan agreed with every detail of the story (B42/a/148:36). The trouble had not arisen from different understandings of the facts of the case, but from different understandings of what constituted a sale. The Chipewyan evidently believed in some kind of consumer protection, at least when they were the consumers; the Inuit believed in the principle of caveat emptor, and the finality of all sales, at least when they were the sellers.

Few instances of hostile or violent relations between Inuit and Chipewyan were recorded during the years that the two groups met frequently in Churchill. A Northern Indian

reported that one of his countrymen was "plundered" by Eskimos after leaving the fort in July, 1818 (B42/a/144:2; B42/a/148:64). Post master William Ross put all his men on the alert during the next few years. In 1819 he worried that the presence of large numbers of Inuit and Chipewyan at the fort might lead to trouble (B42/a/148, July 28). The number of Inuit caused him concern again the following year. Before leaving for York Factory in June 1820, he talked to the Eskimo about keeping the peace, evidently securing their promise. "I think they will offer no violence," he wrote, but took the precaution of reminding his staff that the next expected group would probably include Otuck (Utack?) and Atawinah, who could be relied on to keep the peace, partly because they both spoke some Cree and could act as interpreters. One wonders if his concern sprang from problems in Cree-Inuit relations. His instructions were that if Company property were endangered, the "Chipewyan youths," evidently home-guard Indians, should be called in to defend it (B42/a/148:83; B42/a/145:6).

Hugh Leslie, the new post master in 1821, described an incident which may be evidence either for or against hostility between the two groups. In the spring of 1822, an "Esquemaux youth" was brought to Churchill by some Chipewyan "with whom he was starving." Leslie "gave him cloathing and everything else to make him comfortable ... [and] retained him for the purpose of being an interpreter." Nevertheless,

to Leslie's obvious disappointment, the young man left the post suddenly and without a word after the trading visit of a group of his compatriots (B42/a/147:33-34).

Hostile relations certainly did not seem to exist in at least three Chipewyan-Inuit camps in 1821 and 1822. On November 11, 1821, eight Chipewyan men and youths arrived at the post after a fourteen-day journey from their camp bringing 250 pounds of venison and "about 20 White Foxes and a few Wolves which they had traded from the Esquemaux in the summer. I understand two men and a wife of that Tribe are now at their tents and intends to pass the winter with them. What induced them to this I am unable to learn but it seems it was their own wish" (B42/a/147:8).

The next year, both Chipewyan and Inuit were hunting geese under the supervision of James Dunning at North Point, a short distance from the post. On September 4, one of the Inuit arrived to pick up supplies of tobacco and rum for the Indians (B42/a/149:3-4). Shortly after, on Friday, September 13, a party consisting of at least two Inuit men, one of them the messenger of the week before, and three Chipewyan men arrived to deliver the ten-year old son of one of the Eskimos who was to spend the winter at the post with Hugh Leslie, the post master, learning English. In Leslie's absence, the temporary chief, Robert Harding, accepted the boy "who I intend to keep knowing it to be the wish of Mr Leslie -- I have named the boy Friday" (B42/a/149:4;

B42/a/150:8). The boy was reclaimed the following spring (B42/a/149:31).

Hugh Leslie noted another bicultural camp on November 5. Among arrivals was a group of Chipewyan "who had spent the summer on the plains ... Two Esquemaux arrived with them who have been among the Indians now 2 years." The visit was brief. On November 7, "the above Indians and the two Esquemaux left the house ... Late in the evening one of the Esquemaux returned to the House the N° Indians having left him" (B42/a/150:12). Leslie nicknamed him Moses and took him to Churchill Creek to join a group of Company servants fishing in hopes that the newcomer could "keep himself" (B42/a/149:13. In the event it happened that he could "keep himself" very well, proving to be a better angler than any of the other fishermen, and competent at a variety of other jobs around the post as well. He remained a Company employee off and on for the next decade.

One might wish that Hugh Leslie had supplied some details on the marital status of the men, both Inuit and Chipewyan, and the whereabouts and origins of possible wives, (who, of course, may have been with the party in Churchill but not mentioned by either Harding or Leslie), and the circumstances that led to the formation of the bicultural camps. A few genetic studies of Inuit and Chipewyan indicate that there was little, if any, racial mixing (Szathmary 1979), and Leslie's too sparse account

offers nothing to change the accepted views. However, that some intercultural relations resulting in mixed-blood offspring took place is indicated in the 1823 Eskimo Trading Book. Kayugana, a member of the same camp as Augustine's brother and step-nephew, is identified there as "the same who asked Mr. Wat for the powder after he called for a speech from them, a Chips son and a fine fellow" (B42/d/111).



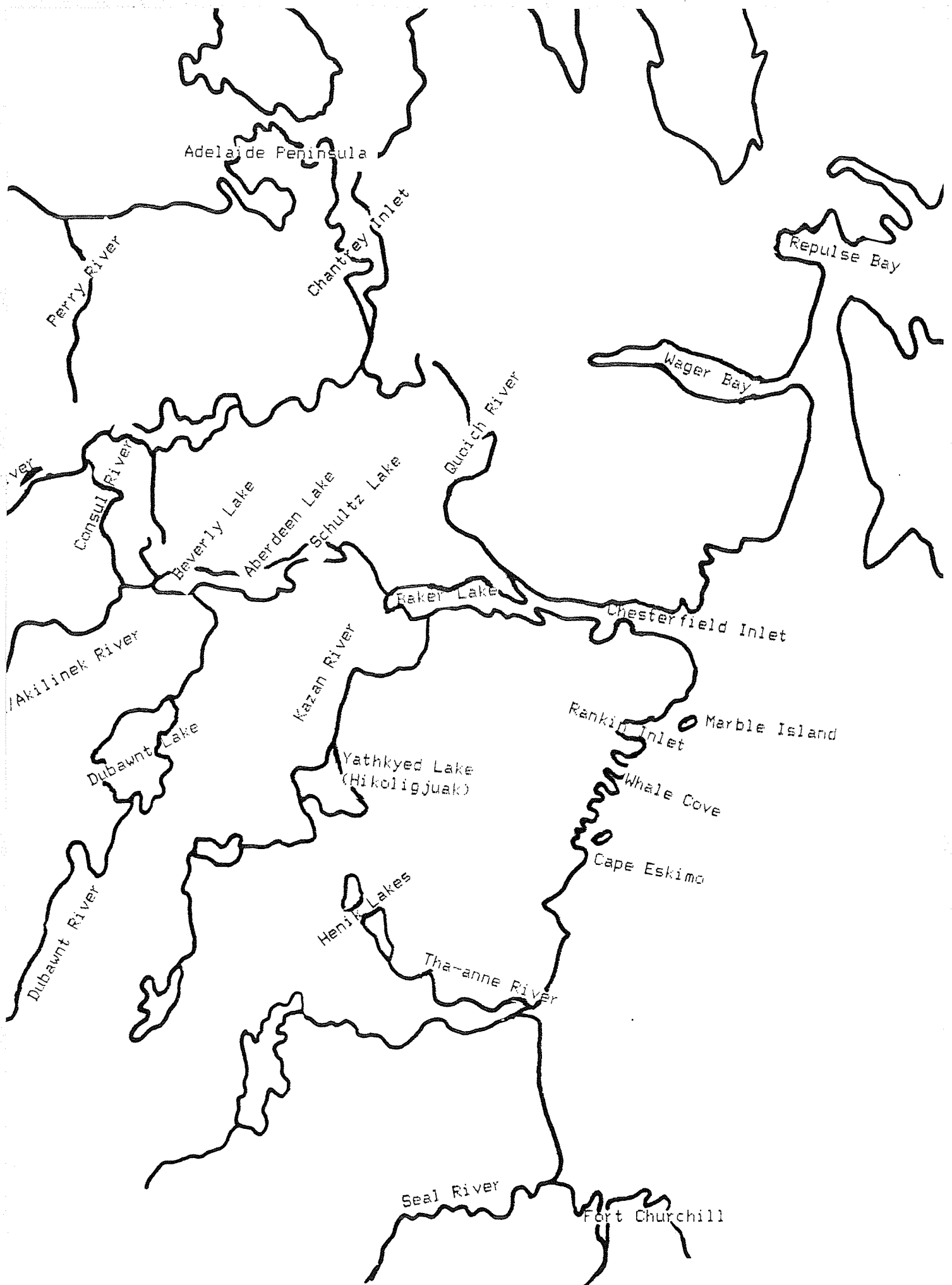


Figure 5 Central barren lands west of Hudson Bay

## CHAPTER 5

### THE KEEWATIN INUIT AND INTERBAND RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

While Magnus Johnston's idea that trade took place between the Marble Island people, tentatively identified as the Sauneqtormiut, and more southerly miuts in the mid-eighteenth century is suggestive, the first hard evidence of inter-band trade did not appear until 1816.

Very few Esquimaux are expected to visit this place during summer the greatest part of those who denominate regular traders having gone to trade with more northern tribes of Esquimaux and will be here in spring 1817. Indeed this is what they told us last summer when here (B42/a/148, July 14).

Although the precise site of the gathering is unknown, the general location and at least some of the participants can be tentatively identified. North of Augustine's miut were the Sauneqtormiut, and north of them the Qairnirmiut of Chesterfield Inlet, who summered at the coast and spent the winters up the inlet. Beyond their northern border were the Aivilingmiut of Repulse Bay, whom Augustine said his people sometimes traded with (Franklin 1924 [1823]:235), and the Iglulingmiut. After 1792 when the Company had ended its trading and exploration voyages, the northerly miuts had no easy access to European goods, but there is no reason to believe that they ceased to want chisels, hatchets, knives, and possibly even guns and ammunition. In order to get them

they would have had to travel to the post, as the three people from "a very far country" did in 1815 wanting to buy muskets (B42/a/148, September 19), or depend on "the existence among Hudson Bay tribes of a surplus of European goods and a propensity to exchange them for other commodities" (W.G. Ross 1975:72). Augustine's miut would have had no trouble amassing a surplus. It is interesting and suggestive to note that in 1813, the year Augustine's people did not come for him, very few other Inuit came to the post either. In 1814 and 1815, however, they came in great numbers and brought record catches of fox furs -- nearly 2000 in the two years combined. In 1815, they engaged in sealing and whaling near the post for an unusually long period -- May 3 to August 21. At the end of the 1815 summer, they traded every MB to their credit for the metal cutting tools so useful in hunting and fishing. In 1816, they were "gone to trade with more northern tribes," as they said, returning in 1817.

The closest neighbours of Augustine's miut were the Sauneqtormiut and Qairnirmiut. Augustine had visited the former. He described Marble Island, the farthest north he himself had ever been, and knew of the loss of the James Knight expedition there a century earlier. He recognized Chesterfield Inlet on a map shown him by John Franklin, described its high spring tides, and knew about a river (possibly the Quoich, possibly the lower Thelon between

Baker Lake and the inlet) that flowed into its western end (Franklin 1924 [1823]:235).

Others of his miut had similar knowledge. In 1823 at Churchill, the English-speaking Augustine introduced the Reverend John West to many of his people. One of them, borrowing West's pencil, drew a map of the coast and Chesterfield Inlet, "pointing out to me the particular rivers where the women speared salmon in the rapids in summer, while the men were employed in killing the deer"<sup>45</sup> (West 1967 [1823]:161).

Augustine also introduced West to people from Chesterfield Inlet who identified some of the participants of the inter-miut gatherings and the reasons for them.

A few of the Esquimaux who came to the fort, were from Chesterfield Inlet.... They informed me that a great many of the Esquimaux meet in summer about Chesterfield Inlet; that some come down from the great lake to the north, and that they had met some, who had seen two very large canoes when there was no ice.... This information led me to suppose that they were the discovery ships, under the command of Captain Parry.... The object of the Esquimaux in meeting from different tribes at Chesterfield Inlet every year, is to barter with those principally who trade at Churchill Factory, and also with some Northern Indians, who exchange what European articles they may have for fish-hooks made of bone, and sinew lines, and skins (West 1967 [1823]:165-66).

Any attempt to identify the "great lake to the north" is complicated by a number of problems. Did the word

---

<sup>45</sup>The map-maker's method -- drawing an outline map, while verbally indicating the locations of resources -- is typical of other Inuit cartographers. See Chapter 2.

translated as "north" have the same meaning in Inuktitut as it has in English? If Augustine was the interpreter on this occasion it may have had, but West had another, unnamed interpreter as well, and his use of English may have been quite unlike Augustine's. If the key words relating to geographical orientation were "come down from the great lake," then the lake referred to could be Baker, Schultz, Aberdeen or Beverly at the western end of the Chesterfield Inlet waterway. To travel from any of them to the inlet would certainly have involved "coming down." In that case, the travellers could have been Uqusiksalikmiut from Chantrey Inlet, or visitors from the arctic coast. If, on the other hand, "north" was used in the European cartographic sense, then the "great lake" was probably one of the salt-water basins either east or west of Melville Peninsula, as there are no "great lakes" north of the inlet. The travellers would in that case have been Aivilingmiut or Iglulingmiut.

Other details of their story suggest that this was the case. They reported meeting other people who had seen ships which West, probably correctly, identified as Parry's Hecla and Fury. Parry was in Lyon Inlet and Repulse Bay in the summer of 1821 among the Aivilingmiut, and at Hecla and Fury Strait in the summer of 1822, where he met large numbers of Iglulingmiut.

One other clue supports the interpretation that the people were Aivilingmiut or Iglulingmiut. They were said to

have traded sinew lines to the Chipewyan (West 1967 [1823]:166). Sinew lines could be, and probably were, made by the Chipewyan themselves from caribou, but deer sinew does not have the strength of seal line, which is one of the reasons that seal line was an Inuit product gladly traded for by the Churchill traders -- it was a useful item for their own use and could be traded to the Chipewyan as well. Walrus line, however, is even stronger. The Aivilingmiut (aivick; ivick = walrus) and Iglulingmiut, with access to the walrus grounds and the ability to manufacture walrus line, had a product much in demand among inland and more southerly peoples.

In return for their walrus products -- line, ivory and the extremely tough, hard-wearing skins -- the Melville Peninsula people probably received metal. Parry described fairly abundant supplies of iron in use among the Aivilingmiut near Repulse Bay in 1819-20 and identified the source as the Hudson's Bay Company post at Churchill.

The men were well supplied with a ... kind [of knife], made of iron.... [The iron blade] is firmly secured into a handle of bone or wood, above a foot long, by two or three iron rivets.... For these, and several knives of European form, they are probably indebted to an indirect communication with our factories in Hudson's Bay. The same can be observed of the best of their women's knives, on one of which, of a larger size than usual, were the names of "Wild & Sorby." When of their own manufacture, the only iron part was a little narrow slip let into the bone and secured by rivets (Parry 1824:503-504).

