

Close World-System Encounters on the Western/Central Canadian
Arctic Periphery: Long-term Historic Copper Inuit-European and
Eurocanadian Intersocietal Interaction

by

Donald S. Johnson

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ABSTRACT

This study examines long-term direct and indirect Historic Copper Inuit–European and –Eurocanadian intersocietal interaction in the west/central Canadian Arctic periphery. Utilizing theoretical perspectives deriving from World-System Theory and moderate relativist orientations, and, embracing ethnographic, ethnohistorical and archaeological methodologies, the historic process by which the Historic Copper Inuit, living externally to the modern capitalist World-System, came into contact with, and, were gradually incorporated within this expanding global system of interconnected states is examined. The process leading to the ultimate Incorporation of the Historic Copper Inuit within the World-System is scrutinized through chronological stages and, utilizing two-views; the perspective of the Historic Copper Inuit mediating the penetration of the World-System, and, through a perspective based on World-System orientations.

DEDICATIONS

**This Thesis is dedicated to the people of Ulukhaktok (formerly Holman), Victoria
Island, Northwest Territories, Canada**

And

To the memory of my beloved father, Carl Gunnar Johnson (1921-1997)

EPIGRAPH

“And I suddenly saw that their reactions to my society were neither more nor less valid than mine to theirs. And do you know that was a moment of the most amazing freedom”.

- In: Regeneration, Pat Barker

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SECTION I

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS, METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH TECHNIQUES: OVERVIEW AND PURPOSE

This study examines an eventful, long-term encounter between two “systems,” the indigenous sociocultural “system” of the Historic Copper Inuit, and, the World-System of Capitalism. For hundreds of years, the Historic Copper Inuit (and their ancestors) lived externally to the World-System of Capitalism as a highly egalitarian hunter-gatherer society situated within its own boundaries in the western/central Canadian Arctic - essentially, within their own world-system (Figure 1). The World-System of Capitalism traces its origins to Western Europe in the 1500’s, from where it expanded chronologically, geographically and institutionally, throughout the world. Integral to this study is a holistic examination of the historical process of how these two systems – the indigenous and the capitalist – encountered each other and what the nature of the ensuing and lengthy period of long-term intersocietal interaction was. As will be seen, ultimately, the Historic Copper Inuit were fully incorporated within the World-System of Capitalism.

This study seeks to critically understand and analyze the intricate socioeconomic mechanisms by which the Historic Copper Inuit were, in essence, “prepared” for inclusion in the World-System. Similarly, the “stages” leading to incorporation and the “indicators” of Historic Copper Inuit articulation within the World-System of Capitalism are also examined. Importantly, this study is also interested in providing, to the extent possible, a view of the Copper Inuit as dynamic actors expressing their own agency

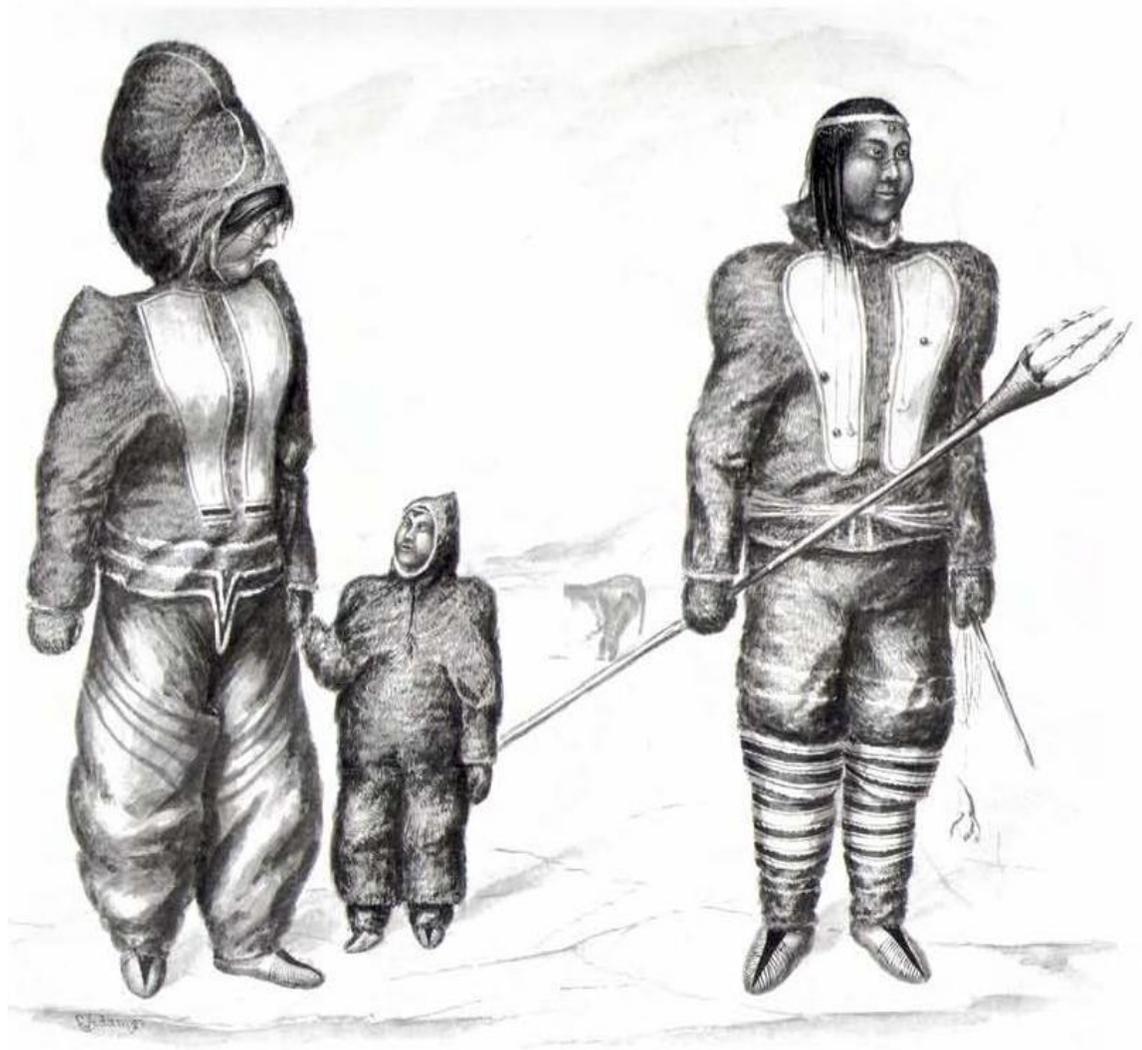


Figure 1. "Esquimaux of Pr[ince] Albert's Land - Winter Dress," ca. 1851-1852.
Artist: Edward Adams. (From: SPRI 83/11/31).

during this lengthy and eventful encounter leading to incorporation. Essentially, a critical component within the enquiry is provided through an explanation of how the Historic Copper Inuit continually mediated their incorporation in the World-System.

World System Theory and, Close Encounters are the primary theoretical orientations utilized in this study. World-System Theory asserts that there is one identifiable, interconnected and unequal system of states existing globally and, that these states have been, and continue to be, situated in a hierarchy comprised of Core, Semi-periphery and Periphery positions. Theoretically, Close Encounters is based on an inclusive interpretive programme and moderate relativist perspectives, both of which stress cultural inter-connectedness and the creation of shared cultural histories. Using these orientations and, through the methodological applications found in classic ethnographic, ethnohistorical and archaeological investigations, a culture history of the Historic Copper Inuit has been developed through which the gradual, and yet, seemingly inexorable centuries-long penetration of the World-System into the Copper Inuit sociocultural world-system is documented and analyzed. This incorporation process is examined through several distinct temporal stages leading, ultimately, to the *complete* incorporation of the Historic Copper Inuit within the World-System by the third decade of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

Introduction

This study has embraced and synthesized two theoretical orientations in the examination of a long-term encounter between Historic Copper Inuit and Europeans and -Eurocanadians in what is now the west/central Canadian Arctic. The first is World-System Theory (e.g. Wallerstein 1974a, 1974b, 1980, 1989, 2000). The second is Close Encounters.

World-System Theory maintains that the development of both ancient and modern societies has been influenced by the "...existence of larger *systems* of intersocietal networks of political and economic exchange and interaction" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991:6). The second theoretical orientation, termed for our purposes, "Close Encounters," is essentially a melding of several significant (and moderate) cultural-relativist theoretical perspectives, each stressing the interconnectedness and the *shared* production of histories of both European and Indigenous peoples during intersocietal interaction or, the "encounter" (e.g. Denning 1992; Ortner 1999; L. Smith 2002; Hamalainen 2008).

World-System Theory analyses the world and its human societies in both macro- and micro- frameworks. When these frameworks are combined they form, as George Marcus tells us, a "crucible" for the integration of "...impersonal systems" into "representations of local life as cultural forms *both* [author's italics] autonomous and constituted by the larger order" (Marcus 1986:170). All too often the more unfavorable multidisciplinary criticism of World-System Theory as a paradigm centers on "the impersonal system." Indeed, one can understand how the words "system" or, "systemic" might be perceived to connote a paradigm that is monolithic, perhaps too steeped in positivism and/or "economist" perspectives rather than "culturalism," and lastly, which is

overtly analytical and intellectually inflexible (e.g. Forte 1998:33). However, a more far-reaching reading of World-System Theory should lead one to the view that local cultural systems are neither abandoned nor ignored within the universal characteristics of this paradigm. There is an essential truism in that World-System orientations are highly empathetic to, and interested in, “local and national regions” and particularly, how the aforementioned regions are integrated into the larger system (e.g. Chase-Dunn and Grimes 1995:388).

The theoretical core of *Close Encounters* is Relativism, a classic theoretical (as well as methodological) approach of Anthropology. Relativism as a thesis states that each culture is a “unique configuration” with its own complex patterning, organization, and genius (Kaplan and Manners 1972:5-6). Moreover, (and significantly), the relativist view is one which prevents cultural preconceptions, and counters ethnocentricity (e.g. Bennett 1993). It is especially useful as a theoretical and methodological precept when combined with comparativism, as these two standard anthropological approaches are active at all levels of cultural inquiry. However, this is not to imply that *Close Encounters* adopts hyper-, extreme or even “strong relativist,” viewpoints which argue that there is no empirical basis on which to prove that one interpretation of a culture is correct and another wrong (e.g. Shanks and Tilley 1987; Trigger 1998:21). Arguably, this view so commonly associated with postmodern theoretical interpretations, (and the often angry critique of hyperpositivism), works against cogent, objectible and useful anthropological interpretation, including comparative techniques. *Close Encounters* invites comparison because it is only through this methodological approach, that is, though some form of comparative investigation, that one is able to identify the “unique” in a culture (Kaplan and Manners 1972:5-7).

Importantly, rather than centering the entire theoretical focus within this study contextually on “The West and the Rest,” and, privileging western ideas and concepts such as “progress,” “modernity,” and “development,” Close Encounters, alternatively, provides a resonant and reasoned voice for “the Other,” a designation which often “... strips people of cultural and historical particularity...” (Des Chene 1997:69). Indeed, Close Encounters greatly amplifies the “the Subaltern’s view,” and promotes the holistic investigation of the processes of cultural mediation and “human agency” during the long-term encounter (Spivak 1988; Ortner 1999). For example, within this study, contact episodes of varying lengths, and long-term economic change, provide opportunities to examine the differing agendas and power structures of “the Native,” (in this instance the Historic Copper Inuit), and the European and -Eurocanadian agents of the World-System alike (e.g. Wolf 1982, 1992; Sahlins 1987; Denning 1981, 1992; Ortner 1999; L. Smith 2002). Each of the theoretical orientations adopted in this study - World-System Theory and Close Encounters - are examined at length below. Thus, this study seeks to counter any overtly Eurocentric representations, and will portray the Historic Copper Inuit as real people, leading complex lives within mutable lifeways.

World-System Theory and Close Encounters: Theoretical Synthesis

Counter-balancing these orientations and creating a synthesis (both theoretically and methodologically), between them is absolutely critical to this study. As a Geo-historical paradigm, World-System Theory examines “...long-term, large-scale social change” temporally and spatially (Forte 1998:37). Similarly, as we shall see, World-System Theory maintains that historically, since the sixteenth century, *one* predominant, interdependent *and unequal* global political, social and economic system has existed. Originating in, and emanating from Europe, structurally, the World-System rests on a capitalist economy in which political and economic specialization based on

Three positions - Core, Semi-periphery and Periphery - exists (Wallerstein 1974a, 1974b; Kottak 2005:308-309). Implicit in the critical analysis of the history of the World-System is the gradual, and yet inexorable, incorporation and articulation of indigenous societies within what has become a global economic system (Marx 2004; Wallerstein 1974a, 1974b). Indeed, it is hypothesized within this study that one such indigenous society, the Historic Copper Inuit, traditionally residing in an external and later, peripheral position in relation to Europe, *have* - through time and stages - been incorporated and articulated within the modern World-System of Capitalism. Yet, within Marx's definition of articulation, pre-capitalist economies often function within and in close relation to capitalist economies, and should be examined in this context. Further, Marx informs us that these traditional economies can break down and engender "transformation" into a historically "advanced mode" (Marx 2004; Davies 2002:74).

However, this study is not an ethnology of Capitalism. Of salient importance, is the need to examine and fully explain the cultural structures and agendas of how, (and why), indigenous societies such as the Historic Copper Inuit have mediated the manifestations - whether direct or indirect - of this seemingly omnipotent and invasive system. This crucial need was recognized by Marshall Sahlins in his discussion of the inter-cultural relationships that developed within Polynesian - European social interaction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

"I have seen among theoreticians of "the world-system," for example, the proposition that since the hinterland societies anthropologists habitually study are open to radical change, externally imposed by Western capitalist expansion, the assumption that these societies work on some autonomous cultural-logic cannot be entertained. This is a confusion between an open system and a lack of a system. And it leaves us unable to account for the diversity of local responses to the world system - persisting, moreover, in its wake. World-system theory itself allows for the preservation of satellite cultures, as

the means of reproduction of capital in the dominant European order. But, if so, from the alternative vantage of the so-called dominated people, European wealth is harnessed to the reproduction and even the creative transformation of their own cultural order” (Sahlins 1987: viii).

Thus, examining the long-term Copper Inuit “response” to the World-System and its “agents” is seen as another integral component of this study. Ultimately, following the theoretical lead of Sherry Ortner (as well as other scholars) in her examination of long-term Sherpa-European intersocietal interaction (see below), this study objectively explores, “... ways in which power and meaning are deployed and negotiated, expressed and transformed as people confront one another within frameworks of differing agendas” (Ortner 1999:17). In essence, *Close Encounters* provides the conceptual apparatus with which to create a more relativist cultural “portrait “of the Copper Inuit. In many respects, this portrait mirrors that devised by Greg Denning in his evocative interpretation of Tahitian-British contact episodes during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For Denning, the cultural portrait that emerged as a result of his researches was of a, “...world now encompassed by native and stranger alike...,” “possessed” and possessing one another, creating mutual and separate histories” (Denning 1992:178-179). Therefore, *Power* may indeed be deployed from the Core to the Periphery and, often overtly so. Nevertheless, the periphery occupied by the Historic Copper Inuit in this study is neither peripheral nor passive. Similarly, economic articulation does occur, nevertheless, as scholars like June Nash, Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz (among others) have so powerfully delineated, within this often complex core-periphery interaction, there is also, as we shall observe, an articulation of equally meaningful “hidden histories” (Nash 1981; Wolf 1982; Mintz 1985).

World-System Theory: Approaches

Increasingly, the discipline of Anthropology is less likely to view smaller societal units as autonomous, pristine and isolated entities (e.g. Savelle 1985:193; Trigger 1989:330). Rather, indigenous cultures previously thought to be “bounded” (in the strict functionalist sense), are now seen to have existed (and, in many instances still exist), within a “larger interconnected entity,” or, framework, that fully merits comprehensive examination (Kaplan and Manners 1972:60; Hannerz 1992:21). Indeed, according to Trigger, today, “...it is recognized that most cultures were modified as a consequence of European contact long before Europeans studied them” (Trigger 1998:34). Similarly, a growing number of studies have demonstrated that it is important to more fully understand the effects of the penetration of European societies and economic systems through the processes of Imperialism and Colonialism on indigenous societies (e.g. Wobst 1978; Wolf 1982, 1992; Schrire 1984; Trigger 1985; Sahlins 1987; Cocker 1998; L. Smith 2002; Carlson 2002; Hamalainen 2008).

World-System Theory with its focus on the study *and analysis* of long-term, large-scale social change is well placed to serve as the principal theoretical orientation in understanding core-periphery intersocietal interaction (e.g. Wallerstein 1974a, 1980, 1989; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991). Of equal importance regarding this study is the fact that Wallerstein is also concerned with the examination of problems of “microsocial description and contextuality.” According to Marcus: “The adequacy of Wallerstein’s center-periphery formulation and his overview interpretations of history are the subject of lively debate, dependent significantly on discussions of local situations. The important influence and appeal of his work has been the introduction of a framework for the intimate reassociation of history and social theory” (Marcus 1986:166-167). Within the broader context of this study, that is, core-periphery relations in the Arctic environment

of North America, at least two studies - concerning Inuit groups in the Arctic - have successfully utilized World-System perspectives (e.g. Friesen 1995; Crowell 1997; see also: Johnson 1999). That the aforementioned cultural groups maintained – during different periods of time - intergroup trade links with the Copper Inuit suggests the even greater importance of these studies. A third study, examining core-periphery relations and the process by which indigenous groups of the Northwest Coast of North American were incorporated within the World-System, has also been influential in the formulation of this study (Carlson 2002:390-442). While the indigenous groups discussed by Carlson in his investigations did not interact directly with the Inuit of the Arctic, the Russian fur trade in which they were active, did maintain long-distance interconnections with Inuit groups of the western Arctic, including the Historic Copper Inuit (Stefansson 1914; McGhee 1972; Morrison 1991).