The presence of other items in one of the camps -- two large copper kettles, several knives, and pieces of copper, iron and old files, along with a small axe on which was etched the name 'Foster' -- Parry attributed to "communication along shore with Hudson's Bay" (Parry 1824:504), Parry did not specify by what means he thought such communication might have taken place. He would probably have rejected the possibility of long-distance travel between Melville Peninsula and Churchill, believing that Nuvuk (Noovook) at Lyon Inlet was "about the ne plus ultra of their united knowledge in a southerly direction" (Parry 1824:513).<sup>46</sup> It is more likely that he thought the trading post items came into the possession of the Melville Peninsula miuts through interband trade. His second-in-command, Captain George Lyon, agreed that trade with the people of Chesterfield Inlet and farther south was the source of all European goods used by the Aivilingmiut and Iglulingmiut (Lyon 1821:346). He identified Akkolee (Repulse Bay) as a "principal rendezvous" of the Aivilingmiut and the site where they traded with the Iglulingmiut. It was here at inter-miut gatherings that the

---

<sup>46</sup>If Parry was right about this in 1822, the situation had changed by 1866. In that year, Armou, an Aivilingmiut living at Repulse Bay, drew a map for Charles Francis Hall of his (Armou's) travels. "It embraced a section of country from Pond's Bay ... to Fort Churchill" (Hall 1979:225-226). It is just as likely that Parry was mistaken and that in 1822 and before routes to Churchill were known and used.

Iglulingmiut formed their unwavering belief that kabloonas (non-natives) possessed unlimited supplies of both iron and wood (Lyon 1821:341).

Augustine's statement that his people traded with the Aivilingmiut, then, is supported by considerable external evidence. The meeting place was at Chesterfield Inlet, it was a regularly recurring event, and it was probably where Augustine's people went in 1816.

Another gathering of miuts took place at Hikoligjuak (Yathkyed Lake). Like the meeting at Chesterfield Inlet described to John West, it had an intercultural flavour -- members of the Churchill Chipewyan band attended regularly, and in 1832 took some Athabaskan Chipewyan with them. The visitors described it as the "annual meeting with other Esquimaux at Yath Kyed" (Simpson 1843:71). In the 1890s both Inuit and Chipewyan continued to attend the Hikoligjuak gatherings, at which soapstone for pipes, and sled dogs were the commodities most sought by the Chipewyan (Lofthouse 1922:160). As late as 1930 the coast people south of Rankin Inlet continued to meet there in the summer, often joined by people from the Kazan and Dubawnt Rivers, and sometimes by the Chipewyan (Henry Voisey, 1988, pers. comm.).

Inter-cultural trade also occurred between Chipewyan and Inuit groups near the Kazan River in mid-century as a by-product of hunting. One such meeting was witnessed by Father Alphonse Gasté in 1868. In June, both groups were



waiting for the caribou to pass northward and occupied their time visiting back and forth between camps and trading. During the hunt, the groups remained separate, each conducting its own hunt, but always within a few hours of each other. In the five or six weeks between the northward migration and the return of the deer, visiting and trading were resumed. During the southward migration hunting followed the earlier pattern, except that five Inuit men, apparently without families, joined Father Gasté in the Chipewyan camp and continued to travel with them after the hunt until their return to Churchill in November (Gasté 1869:9-12).

Towards the end of the century, as Europeans more frequently visited the Keewatin interior, evidence of trade between the miuts accumulated. The Tyrrell brothers, exploring the Dubawnt River in 1893, visited more than a dozen Inuit camps. At one, a large tin kettle, two old guns and a pair of moleskin trousers prompted a number of questions. The items had been acquired through trade with other Inuit. "We satisfied ourselves that the family were accustomed to meet the Eskimos from Hudson Bay who trade at Fort Churchill or Marble Island" (J.W. Tyrrell 1898:107). The trade meetings took place where the Dubawnt River empties into Beverly Lake.

In 1908 Inspector E.A. Pelletier of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police led a six-man patrol down the Thelon River to

Beverly Lake. On August 12, they came upon a camp of three tents, the inhabitants being seven women, ten children and fifteen well-fed dogs. The men were all absent having gone to Hudson Bay by way of Chesterfield Inlet to trade with the whalers at Cape Fullerton. Pelletier noted the general prosperity of the camp. The women were fishing, using manufactured nets, of which they had a "large" number, and around the camp were other "useful articles" of European origin as well as looking glasses, beads and other unspecified "luxuries" (RCMP 1910:155). The fishing was obviously successful to judge by the full drying racks near the water's edge and the abundant stores of dried fish in the camp. Pelletier made no guess as to where these people may have come from, but the abundance of European articles in camp suggests that they had frequent contact with whalers and traders, or with their countrymen who did.

The Caribou Eskimo miuts not only had trading relations among themselves and with the Chipewyan; they conducted commercial relations with miuts from the arctic coast. Augustine, after eight years as an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, showed an appropriate interest in who traded with whom. He told Franklin that his people traded with the "Ootkooseekkalingsmoeoot [Uqusiksalikmiut], or Stone-Kettle Esquimaux [who] reside more to the westward; the Kang-orr-moeoot [Kanghirmiut], or White Goose Esquimaux, [who]

describe themselves as coming from a great distance" (Franklin 1924 [1823]:235).

If Augustine said where the Kanghirmiut met his people, the information is not recorded, nor is their exact place of origin. Augustine's story that the summer before their most recent visit to Hudson Bay, their village was attacked by Indians suggested to Franklin that the Kanghirmiut must be from the Anatesy River<sup>47</sup> where "Copper" Indians had attacked an Inuit camp either two years before or after the date Augustine gave, but which Franklin unfortunately did not record (Franklin 1924 [1823]:235). Two facts suggest another possibility. First is the self-identification of the travellers as Kanghirmiut, meaning people of the white goose. The major nesting ground of the white, or snow, goose is just south and east of Perry River. Second is the discovery near the mouth of the Perry River of a paddle which Augustine "on examination, declared ... to be made after the fashion of the White Goose Esquimaux" (Franklin 1924 [1823]:336). Neither identification can be eliminated from consideration; neither can be confirmed.

The Uqusiksalikmiut, people of the soapstone place, the third miut that Augustine said traded with his people, lived at Franklin Lake and the lower Back River. It is certain

---

<sup>47</sup>Chipewyan Anadese, possibly the Unanaedese, the seventeenth river on "The map of seventeen rivers" (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:86).

that they had access to European goods, and that interband trade over very long distances was well within their capacity. Their first contact with Europeans in their own country took place in 1833-35, when Captain George Back of the Royal Navy led an expedition down the Great Fish River, known to the Chipewyan as Thlew-ee-choh, and to the Inuit as Irgalikjuak. The meaning of the name is the same in all three languages. The original and primary purpose of the journey was to find news of, and bring relief to, the exploration party of Sir John Ross, who had failed to return from his voyage of exploration near Boothia Peninsula. At Fort Reliance in the spring of 1834, Back received word that the Ross expedition had returned safely to England, but that he should nevertheless proceed in order to fulfil the "second object viz. completing the coast line of the northeastern extremity of America" (Back 1836:19). The party accordingly set out.

While still on the upper reaches of the river, Back noticed numerous piles of rock and gravel obviously not the result of natural forces. He called them "Eskimo marks" and speculated that they were route markers set up by Inuit travellers as guide posts. He was particularly struck by the orientation of a long row of markers "all pointed N.E. and S.W. with as much precision as if they had been so placed by compass" (Back 1836:334). He concluded that they indicated Eskimo camps to the northeast. Only a few miles

farther on, the main river was joined by another, flowing from the east. "Some Esquimaux marks on the banks seemed to point this out as their line of route" (Back 1836:334). The smaller river he named the Baillie. Estimating his location as about 117 miles (188 kilometres) southeast of Bathurst Inlet and 158 miles (254 kilometres) west of Chesterfield Inlet,<sup>48</sup> he wondered from which of those places the mark-makers had come. Nearly a century later, the junction of the Great Fish and Baillie Rivers was identified as part of a major travel route between Bathurst Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet (Jenness in Anderson 1855:fn 189). Such an idea never crossed Back's mind. In the nineteenth century, the Inuit were generally understood to be a marine people who never ventured inland.

I confess that these unequivocal traces of the 'shivering tenants' of the arctic zone did not a little surprise me; since on former occasions we had not found them at a distance from the coast. Was it possible, I asked myself, that we were nearer the sea than I had imagined? (Back 1836:333).

Proceeding downriver, he continued to note Eskimo marks. Some of them he identified, probably correctly, as deer blinds, while others continued to puzzle him. A few days later another series of marks caught his attention. The river had become a spider's web of waterways, some of

---

<sup>48</sup>Back greatly underestimated the distance. From the junction of the Great Fish and Baillie Rivers it is nearly 300 miles to Chesterfield Inlet.

them dead ends, others seemingly endless detours leading back to their point of origin. Because he felt so strongly that the marks were native road signs, he followed a series, all pointing northeast, and found they led him out of the maze and into Garry Lake (Back 1836:348). The Eskimo marks he saw were signposts, *nakkatain*, a common sight on the barren lands, some being set out to indicate good fishing spots or caribou crossings, and others intended "to guide the hunter back to camp" (Jenness 1922:148).

Back's first meeting with Inuit, on July 28, was at a camp consisting of about thirty-five men, women and children, who had never seen white men before. Two very old women had "short and rudely fashioned iron knives" (Back 1836:381) and most of the others had knives and arrows of

rough iron, [that] had probably been obtained by barter from their eastern neighbours; a conjecture to which I am inclined to attach the more weight from the fact that the models of some of their little presents resembled the Indian daggers disposed of at the Company's posts throughout the country (Back 1836:385-86).

One man complied with Back's gestured request for a map, pausing to indicate with pointing arm the direction of some of the features he was drawing. The geography lesson ended with the teacher pointing out to his pupil the location of muskox herds to the east-south-east, and the eastward route his band took to reach Akkolee (Repulse Bay), the western limit of Iglulingmiut and Aivilingmiut territory (Back 1836:386-87).

It was not until his return up the river that Back encountered another native camp. At the eastern end of Garry Lake on August 31, between sixty and seventy people had pitched their tents at a spot that had been unoccupied two weeks earlier. That they had not come up the river was clear, or the two groups would have met earlier. The only explanation for their sudden appearance was that they had somehow come **down** the river behind Back's party, leading him to conclude that the newcomers were from Chesterfield Inlet or Wager Bay on the Hudson Bay coast (Back 1836:438). They might also have been south Keewatin people from the Dubawnt or Kazan Rivers.

In 1855, Chief Factor James Anderson, also in search of a missing expedition, that of Sir John Franklin, led the second European descent of the Great Fish River, now officially renamed the Back River by the British Admiralty. He first encountered an Inuit group at the junction of the McKinley and the Back, just upriver from Garry Lake.

From signs they made they came down McKinley R. and most probably belong to the Chesterfield Inlet tribe. Their boots were made of deerskins and Musk ox soles, and their canoes of deer parchment, paddles of spruce, spear heads of iron; one of their women had bracelets of round common beads, and the oldest man brought down some wolf and white fox skins to trade, which we could not take at present (Anderson 1855:54:12:135).

Diamond Jenness disagreed with Anderson's identification. "They were Back River or Sangningajormiut Eskimo, an inland tribe that obtained its iron, glass beads

and other European objects by trading with Gaernermiut Eskimo around Chesterfield Inlet" (Jenness in Anderson 1955:54:12:135), fn 144). The disagreement should perhaps be settled in favour of Anderson. He was familiar with the clothing and hair-dressing styles of the Hudson Bay Inuit, as well as the design of their kayaks, tents, and utensils, and possibly also with some of the vocabulary differences between Qairnirmiut and Sangningajormiut. There is nothing unlikely in the suggestion that Qairnirmiut might spend the late summer hunting season at Garry Lake. Anderson's meeting with people on the McKinley River on July 20, 1855 may explain how the group that Back met at Garry Lake on August 31, 1834, reached their destination. Although both Anderson and Back concluded that the people they saw were from Chesterfield Inlet, they may just as easily have been from the Kazan or Dubawnt Rivers; as late as 1855, the presence of permanent inhabitants on the two inland rivers was still unknown to Europeans.<sup>49</sup> Regardless of who the campers were, their possession of Churchill trade items indicates communication and a trading connection between the lower Back River and Hudson Bay.

Anderson continued to recognize Hudson's Bay Company goods far to the northwest of their point of origin. Two

---

<sup>49</sup>The fact of their presence inland, in what had been strictly Chipewyan country when Hearne crossed it ninety years earlier, reached European ears sometime before 1860, when Father Gasté began making plans to visit them.



tents of people camped between Pelly and Garry Lakes on July 22 had two tin kettles and a number of knives that Anderson identified as Fort Churchill trade goods. Retracing his route back up the river, he revisited the campsite on August 20, noting that it had more than doubled in size, two of the newcomers being men who had been at McKinley River exactly a month earlier. In the enlarged camp Anderson identified more items of Fort Churchill trading stock. Two other people who had been part of the group met on July 22 were at yet another camp, consisting of about twenty people a bit farther upriver. Anderson described several stone kettles seen there as having been made from five slabs of sandstone cemented together, a style made only on the west coast of Hudson Bay (Anderson 1855:55(2):25; Jenness in Anderson, fn 186).

Like Back, Anderson recorded a number of nakkatain, Eskimo marks, that he also interpreted as route markers. On July 19 he used the nakkatain to find his way out of a labyrinth of islands on the Back River, and again on July 26 to choose the safest route through the Escape Rapids. On the 29th, following the marks at the end of Franklin Lake saved him hours of searching for the outlet. Families whose permanent homes were on Back River and its three large lakes could have depended on long familiarity with the natural features of the land to find their way around. The presence

of so many nakkatain suggests that they were for the benefit of travellers less familiar with the best routes.

The existence of regular communication and trade between the arctic coast and the bay coast by way of the Back River is confirmed by the records of other European travellers. In 1879, a family group of fifteen men, women and children guided Frederick Schwatka's party, searching for Franklin expedition records, from Wager Bay to King William Island using tributaries of the Back River (Gilder 1966 [1881]:25-26). A Back River man, Nowleyout, who had made two trips to a Gairnirmiut village recommended his route from a Back River tributary to the headwaters of the Quoich River flowing into Chesterfield Inlet (Schwatka 1965 [1880]:104).

The Back River and its lakes as a route between Copper and Caribou Eskimo has never received serious attention from historians or anthropologists. The fieldwork investigations of the Copper Eskimo conducted by Stefansson and Jenness between 1908 and 1918, resulting in detailed descriptions of trade among the miuts of that major territorial group, led them to believe that trade, communication and travel between the two territorial groups occurred on a barren lands river, the Akilinek, whose exact location was unknown (Jenness 1922:48-49; Stefansson 1914:6, 21).

That Akilinek was a river at all was disputed by the Greenlandic explorer and anthropologist, Knud Rasmussen.

That it was in some way central to Inuit trade relations was one of his most basic beliefs. He believed that it was the site of

a great trading fair.... once one of the most renowned marketing places for all Coast Eskimos, for the arctic coast, Hudson Bay, and even the Copper Eskimos (Rasmussen 1930:8).

"Great trading fairs" were part of Greenlandic life in the eighteenth century, and Rasmussen was predisposed to believe that Akilinek was just such a trade mart. Like Atlantis, El Dorado and the Kingdom of Prester John in European legend, Akilinek was part of Greenland's mythology. In the myths, Akilinek was a land abounding in fish, game, wood and soapstone, whose inhabitants owned superior tools and domestic goods, had unusual skills at hunting, fishing and fighting, and were guided by angekot (shamans) with extraordinary abilities to control both natural and supernatural worlds (Rink 1875:#4,17,37,45,128; Birket-Smith 1924:223). Heinrich Rink, Greenland's Royal Inspector in the mid-nineteenth century and compiler of the first collection of legends, believed that the tales were distant memories of a real place.

Akilinek is now by the Greenlanders considered a fabulous country beyond the sea; but it may be supposed to have been a real country opposite to the original homesteads of their ancestors.... [The stories were] apparently referring to certain occurrences which must have taken place during the stay of the primeval Eskimo on the shores of the American continent (Rink 1974 [1875]:109,248).

Akilinek also appeared in the folk-lore of the North Alaskan Inuit recorded in 1882 by John Murdoch and P.H. Ray of the American Polar Expedition to Point Barrow. Believing that all myth embodies some culture memory, Ray accepted "that these Eskimos are really acquainted with an unexplored land in the north." Murdoch disagreed, considering them "more probably referable to the same category as the numerous tales of the eastern Eskimos about the mythical land of Akiliniq" (Murdoch 1886:598).

The members of the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24 also disagreed on the reality of Akilinek. Kaj Birket-Smith was firmly of the opinion "that the name does not refer to any definite locality," while Rasmussen believed he had found its exact location on the northern shores of Lake Beverly in the central Canadian barren lands (Birket-Smith 1924:223; Rasmussen 1933:76).

Akilineq is not a river, as has been supposed, but a ridge, which has received its name : 'The land on the other side' because the Eskimos used to have their camps down by the river on the opposite side to the bank where the Akilineq hills lay. The river has no especial Eskimo name (Rasmussen 1930:27, 28).

Akilinek was a river, and its name and location were no mystery to David Hanbury, a British explorer, who in 1899 undertook to cross the still uncharted lands between Hudson Bay and Great Slave Lake. Unlike his predecessors in the area -- Samuel Hearne in 1770, George Back in 1833-35, James Anderson in 1855, and Joseph Tyrrell in 1893-94 -- who all

approached the barren lands from the south or west with Indian guides, Hanbury travelled from the east, and so became the first European to hear and record the Inuit name for the river. Among British explorers, Hanbury was unusual in believing that native place names should always be used. He reasoned that native names frequently included topographically descriptive words which made places more easily identifiable by strangers (Hanbury 1904:36). In making the effort to find and record Inuit place names, he learned of the river which the Inuit called Akilinek.

The headwaters of the river had been known, but under a different name, since Back's overland expedition. During the Franklin exploration of 1819-22, of which Back had been a junior member, he had heard of two rivers, rising close together and flowing more or less side by side to the arctic coast. In the planning of his own expedition in 1833, Chipewyan guides described the more westerly of the rivers, the Thlew-ee-choh, as evil, dangerous and unnavigable. The other river, which they called Teh-lon, seemed a better choice to them.

Why should the chief wish to go there [to the Thlew-ee-choh], when the Teh-lon is not only nearer, but offers him so many more advantages? where he will find musk ox, moose, and reindeer, wood, fish, and animals wherewith to pass a comfortable winter.... Our fathers did go down the Thlew-ee-choh, when they made war on the Esquimaux, a long time ago

but few of them returned and none were alive to tell about the barren land rivers (Back 1836:85-86). Although they were familiar with the headwaters of both rivers, and knew that one was shoal, exposed and difficult, while the other was deep, gentle and wooded, they did not know the ultimate destination of either river. Back chose the Thlew-ee-choh, the Great Fish River now called the Back River, which turned out to be just as dangerous and unpleasant as the Chipewyan had said it was, and led him to the arctic coast. He recorded the approximate location of the Teh-lon headwaters on his map, and its course remained a mystery for another half century.<sup>50</sup> Not until Hanbury crossed the barren lands from the east was the Inuit Akilinek identified as the Chipewyan Teh-lon.

'Akilinek' was mentioned frequently by Victoria Island and arctic coast Inuit informants during the 1908-1918 Canadian Arctic Expeditions as their primary source of wood. Stefansson and Jenness both understood it to be a river where accidental meetings between miuts or camps from the arctic coast and from Hudson Bay led to interband trade (Jenness 1922:48; Stefansson 1914:6). As they considered Barter Island the link between Alaskan and Mackenzie Inuit, and Cape Bathurst as the point where Mackenzie and Copper Eskimo trade networks intersected, they identified the

---

<sup>50</sup>Back also used the names The-lew and Thelew-dezeth in his journal (Back 1836:129; Hanbury 1904:10).

Akilinek River as the connection between Copper and Caribou Eskimo.

Hanbury's experience at Beverly Lake in 1899 suggests that, in fact, the river was not part of the arctic coast-Hudson Bay route. At Beverly Lake he found it impossible to hire an Inuit guide to accompany him upriver or to elicit information. "There was no information to be obtained from the Eskimo, for none of them had ever ascended the river for any distance (Hanbury 1900:68). Upstream he met only "Eskimo from the Arctic coast, who resort to this river to obtain wood for their sleighs" (Hanbury 1904:14). On a later trip along the arctic coast, he found further evidence that the Akilinek River was the major source of wood for the Copper Eskimo, and that meetings and trade **between members of various Copper Eskimo bands** took place there, but nowhere is there any suggestion that Keewatin people were there also.

In 1913, Herbert Hall of the Hudson's Bay Company relived Hanbury's unsuccessful attempt to find experienced guides for a trip up the Akilinek. Although many people offered to take him to the arctic coast by way of the Back River, he was unable to find anyone along the entire waterway from Chesterfield inlet to Beverly Lake who had ever made a trip to the Akilinek. In another repetition of Hanbury's experiences, Hall found only arctic coast people on the river (A12/FT/Misc/207, 1891-1914). Other travellers

on the Akilinek also failed to see Hudson Bay Inuit there. In 1900, J.B. Tyrrell descended the river from Great Slave Lake to Chesterfield Inlet. Like Hanbury, he saw no natives until he reached Beverly Lake. Nor were any Inuit on the river in the summer of 1908 when Inspector Pelletier's patrol crossed from Athabaska Landing to Chesterfield Inlet. In a week of rapid travel, Pelletier saw no Inuit and only a few signs of wood-cutting activities which he thought were not of recent origin. The most westerly camp of Keewatin people was within fifty miles (eighty kilometres) of Beverly Lake (RCMP 1910:155). He concluded that

The Eskimos go to the Thelon only to provide themselves with wood for making their sleighs and kayacks, or to get poles to erect their teepees. The Eskimos do not like timber on account of the flies in summer and soft snow in winter. They like the open barren coast where the wind has full sweep, where the snow packs hard in winter, and where game is permanent. This stretch is thus left uninhabited by the Eskimo (RCMP 1910:155).

There seems to be no great weight of evidence that the waterway identified as the Akilinek River by Hanbury was central to east-west trade or communications between Inuit territorial groups, as Stefansson and Jenness believed. Frequent mentions of Beverly Lake in the eye-witness accounts, however, suggest that attention should be directed at it and at the Back River instead of the Akilinek. Among them were the experiences of Back in 1833 and Anderson in 1855, when both were surprised at the appearance of Chesterfield Inlet people above Pelly Lake, evidently coming



from Beverly Lake. It was also at Beverly Lake that Hanbury and Hall failed to find guides among the Qairnirmiut to take them upriver, but had many offers to go to the arctic coast.

If the route between Hudson Bay and the arctic coast did not pass from Beverly Lake to the Akilinek, where did it lie? In 1899, Hanbury found no one at Beverly Lake able to guide him up the river, but in 1902 the difference in his destination led to a difference in the guiding situation. There was no shortage of volunteers willing and able to take him to the arctic coast. The first two were Uttungerlah and Ameroryuak. On the day of departure

Uttungerlah's son, Ilartnark, arrived with a sleigh, a wife, and four dogs. I was informed that, in addition to Amer's wife and Pitzeolah [their eighteen-year old son], and Uttungerlah's two wives and family, I had to receive Ilartnark's two wives into my party. My Husky family was increasing by leaps and bounds. However, all the women and children, with Ilartnark in charge, were to be left at Back's River. They could fish and hunt during the summer and the others would pick them up on their return. This was their own arrangement. They had evidently discussed the matter among themselves (Hanbury 1904:102).

On Kent Peninsula, Hanbury met with two local men, Hunilyak and Punuktuk, experienced travellers who had been to Victoria Island and the Coppermine River.

On my questioning them about their plans for the summer, they replied that they intended to journey to the Ark-i-linik River to procure wood for their sleighs. They would take their dogs but not their kyaks. During the summer they intended to construct their sleighs and would then wait for 'freeze up,' when the return journey would be made by dogs and sleighs (Hanbury 1904:140).

Hanbury accompanied the two men to their winter homes, and found a village of about forty-five people, none of whom had seen a white man before. Some of the women had strings of glass beads which they said they had received in trade while on a trip to the Akilinek for wood (Hanbury 1904:145). During his stay at the village, three men and a woman arrived who at once recognized him. He had met them on the Akilinek in 1899 when they were gathering wood. A few days after leaving the village, Hanbury met yet another Akilinek traveller, an old man who had a musket that he had traded from someone he met while summering on the wooded river (Hanbury 1904:151). None of the people from whom the glass beads and musket had been traded were identified by Hanbury or his informants as Hudson Bay people. On the contrary, their stories all suggest that the trade took place with members of other arctic coast miuts.

Hanbury's observations suggest that the timbered Akilinek was a major wood-gathering site and meeting place for the arctic coast-Victoria Island people, but not of the bay coast Inuit. Nor was it the travel and trade route by which European goods reached the western miuts and native copper was transported to the bay. The preferred route was from Beverly Lake to the Back River. In the eastern barren lands, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that all roads led to Beverly Lake. It was the meeting place of the Dubawnt and Kazan River people who traded at Churchill and

Brochet and the Chesterfield Inlet people who traded with the whalers at Marble Island. It connected the Back River and arctic coast peoples to the Caribou Eskimo miuts and, by extension, to the whalers and the trading posts. Between 1900 and the 1920s, it was still the preferred route to the arctic coast. Igjugarjuk, a Fadlermio of wealth and position from Hikoligjuak, made regular journeys to the trading posts at Churchill and, after 1911, to Chesterfield Inlet to buy goods which he traded with the people of Chantrey Inlet. His route took him across Schultz Lake to the lower Back River, not up the Akilinek (Rasmussen 1930:map 8).

The lack of interest the bay coast people had in the Akilinek River, in contrast to the arctic coasters, can be explained by the single most outstanding feature of Beverly Lake -- the abundance of driftwood on its shores. When Tyrrell arrived at Beverly Lake after his descent of the Dubawnt in 1893, he found the shore littered with driftwood, including tree trunks as much as eight inches in diameter. As no trees had been seen for more than three hundred miles (nearly five hundred kilometres) along the Dubawnt, he made a search for a possible source of the large amounts of wood, and discovered another river slightly to the west, emptying its dark-coloured water into the lake along with quantities of logs and branches. Inuit in camps at the mouths of the two rivers and along the adjoining lakeshore said that their

people "in great numbers" were upriver building kayaks (J.W. Tyrrell 1898:111). Unfortunately no one asked or recorded the name of the river, but it could only have been the Akilinek. The Inuit name for the lake, Tibialik, means 'driftwood place.'

Unlike the arctic coast people, the eastern miuts had no need to go to the river for wood. The people of Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake, and the lower Dubawnt River needed to go no farther than the shores of Beverly Lake to find a source of wood. During the course of their wood-gathering expeditions to Tibialik, they traded with bay inland people, and very probably with arctic coast people as well. The Padlermiut and Padlimiut found wood at the headwaters of the Tha-anne River near Yathkyed Lake (Henry Voisey 1988, pers. comm.). The upper Kazan River people had their choice of the Tha-anne River, Tibialik or the transitional forest around Lake Ennadai as sources of wood. Their trips north were for the purpose of trading with the Qairnirmiut (J.W. Tyrrell 1898:107; Welland 1976:83), receiving aid from them in times of food shortages (Welland 1976:90-91), or of travelling to the arctic coast by way of Franklin Lake. Arctic coast people used the lake on their way to Chesterfield Inlet to get European goods from the whalers and the trading company ships, and from the miuts who owned such goods. Wood-gathering trips to the Akilinek River proper could be combined with trading visits to the

camps at the western end of the lake. The people best located to act as middlemen in the network were the Qairnirmiut, the Padlermiut and the Ahiarmiut.

It would appear then that the trading networks of the arctic and bay coast peoples intersected, not on the Akilinek River itself, but at Beverly Lake. Commercial activities there may not have been the "great trading assemblies ... regularly held in the Akilineq hills" imagined by Rasmussen (1933:245), but his identification of it as an area where trade took place between different barren land miuts and between the miuts of Hudson Bay and the arctic coast was essentially correct.

## CHAPTER 6

### PATTERNS OF INUIT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

Analysis of Keewatin Inuit commercial history is facilitated by comparing it with those of other Inuit groups. Several formative factors recur in the development of indigenous trading systems, and the solutions of different groups to the universal problems of acquiring scarce resources offer useful comparisons. Sufficient information has been published to allow the trading systems of four widely-separated Inuit groups -- the Greenlandic, North Alaskan, south Baffin Island, and Copper Eskimo -- to be described and some common elements identified.