“World-System analysis...is not a theory but a protest against neglected issues and deceptive epistemologies. It is a call for intellectual change, indeed for ”unthinking” the premises of nineteenth-century social science, as I say in the title of one of my books. It is an intellectual task that is and has to be a political task as well, because – I insist – the search for the true and the search for the good is but a single quest. If we are to move forward to a world that is substantively rational, in Max Weber’s usage of this term, we can neglect neither the intellectual nor the political challenges. And neither can we separate these from each other. We can only struggle uneasily with both challenges simultaneously, and push forward as best we can” (Wallerstein 2000: XXII).

World-System theory was originated by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974a, 1974b, 1980, 1989, 2000) and gradually embraced, (albeit, somewhat fitfully at first), as a major multidisciplinary theoretical paradigm by social scientists during the 1970s (C. Smith 1976:52-54; Shannon 1989). In essence, World-System theory was developed as a theoretical vehicle to explain and analyze the development of the modern global political

economy (Shannon 1989; Friesen 1995). Wallerstein's work is often seen as an "extension" of the *Annales* School of French historical thought, and has been informed more particularly by Fernand Braudel's magisterial *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (e.g. Braudel 1982; Burke 1991) to which Wallerstein is indebted for many of the ideas, such as the concept of the *Longue durée*, and other descriptions of the capitalist world-economy that are integrated within World-System Theory (Shannon 1989; Crowell 1997).

World-System Theory asserts that there is *one* identifiable social system that exists beyond the boundaries of individual polities, such as nation states or individual societies. Importantly, this system, in which the accumulation of profit is the primary driving force, can be clearly characterized by high-degrees of intersocietal interaction, cyclical and predictable "long-waves" of expansion and contraction, extremes in growth and crisis, and through a capitalist economic system (the *differentia specifica* of the World-System), that consists of one unifying division of labor that "unites" different cultural systems into a single, well-integrated whole (Wallerstein 1974a; Goldfrank 1995:4-5). Wallerstein stresses that it is this interconnectedness or "interdependence" which is a critical systemic component for the exchange of goods. In other words, trading partners, especially those with specialized roles, could not maintain their positions within the system without exchange (Shannon 1989). The result is a world capitalist "Interstate System" bound inextricably through a very complex "network of global economic exchange" (Wallerstein 1974a).

According to Wallerstein (1974a) this capitalist World-System first arose during the "long sixteenth century" (1450-1620) in Europe as a response to the "Crisis of Feudalism." Further, Wallerstein has stated that there were three mutually supporting developments which, taken together, provided a solution to the "Crisis:" 1) the interstate

system (noted above); 2) the geographical expansion of the western European economic system through maritime trading with Asia, the "Conquest" of Central and South America, and the development of new spheres of trade with eastern European markets; and, 3) a radically new division of labor within the new trading areas (Wallerstein 1974a).

World-System Theory and its "Positions"

The above developments manifested themselves in a system composed of the following "positions": a.) the **Core**, comprised of economically, technologically and politically dominant states. The Core is a net consumer of capital and goods. Core states, such as those in Western Europe (the United States and Japan have been added during the nineteenth-century), possess advanced technologies, sophisticated methods of production, and highly developed military and administrative systems (Wallerstein 1984a; Shannon 1989); b.) The **Semi-Periphery**, where some states possess economic/administrative infrastructures similar to but not as highly developed as the Core and which tend to exhibit more autonomy, while others bear a closer resemblance to peripheral states both economically and administratively. The Semi-Periphery plays a "critical" role as an intermediary between the core and periphery (Wallerstein 1982; Shannon 1989; Frank 1994; Friesen 1995; Johnson 1999). c.) The **Periphery** is characterized as an "exploited net producer", where economic activity is more labor intensive and technology is significantly less sophisticated. States and colonies in the Periphery are essentially militarily and organizationally weak "exploited" producers of raw materials and agricultural commodities (Wallerstein 1984a; Shannon 1989).

Of salient importance to this study is Wallerstein's concept of the "**External Arena**" which he defines as an area which consists of "... those other World-Systems with which a given world-economy has some kind of trade relationship, based primarily on the exchange of "preciosities," what has sometimes been called the "rich trades" (Wallerstein 1974a:302). Wallerstein felt the external arena was essentially irrelevant to his definition of the World-System and that a distinction had to be made between "essential" and "luxury" exchange so that one did not: "... fall into the trap of identifying every exchange-activity as evidence of the existence of a system" (Wallerstein, 1974a). The difficulties in defining "luxuries" can be seen in Schneider (1977: 63, notes 1 and 2). Some analysts have viewed Wallerstein's definition and approach as too "narrow" and "core-centered" (e.g. Schneider, 1977; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; Hall and Chase-Dunn 1993; Frank 1994; Sahlins 1987). This critical inquiry has led, in turn, to an important theoretical reinterpretation of the role played by the external arena as far back as 5000 years. The concept of a non-capitalist inter-connected indigenous world-system stretching back-in-time is embraced by this study, and, that the Historic Copper Inuit and their ancestors lived in such a system. The manifestations of the existing system in Copper Inuit territory are seen in overlapping hunter-gatherer territories, long-distance trade routes, and constant communication between hunter-gatherer groups over time (e.g. Friesen 1995; Hall and Chase-Dunn 1993).

World-System Theory: Paradigm Origins and its Relationship with Anthropology

World-System theory is deeply interwoven within a number of existing theories including, most particularly, dependency theory and classical Marxism (e.g. Marx 2004; Frank 1967; Shannon 1989; Friesen 1995). Significantly, World-System theory was born during the late 1960s and early 1970s with a specific theoretical agenda: to provide an

alternative to what were felt to be the numerous failings of Modernization Theory (and its foundation of structural-functionalism).

Foremost among these failings in the eyes of World-System theorists was the overly sanguine interpretation of the degree of stability in society as expressed through modernization theory. Similarly, the view that conflict in society was inherently dangerous, and, perhaps most importantly, according to Shannon: "Critics of modernization theory also rejected its attribution of a benign role to the core countries as the supposed purveyors of modernity. That view, critics charged, ignored the centuries of abuse and exploitation by the core of the periphery and also failed to explain why core governments had so frequently supported corrupt and exploitative authoritarian regimes in the periphery" (Shannon 1989).

Similarly, World-System theorists have borrowed heavily from the dogma of classical Marxism, particularly the historical perspective that by understanding the nature and mechanisms of capitalism one comes to comprehend the fundamental truths about contemporary societies and "socioeconomic" change. Marxist ideology holds that the rise and expansion of capitalism has been the fount for all of the change in the modern era; *the* source, in fact, of the exploitation, conflict, racism and sexism - as well as economic expansion - that characterized the nineteenth-century and, which continues into the twenty-first century (Wallerstein 1974a, 1991; Shannon 1989; Frank 1994).

World-System theory has also been profoundly influenced by Dependency Theory, which, in itself, owed much to Lenin's theory on Imperialism (Lenin 1963). Shannon places Lenin's thinking about "exploitative" nature of the relationship between the capitalist core and the periphery at the heart of all post-modernization-theory analysis. However, World-System theorists reject Lenin's view that the plundering of the periphery

was indicative of capitalism at a particular stage in the nineteenth century. Rather, proponents of World-System Theory hold that the exploitation of the periphery is a "centuries long" and continuing feature of capitalism (Shannon 1989).

Dependency theory, like World-System Theory, was developed as a systemic approach to the study of intersocietal interaction within the modern world, and the under-development of countries on the periphery. Central to dependency thinking is the view that exploitation of the periphery by the core has been a continuous process and that the "poverty of the periphery" has been imposed by the core through high prices, unequal loans and export/import imbalances and various forms of manipulative aid agreements that relegate these countries to a permanent form of economic dependency (Frank 1994; Friesen 1995). Lastly, Dependency Theory differs from World-System thinking not only in its historical perspective, but through the analysis of the core/periphery relationship through a time-line of centuries. Interestingly, Andre Gunder Frank, perhaps the most eloquent advocate of the dependency theory, supports the notion that a World-System has existed for five-thousand years. Nevertheless, World-System theory questions whether countries on the periphery remain permanently dependent, and, as we have seen, views the modern political economy not through an analytical unit of the individual "nation-state" or society, but through the window of the largest scale of society - the World-System (Friesen 1995; Shannon 1989).

It is somewhat ironic perhaps, that some Anthropologists have embraced World-System theory given the semi-iconoclastic nature of the theory itself. Wallerstein has stated that World-System theory:

"...is not a theory about the social world, or about part of it. It is a protest against the ways in which social scientific inquiry was structured for all of us at its inception in the middle of the nineteenth century.... World-Systems analysis

was born as moral, and in its broadest sense, political, protest" (Wallerstein 1991).

Indeed, if World-System theory's initial intention was to "protest" the inadequacies and limitations of modernization theory, then, secondly, it rather furiously rejected the traditional "boundary lines" within the social sciences that had been established in Europe during the period 1850-1945, a point-in-time when European nations dominated the world (Shannon 1989; Wallerstein 1996a). These separate disciplines or "levels" – the economic, the political and the socio-cultural (history, political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, etc.), were, (and are), often anathema to World-System theorists.

World-System thinkers have viewed this "traditional" institutionalized orientation of the social sciences as a product of the growth of the World-System during the period of European hegemony, and, as such, is highly "Eurocentric." According to Wallerstein this Eurocentrism expresses itself in its: 1) historiography, the view that Europe has dominated the world through its achievements; 2) the "parochiality" of its Universalism, the particularist view that scientific truths are valid across time and space; 3) "civilization," the view of the civilized (Europe) versus primitiveness or "barbarism;" 4) Orientalism, a "social construct" that sought to study the characteristics of other, non-western, civilizations; and 5) Progress, a "theme" or "viewpoint" of European civilization, especially during the nineteenth century (Wallerstein 1996b).

Thus, for World-System theorists, the alternative view is one which "transcends" Europe's reconstruction of the world; one that seeks, alternatively, to build a "new social science" through the examination of a global, "universalist vision" that all change in societies (and the internal structure and relationships within those societies) can be best

interpreted and understood by acknowledging the influence of interaction within the world economic-system (Shannon 1989; Wallerstein 1990, 1996b). Despite this apparently insoluble intra- and inter-disciplinary theoretical ferment, Wallerstein is known to be not "entirely happy with anthropological studies that merely mimic his findings" (Forte 1998). Nevertheless, a growing number of anthropologists (including archaeologists) view the study of the World-System as an appropriate and critically important transdisciplinary endeavor. Of course, the powerful influence of Europe and its colonial system on indigenous societies has been recognized by anthropologists for some time. Indeed, the growth of European "Empires" during the nineteenth century actually provided the "stimulus" for the field (Nash 1981). Freidman has posed the question: "What is ethnography if not the activity whereby members of the center travel to already pacified peripheries to examine the life of "the other?" (Freidman 1994). In this sense, anthropology, especially in the "Age of Empire" provided supporting knowledge for the core.

Close Encounters: Moderate Relativist Theoretical Orientations:

Within his discussion concerning Tahitian-British encounters in the late 18th century, Denning comments that both societies, "... made the world one system, a "world encompassed," "Native and Stranger Bound Together" within a specific environment (Denning 1992:178-179, 255). Of course, what Denning is suggesting is that there is an essential intersocietal sharing of cultural ideas and practices occurring that transcends the somewhat prosaic, (though highly accurate) definition of cultural diffusion and its various mechanisms whether direct, indirect, forced or, through acculturation (e.g. Kottak 2005:76). Denning seems to be defining a cultural co-mingling of destinies and "hidden histories," if you will, within the phenomenon of contact whether it be extended or brief. "Close Encounters," the second theoretical orientation within this study, endeavors to

examine holistically and, with some methodological rigor, objectivity, as well as sensitivity, the known and “hidden” Copper Inuit experience and the manner in which, temporally and spatially – this highly egalitarian society mediated its own encounter with the World-System.

This theoretical approach will be broadly informed by a perspective that does not view the impact of European capitalism as a “totally transformative system” in which all changes within an indigenous society emanate solely from the influences of external forces. Despite the outward expressions of European and -Eurocanadian imperial and state power shown herein (materially, technologically and culturally), according to Wareham: “When two power systems cross, each may assume that the other lacks strength and subsume the other’s manifestations into an imported set of expectations and beliefs” (Wareham 2002:190).

Wallerstein too, has been aware that anthropology, among the western, institutionalized social sciences created in the nineteenth century, has provided a way through which to “hear” “the Other” when he states:

“Even if anthropology as a discipline was useful to colonial authorities and churches, many (even most) anthropologists did not think of themselves as agents of these groups. Rather, they thought of themselves as interlocutors of their peoples with the western world as a whole. In the face of universalistic norms, they offered relativist evaluations. What was exotic, they argued, was not thereby irrational, perhaps not even primitive. Primarily, it was different. However, precisely because it was different, it needed a specialized (and sympathetic/empathetic) group of researchers to engage in scholarly work, the anthropologists” (Wallerstein 2000:176).

Hence, Close Encounters and its “relativist evaluations,” play what Sherry Ortner has called the “Double Game,” wherein two views are put in motion. The first view entertains the notion that it is important to situate the Copper Inuit in the proper context within this study. And, that this can be done by establishing a cultural history of the Copper Inuit *from the Inuit point of view* within the broader framework of the World-System controlled by the core (Great Britain and later Canada) as represented by European explorers, through the fur trade, etc. This essentially means bringing forth a view of the Copper Inuit world-system situated on the periphery, acting with their own agency and how their lives changed, and interacted with another system over the course of time. (Layton 2003:103-109).

The second view is that of the long-term encounter in relation to the Copper Inuit’s own “agendas” (Ortner 1999:5). For example, while Inuit interaction with expeditions, traders, colonial administrators, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is examined, the examination is done with the sure knowledge that the Inuit possess and live lives away from and, separate from, the aforementioned agents of the World-System. If there is a transformation occurring in Copper Inuit lifeways, (and Incorporation), then it should be examined at least in-part with the recognition that there are social pressures, economic necessities, religious beliefs, gender roles, individual desires and complex intentions occurring both in relation to interaction with agents of the World-System and separately. The very fact that there is change occurring within Copper Inuit society, means cultural mediation is occurring with agendas set at least in- part by the Copper Inuit themselves and within their own World-System.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

Introduction

This study utilizes five central and integrated research methodologies; 1) World-System analysis, and, 2), techniques found within Close Encounters and its central tenets of moderate relativism and comparativism (e.g. Wallerstein: 1974a, 1980, 1989; Ortner 1999). Additionally, 3) ethnographic methods, 4) ethnohistorical methods, and, 5) archaeological methods are fully utilized in a comprehensive effort to examine in a detailed manner the long-term “incorporation” of the Historic Copper Inuit into the World-System. This examination will entail developing a cultural portrait of Copper Inuit lifeways (including social and economic aspects), and, to document and analyze the process of Copper Inuit Incorporation within the World-System and how the Inuit mediated this process through their own agency. Each of the previously mentioned methodologies is examined below.

World-System Methodologies: Analysis and Predictions

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991) have recognized the critical importance of measuring or analyzing World-System boundaries for comparative purposes. Since there are various differences between hunter-gatherer regional groups, variations in overlapping World-Systems that connect these groups can be expected. Wallerstein has proposed that these variations be described and analyzed through three dimensions:

1) **Breadth** - “the geographical extent of the World-System, or, the number of other regional groups which interact to significant degree with the regional group.”

2) **Depth** - “the range of types of interaction between regional groups, and their relative importance.”

3) **Internal Differentiation** - “degree of incipient internal differentiation, in that certain regional groups are more populous, sedentary, socially complex, or wealthy than others.” Further, “Internal differentiation... can be characterized both in *degree*, as measured by the scale of difference between core and periphery, and in *form*, which indicates the location of the core relative to the periphery” (Wallerstein 1974b; Friesen 1995:56-58).

Within the context of this thesis, material trade networks and changing social relations within the world-system of the Historic Copper Inuit will be examined using the above dimensions. As an ethnographic, ethnohistoric and archaeological analysis, social units of the Copper Inuit societies will be examined through two perspectives: 1) that of the penetration and growth of the World-System, and, 2) that of the indigenous world-system. The first perspective will endeavor to examine and explain the incorporation of Copper Inuit groups of the west/central Canadian Arctic over a period of time - from the External Zone to the Dependent Periphery. As stated above, this is seen as a dynamic process in which interaction was often “mediated” or influenced by indigenous groups.

The second perspective, which is based on Chase-Dunn and Hall’s (1991) approach to the construction of World-System boundaries and Friesen’s (1995) model of hunter-gatherer World-Systems, will seek to present a reconstruction of the World-System in which these regional groups were the primary actors; in effect, world-systems within the expanding capitalist World-System. The significance in examining interaction within the central Canadian Arctic through World-System theory and methodology can be found, ultimately, in the determination of the relationship which existed between these two World-Systems: the capitalist and indigenous.

These two perspectives are integral to the broader examination of the “Process” (or, concept) of Incorporation which lies at this very heart of this study (Wallerstein 1989:129). When analyzing the process through which the Historic Copper Inuit were incorporated, it is important to be intimately aware of the broad historical context in which this ongoing process occurred. It is undoubtedly true that the Historic Copper Inuit lived within their own system outlying the economic interconnections of the World-System at least until the beginning of the eighteenth century. At this time, momentous events within the extant capitalist World-System prompted the beginning of the Incorporation process for the Copper Inuit. According to Wallerstein: “In the course of the renewed economic expansion (and monetary inflation) of the period 1733-1817 (more or less), the European world-economy broke the bounds it had created in the long sixteenth century and *began to incorporate vast new zones into the effective division of labor it encompassed* [author’s emphasis]” (Wallerstein 1989:129). In less than a century, vast areas of the Indian subcontinent, the Ottoman Empire, West Africa, and the Russian Empire were incorporated into the systematic mechanizations of the world economy. By the early twentieth century, “...the entire globe, even those regions that had never been part of even the external arena of the capitalist world-economy, were pulled inside” (Wallerstein 1989:129).