#### **Greenland trading styles and systems**

Archaeological investigations of the west coast of Greenland reveal that some time in the eleventh century, the paleo-Eskimo people who had inhabited Greenland for three thousand years were visited and assimilated by Thule Eskimo arriving from the north, while Norse immigrants were simultaneously arriving from the south (Jordan 1984:540). Considerable interaction between Thule Inuit and Norse occurred from that time until the collapse of the Norse settlements in the mid-fourteenth century (Mathiassen 1958). The history and origins of the east coast Greenlanders are less certain. The hostile North Atlantic climate,

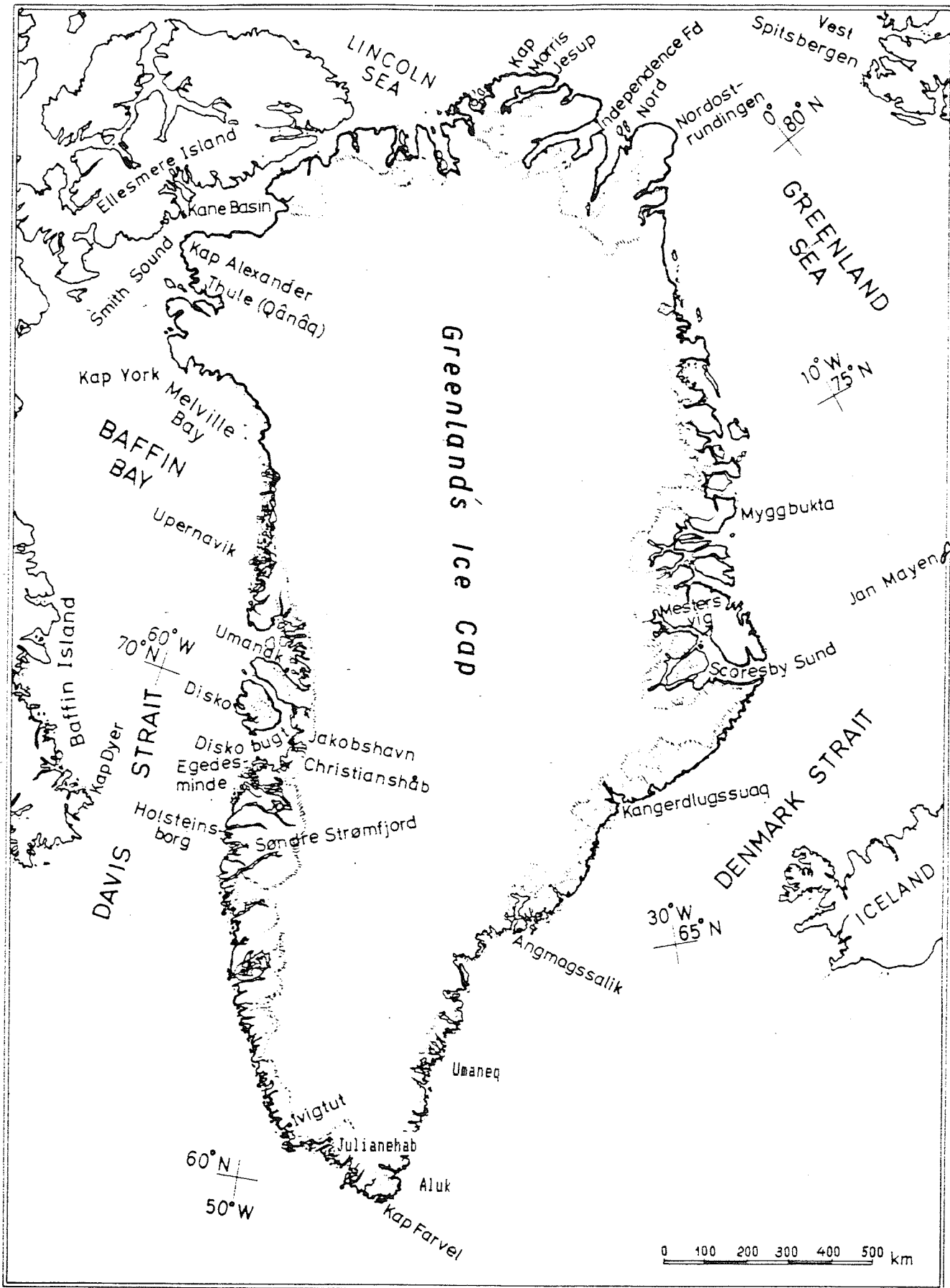


Figure 6-1 Greenland (Adapted from Thorén 1969:118).

difficulty of travel, and poverty of resources encouraged the development of cultures very different from those of the opposite coast. No studies of native commercial activities prior to the eighteenth century for either coastal group have been undertaken,<sup>51</sup> although there is archaeological evidence that trade of some kind did take place between regional and territorial bands. Many tool and weapon fragments of meteoritic and surficial iron from Cape York found in sites in south and west Greenland date from at least the fourteenth century. At that time, however, there were frequent visits from Icelandic colonists who came every summer to hunt and from Basque fishermen who had visited the Labrador coast and south Greenland since the middle ages (Thalbitzer 1912:486). Their presence makes it impossible to know the extent of indigenous interband trade, but indigenous iron blades found at Scoresby and Clavering Islands more than 500 miles (800 kilometres) north of Ammassalik in regions uninhabited in historic times (Thalbitzer 1912:490) suggest that local trade did take place.

---

<sup>51</sup>Although some records must have been kept during the Dutch colonization period, 1652-1721, none has been cited, or apparently used, in histories of Greenland. The few secondary sources that exist depend on records in Danish and Norwegian written after 1721, and are themselves in Danish or Greenlandic. Practically nothing is available in English.



European comments on native trade and communications in Greenland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries paint a picture of people with a keen desire to obtain European goods and willing to undertake voyages of several years' duration for the purpose of locating and acquiring them. Lars Dalager, a Danish merchant in Greenland in 1752, was only one of a number of people who noted extensive interband trading activities in European goods (I. Kleivan 1984:599).

Hans Egede, an eighteenth century Moravian missionary to Greenland, reported long voyages made by the East Greenlanders for the purpose of trade. His South Greenland informants

stated that two years previously [1726] natives had been among them from the east side, who had brought with them large pieces of whalebone, to exchange them for other things they desired (Hans Egede *Relations, June 11, 1728* quoted in Thalbitzer 1912:334).

The South Greenlanders also undertook long trips to get desired commodities. In 1733, Egede reported a visit from an old woman from the southeast coast who told him about a voyage her people made to the north for the specific purpose of bartering.

As no ship can approach the eastern side for the ice, which lies off the coast, the natives living there require various small articles of iron, such as sewing needles and knives, which they barter from the westerners in exchange for fox-skins and the like, which again are sold to the ships when they come to these parts of the land (Egede *Relations, July 29, 1733* quoted in Thalbitzer 1912:336).

The Reverend Egil Thorhallesen, writing in 1755, described the West Greenlanders travelling up and down the coast for two to three months each summer in a combination moveable marketplace and circuit court where commodities were exchanged and disputes settled, the whole exercise being topped off by drumming and singing (Birket-Smith 1924:238). Another missionary, Henric Cristopher Glahn, commented

To this large gathering some travel in order to see their relations; some to look for a bride among so many beauties; some to settle their litigations before this solemn gathering; some to stand their trial in wrestling, slapping and being slapped on the back; some in order to be healed by a more noted physician, who is supposed to come here; some for the sake of buying and selling, some to be spectators and some in order to find a hiding place in the large gathering when they intend to commit some foul deed (Quoted in Birket-Smith 1924:238).

Thorhallesen and Glahn identified Taseralik (now Disko Bay), Agpamiut (now Sukkertoppen), and Ferutsussut (now Holsteinborg) on the west coast as regular meeting places for West Greenlanders. Similar trade centres existed on the east coast as well. One of them was Aluk, an island off the southeast coast just north of Cape Farewell.

Here the natives from the west coast sometimes meet and barter with their heathen countrymen. From there it took seventeen days' journey by kayak to reach the northernmost inhabited place called Angmagasalik (Rink 1877:321-4).

The evidence of native informants is that the west coast trading centres predated the arrival of Europeans in

the seventeenth century. The commodities brought there would therefore have been native articles, except for any 'found' items dating from the Norse occupation or acquired from Icelandic and Basque visitors. It is unclear how long Aluk functioned as a trading centre and meeting place for East Greenlanders, or for people from both coasts. Songs, legends, and oral history suggest that trade between east and west may have begun only when the east coasters became aware that their compatriots had highly desirable articles to barter which they themselves did not have, that is, European goods.

The East Greenlanders themselves expressed their wants and their feelings about trading voyages in a song collected by Heinrich Rink in 1860.

When the travellers southward go,  
 Their friends await them with longing.  
 What a surprise to go, they say!  
 To the big men they go,  
 To them who never know want,  
 And there they buy richly of iron --  
 And here we nourish great longings  
 For tobacco and iron,  
 Sewing needles and beads.  
 When they returned we rejoiced greatly,  
 And I grew very gay,  
 And I rejoiced aloud and called loudly;  
 The boat is coming, the boat is coming!  
 (Thalbitzer 1912:334)

The observations of Holm and Rink confirmed their informants' claims that some band members regularly made trading voyages to the south coast. In 1880, in Julianehaab, Holm heard stories that the East Greenlanders

in earlier times used to come to barter with the West Greenlanders on the island of Aluk, but had recently begun to go all the way to the inhabited parts of the west coast to trade directly with Europeans. In 1881 he met three parties of East Greenlanders on their way south to Umaneq, about halfway between Ammassalik and the southern tip of Greenland, to get European items. In 1883 while on his way north to the Ammassalik villages, he met two trading parties actually on their way to the west coast (Thalbitzer 1912:341-2).

On the same trip north, Holm and his party overtook Ilinguaki, an Ammassalik headman, who "had just been on a trade journey south" (Holm 1914 [1888]:136). At the village where Holm spent the summer of 1884, the people asked for tobacco which they had heard about while trading with the south Greenlanders (Holm 1914 [1888]:140). They were also familiar with guns, from the same source, and many of the hunters had harpoons and spears tipped with metal cut from a gun obtained in trade. When they ran out of ammunition, they used parts of the gun to make other items (Holm 1914 [1888]:141).

Observations by Europeans suggest that the East Greenland trade from the beginning of the eighteenth century was motivated by a desire for European goods, especially iron items and that trading connections with the west coast may have begun then. During this period whales and seals

were diminishing and many East Greenlanders, including some Ammassalik people, emigrated to the southwest coast. They may also have been motivated by a desire to be baptised, a ceremony that Thalbitzer thought they regarded "as equivalent to incorporation in the European community" (Thalbitzer 1912:343).

In summary, it can be said that non-indigenous goods of both European origin and from the Cape York meteoritic iron deposits were transported along both coasts of Greenland at least as early as the fourteenth century, but whether they were delivered as part of a purely native trade or by Norse, Icelandic or Basque visitors is uncertain. A major feature of Greenlandic trading systems was the market place, where people gathered not only to buy, sell and barter, but also to conduct social and legal affairs, and be entertained. That active trade, involving long journeys, entrepreneurial families and individuals, and market centres, was taking place when Danish visitors arrived is not in doubt. What has not been determined is whether it was a development of purely aboriginal commercial activity, perhaps influenced by the Norse presence, or whether the idea of trade on this scale was introduced by the eleventh century European visitors.

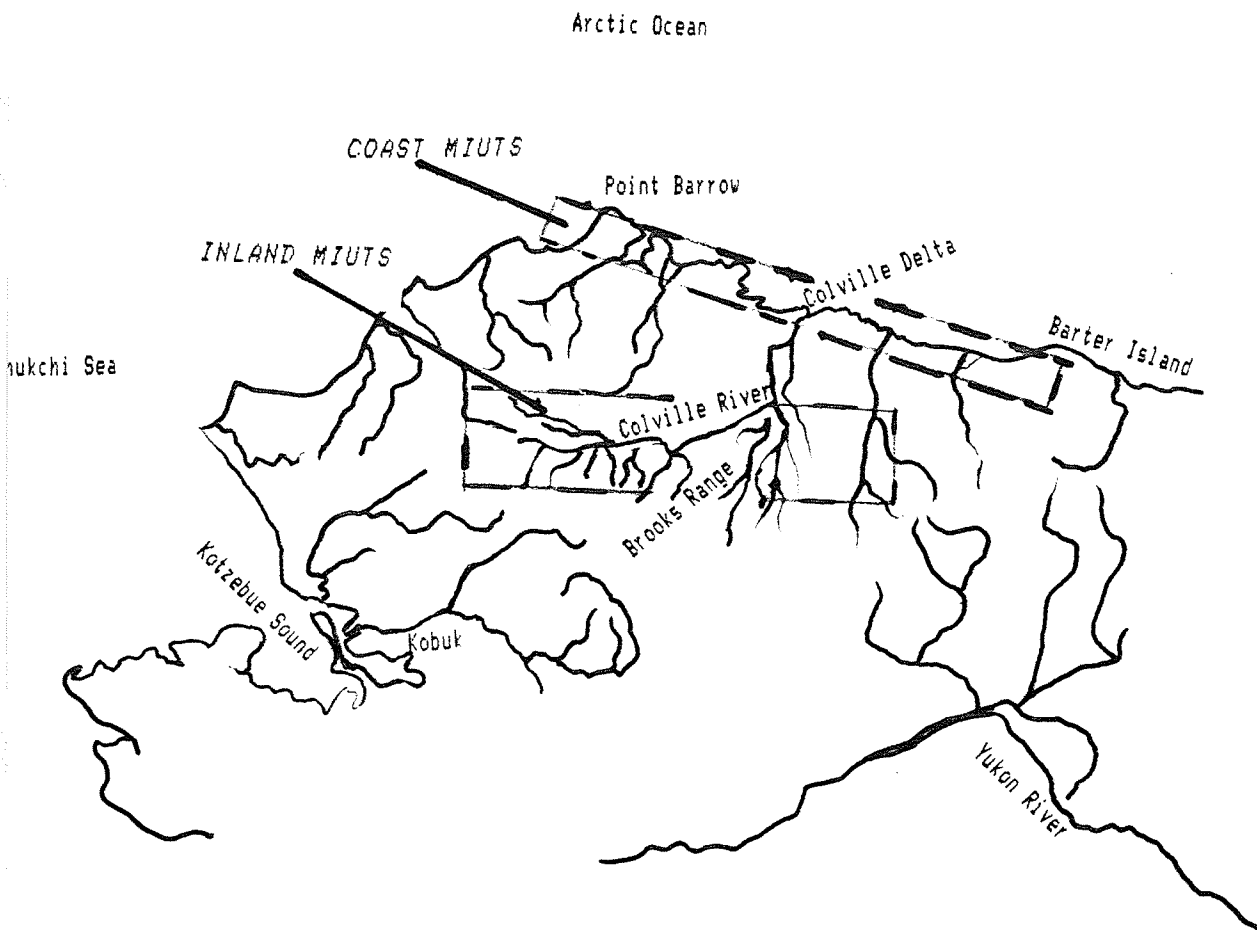


Figure 6-2 North Alaskan Eskimo territories  
(Adapted from Thorén 1969:76).

### North Alaskan trade systems

Like the Greenlanders, the Alaskans conducted energetic trading relations both within miuts and between bands occupying different ecological areas. In contrast to what seems to have been the case in Greenland, commercial activity among Alaskan groups was more intense and widespread during the proto-contact period than it was during the contact period. The more or less permanent European presence introduced with the whaling era, in fact, destroyed the indigenous trade networks.

North Alaskan trade was a means of distributing resources between two ecological units -- the inland societies (Nunamiut) who were able to amass surplus amounts of caribou products, and the maritime groups (Tareumiut) who enjoyed an abundance of vital marine-mammal oils. In order for both groups to acquire the commodities they lacked, the emporium was developed (Spencer 1959:198). Major trading centres were at the Colville River Delta, Kobuk, Point Barrow, and other points along the Alaskan coast. Participation in the emporia was motivated essentially by a desire to trade. It always took place during the summer when subsistence activities were least pressing (Anderson 1974:63). There is no evidence that legal matters were dealt with during the course of the trade mart, as happened in Greenland, although some social and recreational events such as courtships, feasting and athletic contests probably

took place. Besides the basic caribou products and marine-mammal oils which were traded, a variety of other commodities appeared at the Alaskan emporia. From inland came pelts of all kinds, of which the wolverine was especially in demand, sheep horn products, stone goods, wood articles and wood by-products such as pitch which was a useful glue, and berries and pemmican, which were not available on the northern coast. From the coastal people came the waterproof skins of sea mammals, ivory, walrus-hide rope and muktuk<sup>52</sup> (Spencer 1959:203-204). At the beginning of the 1800s European trade items began to appear at the Colville Delta emporium and included metal, tobacco, beads, and muskets of Hudson's Bay Company manufacture (Spencer 1959:203). The Nunamiut of the upper Colville River were the purveyors of European goods acquired on Alaska's west slope to the arctic coast.

Trade between individuals at the marketplace was institutionalized by certain formal arrangements. At the emporium, most traders met by prearrangement with trading partners, who were always from a different miut and always recognized as non-kin. A trader's first priority was to satisfy his partner's wants, if possible, and he was obliged to give preference to his partner before trading with anyone else. When partnership requirements had been satisfied,

---

<sup>52</sup>Whale skin.



open trade could and did take place (Spencer 1959:205).

Open trade between individuals most often took place within miuts and local bands, although it could occur at the emporium if a man had no partner, or, as noted above, when partnership obligations had been satisfied. Within the miut, a distinction was made between the "economic array that related to subsistence and that which was regarded as wealth" (Spencer 1959:193). Goods regarded as necessary for subsistence most often changed hands within a kin group and through the generosity of one individual who gained prestige through his action. Because material goods were bestowed in one direction only, the activity probably was not understood as trade. When exchange of goods between individuals actually took place, it was usually in the context of an auction. The seller informed everyone of goods for sale and waited for offers, accepting the most favourable one, or withdrawing his goods. Items that were bestowed or traded within the miut could have been acquired or manufactured as surplus goods by the seller in the course of subsistence activities or obtained by the seller through earlier acts of trade.

Goods could also be obtained by commission or contract. Individuals with special skills made articles for sale by pre-arrangement. In cases where the buyer supplied the raw materials for commissioned items and only labour was being sold, the seller (i.e., labourer) lost status. As these

examples show, notions of specialization, the division of labour, and labour as a commodity were well understood by North Alaskans before the spread of European ideas.

Food was seldom treated as an item of trade. The acceptance of food in exchange for goods or labour resulted in loss of status (Spencer 1959:197). Presumably a man hired to build a kayak with materials provided by the hirer, and paid with food items, would lose considerable status. The example suggests that a class system based on the capital/labour dichotomy existed in an embryonic state. That no loss of status was attached to the trade in food items at the emporia may be due to the 'luxury' characteristic of foods unattainable in the buyer's own country.

Goods also exchanged hands in the context of the Messenger Feast. A man desiring to give such a Feast sent runners, or messengers, to his trading partner or partners with information on what kinds of gifts would be given at the Feast and suggestions about the kinds of lesser gifts that would be acceptable in return. The host's extended family (which in most cases meant the entire village) prepared the feast, arranged for accommodation of the guests, provided entertainment, and donated gifts (Spencer 1959:227-28).



Figure 6-3 South Baffin Island.

### Baffin Island Inuit communication and trade

The earliest formal description of native communication and goods exchange on Baffin Island was Franz Boas', based on observations made during his 1882-83 visit to the Frobisher Bay-Cumberland Sound area of east Baffin. His account gives a very different picture from that of the market-centred trading systems described by observers in Greenland and Alaska. Boas realized that the wood, soapstone, flint and pyrites used by all Inuit were native to only a few widely separated places in the arctic, and often had to be procured from a distance, but he did not seriously consider native trade as the means of movement of these goods. He believed that most were obtained by individuals who made "long journeys, which sometimes lasted even several years" for the purpose of collecting the materials at first hand (Boas 1964 [1888]:61). He accepted only reluctantly that trade between Inuit groups may have existed before European whaling stations and personnel became permanent features of northern life. His reasons were several: he saw no evidence of trade between the Nigumiut and the Oqomiut during the months he spent with them; he had heard of only one meeting between Hudson Strait and Lake Nettilling people which was said to have taken place fifty years earlier; and the native settlements were separated by wide, uninhabited stretches of land difficult to cross. He did not consider these problems a drawback to

other kinds of communication, however. He recorded many cases of intermarriage among all the groups of south Baffin Island, and the presence of immigrants from several different areas in every settlement he visited (Boas 1964 [1888]:13,54-56).

Although his informants told him of a known route between Cumberland Sound and Melville Peninsula, and recounted stories of several journeys across it, Boas concluded that regular communications between inhabitants of the Fox Basin coast never existed. Further, he discounted Charles Francis Hall's account (1868:354-5) of meeting Nugumiut immigrants in Igloodik in 1868, and of Nugumiut-Iglulingmiut collaboration in the mapping of their two countries and the territory in between (Boas 1964 [1888]:24).

In summary, although Boas concluded that native commercial relations on Baffin Island were minimal, they probably occurred more often than he recognized. He believed non-indigenous raw materials were acquired by individuals or families through long-distance harvesting rather than through trade. However, the logs and diaries of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century explorers, and of Hudson's Bay Company ships on the Hudson Straits north shore in the eighteenth century, suggest that the Inuit began dispersing European goods through an indigenous trade system at the time of first contact. The annual seasonal

rounds of various miuts described by Hall and Boas included regular annual meetings at places like Lake Amajuaq where as many as four miut groups met for summer fishing every year. Commercial activities may have taken place there. Finally, the evidence of Hall and the half dozen or so native informants on the matter of routes and travel between south Baffin Island and Melville Peninsula deserves to be taken seriously, notwithstanding Boas's objections.

#### Copper Eskimo commerce

More information concerning the commercial activities of the Copper Eskimo is available than for any other group of Canadian Inuit. Considerable trade took place between culturally and linguistically related miut groups of Victoria Island and Coronation Gulf. The Kanhiryuarmit who wintered on Banks Island and spent the summers at Prince Albert Sound on the southwest coast of Victoria Island were the wealthiest regional band at the time of the Arctic Expeditions of 1908-19. The natural resources of their region included musk-ox horn and robes, seal and bear fat, flesh and skins, abundant surficial copper, pyrites, fish, caribou, and small amounts of driftwood sufficient for home use. In addition, after Commander Robert M'Clure's ship, Investigator, was abandoned in Mercy Bay in 1853 during the Franklin search, they had access to a large store of iron. Their most important export was copper, which they supplied



Figure 6-4 Arctic coast and Victoria Island.

to groups on Banks Island in the west and Cape Parry in the east. Some of it has been found in sites as far west as the Mackenzie River delta (Stefansson 1914:17). Their most important imports were soapstone and wood, which they obtained from the Haneragmiut and Fuivlirmiut on the mainland, and paid for with both raw and worked copper, horn and skins. While some of the soapstone was kept for home use, some of it was sold in turn to Victoria Island groups farther east. Because soapstone is site-specific, the origin of most Victoria Island samples can be identified. It came from Point Hope, Alaska (Stefansson 1914:18), and is evidence of importation by individuals making long journeys to obtain supplies for personal use or of trade relations between Alaska and the Canadian arctic coast.

The Haneragmiut, suppliers of wood and soapstone to the Kanhiryuarmiut, had access to the only pyrite deposits on the arctic coast and exported firestones to all their neighbours. Members of several miuts at Cape Bexley gathered wood during the winter, giving rise to "a sort of midwinter fair, which probably is an ancient institution" (Stefansson 1914:19). Another fair regularly took place during the summer at McTavish Bay at the north end of Great Bear Lake, and it, like the one at Cape Bexley, was motivated more by wood-gathering than by a desire to trade or hunt. Stefansson suggested that the presence of particular natural resources within miut homelands which led



to interband trade as a means of distributing the resources should also logically have led to specialization of industries among bands and division of labour among individuals. He believed that, in fact, this did happen, though on a small scale. Alaskan wooden goods -- bowls, trays, buttons -- were considered of superior quality, as were the watertight boots produced by the Diomedes people, and such items were purchased whenever possible, in preference to being made at home. Other recognized specialists were the Kanhiryuarmit who had a reputation among the Haneragmiut for bow-making, while the Puivlirmiut were thought to produce the best sleds and tent sticks (Stefansson 1914:27).

Descriptions of the trading process suggest that it was always an individual activity. Though all members of a miut may have depended on a neighbouring group for supplies of any commodity, there are no instances in the primary literature of mass buying by representatives of one band, and subsequent distribution to individuals. Each exchange was conducted by a buyer and a seller dealing directly with one another (Jenness 1924:53).

Although Stefansson documented and described economic activities of the Copper Eskimo taking place in the context of trade, long-distance resource harvesting was evidently another means of acquiring scarce goods. One such journey is recounted by both Stefansson and Jenness. A husband and

wife from Dolphin and Union Strait walked to Tree River one spring, spending the summer at a potstone quarry making a lamp and a pot, and returning the next winter (Jenness 1923:53-54). The exploit, however, was considered an unusual way to acquire goods. Twenty years later the wife, who was evidently the instigator and prime mover of the incident, was remembered as having done "a remarkable thing" and a song composed by her in honour of the deed was still widely-known and sung in 1910 (Stefansson 1914:25). Trade was the more usual means of acquiring needed materials.

In summary, trade between miuts of the Copper Eskimo was frequent, regular, and considered the normal method of acquiring needed goods. In some bands a degree of industrial specialization existed. Market-centres as such did not play a major role in the trading system, although bartering and goods exchange took place when large numbers of people came together in the course of another activity, such as wood-gathering. The Copper people also engaged in trade with neighbouring territorial groups, the Netsilik Eskimo and the Alaskans.

The trading patterns of the four territorial groups just described share some common elements and certain general principles can be postulated. A first and necessary condition of trade is that potential traders each must offer for trade an item unavailable to the other. The most active

trade took place, not between individuals within miuts, but between neighbouring peoples occupying distinct ecological niches, each having desired goods unavailable in the other's home territory. North Alaskan and Copper Eskimo miuts conducted energetic and varied trade in indigenous products. In Greenland and among the south Baffin Island miuts, trade in native products would predictably be less active because of the similarity of resources possessed by neighbouring groups. The introduction of European goods in Greenland and south Baffin Island resulted in an increased interband trade which dispersed the highly desired items among the miuts. In Greenland this trade remained active while in south Baffin Island, as in Alaska, inter-miut trade ceased in the 1830s when whalers were frequent enough visitors to both areas that most desired items were readily and regularly accessible from the foreign ships (Goldring 1986:158, 160). A general (and fairly obvious) principle is that goods must be both desired and scarce in order to be considered commodities.

A second feature of Inuit trading systems was the existence of a trade centre -- the mart, fair, or emporium, as various observers have termed it -- or at least a regular gathering where trade took place. Such centres among the Inuit ranged from the formal, exclusively trade-oriented emporia of North Alaska to the gatherings of the south Baffin Islanders where trade was merely co-incidental with

communal resource-harvesting. The North Alaskan markets, or emporia, were held specifically to exchange the products of different ecological niches. Similarly when the Copper miuts met with North Alaskan coastal groups at Barter Island, a regular event according to Stefansson (1914), both groups were motivated entirely by trade. Items exchanged included indigenous and European goods, among them "long Russian knives" (Simpson 1843:123).

In West Greenland the desire to trade was the primary motive for inter-miut gatherings by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Trading expeditions ... have always been connected with hunting trips. The latter are certainly of primary importance, but the unequal distribution of the gifts of nature gradually led to journeys where mercantile interests made themselves strongly felt.... The deer hunters from various districts traded whenever they met, and the journeys to Taseralik were then undertaken for trading, no less than hunting purposes (Birket-Smith 1924:237).

Juridical and social activities were also incentives for participation in the trade mart.

Within the Copper Eskimo territorial group, trade was not the sole, or even the primary, purpose of the regular interband gatherings. The desire to socialize and to conduct religious ceremonies were equally compelling reasons for attendance at annual gatherings, which were often coincidental with the harvesting of resources. When numbers of people from various Copper miuts met at Great Bear Lake

while gathering wood, social and commercial activities also took place, as they did when the miuts came together for summer caribou hunting in central Victoria Island.

The Baffin Island people, even more than the Copper Eskimo, viewed the gatherings as incidental to the harvesting of resources. The Nugumiut and the Akuliarmiut, meeting at Lake Amajuak every summer to fish, engaged in social and recreational activities, as well as some informal exchange of goods. The gatherings, as described by Boas, were in no way comparable to the Alaskan emporia or the Greenlandic trade marts.

A third feature of native trade was the inverse relationship between the degree of familiarity that existed between traders and the formality with which their relations were conducted. Between the two ecologically dissimilar North Alaskan groups, trade took place in the formal context of an emporium, and was always conducted between trading partners. The general relationship between participants was that of strangers. The partnership arrangement was also a feature of trade at the Barter Island market centre between the North Alaskan Coastal miut and the Copper Eskimo, who regarded each other as strangers. Within miuts, trade was informal and open; within residential camps and families (often the same thing), trade was minimal or absent altogether. Families shared freely, as is customary in most societies including European ones. In larger units, up to

and including the miut, goods were often distributed among non-kin through sharing (not trading) partnerships, a form of social security. In the North Alaskan miuts, goods were shared within families and frequently given out by generous individuals who gained prestige through largesse. The commodities most likely to be shared were essential subsistence goods, such as food and skins for clothing, blankets and boat covers. Within Alaskan and Copper miuts, 'luxury' goods sometimes changed hands through open trade, which allowed for prices to be fixed by auction and haggling, to the short-term satisfaction of the participants.