Thus, within this massive economic transition occurring on a global scope, the Copper Inuit were gradually, and through several stages, peripheralized, that is, incorporated in the capitalist World-System. Moreover, it is equally important to note that the Copper Inuit did not initiate contact, nor, ultimately - incorporation. Wallerstein has stated that “Incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was never at the initiative of those being incorporated” (e.g. Wallenstein 1989:129). Initial contact and further

interaction was brought about through the inner pressures and needs of the world-economy to expand and find new markets and raw materials

For the process of Incorporation to occur - from the External Zone to Incorporation and peripheralization within the World-System – three dynamic changes must take place. By their very nature, these changes can be highly volatile and disruptive. First, some form of local production process within a geographical locale must be established and integrated within the commodity chains of the larger World-System. By definition, such a production process would provide for the accumulation of maximum amounts of capital, which would be interjected into the world economy. Once a production process is established, a second component in the incorporation dynamic, some form, or structure, for decision making regarding production is necessary. Finally, a third element, in the form of institutional infrastructure introduced from the already existing world-system and possessing and wielding political power is necessary to bring about incorporation (Wallerstein 1989:130-131; Carlson 2002).

A classification system for the process of incorporation in this study has been developed based on a reading of several examples (Wallerstein 1974; Hall 1989; Friesen 1995:37; Carlson 2002:431). The system formulated for this study (see below) is based primarily on the classification system developed by Friesen for his study of the Mackenzie Inuit, which consists of: the **External Zone** in which there is “no observable interaction with the world-economy;” the **Incidental Zone**, in which only limited and tenuous contact is apparent; the **Contact Periphery**, where growing interaction with agents of the core is evident through infrequent direct exchange and growing indirect trade which, in turn, can significantly alter aspects of a group’s lifeways. Interaction between the indigenous groups and the World-System within the contact periphery is still characterized by choice on the part of the indigenous group. Regular and extended

contact can be observed in the **Marginal Periphery**, as can certain evidence of the growing dependency of indigenous groups on the World-System. The **Dependent Periphery** represents the culminating period of the incorporation process in which indigenous societies become fully articulated within the world-economy. The changes made within the above “system” for this study include the adoption of a bifurcated **Contact Periphery**. The examination of the impact of the various types of contact (see below) in relation to Historic Copper Inuit lifeways is one of the central goals of this study. Therefore, in order to more systematically investigate this period of time, the positions of the “**Early Contact Periphery**” and “**Late Contact Periphery**,” have been formulated. These positions differ from each other not only in chronology, but also through the accelerating degree of contact with agents of the expanding capitalist World-System, the greater frequency and degree of intersocietal interaction, and the observable changes in lifeways and incipient dependency. **The “Early Contact Periphery”** dates from 1717-1818, while the “**Late Contact Periphery**” dates from 1818 A.D. to 1880 A.D. (Figure 2).

Classification System/Chronology for the Process of Incorporation in this Study

1. External Zone - 2000 B.C. - 1000 A.D (Paleoeskimo)
2. Incidental Zone - 1000 A.D. - 1717 A.D. (Central Thule, Early Protohistoric Copper Inuit)
3. Early Contact Periphery - 1717 A.D. - 1818 A.D. (Protohistoric Copper Inuit)
4. Late Contact Periphery - 1818 A.D. - 1880 A.D. (Early Historic Copper Inuit)
5. Marginal Periphery - 1880 A.D. - 1925 A.D. (Historic Copper Inuit)
6. Dependent Periphery - 1925 A.D. - Today (Copper Inuit, Inuvialuit)

By incorporating and analyzing the ethnographic, ethnohistorical and archaeological findings (discussed below), a comprehensive “culture history” of the Historic Copper Inuit for the periods of Incorporation listed above will be developed. This history will then be used to test and evaluate various hypotheses (based on “breadth,” “depth,” and “internal differentiation”) for each of the above periods of incorporation in order to determine the effects of the capitalist world-system on the Historic Copper Inuit.

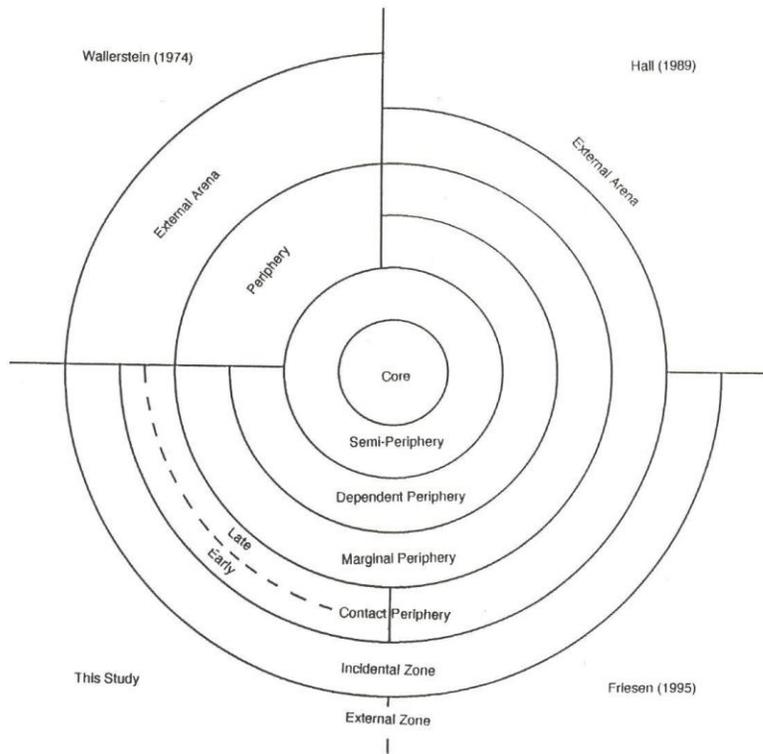


Figure 2. World-System Schematic/four classification systems

World-System: Culture History, Process of Incorporation and Predictions

External Zone

Due primarily to the fragmentary archaeology record there is no material evidence of Paleo-Eskimo interaction – directly or indirectly – with European societies. The ancestral groups of the Historic Copper Inuit live within their own interconnected hunter-gather world-system with over-lapping group boundaries and trade systems.

Incidental Zone

The Thule and early Protohistoric Copper Inuit are hypothesized to have been located in The Incidental Zone of the capitalist World-System during this period (Figure 28). Very tenuous and intermittent indirect contact with the World-System is seen to exist primarily through long-distance down-the-line trade networks that extended west to Alaska and Siberia, and east through the territory of other Inuit cultural groups to Greenland. Trade in metals (such as copper) and soapstone accounted for the majority of indirect interaction with the world economy (e.g. McCartney 1988, 1991; McCartney and Mack 1973).

Predictions:

1. Breadth is relatively low. Regular interaction occurs between neighboring groups due to intra- and intergroup connections. Material trade goods originate in a limited number of areas.
2. Depth is also low.
 - a. Material trade goods should be rare.
 - b. Material trade networks should exist primarily between immediate neighboring groups.
 - c. Social Interaction is confined primarily to immediate neighboring groups.

3. Internal Differentiation. There is little internal differentiation between neighboring groups.

Early Contact Periphery

Soon after 1717, the Protohistoric Copper Inuit of the west/central Canadian Arctic are hypothesized to be situated in the Early Contact Periphery of the capitalist World-System (Figure 29). There is a significant change/increase in trade into Copper Inuit territory from the southeast/east through intermediaries due to the establishment of Fort Churchill by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1717 (e.g. Burch 1974, 1978). The establishment of regularized trade operations by the Hudson's Bay Company with the Inuit of southern Baffin Island in the Hudson Strait region and with the Caribou Inuit of western Hudson Bay, and the subsequent dispersal of manufactured trade goods of new types through down-the-line trade into Copper Inuit territory is seen as a possible contributing factor in this increase (e.g. Barr 1994). Traditional down-the-line trade links to and from the west (Alaska and Siberia) are also expected to continue. Intergroup "trade fairs" in the "Thelon Woods" or "*Akilinik*" areas of the Keewatin interior also contributed to the increase in trade and intergroup social interaction (e.g. Smith and Burch 1979; Stefansson 1914). Direct contact with agent of the World-System is very rare at this juncture.

The significant increase in trade goods entering Copper Inuit territory and the expansion of trade routes as well as social interaction related to trade are predicted to affect the indigenous Copper Inuit world system in the following ways:

Predictions:

4. Breadth should increase.

- a. Availability of material trade goods should increase. This increase should be apparent in all areas, although there is greater diffusion of goods in mainland areas. Trade goods reach groups on Victoria Island, though in smaller quantities.
- b. Material trade networks should expand.

5. Depth should increase.

- a. Material trade networks should expand.
- b. Material trade through intermediaries should increase.

6. The degree of internal differentiation should increase due to increasing access to European trade good, especially among mainland groups.

Late Contact Periphery

By 1818, the territory of the Historic Copper Inuit is hypothesized to be to in the Late Contact Periphery of the capitalist World-System. Traditional trade from the west is seen to decline greatly during this period. However, in addition to the continued expansion of trade as seen above within the Early Contact Periphery, very significant direct and indirect contact now occurs between Historic Copper Inuit groups and agents – primarily members of the Royal Navy and Hudson’s Bay Company - of the World-System. These agents penetrated Copper Inuit territory as members of expeditions engaged in European exploration, and later, after the disappearance of the Franklin Arctic Expedition of 1845, as search and surveying expeditions (e.g. Holland 1994; Neatby 1970; Simpson 1843, etc.).

The Mercy Bay region of Banks Island is seen to be a Major Core Area between 1853-ca.1890 due to the presence of large numbers of exotic materials in the form of the abandoned of H.M.S. *Investigator* and a large associated depot (e.g. Stefansson 1921; Jenness 1922; M'Clure 1857; Hickey 1981, 1984, etc.). A second Major Core Area is seen to exist in the Winter Cove, Walker Bay region of Victoria Island from 1851-1852 and beyond due to the presence of H.M.S. *Enterprise*. Large amounts of exotic materials appeared in this area, and there was an associated increase in direct contact between agents of the World-System and Copper Inuit (e.g. Collinson 1889; Skead 1849-1852).

A Minor Core Area is now located in the Coppermine/Coronation Gulf region due to the arrival of several expeditions and the appearance of abandoned exotic materials (e.g. Richardson 1851a, 1851b, etc.). Two other Minor Core Areas are seen to exist during this period, including the Cambridge Bay region of Victoria Island, and The Princess Royal Islands which are located in the northern Prince of Wales Strait region. Cambridge Bay was the site of significant direct contact between the Copper Inuit and Royal Navy, 1852-1853 (e.g. Collinson 1889, etc.). The Princess Royal Islands served as the site for a noteworthy Royal Navy supply depot in the early 1850s (e.g. M'Clure 1857; Collinson 1889, etc.).

The very significant increase in both direct and indirect contact with agents of the World-System, and the associated appearance of massive amounts of exotic manufactured materials (coupled with the continuance of trade routes to the "Thelon Woods" area are predicted to affect the indigenous Copper Inuit world system in the following ways:

Predictions:

7. Breadth should increase very significantly.

a. Greatly increased material trade and social interaction between agents of the World-System and Copper Inuit groups should be apparent.

b. Trade goods and exotic materials should increase precipitously, and in great numbers.

8. Depth should increase. Great group movement should be observed in “Core” and “Minor Core” Areas.

9. The degree of internal differentiation should continue to increase. At various times during this period, Major Core Areas should appear at Mercy Bay, Banks Island, and at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, due to the presence large quantities of exotic materials. Coppermine/Coronation Gulf, Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island, and Princess Royal Islands, Prince of Wales Strait should become Minor Core Areas due to the presence of abandoned exotic materials and depots.

a. Trade goods and other exotic materials should exist in greater quantities in Major Core Areas.

b. Increased social complexity and change in groups is seen within the Major Core Areas, and, to a lesser degree, in Minor Core Areas.

Marginal Periphery

The process of Incorporation into the World-System is greatly accelerated due to early contacts with whalers, and regularized contact with free traders, Inuvialuit middlemen, scientific and commercial expeditions, and critically, the fur trade.

Other mechanisms and manifestations of World-System penetration include the introduction of firearms, demographic movements, the State system as represented by law enforcement officials, Missionization, and the introduction of the trapping, trading posts and direct exchange (e.g. Damas 1988). By 1925, the Copper Inuit are on the very threshold of full Incorporation in the World-System.

Predictions:

10. Breadth should increase. Greater interaction with agents and middlemen of the world-system should occur.

11. Depth should increase.

- a. Demographic shifts occur due to the introduction of the Fur Trade.
- b. Subsistence practices show new adaptations developed to obtain commodities for export to commodity chains of the world-system.

12. Internal Differentiation should continue to increase through expanding contact and interaction with agents of the world-system.

- a. Increased social complexity overall.
- b. Copper Inuit groups in some mainland areas exhibit greater social and economic complexity.

Dependent Periphery

The Copper Inuit experience full Incorporation and peripheralization within the modern capitalist World-System during this period due to their economic interaction with the Fur Trade which is fully responsive as a mode of production to the commodity chain of the world economic system. Other indicators such as units of decision making, sites of direct

production, coercible labour, political institutions, and development of infrastructure are apparent (Wallerstein 1989 130-131).

Predictions:

13. Breadth should increase greatly. Copper Inuit interaction with agents of the World-System continues. Regularized interaction with fur traders is now apparent. Other forms of interaction are also increasing.

14. Depth increases greatly.

- a. Copper Inuit populations are centered in core areas such as Coppermine, Cambridge Bay and Holman (Ulukhaktok).
- b. The Fur Trade is now the primary mode of production. All “indicators” show Incorporation has occurred.

15. Internal Differentiation continues with expanding interaction with agents of the World-System.

- a. Centralization of Copper Inuit populations occurs following “Dispersal Policy”.

Close Encounters: Methods:

A common methodological problem often arises when examining an encounter between indigenous societies such as the Copper Inuit, and the agents of capitalist expansive systems. Generally, (although not always), it is, according to Sherry Ortner, the “dominant party” that writes the histories of the encounter (e.g. Wareham 2002). Further, it is usually the dominant parties that unfailingly interpret these “dominant texts” (Ortner 1999: 17-18). This problem is often solved by focusing-on and deconstructing the dominant representations, and addressing the manifestations of power and social

difference that these “texts” express. Similarly, the astute scholar/researcher can “read through” these texts and discover the “voices” of the unrepresented, the “Other,” the “Subaltern that cannot speak” (Ortner 1999:18; Spivak 1988).

There is a growing sense, then, that the methodology of the “Interpretive Programme” should define the above approach and serve as the central and stabilizing structure within Close Encounters. According to Hodder (2002:83), “some of the main themes of the Interpretive Programme are that the past (and those unrepresented people living in the past, and who continue to live lives without voice), is meaningfully constituted from different perspectives, that human agency is active, not passive, and that cultural change is historical and contingent.” The methodological underpinning of the Interpretive Programme is Hermeneutics, which is concerned with the “interpretation of texts” and signs/symbols, and “the clarification of meaning and achievement of sense and understanding” (Klemm 1983; Shanks and Hodder 1995; Lucas 1995; Hodder 1999). According to Hodder, this interpretation is based on the theory that all human understanding is essentially interpretive. There are three components of hermeneutic comprehension, or, method, 1) the hermeneutic circle or spiral, 2) pre-understandings, and, 3) the historical nature of knowledge (Hodder 1999:32-33). The hermeneutic circle, which, perhaps, is best understood as a spiral, is essentially a dialectic process at work at all levels, and forms a “part-whole” relationship of meaning and interpretation (Figure 3). This method therefore affords one the opportunity of study (let us say, of Copper Inuit lifeways temporally and spatially), in which ideas and interpretations can change or shift about “...the whole or about the relationship between the parts” (Hodder 1999:33).