To greater or lesser degrees, the acquisition and exchange of goods within and among these four territorial groups was achieved, or accompanied, by certain common elements -- geographical knowledge and mobility, diversity of products, trade centres, long-distance harvesting, formal trading partnerships, trading rituals, and sharing partnerships. Identification of the extent to which these key factors existed in pre-twentieth century Keewatin Inuit commercial systems places them in comparative perspective with other territorial groups while highlighting the distinctive features of their trade and communication.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

Trade, that is, the mutually satisfying exchange of desired goods of value, was part of Keewatin Inuit life before the arrival of Europeans on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Trade between Chipewyan and Inuit was taking place as early as 1720 according to the Chipewyan informant who described regular intercultural trade meetings (B42/a/1:127). The presence on the Hudson Bay coast of native copper from Bathurst Inlet and meteoritic iron from Greenland and Ellesmere Island indicates a movement, if not of people, then of goods between Inuit groups. Commercial activities, ranging from the simple barter of wood and iron among Baffin Island miut groups to the sophisticated systems for distributing natural resources among the Copper Eskimo and the complexities of structured trade between ecological units in North Alaska all existed in pre-contact times.

The Keewatin Inuit had knowledge, both personal and collective, of routes which led to their compatriots on Melville Peninsula, Baffin Island, Boothia Peninsula, and the arctic coast. Geographical knowledge of regions outside the home territory displayed by native map-makers indicates that every miut was aware of its neighbours, knew of at least one route to them, incorporated that knowledge into

the collective wisdom of the group, and passed it on to succeeding generations. In many cases, geographical familiarity extended beyond immediate neighbours to miuts and territorial groups at considerable distances. The Inuit maps and travel directions collected or recorded by European observers, few though they are in comparison with the whole body of Inuit cartographic knowledge, indicate that a journey from Greenland to Siberia could have been accomplished. This is not to suggest that such journeys were, in fact, ever deliberately undertaken; only that they were theoretically possible, and given time and motivation could have been carried out. That many long journeys did take place among the Canadian Inuit is evident from the accounts of Parry, Hall, Rasmussen and others.

Native commodities can be divided into two basic types -- 'found' items and produced items. 'Found' items were natural resources, such as wood, soapstone, and pyrites, the harvesting of which involved no special skills. They were available to anyone willing to go to the site of their occurrence. Time and distance posed few obstacles and journeys of several years' duration were readily undertaken to resource sites. No Inuit group believed that it owned the wealth of its territory to the exclusion of other groups, and strangers, if not always eagerly welcomed, were at least unmolested in their pursuit of natural resources. The practice of making long journeys to harvest resources



which could not be harvested or traded for locally appears to have been a common means of acquisition, at least among the Canadian groups. It is not mentioned in the Alaskan literature and is specifically denied by Greenlandic sources (Thalbitzer 1914:334).

The second class of items consisted of goods, such as walrus products, whose production required special skills and long-term residence in particular ecological niches. These items could not be easily acquired through simple harvesting. For example, Inuit of the southern Keewatin and Back River did not have the skills to hunt walrus or produce walrus products even if they were willing to travel to the appropriate hunting ground, nor did they have tools designed for the task. River kayaks, for instance, would be both inadequate and extremely dangerous in sea mammal hunting. Acquisition of these items could only be through gift or trade, or temporary residence and tutelage in other miuts.

Before 1717, the Keewatin Inuit were in much the same position as the south Baffin Islanders in that there was little diversity in the goods available to the different miuts. They all occupied the same ecological niche, and had little to offer each other in trade. The only desired but non-indigenous items were copper and meteoritic iron, neither one of which was available through inter-miut trade within the territorial group. Copper could have been obtained from the arctic coast miuts, but the Keewatin

peoples had nothing to give in exchange. The coast miuts had their own more than adequate supplies of seal and caribou products, and their own sources of wood, soapstone, and pyrites. Meteoritic iron was available from the north Baffin Island miuts whose greatest import need was for wood. The Keewatin Inuit were able to supply the wood, which they acquired through trade with the Chipewyan.

The trade between Inuit and Chipewyan in the areas of overlapping occupancy may have been more active than that among miuts. The Inuit were able to offer dogs, soapstone and walrus products in exchange for copper, which the Chipewyan got from their compatriots to the west, and wood, which was in Chipewyan territory and controlled by them until the early eighteenth century. By the time the Inuit began to occupy more southerly regions and could harvest their own wood and use it to trade with the northern miuts, the Chipewyan had European goods to trade with both Keewatin and Copper miuts.

Aside from wood, the Keewatin people had little to trade with their own countrymen until they began to amass a surplus of European items in the course of their commerce with the Hudson's Bay Company trading sloops. For nearly a century and a half, 1717 to 1850, the southern Keewatin miuts were one of the few sources of European goods for the northern groups and to a large extent for the arctic coast miuts as well. Their trade network grew and expanded

because of the presence of European goods on their doorstep. In this they resembled the Greenland trading systems which also dealt mainly in, and may have developed in order to disperse, European commodities. Conversely, the North Alaskan native trade, wide-ranging, varied, and active before contact, and the slower, more restricted south Baffin Island wood and iron trade both faded when traders and whalers began to supply goods directly to the groups that had formerly traded with each other.

Like the four other territorial groups, the Keewatin Inuit, at least in the nineteenth century, held trade gatherings. One was at Hikoligjuak (Yathkyed Lake), attended by southern inland and coast people, by Chipewyan, and possibly by more northerly miuts such as the Qairnirmiut and the Sauneqtormiut. Another was at Chesterfield Inlet, attended by the same people, including even Chipewyan on occasion, and also by people from the Melville Peninsula. A third, at Tibialik (Beverly Lake), drew not only the Keewatin miuts, but the Back River and Coronation Gulf people as well. Information given to George Back by the unnamed map-maker at the Great Fish River indicates that Akkolee (Repulse Bay) was a rendezvous for Back River, Boothia Peninsula and Melville Peninsula groups.

The formal arm's length trading relationships developed by the two North Alaskan miuts, and to a lesser extent by the Copper Eskimo, for trading with strangers were absent

from the Keewatin Inuit trading style. Unlike many subarctic Indian peoples, the Keewatin Inuit did not expect or engage in any pre-trade rituals. From the time of the first encounter between the Knapp's Bay camp and a Hudson's Bay Company trading sloop in 1718, the Inuit procedure was to deliver their products, choose desired goods in exchange, and depart. Whether trade was with the sloops or at the post, it was not engaged in as a by-product of another activity or as a social occasion. The sloop captains frequently noted that the people did not stay on or around the ships after trading and that they disappeared quickly to carry on with their own business once they had nothing left to trade. It is doubtful that they thought of the trading process, at least with the sloops and at the post, as an exchange of gifts in order to create mutual social obligations. In this they were similar to the North Alaskans whose trading partnerships were formal arrangements made between strangers whose only mutual obligation was to provide each other with a dependable supply of agreed-upon goods. Fictive kinship and social security were not part of the agreement.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>Compare with descriptions of gift-giving as an essential part of Indian trading in Rotstein (1967), Ray (1974:65-68, 137-38), Ray and Freeman (1978:55-56, 242), and White (1987). For a description of gift-giving as advertising rather than alliance-making, see Francis and Morantz (1983:42-47).

The Keewatin Inuit did not ask for aid or suggest that the traders had an obligation to assist them, even in bad years when the people were described as very poor. Company logs and journals contain no references to what the traders, when speaking of other native groups, called 'begging.' Nor did the Inuit expect presents.

Keewatin Inuit trading practices, at least with Europeans, did not involve either ritual or celebration. Complaints and comments about Inuit being present at any time except during active trading or expecting or engaging in any kind of ceremonial were never recorded in the Company logs or journals. Not until 1823 is there any reference in the journals to the kind of speech-making that accompanied Indian trading activity,<sup>54</sup> and it is interesting to note that Gahutgana, the man "who called for a speech," was identified as "a Chips son" (B42/d/111). His interest in oratory may have been the result of socialization among his father's people.

The first reference to pre- or post-trading rituals among Inuit is Gasté's account of the meeting between Chipewyan and Inuit near Lake Ennadai in 1868, when smoking and conversation preceded trading, and singing and story-

---

<sup>54</sup>For descriptions of speech-making as part of trading ritual among Indians see Isham (1949 [1743]:85-87), Ray and Freeman (1978:63-68, 233), Francis and Morantz (1983:46), and White (1987:234).

telling followed. And it was the Chipewyan who passed around the tobacco and instigated the rituals.

However, Inuit relations with the captains and crews of wintering exploration and whaling vessels seem to have been perceived differently by the people. In times of need they did not hesitate to ask for help; indeed, they seemed to expect that it would be freely given, and when food supplies were low on the ships, they were quick to bring portions of their own stores. The obligations of mutual assistance, as perceived by them, seem to have been created by the circumstance of living together, rather than because of alliances or partnerships arising from the trade relationship. People who lived in the same community were expected to share the necessities of life and to assist fellow residents, and expected assistance in times of need.

Descriptions of social and recreational activities do not figure in accounts of Inuit-trader relations, but they occur frequently in the records of explorers and whalers, with whom the Inuit had a relationship primarily of a social nature. When Inuit and European wintered or travelled together, visiting, singing, dancing, and feasting were regular features of daily life. Friendship with its attendant rewards and obligations was associated with living together, not with trading encounters.

Nothing suggests that the Keewatin Inuit expected to establish partnerships with European traders similar to

those that existed between individuals from the different miuts in the North Alaskan trade. The only context in which a kinship or partnership relationship might have been created was in the granting of temporary custody of children to the ships' captains or the Company, and yet there are no recorded cases of a Company-educated Inuit asking for or extending special privileges. On the contrary, on at least one occasion a former Company protégée either refused or was unable to do a favour requested by a trader whom he knew well and had, in fact, lived with at the post. The obvious benefits of bilingualism and a technical education may have been the sole Inuit motive for the temporary trade in children. And it was trade. At least some, perhaps all, of the parents involved were paid for lending their children to the Company, initially with trade goods and ultimately with all the advantages of their children's educations.

If trading partnerships existed between Keewatin Inuit and their countrymen from other miuts, the practice is not mentioned in the surviving contemporary records, or in any of the oral histories collected by the Fifth Thule Expedition. The only relationships that might possibly have been seen by the Inuit as a form of partnership alliance were friendships like that described by Robert Ferguson. On his first trip to Hudson Bay as a harpooner on a whaler, Ferguson befriended Charlie, "an outcast from the Kinnepatoo tribe ... a young man who did not seem to have a friend"

(Ferguson 1938 [1879]:27-28). Several years later, in 1878, when Ferguson returned to Marble Island on board the Abbie Bradford, Charlie and his recent bride, Netick, welcomed him, undertook to supply him with all the skin clothing he needed personally, and frequently brought venison and fish to the ship. The provisions were invariably given to Ferguson with a request for ammunition, biscuit, needles, a gun, a telescope, or other household goods. Ferguson, usually in the presence of Charlie, always asked the captain's permission beforehand (he had little choice -- the captain had the keys to the store rooms). Charlie was, de facto, a provisioner to the ship, paid in kind, and in a sense engaged in casual labour and contract work for the owners of the vessel. However, Charlie behaved as though Ferguson, not the captain, were the owners' agent, and all his dealings with the ship were through his friend, Ferguson. The friendship between the two may have been based on what each had to gain -- Charlie became a wealthy man and Ferguson gradually became an unofficial liaison officer in all negotiations with the Inuit, and the captain's right hand man.<sup>55</sup> Charlie may have perceived

---

<sup>55</sup>At least according to Ferguson's description of events. Everything we know of Ferguson's relationship with Charlie, the captain, and the ship's owners, as well as his position in Inuit and ship society, and his fame among whaler as a harpooner, linguist, ethnographer, and traveller comes in his own words, from his point of view, from his diary.



obligations to Ferguson in return for his initial interest and help, and assumed that a partnership existed. Both, or either, of the men may have been motivated by simple friendship.

The question of Charlie's perception of his relationship with Ferguson is at the heart of the debate about whether certain economies are different from European ones in kind (the substantivist argument) or only in degree (the formalist argument). Riches has summarized the debate as follows :

Briefly, the formalists embrace the definition of economic as a study of the allocation of scarce resources among competing ends, and, like many western economists, see their task as constructing decision models of economic behaviour. The substantivists, by contrast, reject any attempt to adopt, imitate or adapt the procedures of western economists. They vigorously argue that in the study of primitive economies the concern should be with the procedures through which people provision themselves in respect of everyday consumption, and with the social relationships in which such procedures are instituted (1982:212).

A substantivist interpretation of Inuit economic activity would have people within miuts share goods through reciprocity or redistribution with prestige and/or status accruing to the successful donor. Between miuts and with non-Inuit groups, substantivism would interpret goods exchange as a symbol and means of institutionalizing friendship and alliance (treaty trade). A formalist interpretation would minimize friendship as a reason for

exchanging goods, partnerships for purposes of social security, and prestige as a motivation for giving.

In fact, it is simplistic to assume that any economy conforms solely to a substantivist or formalist model. Reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange are probably present to some degree in most societies, but, as Philip Curtin points out (1984:87), they do not represent "an evolutionary sequence of forms of exchange," nor do they fall into a chronological pattern. Reciprocity can be assumed in all societies for all periods; market exchange occurs early in human history, and some form of it is practiced in all known cultures. Institutionalized redistribution, depending as it does on a central authority and a bureaucratic distributive system, is not applicable to Inuit societies before the twentieth century.

Sharing, reciprocity, and market exchange are not mutually exclusive. All were present and practiced in Alaskan and Copper Eskimo societies at the time of initial European contact, and in Greenlandic society at the time of the documented second contact in the early eighteenth century. That Boas's description of South Baffin Island peoples at the end of the nineteenth century denies the practice of market exchange is not proof that it did not exist -- many of the people he observed had been meeting and trading with European ships for three centuries, and others met annually with those who were involved in European trade.

Goods exchange, including trade, evidently had no political or diplomatic connotations among the Inuit. A purely substantivist interpretation of Indian trade such as Rotstein's (1972) is simply not applicable to these arctic peoples. Because warfare seldom if ever occurred between Inuit groups, no alliances with attendant trading relations were necessary.<sup>56</sup> War, or at least hostility, played a part in Chipewyan-Inuit relations, but both war and trade could occur simultaneously, alliances evidently being of no importance in the relationship.

Nor is a formalist interpretation adequate to describe Inuit economic activities if the formalist model precludes embedded social security and institutionalized obligations. Depending on historical circumstances, both interpretations of economic activity applied to Inuit societies, as indeed they do to many European and other societies generally. The Keewatin Inuit data bear out Bruce Trigger's point that "the current distinction between a formalist and a substantivist approach obfuscates rather than clarifies an understanding of native behaviour in the fur trade" (1985:193).

Documentary evidence indicates that the Keewatin Inuit conducted trade with the Chipewyan Indians and with north

---

<sup>56</sup>Hostility and violence in Inuit societies usually occurred between individuals or families (Steenhoven 1971) rather than between miuts, although Burch (1978) and Savelle (1985) have suggested that expansionist wars may have taken place on occasion.

Baffin Island groups both before and after contact with Europeans. In the first century of Euro-Inuit relations on the west coast of Hudson Bay, trade apparently played no part in native prestige, alliance, or social security systems and was not characterized by rituals similar to those of some sub-arctic Indian groups. Early in the nineteenth century expansion inland occurred, probably in response to the Chipewyan withdrawal from the area and to the realization that an abundant seal harvest could be taken near Fort Churchill. The introduction of European goods to the Inuit market led to more vigorous inter-miut trade in which trade fairs played an important part.

Although the Inuit themselves left no contemporary written documents it has been possible to reconstruct a part of their history using a variety of other sources, such as artifacts, maps, mythology, and oral histories, and the records of alien observers. Applied critically, "an expanded conception of what constitutes documentation" (Fogelson 1989:134) allows the tracing of dynamic economic relationships among the Keewatin Inuit over three centuries.

## SOURCES

### Unpublished Documents

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

### London Letter Books Outward

A6/5

### London Letter Books Inward

A11/13

### York Factory Journals and Correspondence,

B239/a/1	B239/b/3
B239/a/5	B239/b/5
B239/b/1	B239/b/29

### Churchill Post Journals, 1718-1833

B42/a/1-2	B42/a/62	B42/a/115-116
B42/a/5	B42/a/81	B42/a/118-123
B42/a/17	B42/a/93	B42/a/129
B42/a/19-24	B42/a/99	B42/a/135-136a
B42/a/47	B42/a/101	B42/a/148-158

### Churchill Account Books

B42/d/109b, 1822-23  
B42/d/111, 1823-24, Eskimo Trading Book  
B42/d/114, 1824-25  
B42/d/139, 1828-32, Eskimo Trading Book

### Log Books of sloop, Churchill, 1743-1790

B42/a/26	B42/a/54	B42/a/105
B42/a/33	B42/a/57-58	B42/a/107
B42/a/35	B42/a/61	B42/a/109
B42/a/37	B42/a/63	B42/a/111
B42/a/41	B42/a/65	B42/a/113
B42/a/43	B42/a/68	B42/a/115
B42/a/45	B42/a/71	
B42/a/47	B42/a/75	
B42/a/49	B42/a/78	
B42/a/51	B42/a/81	
	B42/a/ 84	

Log Books of sloop, Success, 1766-1768

B42/a/66  
 B42/a/69  
 B42/a/72

Log Books of sloop, Speedwell, 1768

B42/a/73

Log Books of sloop, Charlotte, 1768-1780

B42/a/76	B42/a/91
B42/a/79	B42/a/93
B42/a/82	B42/a/95
B42/a/85	B42/a/97
B42/a/87	B42/a/99
B42/a/89	B42/a/101

## Ships' Papers

C7/175, Letters to Ships' Captains, 1790  
 C1/204, Log of brig, Beaver, 1791  
 C1/205, Log of brig, Beaver, 1792

A12/FT.Misc.207, 1891-1914. Hall, Herbert H. Report of a trip to the timber on the Thelew River during the summer of 1913.

Published Sources

- Anderson, Douglas D.  
1974 Trade networks among the Selawik Eskimos, North-western Alaska, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *Folk* 16-17(1974-75):62-72. Copenhagen.
- Arima, Eugene Y.  
1984 Caribou Eskimo. In *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol.5, Arctic. Vol. ed. David Damas. 447-462. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Bagrow, Leo  
1948 Eskimo maps. *Imago Mundi: A Review of Early Cartography* V:92-94.
- Balikci, Asen  
1970 *The Netsilik Eskimo*. Garden City, New York: Natural History Press.
- Bird, J.B., and M.B. Bird  
1961 *Bathurst Inlet, Northwest Territories*. Canada. Geographical Branch, Mines and Technical Survey, Memoir 7. Ottawa.
- Birket-Smith, Kaj  
1976 [1924] *Ethnography of the Egedesminde District with aspects of the general culture of West Greenland*. Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976.
- 1928 *Five hundred Eskimo words: a comparative vocabulary from Greenland and Central Eskimo dialects*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. III(3). Copenhagen.
- 1929 *The Caribou Eskimos: material and social life and their cultural position*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. V(1-2). Copenhagen.
- 1930 The question of the origin of Eskimo culture: a rejoinder. *American Anthropologist* 32(4):608-624.
- 1933 *Geographical notes on the Barren Grounds*. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. I(4). Copenhagen.
- 1936 *Eskimos*. Copenhagen: Stifsbogtrykkeri; trans. W.E. Calvert, London: Methuen.

## Birket-Smith, Kaj (continued)

- 1940 Anthropological observations on the Central Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. III(2). Copenhagen.
- 1945 Ethnographical collections from the northwest passage. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. VI(2). Copenhagen.

## Boas, Franz

- 1964 [1888] The Central Eskimo. In *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.
- 1975 [1901] The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* XV(12); reprint New York: AMS Press, 1975.

## Burch, Ernest S.

- 1978 Caribou Eskimo origins: an old problem reconsidered. *Arctic Anthropology* XV(1):1-35.
- 1986 The Caribou Inuit. In *Native peoples: the Canadian experience*. Ed. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 106-133.

## Burling, Robbins

- 1962 Maximization theories and the study of economic anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 64:4 (August, 1962):802-821.

## Carr, E.H.

- 1961 *What is history? The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures*. Penguin Books Ltd.

## Christy, Miller, ed.

- 1894 *The voyages of Captain Luke Fox, of Hull, and Captain Thomas James, of Bristol, in search of a Northwest Passage, in 1631-32 . . . 2 vols.* London: Hakluyt Society.

## Clark, Brenda

- 1977 *The development of Caribou Eskimo culture*. Canada. National Museum of Man. Mercury Series. Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper #59. Ottawa.

## [Clark, E.W.]

- 1884 Exploration of the Kowak River. *Science* IV(1884): 98:551-554.



Comer, George

1985 [1905] **An arctic whaling diary: the journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay 1903-1905.** Ed. W. Gillies Ross. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1906 **Whaling in Hudson Bay.** In **Boas anniversary volume: anthropological papers written in honor of Franz Boas.** New York: Stechert.

1921 **Notes on natives of northwestern shores of Hudson Bay.** **American Anthropologist** 23:243-244.

Cooke, Alan and Clive Holland

1978 **The exploration of northern Canada, 500-1920: a chronology.** Toronto: Arctic History Press.

Correll, Thomas

1972 **Language and location in traditional Inuit societies.** In **Report: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project** 3:173-178. Ed. Milton M.R. Freeman. Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Ottawa.

Curtin, Philip D.

1984 **Cross-cultural trade in world history.** London: Cambridge University Press.

Dalton, George

1961 **Economic theory and primitive society.** **American Anthropologist** 63:1:1-25.

1969 **Theoretical issues in economic anthropology.** **Current Anthropology** 10(February 1969):63-102.

1971 **Introduction: the subject of economic anthropology.** In **Studies in economic anthropology.** Ed. George Dalton. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

Damas, David

1968 **The Eskimo.** In **Science, history and Hudson Bay.** Ed. C.S. Beals and D.A. Shenstone. 1:141-171. Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Ottawa.

1984 **Central Eskimo: introduction.** In **Handbook of North American Indians. Arctic.** Vol. 5. Vol. ed. David Damas. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 391-396.

- Dobbs, Arthur  
 1967 [1742] An account of the countries adjoining to  
 Hudson's Bay in the north-west part of America.  
 New York: Johnson Reprint, 1967.
- Dumond, Don  
 1977 The Eskimos and Aleuts. London: Thames and Hudson.  
 1979 Eskimo-Indian relationships: a view from  
 prehistory. *Arctic Anthropology* XVI:2:3-22.  
 1984 Prehistory: summary. In *Handbook of North  
 American Indians. Vol. 5, Arctic.* Ed. D. Damas.  
 72-79. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Ellis, Henry  
 1748 A voyage to Hudson's Bay by the Dobbs Galley and  
California in the years 1746 and 1747.... London:  
 H. Whitridge.
- Fenimore Cooper, Paul  
 1961 *Island of the lost.* New York: Putnam.
- Ferguson, Robert  
 1938 [1879] *Arctic harpooner: a voyage on the schooner  
Abbie Bradford 1878-1879.* Ed. Leslie D. Stair.  
 Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Firth, Raymond  
 1971 *Elements of social organization.* 3rd ed. London:  
 Tavistock.
- Fitzhugh, William W.  
 1985 Early contacts north of Newfoundland before A.D.  
 1600: a review. In *Cultures in contact: the  
 impact of European contacts on native American  
 cultural institutions, A.D. 1000-1800.* 23-45.  
 Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Fogelson, Raymond D.  
 1989 The ethnohistory of events and nonevents.  
*Ethnohistory* 36:2(Spring 1989):133-147.
- Forde, Daryll and Mary Douglas  
 1956 Primitive economies. In *Tribal and peasant  
 economies.* Ed. George Dalton. 13-28. Garden City,  
 New York: Natural History Press.
- Francis, Daniel and Toby Morantz  
 1983 *Partners in furs: a history of the fur trade in  
 eastern James Bay, 1600-1870.* Kingston: McGill-  
 Queen's University Press.

Franklin, John

1924 [1823] Narrative of a journey to the shores of the polar sea in the years 1819-20-22. London: Dent.

1971 [1828] Narrative of a second expedition to the shores of the polar sea in the years 1825, 1826, and 1827. Reprint, Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle Company.

Fraser, J. Keith

1968 Place names (toponymy). *Science, history and Hudson Bay*. Ed. C.S. Beals and D.A. Shenstone. 1:236-262. Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Ottawa.

Freuchen, Peter

1961 *Book of the Eskimos*. New York: World Publishing.

Fried, Morton

1968 On the concepts of 'tribe' and 'tribal society.' In *Essays on the problem of tribe: proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. Ed. June Helm. Seattle: AES. 3-20.

1974 Thule culture investigations at Baker Lake, N.W.T. *Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin* 6:218-224.

Frison-Roche, Robert

1966 *Hunters of the arctic*. Toronto: Dent.

Gasté, Alphonse

1869 Father Gasté meets the inland Eskimos: a letter to Bishop Grandin. *Eskimo* 57(December 1960):3-17.

Gilder, William

1966 [1881] *Schwatka's search: sledging in the arctic in quest of the Franklin records*. New York: Scribner; reprint, New York: Abercrombie and Fitch.

Glover, Richard

1969 Introduction. In *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1767-91*. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society.

- Goldring, Philip  
1986 Inuit economic responses to Euro-American contacts: southeast Baffin Island, 1824-1940. In *Historical papers: a selection from the papers presented at the annual meeting held at Winnipeg, 1986*. 146-172. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H.  
1971 Traditional economic institutions and the acculturation of the Canadian Eskimos. In *Studies in economic anthropology*. American Anthropological Association Studies 7. 107-121. Washington, D.C.  
  
1976 *Eskimos of northern Canada*. New Haven, Connecticut: Human Relations Area Files.  
  
1979 Indian-Eskimo relations. *Arctic Anthropology* 16(2):184-195.
- Graham, Andrew  
1969 [1791] *Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1767-91*. Ed. Glyndwr Williams. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969.
- Hall, Charles Francis  
1970 [1862] *Life with the Esquimaux*. Reprint, Edmonton: Hurtig.  
  
1879 *Narrative of the second arctic expedition....* Ed. J.E. Nourse. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Halperin, Rhoda H.  
1985 The concept of the formal in economic anthropology. In *Research in Economic Anthropology* 7:339-368.
- Hanbury, David T.  
1900 A journey from Chesterfield Inlet to Great Slave Lake, 1898-9. *Geographical Journal* 16:63-77.  
  
1903 Through the barren ground of northwestern Canada to the arctic coast. *Geographical Journal* 22:178-191.  
  
1904 *Sport and travel in the northland of Canada*. New York: Macmillan.

## Harp, Elmer

- 1959 The Moffatt Archaeological Collection from the Dubawnt country, Canada. *American Antiquity* 24(4):412-422.
- 1961 *The archaeology of the lower and middle Thelon, Northwest Territories*. Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper 8. Montreal.
- 1962 The culture history of the Central Barren Grounds. In *Prehistoric cultural relations between the arctic and temperate zones of North America*. Ed. John M. Campbell. 69-75. Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper 11. Montreal.
- 1963 Archaeological evidence bearing on the origin of the Caribou Eskimo. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Science* 2:1:409-413.

## Harper, Francis

- 1964 *Caribou Eskimos of the upper Kazan River, Keewatin*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press.

## Harris, R. Cole

- 1987 *Historical atlas of Canada*. Vol. 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

## Harris, Marvin

- 1974 *Cows, pigs, wars and wtiches: the riddles of culture*. New York: Random House.

## Hearne, Samuel

- 1958 [1795] *A journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769-1770-1771-1772*. Ed. Richard Glover. Toronto: Macmillan, 1958.

## Helm, June

- 1968 The nature of Dogrib socioterritorial groups. In *Man the hunter*. Ed. Richard B. Lee and Irvén DeVore. 116-125. Chicago: Aldine.

## Herskovits, Melville

- 1940 Anthropology and economics. In *The economic life of primitive peoples*. New York: Knopf.
- 1952 *Economic anthropology: the economic life of primitive peoples*. New York: Norton.

- Holm, Gustav  
 1914 [1888] **Ethnological sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo.** *Meddelelser om Gronland*. Vol. 39, Pt 1. Ed. William Thalbitzer. Copenhagen.
- Hopkins, Terence K.  
 1957 **Sociology and the substantive view of the economy.** In *Trade and market in the early empires: economies in history and theory*. Eds. Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, Harry W. Pearson. 271-306. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Huish, Robert  
 1836 **A narrative of the voyages and travels of Captain Beechey ... to the Pacific and Behring's Straits; performed in the years 1825, 26, 27 and 28.** London.
- Isham, James  
 1949 [1743] **Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743.** Ed. E.E. Rich. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society.
- Irving, W.N.  
 1968 **The barren grounds.** In *Science, history and Hudson Bay*. Ed. C.S. Beals and D.A. Shenstone, 1:26-54. Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Ottawa.
- Janes, Robert R.  
 1973 **Indian and Eskimo contact in southern Keewatin: an ethnohistorical approach.** *Ethnohistory* 20:39-54.
- Jenness, Diamond  
 1921 **The cultural transformation of the Copper Eskimo.** *Geographical Review* 11(4):542-550.
- 1922 **The life of the Copper Eskimos.** In *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918*. Vol. XIIA. Ottawa: King's Printer.
- 1923 **Origin of the Copper Eskimos and their copper culture.** *Geographical Review* 13(4):540-551.
- 1925 **A new Eskimo culture in Hudson Bay.** *Geographical Review* 15(3):428-437.
- 1961 [1928] **The people of the twilight.** 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jenness, Diamond (continued)

- 1946 Material culture of the Copper Eskimo. In Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918. Vol. XVI. Ottawa: King's Printer.

Jones, Gwyn

- 1986 The Norse Atlantic saga. Oxford University Press.