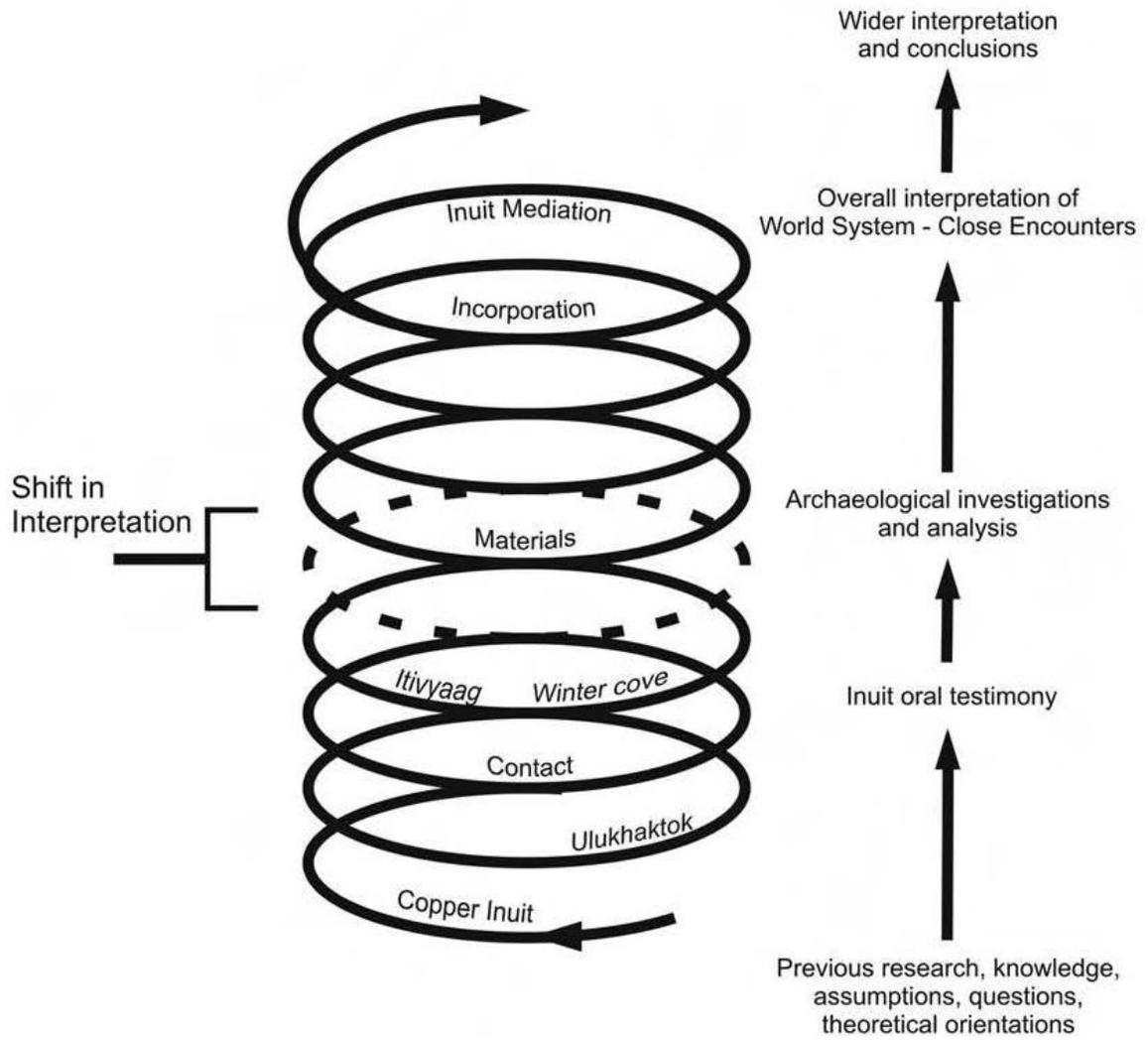


Figure 3. Hermeneutical Spiral/this study (After Hodder: 1999:3).

Pre-understandings, the second component, are essential as a subject is approached with certain pre-judgments (such as definitions of terms, economies, political systems, etc.). Through these pre-understandings one is able to enquire, develop perspective and, to examine evidence. The third and final component, the historical nature of knowledge, obtains from the view that one's pre-judgments can have a "lasting effect," and indeed, will influence one's conclusions and the prospect of one's research (Hodder 1999:33). All three of these elements are inextricably interwoven, and within anthropology (including archaeology); the whole is understood in direct relation to its parts. According to Christopher Insole, in truth, the hermeneutical circle "...picks out a perfectly ordinary experience," "...Telling the story is responsive to truth, but it also creates truth" (Insole 2008:5).

Thus, a careful and "relative" reading of materials or "texts" is crucial to this study. Utilizing a spiral of understandings, one is able to methodologically focus on a balanced cultural understanding of Copper Inuit–European and –Eurocanadian interaction over time as the World-System penetrated their own world-system. To be sure, a careful usage is indispensable if one wishes to avoid some of the problematic pitfalls common in an earlier anthropology and in its dominant interpretations of the "native." A more nascent anthropology, closely connected to colonial institutions interested in the "exotic" or, the savage races" surely exhibited racism and high degrees of ethnocentrism (e.g. Kuklick 1997:59). Later anthropology, though often empathetic to "the Other," still manifested a dominant discourse embedded in Orientalism, classification, often extreme Positivism; a discourse, which was filled with "frozen narratives" of embedded power (e.g. Ortner 1999).

One of the more problematic components of ideologically-based Western intellectual conventions (and the control of these conventions through specific academic and non-academic institutions) is the supposed concept of “objectivity” which uses the “technique of absence,” that is, the absence of groups classified as “Other,” and the assumption of the “specificity” of the dominant culture (LaRocque 1999:61). This technique, viewed as “classically colonial,” essentially reduces Natives’ material culture, cosmology and geography into mere “description and data.” Thus, one of the “pre-judgments one needs to bring to this examination is, a greater awareness of the origins and omniscience of Western epistemologies and the entire Western examination of “the Other”.

Nevertheless, the author ultimately agrees with Ortner, who informs us that, “...the idea that the less powerful might have other agendas - lives that have meaning and purpose other than those defined by the relationship with the dominant party - tends to get lost” (Ortner 1999). This is a compelling statement. As one positions oneself inside of a research agenda, one finds a need to create a finely-tuned balance between the desire to wholly deconstruct the methodologies of dominance and power, and the need to be both circumspect, and “objective”. Can one find a synthesis of the “conventional” and the “critical” within one’s research positionality and methodology? And, Sahlins too, expresses displeasure and frustration with anthropology for its “failure of imagination,” and its predilection for, “...corporate groups and juridical norms of Radcliffe-Brown, neat little boxlike arrangements of noncontradictory categories and unproblematic behaviors, a role for every status and everyone in his place” (Sahlins 1987:27). Still, it is Sahlins who extols the merits of anthropology when he says the concept of history can be destroyed by “the anthropological experience of culture”.

Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Methods

Introduction

Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical investigations are central to the methodology, and ultimately, to the findings of this study. As both ethnographic and ethnohistorical research is guided by specific theoretical precepts, these avenues of inquiry also generate theory (S. Schensul, J. Schensul, M. LeCompte 1999). Within this study, the ethnographic and ethnohistoric investigations are influenced and informed by the theoretical orientations discussed above – World-System Theory and Close Encounters. More particularly, in the course of ethnographic and ethnohistorical research, one remains aware of Ortner’s conception of “The Double Game” and, The Interpretive Programme (both discussed above) which form the axis of Close Encounters. Similarly, all investigations maintain an insistence that methods of enquiry and research, whether they be ethnographic, ethnohistorical (or archaeological), must be, to the extent possible, inclusive as well as accurate, in the examination of Copper Inuit-European and -Eurocanadian interaction. When all is said and done, one needs to add a nuanced etic appreciation to the interpretation of emic behavior or beliefs during the long-term encounter. The etic view, is a culturally-neutral, scientific account or description of a specific society or culture. The emic view refers to local, culture-specific beliefs and actions within a society (Kottak 2005). There are, of course, several emic views to consider, for example, that of the agent of the World-System should it be an officer of the Royal Navy, or, a factor at a Hudson’s Bay Company fur trade post. There is the Inuit view which must be given greater “voice.” And, significantly, perhaps an Inuit woman’s perspective might come into play, or, that of a Royal Navy seaman, both possessing voices that were not always” heard” in earlier ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies (Hodder 1999, 2002; Wareham 2002).

Ethnographic Methods

Ethnography, one of the central methodologies of this study, is deeply embedded within the very fabric of Anthropology itself. Indeed, the origins of Anthropology as a social science are wholly enmeshed with the ethnographical experience, and, much of the history of Anthropology from its ancient precursors, to its probable Renaissance/Age of Enlightenment origins, up to its formal emergence and growth during the Victorian Age, to the present day, is concerned with ethnographic investigations of humankind (e.g. Radin 1929:9-33; Rowe 1965:1-20). Ethnography can be succinctly defined as a, “...scientific approach to discovering and investigating social and cultural patterns and meanings in communities, institutions, and other social settings” (S. Schensul, J. Schensul, M. LeCompte 1999:1). Kottak informs us that ethnography, “... provides an account of a particular community, society, or culture” (Kottak 2005:9). Ethnographic fieldwork, whether it is based on qualitative and quantitative methods, is the primary anthropological instrument through which the “participant-observer” collects data on a community or society. The organization of this data, and ultimately, the description, analysis and interpretation of information, leads to the construction of a culture history, which is subsequently used in the scientifically-based understanding of a human community and its lifeways. Within this study, ethnographic fieldwork centered-on the Copper Inuit resident in the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok (formerly Holman), Northwest Territories, (Figure 4) and was undertaken over the course of a total of five field seasons (2003-2007). The entire ethnographic programme, discussed fully below, was designed to be collaborative in nature, and, in its implementation. Members of the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok were engaged in all areas of this study (including archaeological surveys), and this was especially so within the ethnographic programme where residents participated as informants, consultants, interpreters, and, in their capacities a Field Assistants (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Top: Hamlet of Ulukhaktok (formerly Holman), 2004. Photo: Author.
Bottom: The People of Ulukhaktok, 2007. Photo: Tristan Pierce.

Prior to initiating the ethnographic programme in this study, a fully-developed written plan was created and subsequently followed on a yearly basis from 2003-2007 and, a formal Approval Certificate of Human Ethics Protocols was obtained following review from the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board, University of Manitoba (Figure 5) (Association of Canadian Universities, etc., 1998; Ellerby 2001). Additionally, permissions were obtained from the Hamlet of Holman (later, Hamlet of Ulukhaktok) (Figure 6), the Holman (Ulukhaktok) Community Corporation (Figure 7), and, the Olokhaktomiut Hunters and Trappers Committee (Figure 8), as was, a Scientific Research Licence from the Aurora Research Institute, Inuvik, Northwest Territories (Figure 9a-d.). Other materials prepared prior to actual interviewing included question prompts, prepared questions, and importantly, a formal hardcopy Consent Form which fully explained the study's title, ethnographic methods and goals as well as the process of storage (if an interview was taped). Such forms established in non-technical language the programme's academic/scientific legitimacy, provided for the anonymity of the informant (if so desired) and made available additional information on the security and disposition of information following interviews (Figure 10).

The central ethnographic method employed during fieldwork was the "In-Depth, Open-Ended Interview" (S. Schensul, J. Schensul, M. LeCompte 1999:121-148). This method is predicated on exploring topics and subjects in a detailed manner, leading, in time, to the interviewer's holistic knowledge of the topic. Essentially, interviews were conducted in such a way that they ranged widely, and across a spectrum of questions and answers. Once asked, a specific, prepared question could (and, often did), lead to diverse subject matter, stories told at length over many cups of tea or coffee. Oftentimes, interviews would take on a life of their own; an elder's stories carrying one into a kind of state of suspended animation. In these very exceptional and memorable moments, time



RESEARCH SERVICES &
PROGRAMS
Office of the Vice-President (Research)

244 Engineering Bldg.
Winnipeg, MB R3T 5V6
Telephone: (204) 474-8418
Fax: (204) 261-0325
www.umanitoba.ca/research

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

18 July 2003

TO: Donald S. Johnson (Advisor J. Oakes)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Wayne Taylor, Chair 
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2003:112
"Long-term Copper Inuit - European Intersocietal Interaction"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note that, if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

Get to know Research ...at your University.

Figure 5. Approval Certificate, July 18, 2003, Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board, Research Services, & Programs, University of Manitoba



June 10, 2003

Donald S. Johnson
608 E. James St.
Ely, Minnesota 55731 USA
Fax - 218-365-7207

Dear Mr. Johnson

The Hamlet Council received your letter regarding the field research proposal near Holman scheduled August 2 - 24, 2003. After discussing this at their regular meeting the council members felt that your letter should be forwarded to the Holman Community Corporation and Olokhaktomuit Hunters and Trappers Association. One of the goals and objectives of the Community Corporation is to administer, supervise, govern and regulate matters of local concern to the members of the Corporation. Because the Hamlet deals with areas such as municipal services, housing & government contracts the Council felt that HCC & OHTC would be better equipped to handle your request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Susan Kaodloak".

Susan Kaodloak
Council Clerk,
Hamlet of Holman

Figure 6. Hamlet of Holman, Letter of Permission for Research, June 10, 2003.



Holman Community Corporation

P.O. Box 161
Holman, NT
K0E 0S0
Telephone: 867-396-4701
Facsimile: 867-396-3284

Donald Johnson
608 E. James Street
Ely, Minnesota
55731
U.S.A.

Friday, June 13, 2003

Dear Mr. Johnson,

We recently held our Holman Community Corporation Regular Meeting and your letter dated 5 May 2003 was discussed. The board is in favour of your proposed archaeological project provided that we are kept up to date of the results and that we receive a final report of your findings.

If you require any assistance in locating members of the community to hire or any other help in locating equipment to rent, please do not hesitate to contact our office.

Thank you once again for your letter and if you have any questions or concerns please contact the H.C.C. at the above numbers.

Sincerely,

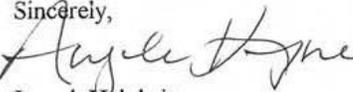
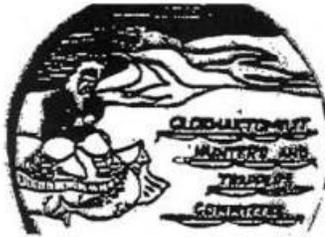
for 
Joseph Haluksit
Chairperson

Figure 7. Holman Community Corporation Letter of Permission for Research, June 13, 2003.



Olokhaktomiut Hunters & Trappers Committee
Box #161, Holman, N.T
X0E 0S0
Ph# (867) 396-4808/Fax# (867) 396-3025

Monday, June 16, 2003

Donald S. Johnson
Ph.D. Candidate, University of Manitoba
608 E. James St.
Ely, Minnesota
55731 USA

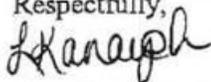
Re: Long-Term Copper Inuit and European Intersocietal Interaction.

The Olokhaktomiut Hunters & Trappers Committee held their regular monthly meeting on Wednesday, June 11, 2003 and your application was discussed.

The board had a few recommendations on your proposed project:

- No air transportation used to and from the work site at Walker Bay and any other area you plan on working at.
- The board would like to see daily reports from the research assistants once the project is completed.
- We strongly recommend that you hire a wildlife monitor from our community.

If you have any questions or need more information, please don't hesitate to contact our office.

Respectfully,


Mary Banksland
Chairperson
Olokhaktomiut Hunters & Trappers Committee

cc. Duane Smith, Chairperson, Inuvialuit Game Council

Figure 8. Olokhaktomiut Hunters & Trappers Committee, Letter of Permission for Research, June 16, 2003.



AURORA COLLEGE
Aurora Research Institute

FILE# 12 410 599

27-Jun-06

Mr. Don Johnson
University of Manitoba and Lakehead University
c/o 608 E. James Street
Ely, MN 55731 USA

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Enclosed you will find your 2006 Scientific Research Licence No. 14007 as prepared under the Northwest Territories Scientists Act and approved by the Science Advisor, Andrew Applejohn. Should you require support from the Aurora Research Institute's Research Centre(s), please contact the applicable Research Centre Manager(s) to discuss your research needs.

According to the Scientists Act, researchers issued licences must provide a summary report for each year of their research. Accordingly, upon completion of your 2006 field work in the Northwest Territories, please ensure that you provide a 200-word (maximum) non-technical summary of your research findings to our office. **This summary is due no later than June 30, 2007, or with your 2007 application, whichever is earlier. In addition, we require a copy of your final report and copies of any papers that you publish that pertain to research conducted under this licence. Finally, if/as applicable, please provide to the communities copies of any reports that you have offered to them or that they have requested as a condition of their support for your project.** Such reports should be provided to the communities prior to submitting new applications. This is especially important on multi-year projects, for which it is to be expected that the communities would be particularly interested in inspecting the results of past work before approving future work.

Thank you for assisting in the promotion and development of a scientific research community and database within the Northwest Territories. The summary report and other information that you provide are utilized in our annual report compendium, which is distributed to communities and organizations in the N.W.T. as well as to researchers across Canada.

Best wishes for a successful study!

Sincerely,

Karen Heikkila
Manager, Scientific Services

Box 1450
Inuvik, NT X0E 0T0
Tel: (867) 777-3298
Fax: (867) 777-4264

Figure 9a. Scientific Research Licence No 14007 notification letter, June 27, 2006, Aurora College/Aurora Research Institute.



Aurora Research Institute – Aurora College

P.O. Box 1450 Inuvik NT X0E 0T0

Phone 867-777-4029 Fax 867-777-4264 Email: licence@nwtresearch.com

12 410 599

Tuesday, June 27, 2006

NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH

Scientific Research Licence No. 14007

I would like to inform you that Scientific Research Licence No. 14007 has been issued to:

Mr. Donald S. Johnson
Dept. Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Lakehead University
c/o 608 E. James Street
Ely,, MN
55731 United States
Phone: 218-365-7890
Email: artnorth@cpinternet.com

to conduct the following study: "Close Encounters: Continued Investigations into 19th-20th Century Copper Inuit and European Intersocietal Interaction".

Please contact the researcher if you would like more information.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH:

The aim of this research project is to examine the processes of long-term Copper Inuit-European inter-societal interaction during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More specifically, the project will examine the effects and attempt to answer questions about inter-societal interaction and its effects on material trade networks, intra-group social relations, material culture and seasonality and subsistence harvesting emanating from two critical mid-19th century (1851-1853) contact scenarios involving the Royal Navy vessels H.M.S. Investigator and H.M.S. Enterprise, and Copper Inuit groups such as the Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmit. This year's work will continue with recognizing, recording and interpreting sites of cultural significance with the eventual goal of designing and developing a comprehensive database of cultural sites that can readily be accessed by the people of Holman.

Interviews with elders will take place in the Hamlet of Holman to verify previous Copper Inuit oral testimony. All interviews will be tape-recorded. Another component to this year's work is the carrying out of an archaeological survey and excavation at previously surveyed sites connected with the long-term contact episode between Copper Inuit groups and the Royal Navy vessel H.M.S. Enterprise at Winter Cove in order to test a series of hypotheses related to possible changes in Copper Inuit material culture and trade systems. The findings of the study will be shared with the community through presentations, reports, articles and papers.

The study will be conducted within the municipal bounds of the Hamlet of Holman and Winter Cove (near Walker Bay, Prince Albert Peninsula, Victoria Island) from July 5 to August 25, 2006.

Sincerely,

Karen Heikkila
Manager, Scientific Services

Figure 9b. Scientific Research Licence No 14007 notification letter, June 27, 2006, Aurora College/Aurora Research Institute.



Aurora Research Institute – Aurora College

P.O. Box 1450 Inuvik NT X0E 0T0

Phone 867-777-4029 Fax 867-777-4264 Email: licence@nwtresearch.com

12 410 599

Tuesday, June 27, 2006

NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH

Scientific Research Licence No. 14007

DISTRIBUTION:

Corporate Manager, Holman Community Corporation, P.O. Box 127, Holman NT X0E 0S0

Mayor, Hamlet of Holman, P.O. Box 157, Holman NT X0E 0S0

Executive Director, Inuvialuit Community Development Division, P.O. Box 2120, Inuvik NT X0E 0T0

Figure 9c. Scientific Research Licence No 14007 notification letter, June 27, 2006, Aurora College/Aurora Research Institute.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

Licence # 14007R

File # 12 410 599

ISSUED BY: Aurora Research Institute - Aurora College
Inuvik, Northwest Territories

ISSUED TO: Mr. Don Johnson
University of Manitoba and Lakehead University
c/o 608 E. James Street
Ely, MN 55731 USA
Tel: (218)365-7890

ON: 27-Jun-06

TEAM MEMBERS: Jack Kataoyak, Alice Kimiksana

AFFILIATION: University of Manitoba, Lakehead University

FUNDING: University of Manitoba

TITLE: Close Encounters: Continued Investigations into 19th-20th Century Copper Inuit and European Intersocietal Interaction

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

The aim of this research project is to examine the processes of long-term Copper Inuit-European inter-societal interaction during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More specifically, the project will examine the effects and attempt to answer questions about inter-societal interaction and its effects on material trade networks, intra-group social relations, material culture and seasonality and subsistence harvesting emanating from two critical mid-19th century (1851-1853) contact scenarios involving the Royal Navy vessels H.M.S. Investigator and H.M.S. Enterprise, and Copper Inuit groups such as the Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut. This year's work will continue with recognizing, recording and interpreting sites of cultural significance with the eventual goal of designing and developing a comprehensive database of cultural sites that can readily be accessed by the people of Holman.

DATA COLLECTION IN THE NWT:

DATE(S): July 5 to August 25, 2006

LOCATION: Within the municipal bounds of the Hamlet of Holman and Winter Cove (near Walker Bay, Prince Albert Peninsula, Victoria Island)

Licence# 14007 expires on December 31, 2006
Issued at the Town of Inuvik on Tuesday, June 27, 2006

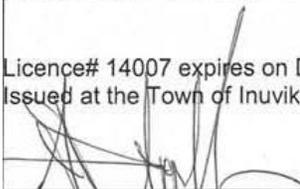

Andrew Applejohn
Director, Aurora Research Institute



Figure 9d. Aurora Research Institute Scientific Research Licence, June 27, 2006.
Licence # 14007R, Donald S. Johnson.



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

Department of Native Studies

535 Fletcher Argue Building
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 5V5
Telephone (204) 474-9266
Fax (204) 474-7657

Research Project Title: Long-Term Copper Inuit – European Intersocietal Interaction

Researcher: Donald S. Johnson

Sponsor: University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada Address: Department of Native Studies, University of Manitoba, 535 Fletcher Argue Bldg., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3T 5V5 Telephone: 204-474-9266

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Summary of Project: Long-Term Copper Inuit – European Intersocietal Interaction. The primary area of research is a sociocultural and archaeological examination of the processes of long-term Historic Copper Inuit cultural change due to contact with the European World-System during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Your involvement is critical to the success of the project. You will be asked some very general questions concerning the oral history of your people and European explorers in the 19th century. The interview is comprised of several questions and will generally be one-half to one hour in length.

Interviews will be recorded on a standard cassette recorder, labeled, and stored in a secure/environmentally stable storage area. A second copy will be made for each interview, and stored “offsite”. Study subjects are not required to provide taped interviews. All tapes other than those from subjects wishing to remain anonymous will ultimately be deposited within five-years - with permission of subject - within the collections of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, NT.

You may choose to be identified in the research findings, or to remain anonymous. Tapes from those wishing anonymity will be kept in secure (locked) storage area within the researcher’s home or office during the note-taking process. There will be no identifying characters placed on the notes taken from subjects who wish to remain anonymous. Immediately after note taking, tapes from those wishing to remain anonymous will be destroyed through incineration. In all cases, you will receive copies of all research findings, reports and publications by mail and will be invited to any presentations of research findings. In all cases, you will be fully credited per your instructions.



Figure 10a. Sample of Project Informant Interview Agreement, University of Manitoba.

All those being interviewed will receive remuneration. in the form of \$100.00.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Donald S. Johnson, Researcher, 218-365-7890 artnorth@cpinternet.com
Dr. Jill Oakes, Supervisor, 204-474-7352 jill_oakes@umanitoba.ca

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or Human Ethics Secretariat at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant: _____ Date: _____

I wish to remain anonymous: Yes _____ No _____

I wish to be identified: Yes _____ NO _____

I give my permission for this interview to be tape recorded: Yes _____ No _____

I give permission for this interview tape to be deposited within the collections of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, NT. _____

Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Figure 10b. Sample of Project Informant Interview Agreement, University of Manitoba

(as one conceives linear time), no longer mattered and whole worlds of surprising and fascinating information would be revealed. Experiences such as these revealed the power, the elegance, and the beauty of the oral tradition.

These open-ended interviews were basically exploratory in nature. When specific domains of information were discussed, prepared questions would be submitted, or, a “question prompt” or “probe” would serve to orientate the interviews. In all cases, the interviewer needed to maintain focus and balance during the interview. Usually, information related to the context of the study, (and study sites) was readily obtained. Inuit elders within the community were the primary informants in the above process, although others, such as experienced and/or active hunters were also seen as key sources of information (Figure 11). Over the years, as friendships were formed and nurtured, and one was accepted within the community, certainly a sense of mutual “trust” developed. While interviews were somewhat formal during the first two-years of this study, gradually, they became more casual and took place at all times, following long hours in boats, in tents or, perhaps in trapper’s cabins at 3:00 A.M. during the long sunlit Arctic nights. Other conversations occurred in homes, within the author’s lodgings, during a meal in the hamlet during a community event, or, in the field (Figure 12). In this way, a stream-of-knowledge was recorded, sometimes in taped interviews, but always (and rigorously) in notebooks.

On leaving the field, typed hardcopy transcriptions were made of taped interviews, a long, exacting, (and ongoing) task. Interviews were gleaned for information deemed relevant to the study at-hand and which could be utilized in the formulations of meanings and associations within the conceptual framework of the study. After analysis and interpretation, such data was incorporated in study findings, and in many cases, used



Figure 11. Ethnographic interviews, informants, Ulukhaktok. Top: left to right: Alice Kimiksana, interpreter, Jean Kagyut, the late William Kagyut, author. Photo: Ethan Applegarth. Middle: Jimmy and Edith Memogana. Photo: Author. Bottom: Mabel and Morris Nigiyo. Photo: Author. All photos by permission.



Figure 12. Ethnographic interviews, two informants, Ulukhaktok. Top: Elizabeth Banksland. Bottom: Aaron Kimiksana. Photos: Author. By Permission.

in planning for subsequent interviews (or, in the locating of archaeological sites) for the coming field season. Annually, written reports on ethnographic research would be transmitted to committee organizations, field assistants, and others in Ulukhaktok, and, to The Aurora Research Institute (as well as other agencies). Similarly, plans would be set-in-motion regarding future community presentations which, it should be said, were greatly anticipated and always enjoyed by the author (Figure 13).

Ethnohistorical Methods

This study employs traditional ethnohistorical methods in conjunction with ethnographic and archaeological methodologies. In its most basic sense, ethnohistory is the study of indigenous societies and their lifeways through the examination of historical records (Fenton 1966). Ethnohistorical methods can also be defined as diachronic, in that the ethnohistorical perspective enables the researcher to develop a culture history across time and space, and, within the theoretical orientations of this study, the configuration of a “culture history” of the Historic Copper Inuit is considered to be foundational. Similarly, this study is ideally served by the classic multidisciplinary nature of ethnohistorical methods. Ethnohistorical, ethnographic and archeological methods and the theoretical orientations of this study function collaboratively. Furthermore, within the multidisciplinary framework of ethnohistory, information found in artworks, period maps, music, place names, museum collections, photography, ecological studies, etc., is added to a growing synthesis of relevant informational sources.

Holman Community Corporation
Agenda
Regular Meeting #13/05
August 8, 2005

1. Opening:
2. Conflict of Interest:
3. Approval of Agenda:
4. Delegation: Don Johnson- Research report for 2003/04
5. Approval of Last Meeting Minutes: July 4 & August 2, 2005
6. Correspondence: See list
7. Reports: a) Self Government CDF
b) Ikayuqti Worker & Acting Corporate Manager
c) HCC Chairperson
8. Homan Development Corporation Business
 - a) Chair's report
 - b) Walk-in Freezer-
9. Old Business:
 - a) ILA- RE: Casual Access to Inuvialuit Lands Recommendation
10. New Business:
 - a) Mary Banksland- request for Parental Leave
 - b) Colin Okheena- Leave of Absence
11. Financial Statement: none
12. Accounts Payable: \$2254.39
HDC \$1094.45
13. Around the Table
14. Date for next Meeting: September 12, 2005
15. Adjournment

Figure 13. Holman Community Corporation Agenda, Regular Meeting #13/05, August 8, 2005 listing Author's Research Report for 2003/04.

Museum and library investigations figured prominently in the ethnohistorical research of this study. Preparatory to fieldwork, the resources and collections of a number of repositories in Canada, Great Britain and the United States were examined. Included in this number (and of especial importance in all areas of this study) were: Arctic Blue Books Project of Arctic/Subarctic Research, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg; Archives of Manitoba (Hudson's Bay Company Archives), Winnipeg, Manitoba; the Vancouver Maritime Museum, Vancouver, British Columbia; McGill University, Montreal, Quebec; Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec; The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories; and, the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, Great Britain.

Investigations within the Arctic Blue Books, at the University of Manitoba, centered on reports and records relating to Royal Navy Arctic expeditions and their activities in the study area, primarily during the 1850s (e.g. Great Britain Parliament S1854-55; Koolage 2000). An onsite examination of archival material at the Scott Polar Research Institute (SPRI), University of Cambridge, was extraordinarily fruitful and, unpublished manuscript sources housed at SPRI relating to officers on H.M.S. *Enterprise* and their interaction with Copper Inuit in the study area during the years 1850-1853, yielded a rich harvest of information. At least three officers serving onboard H.M.S. *Enterprise*, Captain Richard Collinson, Second Master Francis Skead, and Surgeon-Naturalist Edward Adams, left observations on Copper Inuit movements and seasonal activities, material culture, and interaction with the ship's company (Figure 32) (Collinson 1855, 1889; Skead 1849-1852, N.D.; E. Adams 1878; B. and R. Mearns 1988:1-4). Collinson's observations spanned the years 1851-1853, and encompass two overwinterings in close proximity with Copper Inuit groups on Victoria Island, first, at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, and then at Cambridge Bay (Collinson 1855, 1889; Great Britain Parliament S1854-55). Skead's observations, though they end prematurely due to

his being placed in close arrest by Collinson, on March 8, 1852, incorporate the period from September, 1851 to March, 1852 at Winter Cove (Figure 32) (Skead 1849-1852, N.D.). Adams, a competent artist, executed at least six black and white drawings of Copper Inuit individuals and groups, in addition to images of locations within the Winter Cove area. His renderings of the northern Copper Inuit are certainly the first completed by a trained European artist (e.g. Figures 1, 33, 35, 37, 38).

Archaeological Methods:

Introduction:

The discovery, recording, analysis and interpretation of Archaeological data (including a selective collection of representative or, unique artefactual materials) gathered over the course of two-field surveys in, 2003 and 2004, is considered to be integral to the overall holistic nature this study. Archaeology is the, "... study of [the] human past, combining the themes of time and change, using material remains that have survived" (Price 2007:6). As one of the four classic sub-fields of Anthropology, Archaeology provides a close disciplinary link and, forms a complimentary research association with this study's cultural (ethnographical and ethnohistorical) investigations. Similarly, the archaeological methodology adopted and employed within this study, are closely informed by the theoretical framework and methodologies within World-System analysis and Close Encounters. As a critical research component, archaeological investigations were adopted and employed in order to expand the overall scope of the study and in order to specifically examine – through survey, site and feature examination, selective collection of cultural materials, and interpretation; the impact, materially and otherwise, of the World-System on the Copper Inuit.

Archaeology and this Study

Specifically, in 2003, a field survey was conducted in the Winter Cove, Walker Bay area of Victoria Island, Northwest Territories, and, in 2004, in the Boot Inlet, Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island, Northwest Territories (Figure 16). The aforementioned study areas located in northwestern Victoria Island were selected for a number of pertinent reasons. When embarking on a study of the impact of the World-System on the Copper Inuit, it became abundantly clear that an investigative component based on scientific methodology and the collection and analysis of empirical evidence would greatly strengthen the study's claim to be a holistic and fully-interdisciplinary investigation (Trigger 1984). Archaeological methods could, it seemed, meet these criteria, and, possibly provide material evidence and subsequent analysis and interpretation of the penetration of the World-System at a critical juncture into the territory of the Copper Inuit. Moreover, two previous archaeologically-centered studies which examined the impact of the World-System on other Inuit societies - in Russian Alaska, and, in what is now Yukon Territory - indicated that there was broader scholarly interest in the effects of the World-System on neighboring Inuit societies. The aforementioned studies are made all the more relevant as companion-studies due to the fact that during certain periods of time these neighboring Inuit societies maintained long-distance direct and indirect intergroup trading relationships with the Copper Inuit (Friesen 1995; Crowell 1997).

The Place of the Encounter: Winter Cove, Boot Inlet, Minto Inlet and the *Itivyaaq* as a Cultural “Laboratory”

Based on the above factors, and given the formidable logistical and time considerations involved in planning and initiating archaeological investigations, broadly, throughout all of the traditional Copper Inuit territory, it was decided to select a study area that would serve as a representative example for the Late Contact Periphery (1818-1880) for Copper Inuit groups. The rationale for the selection of this specific period of time is discussed below. Ideally, the findings from this study area would form a reliable foundation for their (hypothetical) extension into other Copper Inuit areas for the Late Contact Periphery period (Fagan and DeCorse 2005:180). One such Copper Inuit group, the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*, or Northern Copper Inuit, particularly recommended itself to these criteria and to archaeological investigation. The *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* traditionally occupied the Walker Bay – Boot Inlet – Minto Inlet areas of northwestern Victoria Island, Northwest Territories. The descendants of the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* live today within the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok (formerly Holman) on Victoria Island (Damas 1972, 2002; Condon 1996).

During the nineteenth century the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*, not unlike other Copper Inuit groups, experienced both direct and indirect contact with agents of the World-System, primarily through encounters with members of Royal Navy and Hudson’s Bay Company expeditions (e.g. M’Clure 1853, 1857; Collinson 1855, 1889; Holland 1992). While this shared cultural experience was a salient consideration in selecting the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*, other factors were equally relevant, if not highly intriguing. Although geographically situated as the northern-most of all Copper Inuit groups, the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* were the *one of only two* Copper Inuit groups to experience long-term direct contact with agents of the World-System during the period of the Late

Contact Period (1818-1880). This relatively rare inter-cultural encounter (there were but four Royal Navy-Inuit long-term direct contact episodes in the entire Canadian Arctic during the nineteenth-century (e.g. Parry 1824; Lyon 1824; Ross 1835; Savelle 1985, 1987a), occurred in 1851-1852 when the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* (and some *Kanghiryuarmiut* from the Prince Albert Sound area) engaged in relatively frequent social interaction with the officers and crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise* then wintering at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island (e.g. Collinson 1855, 1889; Skead 1849-1852). This is a significant event in the culture history of the Copper Inuit to be sure. Within an anthropological perspective, that is, examining Contact and its short and long-term effects on both the agents of the World-System, and the indigenous society, it is comparable in cultural importance to more well-known and discussed Indigenous-Royal Navy eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century “encounters” in Tahiti, New Zealand, and Hawaii (e.g. Dening 1981,1992; Sahlins 1987; Hough 1997; Horwitz 2002; Douglas 2005).

To date, this specific Copper Inuit-Royal Navy encounter has received little attention in an ethnographical or ethnohistorical sense (e.g. Stefansson 1921; D. Jenness 1922; Damas 1972:6-7), with the exception of Condon’s (1996:22-35) study, which is essentially the first to more fully examine the cultural and historical importance of this long-term direct contact episode. Similarly, until this time, no systematic archaeological investigations have been initiated in order to locate and analyze material evidence resulting from this encounter. Arthur Dyke and James Savelle have surveyed western areas of the Walker Bay, Victoria Island area as part of a larger pan-Arctic study on both climate change and Paleoeskimo (Dorset) and Thule culture occupations (Savelle 2001). Robert McGhee has examined archaeological sites associated with Copper Inuit prehistory (and historic periods) on Victoria Island in the eastern Minto Inlet and Prince Albert Sound areas, although not in the areas included within the archaeological

investigations of this study (McGee 1972). Clifford Hickey incorporated a brief fly-over survey reconnaissance of Winter Cove, Walker Bay, as part of a much larger archaeological and historical investigation of indirect Copper Inuit-Royal Navy contact at Mercy Bay, Banks Island (Hickey 1979:132-133, 1981, 1984; T. Andrews, L. Johanis, J. Savelle personal communications).

Each of these studies are important scholarly investigations in their own right, and, as we shall observe, Hickey's work at Mercy Bay (though incomplete at this date), and McGhee's examinations in the Prince Albert Sound loom large in the broader examination of the Copper Inuit and the penetration of the World-System. Similarly, Savelle's previous Netsilik Inuit-European contact-related research in the central Canadian Arctic also provides a valuable foundational model for the archaeological (as well as some ethnographic) aspects of this study (Savelle 1985, 1987a). However, the archaeological programme of this study is the first to systematically examine the effects of contact on the Copper Inuit in the study locale.