Jordan, Richard H.

- 1984 Neo-Eskimo prehistory of Greenland. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5, Arctic. Ed. D. Damas. 540-548. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Kelsey, Henry

- 1929 [1689] A journal of a voyage and journey undertaken by Henry Kelsey to discover and endeavor to bring to a commerce ye Northern Indians inhabiting to ye northward of Churchill River, and also ye Dogside Nation, June 17th, 1689. In The Kelsey Papers. Ed. A.G. Doughty and C. Martin. 25-32. Ottawa.

Kleivan, Helge

- 1984 Greenland Eskimos: introduction. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5, Arctic. Ed. David Damas. 522-527. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Kleivan, Inge

- 1984 West Greenland before 1950. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 5, Arctic. Ed. David Damas. 595-621. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Klutschak, Heinrich

- 1987 [1881] Overland to Starvation Cove: with the Inuit in search of Franklin. Trans. & ed. William Barr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Knight, James

- 1932 [1717] Journal kept at Churchill River, 14 July to 13 September, 1717. In The founding of Churchill .... Ed. J.F. Kenney 108-189. Toronto.

Lewis, G. Malcolm

- 1987 Indian maps : their place in the history of plains cartography. In Mapping the North American Plains: essays in the history of cartography. Eds. F.C.Luebke, Frances W. Kaye, Gary E. Moulton. University of Oklahoma Press. 63-80.

- Linnamae, Urve and Brenda L. Clark  
 1976 Archaeology of Rankin Inlet, N.W.T. *Musk-ox*  
 1976:19:37-73.
- Lofthouse, J.  
 1899 A trip on the Tha-anne River, Hudson Bay.  
*Geographical Journal* 13:274-277.
- 1922 A thousand miles from a post office. London:  
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Low, A.P.  
 1906 Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to  
 Hudson Bay and the Arctic islands on board the  
 D.G.S. Neptune, 1903-1904. Ottawa: Government  
 Printing Office.
- Lyon, G.F.  
 1824 The private journal of Captain G.F. Lyon of H.M.S.  
Hecla during the recent voyage of discovery under  
 Captain Parry. London: John Murray.
- McCartney, Allen P.  
 1971 Thule Eskimo prehistory along northwestern Hudson  
 Bay. Canada. National Museum of Man. Mercury  
 Series. Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper #70.  
 Ottawa.
- McCartney, Allen P. and D.J. Mack  
 1973 Iron utilization by Thule Eskimos of Central  
 Canada. *American Antiquity* 38(3):328-339.
- McGhee, Robert  
 1978 Canadian arctic prehistory. Toronto: Van Nostrand.
- Mansfield, A.W.  
 1968 Seals and Walrus. In *Science, history and Hudson  
 Bay*. Ed. C.S. Beals and D.A. Shenstone. 1:376-387.  
 Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.  
 Ottawa.
- Marsh, Donald  
 1987 *Echoes from a frozen land*. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Mary-Rousselière, Guy  
 1959 Eskimo migrations. *Eskimo* 51(June 1959):8-9, 12-  
 15.
- 1986 Eskimo -- a pejorative term? *Eskimo* (Spring/  
 summer):23-25.



## Mathiassen, Therkel

- 1927 Archaeology of the Central Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. IV:1-2. Copenhagen.
- 1928 Material culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. VI(1). Copenhagen.
- 1931 Contributions to the physiography of Southampton Island. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. I(2). Copenhagen.
- 1933 Contributions to the geography of Baffin Land and Melville Peninsula. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. I(3). Copenhagen.
- 1945 Report on the expedition. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. I(1). Copenhagen.

## Mauss, Marcel

- 1925 The gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies. London: Cohen and West.

## Merbs, Charles F.

- 1971 An island of the dead: Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome. The Beaver 301(Spring):16-24.

## [Merrill, G.P.]

- 1885 Jade: supposed crude jade from Alaska. Science 5:110-129.

## Meyer, David

- 1976 Eskimos of west Hudson Bay, 1619-1820. Na'pao 1976:6:102:41-59. Saskatoon.

## Middleton, Christopher

- 1743 A vindication of the conduct of Captain Christopher Middleton. London.

## Munk, Jens

- 1980 [1620] The journal of Jens Munk, 1619-1620. Ed W.A. Kenyon. Toronto.

## Murdoch, John

- 1885 Natural history. In Report of the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska. Part 4. 92-176. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- 1886 A few legendary fragments from the Point Barrow Eskimos. The American Naturalist 2(1886):593-9.

- Oswalt, Wendell H.  
 1979 Eskimos and explorers. Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp.
- Parry, W.E.  
 1821 Journal of a voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage ... in the years 1819-20.... London: John Murray.  
 1824 Journal of a second voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage ... in the years 1821-22-23.... London: John Murray.
- Peck, Edmund J.  
 1925 Eskimo-English dictionary compiled from Erdman's Eskimo-German edition, 1864. Hamilton, Ontario: Mission Fund.
- Plattner, Stuart  
 1983 Economic custom in a competitive marketplace. *American Anthropologist* 85(4):848-858.
- Polanyi, Karl  
 1947 Our obsolete market mentality. *Commentary* 3(February 1947):109-117. Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series.  
 1957 The economy as instituted process. In *Trade and market in the early empires: economies in history and theory*. Eds. Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, Harry W. Pearson. 243-270. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Polanyi, Karl, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson  
 1957 The place of economics in societies. In *Trade and market in the early empires: economies in history and theory*. Eds. Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, Harry W. Pearson. 239-242. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Rae, John  
 1963 [1844-55] Arctic correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company on arctic exploration, 1844,55. Ed. E.E. Rich. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society.  
 1848 Narrative of an expedition to the shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847. London: Boone.  
 1878 Eskimo migrations. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* VII:125-131.

## Rae, John (continued)

- 1882a The arctic regions and Hudson's Bay route. Lecture to the Historical and Scientific Society of Winnipeg. *Winnipeg Free Press*. October 11, 1882
- 1882b On the conditions and characteristics of some of the Indian tribes of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories. Address to the Royal Society of Arts, London. Reprinted in Rae and the Eskimos. *The Beaver* 1954(March):38-41.

## Rasmussen, Knud

- 1929 **Intellectual culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.** Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. VII(1). Copenhagen.
- 1930a **Observations on the intellectual culture of the Caribou Eskimo.** Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. VII(2). Copenhagen.
- 1930b **Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo texts.** Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. VII(3). Copenhagen.
- 1931a **The Netsilik Eskimos: social life and spiritual culture.** Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. VIII. Copenhagen.
- 1931b **Posthumous notes on East Greenland legends and myths.** Ed. H. Osterman. *Meddelelser om Gronland*. Vol. 109, Pt 3. Copenhagen.
- 1932 **Intellectual culture of the Copper Eskimos.** Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. IX. Copenhagen.

## Rasmussen, Knud and W. Worster

- 1921 **Eskimo folk-tales.** Collected by Knud Rasmussen; edited and translated by W. Worster. Copenhagen.

## Ray, A.J.

- 1974 **Indians in the fur trade : their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870.** Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- 1980 **Indians as consumers in the eighteenth century.** In *Old trails and new directions: papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Ed. C.M. Judd and A.J. Ray. 255-271. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Ray, A.J. and Donald B. Freeman  
1978 'Give us good measure': an economic analysis of relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ray, P.H.  
1885 Ethnographic sketch of the natives. In Report of the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska. 37-60. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Riches, David  
1982 Northern nomadic hunter-gatherers: a humanistic approach. London: Academic Press.
- Rink, Heinrich  
1875 The races of mankind.  
  
1877 Danish Greenland, its people and products. London: H.S. King.  
  
1974 [1875] Tales and traditions of the Eskimo. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood; reprint, New York: AMS Press.  
  
1975 [1891] The Eskimo tribes. Meddelelser om Gronland. Vol XI; reprint, New York: AMS Press.
- Ronda, James P.  
1987 "A chart in his way": Indian cartography and the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In Mapping the North American Plains: essays in the history of cartography. Eds. F.C. Luebke, Frances W. Kaye, Gary E. Moulton. University of Oklahoma Press. 81-92.
- Ross, John  
1835 Narrative of a second voyage in search of a North-west passage.... 2 v. London.
- Ross, W. Gillies  
1973 Whaling in Hudson Bay. The Beaver 1973(Spring):4-11; (Summer)40-47; (Autumn):52-59.  
  
1975 Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860-1915. Canada. National Museum of Man, Publication in Ethnology 10. Ottawa.

Ross, W. Gillies(continued)

- 1976 Inuit and the land in the nineteenth century. In **Report: Inuit land use and occupancy project**. Ed. Milton M.R. Freeman. 2:123-140. Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Ottawa.
- 1977 Whaling and the decline of native populations. **Arctic Anthropology** 14:2:1-8.

Rotstein, A.

- 1972 Trade and politics: an institutional approach. **Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology** 3:1:1-28.
- 1987 **The two economies of the Hudson's Bay Company**. Unpublished paper presented at the 1987 Annual Meetings of the Canadian Economics Association at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, June 7, 1987.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police

**Annual Reports**. 1874-89, 1908, 1913, 1925-52.

Sahlins, Marshall

- 1972 **Stone age economics**. New York: Aldine.

Savelle, James

- 1985 Effect of nineteenth century European exploration on the development of the Netsilik Inuit culture. In **The Franklin era in Canadian arctic history**. Ed. Patricia D. Sutherland. 192-214. Canada. National Museum of Man. Mercury Series. Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper #131. Ottawa.

Schledermann, Peter

- 1980 Notes on Norse finds from the east coast of Ellesmere Island, N.W.T. **Arctic** 33:454-463.
- 1981 Eskimo and Viking finds in the high arctic. **National Geographic** 159:5(May):575-601.

Schneider, Lucien

- 1985 **Ulirnaigutiit: An Inuktitut-English Dictionary**. Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

Schwatka, Frederick

- 1965 [1880] **The long arctic search**. Ed. E.A. Stackpole. Mystic, Connecticut.

- Sergeant, D.E.  
 1968 Whales. In *Science, history and Hudson Bay*. Ed. C.S. Beals and D.A. Shenstone. 1:388-396. Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Ottawa.
- Simpson, Thomas  
 1965 [1843] *Narrative of the discoveries on the north coast of America*. London: Facsimilie Reprint.
- Smith, James G.E.  
 1981 Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit relations west of Hudson Bay, 1714-1955. *Ethnohistory* 28:2(Spring):133-156.
- Smith, James G.E., and Ernest S. Burch  
 1979 Chipewyan and Inuit in the central Canadian subarctic, 1613-1977. *Arctic Anthropology* 16(2):76-101
- Steenhoven, Geert van den  
 1971 Caribou Eskimo legal concepts. In *Eskimo in the Canadian arctic*. Ed. V. Valentine and F. Vallee. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Stefansson, Vilhjalmur  
 1914 *Prehistoric and present commerce among the arctic coast Eskimo*. Canada. Geological Survey Museum Bulletin 6. Anthropological Series #3. Ottawa.
- 1919 *Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. XIV. New York.
- Speck, Frank G.  
 1924 Eskimo collection from Baffin Land and Ellesmere Land. *Indian Notes* 1:3(July):143-149.
- Spencer, Robert F.  
 1955 Map making of the North Alaskan Eskimo. *Proceedings of the Minnesota Academy of Science* 23:46-50.
- 1959 *The North Alaskan Eskimo: a study in ecology and society*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 171. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Spink, John and D.W. Moodie  
 1972 *Eskimo maps from the Canadian eastern arctic*. Cartographica. Monograph # 5. Toronto.

- Szathmary, E.  
 1979 Eskimo and Indian contact: examination of craniometric, anthropometric and genetic evidence. *Arctic Anthropology* 16(2):23-48.
- Taylor, William E.  
 1965 The fragments of Eskimo prehistory. *The Beaver* 1965(Spring):4-7.
- 1968a Eskimo prehistory of the north and east shores. In *Science, history and Hudson Bay*. Ed. C.S. Beals and D.A. Shenstone. 1:1-26. Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Ottawa.
- 1968b An archaeological overview of Eskimo economy. In *Eskimo of the Canadian arctic*. Ed. Victor Valentine and Frank Vallee. 3-17. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Thalbitzer, William  
 1912 *Ethnographical collections from East Greenland (Angmagsalik and Nualik) made by G. Holm, G. Amdrup, J. Peterson and described by W. Thalbitzer. Meddelelser om Gronland. 39:7. Copenhagen.*
- Thibert, Arthur  
 1954 *English-Eskimo dictionary. Ottawa.*
- Thorén, E.  
 1969 *Picture atlas of the arctic. Amsterdam.*
- Trigger, Bruce G.  
 1985 *Natives and newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' reconsidered. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.*
- Tyrrell, James W.  
 1897 *Across the sub-arctics of Canada. Toronto: Briggs.*
- Tyrrell, Joseph B.  
 1894 An expedition through the barren lands of northern Canada. *Geographical Journal* 1894:437-450.
- 1895 A second expedition through the barren lands of northern Canada. *Geographical Journal* 1895:438-448.
- 1896 *Report on the Doobaunt, Kazan and Ferguson Rivers and the north-west coast of Hudson Bay. Geological Survey of Canada Annual Report 1896, V. 9, Part F. Ottawa.*

- Tyrrell, Joseph B. (continued)  
 1910 Ice on Canadian lakes. Reprint of Transactions of the Canadian Institute, IX. Toronto.
- Warkentin, John and Richard I. Ruggles  
 1970 Manitoba historical atlas: a selection of facsimile maps, plans, and sketches from 1612 to 1969. Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.
- Webster's Ninth Collegiate Dictionary. Markham, Ontario. 1983.
- Welland, Tony  
 1976 Inuit land use in Keewatin District and Southampton Island. In Report: Inuit land use and occupancy project. Ed. Milton M.R. Freeman. 1:83-114. Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Ottawa.
- Wells, Garron F.  
 1982 The development of trade along the north west coast of Hudson Bay, 1749-1790. M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba.
- West, John  
 1967 [1824] The substance of a journal during a residence at the Red River Colony, British North America in the years 1820-1823. Vancouver.
- White, Bruce M.  
 1982 'Give us a little milk': The social and cultural significance of gift-giving in the Lake Superior fur trade. *Minnesota History* 48/2(Summer):60-71.  
 1987 A skilled game of exchange: Ojibway fur trade protocol. *Minnesota History* 50/6(Summer):229-240.
- Williams, Glyndwr  
 1962 The British search for the Northwest Passage in the eighteenth century. London: Royal Commonwealth Society.
- Williamson, Robert G.  
 1974 Eskimo underground: socio-cultural change in the Canadian central arctic. Uppsala: Institutionen för Allman och Jämförande Etnografi, Occasional Paper II.
- Wright, James V.  
 1972 The Aberdeen Site, Keewatin District, N.W.T. Canada. Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper No. 2. Ottawa.