Survey and Sampling form the basic methodological structure in the archaeological component of this study. From the start, the archaeological component was viewed as a longitudinal programme of two years (or more) duration. Further, the programme was collectively constructed as a collaborative enterprise with Inuit residents of Ulukhaktok who would subsequently be intimately involved in all areas activity.

Probability Sampling conducted during the longitudinal survey of these areas (see below) was adopted in order to provide a reliable basis for extending findings directly related to the impact of the World-System on the Copper Inuit from a smaller zone and population to a wider traditionally occupied territory and, larger population of Copper Inuit. Analysis and Interpretation of archaeological findings is discussed fully below in

Chapter 8. The central methodology within the archaeological investigations of this study is Systematic Site Survey, a primary “tool” of archaeologists who seek to locate and evaluate sites within given areas in order to determine how people conducted their lives within specific and mutable cultural and natural backgrounds (Fagan and DeCorse 2005:175-176). The basic consideration within the Systematic Site Survey is to focus on a larger region or similar geographical area, rather than individual sites, in order to identify a landscape that provides, through careful interpretation, a physical record and patterning of the cultural activity, and how the land was utilized and/or modified. In effect, the landscape under consideration is both material and symbolic, as people provide meaning to their territory (Fagan and DeCorse 2005:176-177).

Site surveys, by their very nature, vary in composition and planning given the variants and goals of the research project, locale, geography, logistical considerations, and financial support. However, and, in general, a systematic site survey will utilize the following critical, and complimentary, components: 1) Preliminary research; 2) Sampling design and identification of study area and sites; 3) Precise location and records of site positions; 4.) Assignment of designation codes and numbers; 5) Essential recording of site characteristics and distinguishing features; 6) Assessment of each site and its significance; 7) Synthesizing information on survey area, predictions on populations and population densities, and, the human usage of environment; 8) Overall description, reports, publications, recommendations for future research (e.g. Hester, Heizer and Graham 1975:15-36; Fladmark 1978:3-21; Fagan and DeCorse 2005:168-200; Price 2007:142-146). The precise methodology of the systematic site survey utilized in this study is discussed and explained below.

Systematic Site Survey and its Methodological Application within this Study:

1. Preliminary research:

A comprehensive review of pertinent ethnographic, ethnohistorical, archaeological, (and historical) information was conducted as part of the holistic research framework of the archaeological study (see above). More particularly, information directly related to the archaeological study area was gathered from a number of individuals, sources and repositories. Of critical importance were, a.) ethnographic interviews with elders (and others) in the Hamlet of Holman (later, Ulukhaktok) (see List of Interviews); b.) a review of previous Copper Inuit oral testimony (e.g. Condon 1996). Similarly, c.) research of ethnographic, ethnohistorical and historical information was conducted (e.g. D. Jenness 1922; Collinson 1889). The research process ultimately led to some lengthy correspondence with a number of individuals, including, most interestingly, descendents of Royal Navy personnel who wintered on H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, 1851-1852 ; d.) a review of all necessary maps and previous related archaeological studies and data was set-in-motion (see List of Maps), and, e.) consultations with informants, both professional, and, with those individuals in Ulukhaktok (such as hunters) was initiated and completed. Lastly, f.), the often exacting process of obtaining the necessary permissions, licences, permits and ethics protocols for the study was completed as well (Figures 14a and 14b).



July 3, 2003

Mr. Donald Johnson
608 E James St.
Ely, MN 55731 USA

Dear Donald,

Enclosed is Northwest Territories Class 2 Archaeologists Permit # 2003-941, authorizing your activities at Long Term Copper Inuit-European Intersocial Interaction. Please familiarize yourself with the attached **Permit Requirements**, which stipulate the legal requirements binding upon each permit holder, and note the **checklist** on the Permit, which indicates the disposition of artifacts and distribution of documentation resulting from your work.

This year, in consultation with the Sites Registry Office at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and in order to increase geo-coordinate accuracy of archaeological sites, we have developed **GPS guidelines**. If you use GPS (and we hope you do) we now require that you follow these guidelines precisely and ensure that the appropriate data is included on any site forms submitted to the CMC. We would also ask your assistance in recording GPS coordinates for any sites you might re-visit this coming season. With your cooperation we will eventually be able to upgrade the coordinate accuracy of all sites recorded in the NWT Archaeological Sites Database.

Summaries of fieldwork for 2002 (and some previous years) are available on our website at <http://pwnhc.ca/programs/archa.htm>. You will also find many other documents here (permit application forms, Guidelines for Developers, GPS Guidelines etc), which will be of use to you.

Please feel free to contact me should you have any questions. In my absence, please direct your queries to Shelley Kailek at 867-873-7366 or shelley_kailek@gov.nt.ca

Good luck with your research this season.

Sincerely,

^{for} Tom Andrews
Territorial Archaeologist
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre
Tel: 867-873-7688; Fax: 867-873-0205
Email: tom_andrews@gov.nt.ca

Figure 14a. Notification letter, Northwest Territories Class 2 Archaeologists Permit, July 3, 2003, Permit # 2003-941, Donald S. Johnson.



NORTHWEST TERRITORIES ARCHAEOLOGISTS

Class 2 Permit #: NWT 2003-941

Under the authority of the Northwest Territories Act and the NWT Archaeological Sites Regulations, authorization is granted

To: Donald Johnson

Affiliation: University of Manitoba

Name of Project: Long Term Copper Inuit-European Intersocietal Interaction

For the Purpose of: A sociocultural and archaeological examination of the processes of long-term Historic Copper Inuit cultural change due to contact with European World-System during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Conditions: None

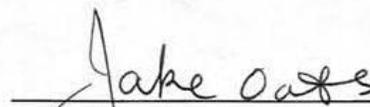
The permittee shall abide by the attached Permit Requirements

The permit is valid from 1 June 2003 to 31 December 2003

The permit is issued in the City of Yellowknife, Northwest Territories on JUN 26 2003

Distribution of documentation: The permittee shall distribute the listed materials to the agencies below according to this schedule.

	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre	Canadian Museum of Civilization	Other
Required by 30 November 2003			
1. One-page non-technical summary and two photographs	X		
Required by 31 March 2004			
1. Report	X	X	See list on reverse.
2. Site forms and maps	X	X	
3. Field Notes	X		
4. Artifacts or artifact catalogue and loan agreements	X		


Minister, Education, Culture and Employment

Attachment: Archaeological Permit Requirements, GPS Guidelines

208-128

Figure 14b. Northwest Territories Class 2 Archaeologists Permit, NWT 2003-941, Donald S. Johnson.

Needless to say, the steps needed in obtaining permits and permissions were repeated from year to year as the project continued.

The process of researching and collecting information on the Copper Inuit, in general, and, specifically the northern groups such as the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* of Walker Bay-Minto Inlet and the *Kanghiryuarmiut* of the Prince Albert Sound area of Victoria Island, can said to have commenced during the author's graduate studies at McGill University, Montreal. These studies culminated in a broadly constructed thesis examination of the impact of the World-System on the three Inuit groups of the Central Canadian Arctic – Iglulik, Netsilik and the Copper (Johnson 1999). It was very apparent that the Copper Inuit offered fertile ground for a more exacting, and, holistic interdisciplinary examination of the effects of the World-System on an indigenous Arctic society. Thus, research centering on the Copper Inuit continued (with some interruptions) through 2009 when this study reached fruition at the University of Manitoba.

The author's experience as a research associate during archaeological investigations of Paleoeskimo and Thule sites on Wollaston Peninsula, Victoria Island, Nunavut, in 2000 was of inestimable value in planning and conducting the archaeological component of this study (Savelle 2001; List of Maps: Dyke and Savelle 2002). The fieldwork stage of Arctic archaeology offers one unique challenges in terms of extreme environment, unpredictable weather, camp routine, site and feature location, excavation, mapping and, logistics. The old saw, "plan down to every conceivable detail, and then fight hard to keep your plan for going completely to hell," is widely known to all Arctic researchers (and, one feels, invariably – true). The fieldwork on the Wollaston Peninsula in 2000 offered multitudinous challenges, however, the experience gained, and knowledge acquired far out-weighed any rare negatives. Indeed the project proved to be

something of a “training-ground” for the archaeological investigations of this study, which, in reality, were (if anything) even more demanding in terms of logistical components and weather conditions.

After a month “on-the-land,” in the Arctic, one becomes highly adept at locating and identifying sites associated with pre-Dorset, Dorset, Thule, transitional Thule-Protohistoric Inuit and, importantly, Historic Inuit culture periods. Once acquired, this skill would later prove to be of enormous worth during field surveys undertaken within the present study. Too, during the inbound flight via Twin Otter from Resolute, Cornwallis Island, to Innirit Point, Wollaston Peninsula, Victoria Island in the 2000 field season, worsening weather conditions forced the field team to divert to Ulukhaktok (then Holman), and, spending a nearly a week in the hamlet impatiently waiting for clearing skies, the author (quite serendipitously) was introduced to a community and a people who would later play crucial roles in this study. Also in Ulukhaktok, two young Inuit field assistants – Aaron Kimiksana and Tony Alanak - joined our team (Figure 12). Aaron and Tony would spend a month in-the-field with the author that year, and, becoming fast friends, would in time help facilitate the early phases of the present study in Ulukhaktok and serve (with others) as chiefs factotum and field assistants from 2003 to the end of the study.

In any discussion of the archaeological methodology used in this study, ethnographic (and ethnohistorical) research serves as a necessary and highly illuminating prerequisite to all field activity. The ethnographic methodology incorporated in this entire study, including its application to the archaeological programme, is discussed fully above. Suffice it to say that in the present context, the oral testimony collected from Inuit elders in Ulukhaktok was instrumental in all areas of archaeological investigations, from obtaining information on traditional food harvesting areas, habitation

areas and, seasonal migration routes, to recollections of their own experiences living in the study area (e.g. List of Interviews). Previously recorded oral testimony was also extensively “mined” for information (e.g. Stefansson 1913:288-297, 1944:124, 240-241, 268; D. Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1932; Condon 1996:30).

As always, significant logistical preparation was needed prior to launching the fieldwork stage of the archaeological programme in 2003 and 2004, and, similarly, permissions and permits were needed and subsequently obtained from a number of agencies and institutions. From the very first, close and harmonious collaboration was stressed with the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok and its people. Inherent in the collaborative nature of this relationship was a fundamental sense of service to the community and, the inclusion of as many members of the community as possible in the project. The programme’s “paper trail” year by year, was of necessity, long and winding indeed, and the following list of licences and permissions, from the year 2003 alone, provides one with a sense of the myriad communications, applications, permissions and approvals needed prior to entering the field and initiating research:

Approval Certificate, Protocol #J2003:112, Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board, University of Manitoba

Northwest Territories Archaeologists Class Two Permit #NWT 2003-941

Scientific Research Licence # 13494N, Aurora Research Institute

Approvals: Hamlet of Holman (later Ulukhaktok), Holman (Ulukhaktok) Community Corporation, , Olokhtomiut Hunters and Trappers Committee, Land Administrator, Inuvialuit Land Administration

Various grant, fellowships, and other financial aid and in-kind support applications.

Other research and logistical considerations of the preliminary research phase of the archaeological programme included consultations with those individuals having previous research experience in and near the study area (J. Savelle, R. McGhee, T. Andrews personal communications). The appropriate maps – of a historical and contemporary nature – were acquired, studied and regularly utilized in all phases of this study (see: List of Maps). Local expertise in Ulukhaktok was eagerly sought, and, when acquired, proved to be indispensable. Finally, issues of logistical nature had to be attended to, including transport, assembling the appropriate equipment, food and fuel supplies, field radio communication, and a host of other smaller, though no less critical concerns.

The actual fieldwork stage of the project was initiated in the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok during the summer season in 2003 and 2004. At this time, interviews and consultations were conducted with informants according to the appropriate protocols and customs. Additionally and simultaneously, plans were put into effect to finalize the purchase of supplies from the Holman Eskimo Co-op, Ltd. or, the Northern (store). Boat transportation to/from the Walker Bay or Minto Inlet areas was arranged, equipment was organized and boats packed, while boat drivers and/or field assistants were provided with detailed information concerning the goals and procedures of the project. The transportation of project personnel, equipment and supplies from the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok north to (and from) the archaeological study areas within the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island was accomplished by boat, as air traffic is prohibited in much of the study area by the Olokhaktomiut Hunters and Trappers Committee due to concerns about the disruption of wildlife populations. It is safe to say that these journeys were the most important, problematic, (and exhilarating) logistical components of the project. Two boats (generally, 18-foot aluminum Lund's powered by 60-Horsepower

engines) were used in 2003, and a single boat in 2004. In 2003, Donald Inuktalik (who was accompanied by his wife Annie and Grandson Colton), and Jack Kataoyak served as boat drivers while Aaron Kimiksana, Tony Alanak and Ethan Applegarth served as field assistants. In 2004, Jack Kataoyak acted as driver and the primary field assistant (with Aaron Kimiksana). The skill of boat drivers and their consummate knowledge of the “land,” sea routes, and prevailing ice and weather conditions was abundantly evident throughout every journey. Ultimately, the success of the archaeological programme in this study was largely dependent on the proficiency and profound competence of Jack Kataoyak in particular.

Based on findings within the ethnographic and ethnohistoric research, two locations were specifically designated as survey areas: 1) The Winter Cove area of Walker Bay, and 2) The Boot Inlet and Northwesterly Minto Inlet Area (Figure 16). Each of these areas - Winter Cove in the north, and Boot and Minto Inlets in the south - are connected by an isthmus. An *Itivyaaq* or, portage utilized traditionally by Copper Inuit crosses the isthmus (Figure 16) (Lowe 1983:66; R. Kuptana personal communication). The *Itivyaaq* was identified early in this study as a critical area of investigation, given its historic importance in seasonal migration movements, and in the food harvesting and trading activities of the Copper Inuit (Interview: Morris Nigiyok 2004) (e.g. Collinson 1889:166; Skead 1849-1852; Stefansson 1914; S. Jenness 2004:319; Hudson’s Bay Company Archives Ft. Brabant B 405/a/1 pp. 4, 17). As a direct result, the northern half of the *Itivyaaq* was surveyed during the 2003 field season, and, the southern-half during the 2004 field season (Figure 16).

In 2003, the project base camp was established on a relatively sheltered shingle beach on the western side of Winter Cove (Figure15) (e.g. Bockstoce 2000:50). From this sheltered location, walking surveys by the author/ principal investigator and assistants

were undertaken virtually everyday during the field season (Figures 15, 30). The field surveys were conducted in the immediate Winter Cove area - including Flagstaff Hill - and at several inland lakes south and southeast of Winter Cove along the *Itivyaaq* (or, portage) connecting Winter Cove with Boot Inlet to the south (Figure 16). A total of approximately seven sites, comprising Historic Copper Inuit tent rings, caches, hearths and other associated features, Royal Navy habitation, burial, cache and survey features and several mid-twentieth-century habitation and survey features associated with the 1940-1941 “wintering” of the R.C.M.P. Schooner *St. Roch* in Winter Cove, were recorded and entered into the archaeological record (Figures 17, 44) (Table 1) (Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004b).

In 2004, field studies centered on the Boot Inlet, northwesterly Minto Inlet areas, and incorporated investigations of the southern half of the *Itivyaaq*. The field team was based in a cabin at *Umingmakyut*, used with the permission of the Olokhaktomiut Hunters and Trappers Committee. *Umingmakyut* is a well-used staging area for hunters and trappers of Ulukhaktok located in a sheltered bay, near the southwest point of Boot Inlet, at its joining with Minto Inlet. It was interesting to work and live at *Umingmakyut*, a location, (given the extant cultural sites in the immediate vicinity) that had clearly been traditionally used by Copper Inuit for generations. From this advantageous location, the field team would engage in survey work by foot and by boat, throughout Boot Inlet, much of Fish Bay area of northwest Minto Inlet, and across the southern half of the *Itivyaaq* (which connected with the 2003 survey areas at Winter Cove) at the northernmost point (or “bottom”) of Boot Inlet (Figure 16). In total, twenty-four sites were located and recorded, comprising historic Copper Inuit tent rings and caches, Royal

Navy habitation, cache and survey features and one site identified as Neoeskimo, and entered into the archeological record (Figure 17) (Table 1) (Johnson 2004c, 2005a, 2005c).



Figure 15. Archaeological Survey, 2003. Top and Middle: two perspectives of the Project base camp, Winter Cove. Both Photos: Author. Bottom: author and muskox (*Ovibos moschatus*) herd, at OjPq-3 Winter Cove. Photo: Ethan Applegarth

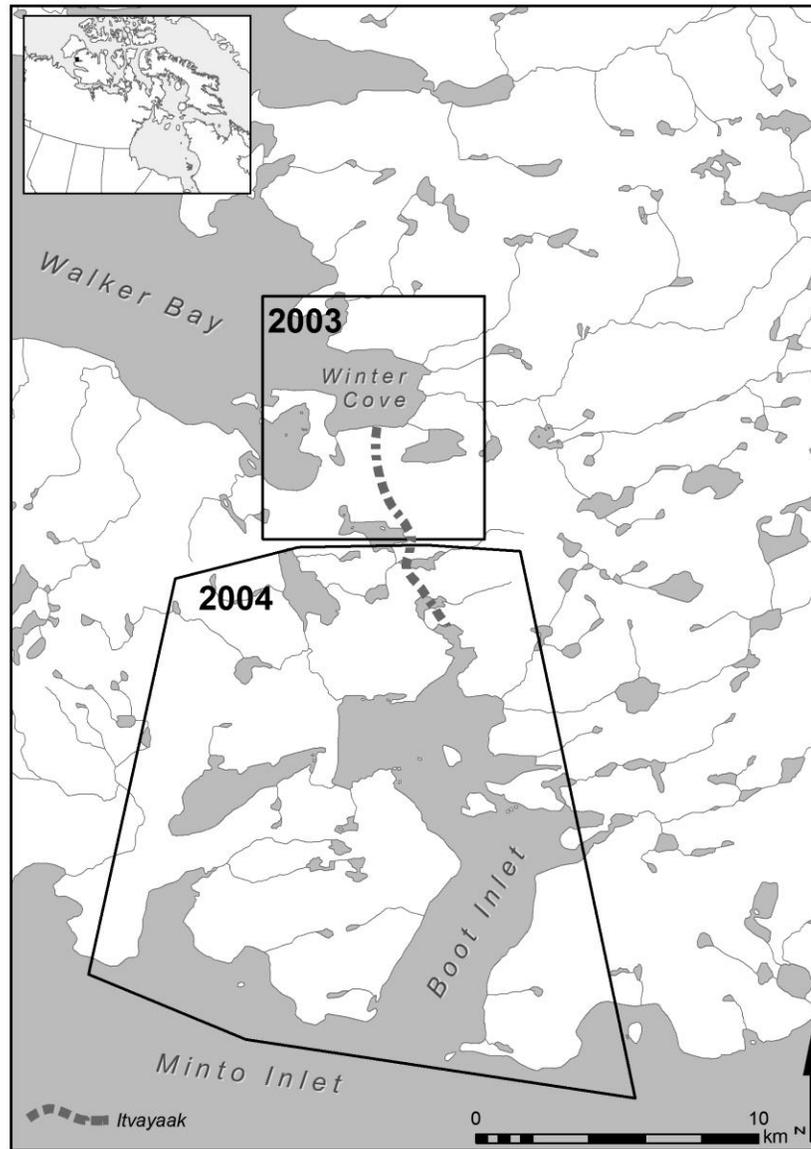


Figure 16. Map of 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Survey Study Areas.

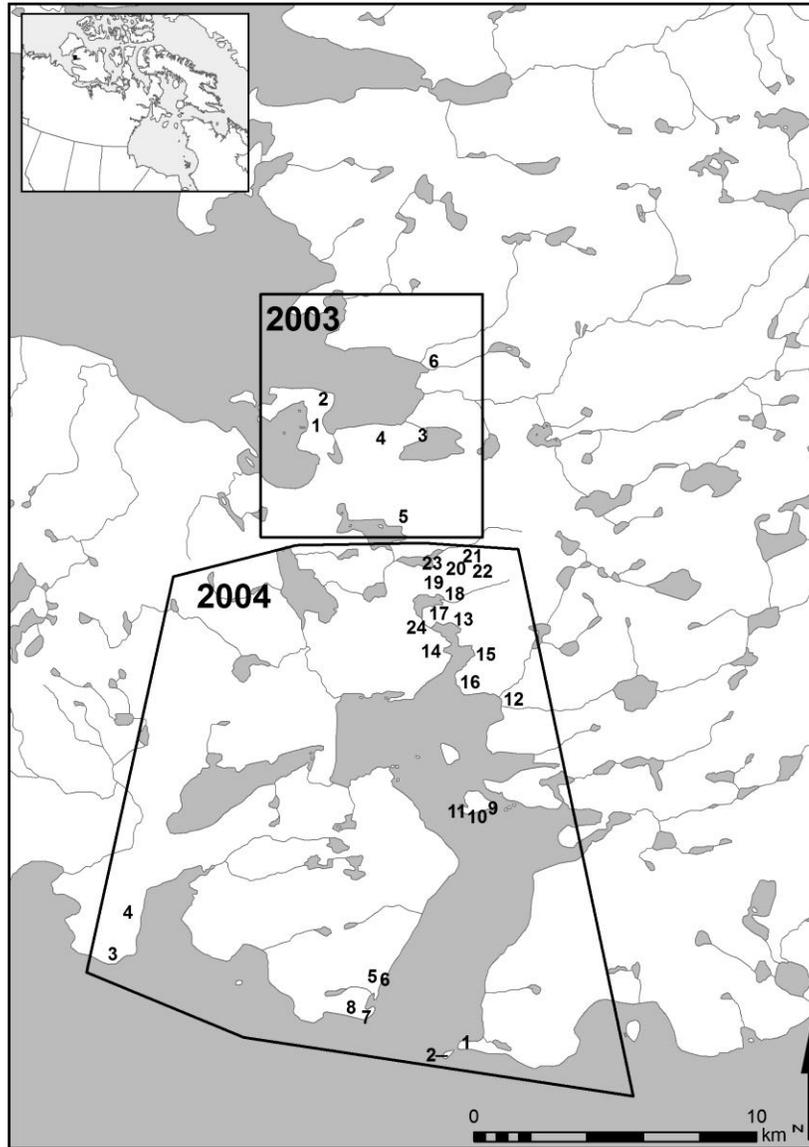


Figure 17. Map of 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Study Areas – Recorded Sites.

2. Sampling design and identification of study area and sites:

It will be remembered that the primary orientation of archaeological investigations within this study is to empirically assess the extent of the penetration of the World-System through the direct and indirect movement of exotic European materials such as iron, wood and glass, into Copper Inuit material culture and trade systems. The sampling methodology design developed for this study incorporates the above rationale within parameters that focus sampling within the traditional territory of one representative group of the Copper Inuit – The *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*. Sampling is inherently “probabilistic” or “judgmental” (Fladmark 1978:3; Fagan and DeCorse 2005:180). Nevertheless, some form of systematical methodology must be followed in sampling in order insure that the data produced is reliable enough to make broader mathematical generalizations or other representations.

The nature and amount of data collected varied according to project research plans, though random sampling was conducted at each site, and all features were recorded in detail. The items recovered from sites also varied, although nineteenth century manufactured metals, glass, and wood predominated. In many cases, evidence of modification of manufactured materials into projectile points and uniface cutting implements was present. All recovered artefactual items were treated and conserved by a conservation professional at the Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg, and, are now housed within the permanent collections of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

3. Precise location and records of site positions:

Accurate location and precise recording of sites is the most important aspect of any archaeological survey (Fladmark 1978:4). Within this study, traditional archaeological practices regarding the location and recording of sites were regularly employed. Site verification was dependent on the “unequivocal presence” of human cultural activity including artefactual materials (such as projectile points) and/or features where human activities (for example, habitation, butchering, etc.), occurred (Fladmark 1978). In the Arctic, Historic Inuit cultural materials are usually found on-the-surface, or, just below the surface. In the latter instance, gentle trowling, perhaps to a depth of 1-2 centimeters would generally expose, for example, a scatter of faunal remains, or, perhaps, debitage from stone tool making activities. In some sites, evidence of Inuit modification of exotic European materials, such as tin, or glass, could be seen on, or near, the surface. Further, since all archaeological field activity took place by permit, and was authorized by the Territorial Archaeologist, and, the Ulukhaktok Community Corporation, special care was taken to follow all “Archaeologist Permit Requirements” mandated by the Government of the Northwest Territories (Northwest Territories, 2003). As this study is particularly interested in intersocietal interaction, Historic Copper Inuit, *and* European and -Eurocanadian sites were located and recorded. Additionally, several unrecorded sites related to the Neoeskimo period were noted for the archaeological record (Table 1).

Initial site location was strengthened by a close reading of the textual record of traditional Inuit seasonal subsistence practices and patterning that existed within the common land-sea dichotomy of these harvesting practices. Ethnographic sources, the ethnohistoric record, and, previous archaeological research provided a rich and comprehensive suite of informational sources from which to construct a highly nuanced

investigative perspective in the field. Meticulous attention was paid to the information acquired from informants in Ulukhaktok. Among these individuals were those who had been born and raised on-the-land in the study area (before relocation to Ulukhaktok in the 1950s and 1960s), and, those who had long experience hunting, trapping and fishing in the area (Interviews: W. Kagyut 2003, J. Kataoyak 2003-2007, J. Memogana 2003-2007, Morris and Mabel Nigiyok 2004-2005, Harold Wright 2003-2007). Other primary ethnographic sources included; Stefansson (1913, 1914, 1919, 1922, 1944), D. Jenness (1916, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1946, 1991), Rasmussen (1932), S. Jenness (2004), Damas (1972, 1984a, 1988, 2002), and Condon (1996). The use of ethnohistorical materials truly came to the fore in the location of sites, both historic Copper Inuit and European – directly linked to mid-nineteenth century Copper Inuit-Royal Navy contact episodes. For example, a close reading of Captain Richard Collinson’s journal, conjoined with other sources, could (and did), lead one directly to a number of period sites for the period 1851-1852 associated with Copper Inuit-Royal Navy interaction (e.g. Figures 18, 19) (Collinson 1889). Entries in the private journal of Francis Skead the Second Master on H.M.S. *Enterprise*, provided information on Copper Inuit-Royal Navy activity and interaction on and near inland freshwater lakes on the *Itivyaaq* which, in turn, led to the location of several sites containing period artefactual materials (Skead (1849-1852). Similarly, the manuscript and art collections housed at Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, relating to Edward Adams, the Assistant Surgeon (and, Naturalist) on H.M.S. *Enterprise* were also utilized to great advantage (e.g. Figure 1). Interestingly, on one very memorable occasion, project participants were able to locate the (suggested) approximate position at which Adams’ executed his drawing “Birding Cliffs...”, the artist’s rendering of a flat-topped conical-shaped hill where birds nested and Inuit gathered eggs. This site was located in 2007, 157-years later (Figure 20).

Year	Field Number	Borden Number	Site/Location	Culture	Site Feature (s)	Materials?	Inuit Modification?	Comments	Collection
2003	1	OJPr-9	Winter Cove	20th Century European	Caim/Survey marker	Stone	No	Constructed by crew of R.C.M.P. St. Roch 1940-41	No
2003	2	OJPr-8	Winter Cove	19th Century European	Caim/Survey marker	Stone	No	Possibly constructed by crew of H.M.S. <i>Enterprise</i> 1851-1852	No
2003	3	OJPr-1	Lake on <i>Iliyaq</i> connecting Winter Cove/Boot and Minto Inlets	19th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	18th-20th Century metals, glass, wood	Yes	in situ metal modification	Yes
2003	4	OJPr-2	Ridge/south shore directly overlooking Winter Cove	19th Century Copper Inuit	Multiple stone tent rings (13)	18th Century metals, glass, wood	Yes	in situ modification of materials	Yes
2003	5	OJPr-3	Inland lake on <i>Iliyaq</i> connecting Winter Cove with Boot and Minto Inlets	19th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Multiple stone tent rings (7)	18th-20th century metals, glass, wood	Yes	in situ modification of materials	Yes
2003	6	OJPr-4	River mouth, east side Winter Cove	19th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring		No		No
2003	7	OJPr-11	Flagstaff Hill, north side, Winter Cove	19th Century European	European burial, survey, ceremonial grave of Royal Navy sailor and stone base of "Flagstaff"	18th Century wood	?	Grave of William Driver, cook H.M.S. <i>Enterprise</i> (Collinson 1888)	Yes
2004	1	OJPr-1	Southeast point of land, Boot Inlet (confluence with Minto Inlet)	19th-20th Century European and Copper Inuit	Multiple stone tent rings	18th-20th Century metals, glass, wood	Yes	in situ modification	Yes
2004	2	OJPr-2	Island of <i>Mapagwik</i> , situated immediately south of southeast point of land of Boot Inlet (confluence with Minto Inlet)	19th Century Copper Inuit	Multiple seal oil caches, tent rings and blinds	18th Century tin	?	Probable Royal Navy tin can bottom	Yes
2004	3	OJPr-1	Point of land, southwest Fish Bay (northwest Minto Inlet)	Historic Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings, caches	No	No		No
2004	4	OJPr-2	Prominent headland, west side, Fish and Grassy Bays (northwest Minto Inlet)	19th Century European	Remains, stone survey marker	No	No	Probable disturbed remains of "mark," constructed by crew of H.M.S. <i>Enterprise</i> (Collinson 1888)	No
2004	5	OJPr-3	Southwest Boot Inlet area	19th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	18th Century metals	Yes		No
2004	6	OJPr-4	Southwest Boot Inlet area	Historic Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	No	No	Early Historic Copper Inuit	No

Table 1. Sites and Materials, 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Surveys.

Year	Field Number	Borden Site/Location	Culture	Site Feature (s)	Materials?	Inuit Modification?	Comments	Collection
2004	7	OIPq-5 Southwest Boot Inlet area	Historic Copper Inuit	Cache	No	No	Early Historic Copper Inuit	No

Table 1 continued. Sites and Materials, 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Surveys.

Year	Field Number	Borden Number	Site/Location	Culture	Site Feature (s)	Materials?	Inuit Modification?	Comments	Collection
2004	8	OIPq-6	Southwest Boot Inlet Area	Historic Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	No	No	Early Historic Copper Inuit	No
2004	9	OIPq-7	Island, central Boot Inlet	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	No	No	Brief habitation?	No
2004	10	OIPq-8	Island, central Boot Inlet	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	No	No	Brief habitation?	No
2004	11	OIPq-9	Island, central Boot Inlet	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	No	No	Brief habitation?	No
2004	12	OIPq-10	"The Willows" northeast Boot Inlet	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Multiple stone tent rings	19th-20th Century metal, glass, wood	Yes	Traditional usage of this site continues ca. 2003-04	Yes
2004	13	OIPq-5	Southern starting point of Ibyyaak connecting Winter Cove with Boot and Minto Inlets	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Multiple stone tent rings, caches	Metal, glass, wood	Yes	Heavy usage as habitation area	Yes
2004	14	OIPq-6	Northern Boot Inlet area	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings	No	No		No
2004	15	OIPq-7	Northern Boot Inlet area	Protohistoric Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings	No	No	Neoeskimo	No
2004	16	OIPq-11	Northern Boot Inlet area	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings	No	No		No
2004	17	OIPq-8	Ibyyaak, lake immediately north of Northern-most point of Boot Inlet	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings	Metal, glass	Yes		No
2004	18	OIPq-9	Iviyaaq, lake immediately north of Northern-most point of Boot Inlet	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings	Metal, glass, wood	Yes		No
2004	19	OIPq-10	Iviyaaq, lake immediately north of Northern-most point of Boot Inlet	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	Fur, trade era wooden box	?		No
2004	20	OIPq-11	Iviyaaq	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	Metal, glass, wood	?		No
2004	21	OIPq-12	Iviyaaq	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	Wood	?		No
2004	22	OIPq-13	Iviyaaq	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent ring	Metal, glass, wood	?		No
2004	23	OIPq-14	Lake situated midway on north-south axis of Iviyaaq, between Boot Inlet and Winter Cove	18th-20th Century Copper Inuit - 19th Century European	Stone tent rings, Inuksuit	Metal, glass, wood	Yes	Heavy usage of site. Probable Royal Navy pulley collected	Yes
2004	24	OIPq-15	Northern Boot Inlet area	18th Century Copper Inuit	Stone tent rings	No	No		No

Table 1 continued. Sites and Materials, 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Surveys.

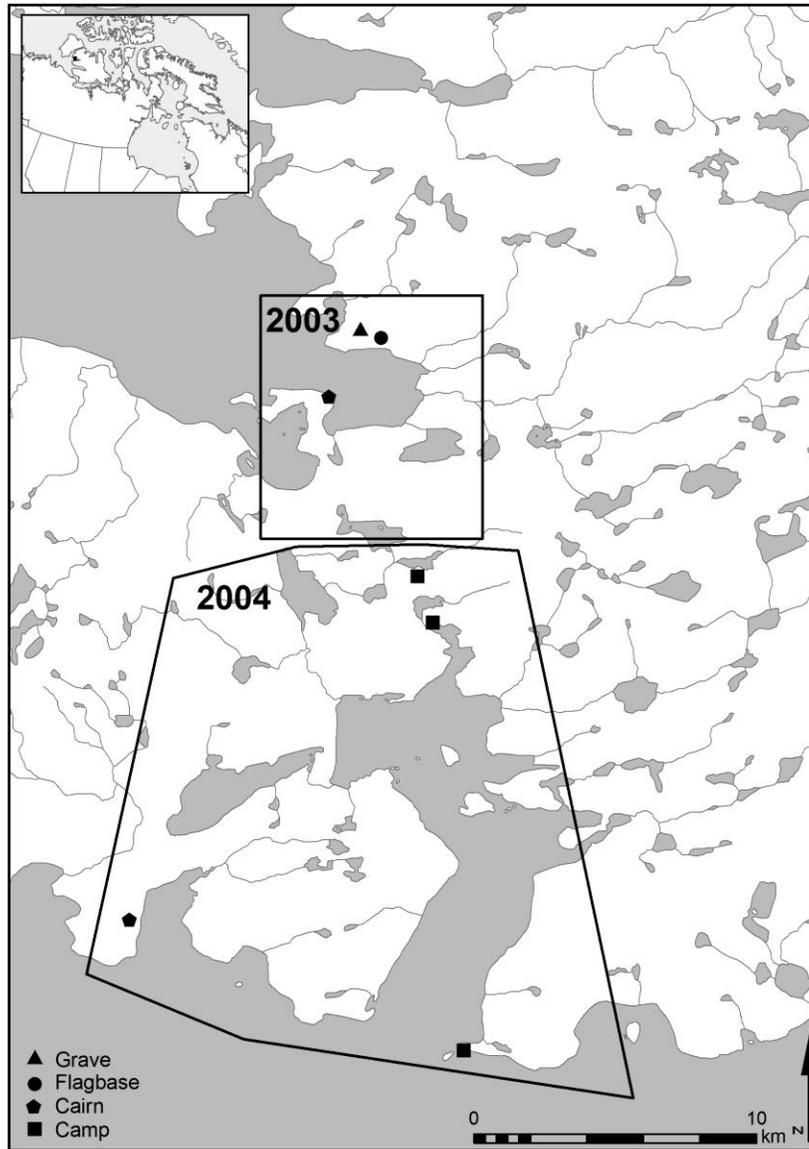


Figure 18. Map of 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Study Areas – Recorded European Sites.

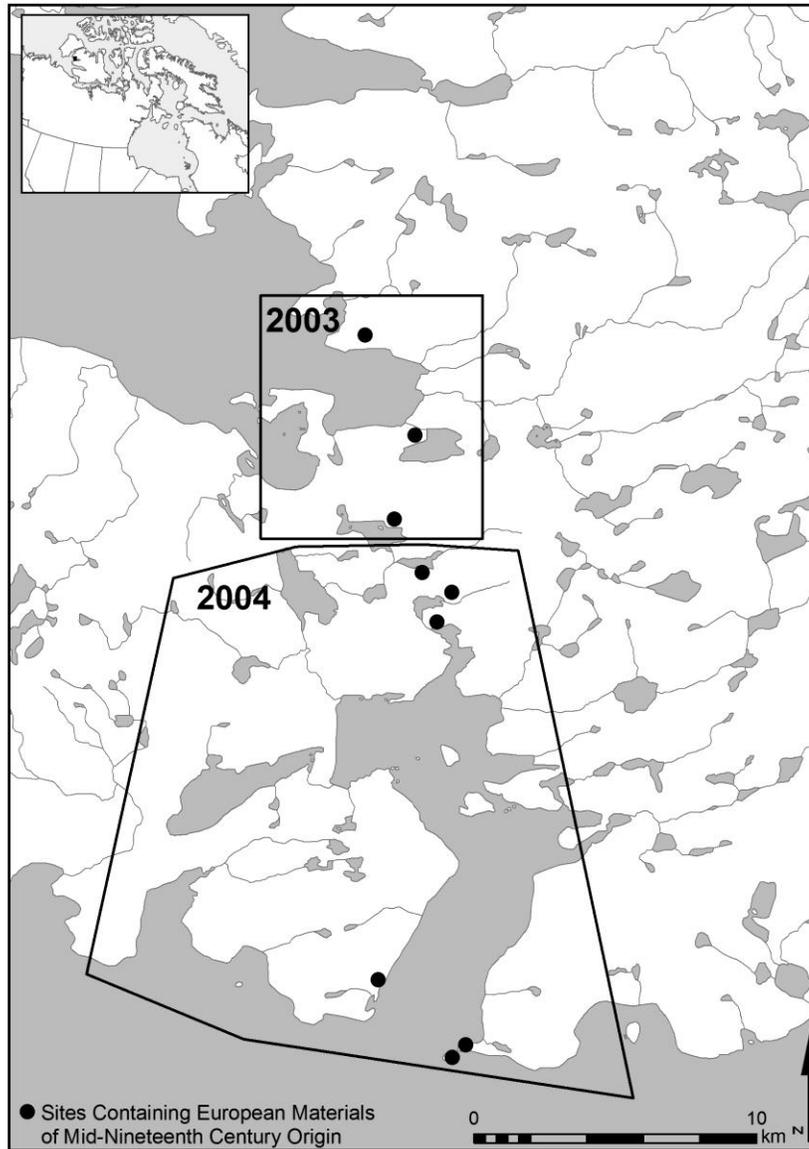


Figure 19. Map of 2003 and 2004 Archaeological Study Areas – Sites containing European Materials of Mid-Nineteenth Century origin.



Figure 20. Top: "Birding cliffs...July 27th 1852." Artist: Edward Adams.
(From: SPRI n/d). Bottom: image of the same scene as above from
approximate position, 3:30 a.m. August 13, 2007. Photo: Jack Kataoyak.

Topographical maps were also consulted in both the research and fieldwork stages of the archaeological programme (see: List of Maps). The maps utilized in this study are “National Topographic System” (NTS) publications in both the highly detailed 1:50,000 (approx. 3.1 cm =1 km) scale, and 1:25,000. Prior to each field season, maps of the above scales would be studied and fully incorporated within all ethnographic and ethnohistoric research. The locations of probable cultural sites in a broad survey area would be noted, and, in time, a general survey plan-of-action for the upcoming field season would gradually take form. Probable sites that were deemed to be of crucial importance were noted on maps, and once in-the-field, daily walking/boat surveys were conducted with the goal of ultimately locating and recording such sites. Of course, in many instances during field seasons, preliminary reconnaissance surveys would reveal new and promising areas for site location, and these areas would then be recorded and incorporated in walking/boat-survey plans for the season.

One’s skills in anticipating the location of sites, and subsequently, finding the sites, seemed to grow with each field season of this study. Knowledge of the traditional lifeways of the Inuit greatly enhanced one’s ability in finding sites. Traditionally, as a hunter-gatherer (or, forager) society which practiced a seasonally-oriented system of food harvesting, Copper Inuit sites could be expected to be found near areas closely associated with food (and seal oil) procurement. Sites associated with early-fall, late spring, and summer seasons tended to be situated on knolls along freshwater lakes and rivers, or, near caribou migration routes, and, elevated locations where game could be observed. Within the survey areas under discussion, sites were found in all of aforementioned locales.

Similarly, as a traditional migration route – an *Itivyaaq* - was located in the study area, it would be expected that habitation sites could be situated along, and at points on either end of the route where travelers initiated or ended their travels. This was exactly so, and the large numbers of habitation sites located at the northern (and especially) southern points of the *Itivyaaq* presented compelling evidence for the importance of this route over time.

Physically, Historic Copper Inuit habitation sites used during the summer and early fall consist of one or more circular (though, sometimes elliptical), stone tent rings ranging in size from five- to ten-feet in circumference (Table 1) (D. Jenness 1922:81-82). Stones were used for anchoring – traditionally - the caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*) or, sometimes seal skins (generally *Phoca hispida*), which served as the tent-like covering. This covering was generally supported by a wooden pole of some sort; perhaps a walking stick, an ice-pick handle, or a fish spear (D. Jenness 1922:81; Savelle 1987a). As physical manifestations of human cultural activity, sites often possessed an array of associated features related to tool manufacture and/or butchering (faunal scatter, stone debitage), food storage (stone caches of varying sizes), cooking (stone hearths), hunting (stone blinds, observation points possessing physical evidence of, perhaps, tool manufacture, etc.) and transport (large stones which served to tie-up dogs).

Probable sites of European or -Eurocanadian origin were also sought, and, given exacting physical evidence, located and identified. Again, an understanding of the cultural organization, proclivities and activities of European society during the mid-nineteenth century was useful. Within the archaeological survey area, it was expected that

sites would be located directly related to mid-nineteenth century Royal Navy activity. Previous ethnohistorical research provided a strong “narrative” of the activities of the officers and crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise*, which wintered at Winter Cove, 1851-1852 (see above). Therefore, the sites of probable European origin were plotted on survey maps prior to each field season, and, once in-the-field, diligently sought. Sites that were possibly representative of Copper Inuit-Royal Navy contact were highly anticipated. In general, Royal Navy sites consisted of those associated with habitation and food procurement (tent sites, food and driftwood collection/transshipment/storage points), observation (observatories, scientific research sites), survey (stone cairns of various sizes), burial (grave sites) and ceremonial (flag raising). In this study, sites of each type were located during archaeological survey (Table 1) (Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005c).

The use of the compass in site location in the Arctic is severely restricted due to variability resulting from proximity of strong magnetic interference. Reliance on the compass, so much a fixture in traditional survey work, was ameliorated to a great extent by both local knowledge of the survey landscape, (and through the companionship of Inuit field assistants familiar with the survey areas), and, comprehensive research and map familiarization, a holistic process during which one became intimately acquainted with a physical locations prior to actually being on-the-land physically. Once in the field, one cognitively “mapped-on” to the landscape of the survey area through an initial reconnaissance. Ultimately, and with care, one navigated this landscape with something approaching confidence and intellectual acuity. Still, a careful appreciation of map scale and an awareness, and, recognition of landmarks such as large hills, lake and rivers or other distinctive physical features was necessary. And, the comfort one might feel in a particular area needed to be tempered with respect and the realization that the survey areas comprise part of a broader Arctic environment that could be – as Inuit Traditional

Environmental Knowledge (TEK) has informed us – wholly unforgiving. Although one might possess field experience in the Arctic, one was a “visitor”. Hence, one’s perception of this environment differed quite diametrically from that of, let us say, a mature Inuit field assistant. One example of this difference will suffice; in 2004 while engaged in site location and recording mid-way on the previously discussed *Itivyaaq* the author mused; “Here I am! At, 71-degrees North, far from any habitation, and, alone with an Inuit companion. A hundred-years must have passed since anyone was here.” At that exact moment, Jack Kataoyak, my Inuit field assistant, said to me: “Don! Take a picture of me, will you? This is the spot where I killed my first *Tuktu* [caribou] with my grandpa when I was eight-years-old”.

Once sites were located, the precise recording of their locations occurred for the archaeological record (Northwest Territories, 2003). Recording of sites was accomplished following standard archaeological methods, and the process provides critical information for those who might need to relocate the site in the future (Fladmark 1978:11). This process entailed the need to produce an accurate description of the sites in both field notes, and later, in non-technical and, formal reports (e.g. Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005c). All sites were also photographed with 35 millimeter film and with digital camera. In some cases, black and white field sketches were executed.

The recording of geographical coordinates for each site was also a standard (and required) archaeological procedure. Starting in 2003, the Territorial Archaeologist of the Northwest Territories required permit holders to record and submit site locations in both latitude/North and longitude/West (a traditional method of finding a position by degrees, minutes, and seconds) and, Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) grid system (Northwest Territories, 2003). The later method is a military grid system of one-kilometer

square units, which, like latitude and longitude, overlay most NTS maps (Fladmark 1978: 11-12). Similarly, the Territorial Archaeologist required (again, as of 2003,) that the above site coordinates be recorded with Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers (Northwest Territories, 2003). The Global Positioning System is essentially a locational/navigational system harnessing satellite broadcasting information developed for military purposes, though now utilized by civilians almost universally (Price 2007:158-159). The use of lightweight, battery-operated, handheld GPS units (two units were always used simultaneously as a matter of practice during the surveys in this study in order to verify information with greater accuracy), simplified site position recording to a remarkable degree and, enabled one to record positions within a few centimeters. Additionally, elevation readings were also recorded for each site by GPS technology.

4. Assignment of designation codes and numbers:

Within the archaeological survey areas investigated in this study, all recorded sites received designations within The Borden System of Site Identification, a sequence of four-letters, and a number relating to specific geographic coordinates (Table 1) (Fladmark 1978:14-15). The “Borden System” as it is commonly termed, was adopted in 1956, and serves as uniform grid system of codes (based on the National Topographic Series of maps), that are used across Canada in order to maintain a universal consistency when cataloguing sites (Fladmark 1978:14; National Museum of Man 1975:1-4; Northwest Territories, 2003). The use of this system also ensures The Borden System designations are fully employed in archaeological reports, publications and in related correspondence referencing archaeological sites.

In this study, recorded archaeological sites in the 2003-2004 survey areas on Victoria Island, Northwest Territories, received Borden System designations of either OiPq, OiPr, OjPr or OjPq (Table 1). Taking the designation OiPq as an example, based on the Borden System Site Identification Index Map, the first two letters (Oi) indicate the site position in latitude and, similarly, the last two letters, (Pq), show longitude. A final number is assigned to each “Borden” in order to specify the order in which the site is found within a specific ten-degree by ten-degree subunit. For example, within this study, OiPq-1 corresponds to the first site recorded during the 2004 field season in the Minto Inlet, Boot Inlet area of Victoria Island (L. Johanis, Canadian Museum of Civilization Sites Office, personal communication; e.g. National Museum of Man 1975:2; Fladmark 1978:14). After submission of preliminary field reports and the provisional site designations (assigned in-the-field) to the Sites Office, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Canadian Museum of Civilization, official Borden System site designation numbers were formerly assigned following each archaeological field season in this study. These numbers were first incorporated within a database of recorded archaeological sites in Canada, and subsequently sent to the Territorial Archaeologist and collections management staff at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

5. Essential recording of site characteristics and distinguishing features:

The recording of a site’s characteristics is one of the most singularly critical methodological components of a site survey. An inventory of a site’s distinguishing features is important not only in terms of recording data for the archaeological record, but also in the broad interpretation and analysis of any cultural activity that can be explained through a meticulous reading of the natural and material information found in a site (e.g.

Fladmark 1978:14-21; Savelle 1987a). Ultimately the accurate recording of archaeological data will provides answers to the questions all archaeologists ask from the specific to the existential; who lived here? Why? What technology was developed and utilized? How long did people inhabit the area? What type of social organization and economy developed here?

All sites located in this study were consistently described and inventoried by the author in a field book, and were, if meaningful, photographed. Often human figures were added to photographs to provide scale (though care was taken to ensure the figure did not distract for the primary object (Fladmark 1978:81). As previously mentioned, in some cases, pencil sketches of a site or, a specific feature within a site, were executed. Context is critical in site recording and evaluation, this being the case, artefactual sampling through the collection of representative materials, was done sparingly, and only after all materials were fully described in a field book and recoded *in situ*. Generally, artefactual materials were photographed with a metric scale, or, an object (such as a pocket knife) of known size.

Site description of Historic Copper Inuit sites within the surveys areas of 2003 and 2004 included; a field number, site location in latitude and longitude and Universal Transverse Mercator, elevation above sea level, probable date and its physiographical and environmental associations (is the site near water? What type of vegetation might be apparent? Is there evidence of substantial lichen growth on stone or materials that might indicate a certain time period?). Importantly, the style and number of habitation structures (How large is the tent ring? If there are multiple tent rings, is there a visible relationship in their placement on the site?), their size and deposition was recorded as were associated features such as stone cooking hearths, and storage caches, burial sites, and, hunting blinds. All surface collections of cultural materials (bone, stone, exotic

woods, metals and glass) and faunal remains (what, and how many species?) were duly noted, and any sub-surface test trowling was fully described. Sites of European origin in the survey areas received similar descriptive treatment, and every effort was made to ascertain what cultural activity (ceremonial, survey, food and fuel procurement, etc.) might be associated with the site.

6. Assessment of each site and its significance:

While each site received a generalized description during the recording process, special attention was given to the process of determining whether exotic materials of European origin appeared among the artefactual remains in a given Historic Inuit site or sites. Moreover, if materials or artefactual items did appear, was there evidence of the modification of these materials and/or items by Copper Inuit? Additionally, in what quantity did these materials appear? The above determinations were, of course, essential to the theoretical hypothesis of this study. That is, the appearance of datable materials of European origin in Copper Inuit habitation sites during the period of the Late Contact Periphery (1818 A.D.–1880 A.D.) would indicate an introduction and diffusion of materials that would represent more holistically, a mechanism of possible cultural change in Copper Inuit lifeways. Not, wholesale acculturation, but, alternatively, evidence of the increasing penetration of the World-System of Capitalism at a specific point-in-time, into the world-system of the Copper Inuit. Further, the significance of these materials was hypothesized to impact not only material culture, but technology, and the nature of intra- and intergroup trade systems, and therefore, of social interaction itself. Of similar importance in the assessment and significance of recorded sites, was the identification of sites where intersocietal interaction (or contact) might have transpired. Also, in the

assessment of European sites, was there evidence of the diffusion of Copper Inuit cultural materials into European material culture, and if so, how extensive was this usage?

7. Synthesizing information on survey area, predictions on populations and population densities, and, the human usage of environment:

The process of information collection, recording, analysis and interpretation regarding the survey areas in this study was ongoing. Whether one was in-the-field, or, engaged in “off-season” research, one was continually engaged in what was essentially the hermeneutical process of synthesizing site data, examining and dating collected materials, and interpreting recorded ethnographic information and field observations into hypothesis and predictions that would support (or challenge) the basic thesis of this study.

8. Overall description, reports, publications, recommendations for future research:

A number of reports (published and non-published) of both a non-technical and technical nature emanated from the archeological programme within this study (e.g. Figure 21) (Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005c). Written reports on all areas of research - archaeological and ethnographic - were regularly provided to community organizations in the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok, to the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Sites Office, Canadian Museum of Civilization. Moreover, community presentations in Ulukhaktok were delivered by the author each year, from 2003-2007 (e.g. Figure 13). Similarly, a public talk based on the overall implementation,

activity and findings of this study, was presented at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in June, 2007. Scholarly papers based on the archaeological aspects this study were presented at the Canadian Archaeology Association's "Archaeology At The Crossroads," 37th Annual Meeting, May 12-16, 2004, Winnipeg, Manitoba; The 14th Inuit Studies Conference, August 11-15, 2004, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, and, at the Canadian Archaeology Association's 42nd Annual Conference, May 13-17, 2009, Thunder Bay, Ontario,. The programme also attracted some Media attention, which was not unwelcome within the community (Figure 22).

Archaeological Fieldwork in the Northwest Territories: 2003

Researchers > Archaeological Reports > 2003 Reports Index Page

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS, WINTER COVE, WALKER BAY, VICTORIA ISLAND, N.W.T., JULY-AUGUST, 2003

Donald S. Johnson (NWT Archaeologist Permit 2003-941)

Archaeological investigations (in conjunction with sociocultural investigations, Hamlet of Holman, Victoria Island, N.W.T.), were initiated between July 30th and August 15th, 2003 in the Winter Cove area, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, N.W.T. The archaeological investigations represent the initial field season in a proposed two-year project, and focus on an assessment of mid-19th century direct and indirect contact & intersocietal interaction between historic northern Copper Inuit groups and the Royal Navy vessels H.M.S. *Enterprise* and H.M.S. *Investigator* in northwestern Victoria Island. Specifically, the project is the first to systematically examine possible changes in northern Copper Inuit material

culture, intra- and intergroup material trade systems and social relations resulting from direct and indirect contact with elements of the Royal Navy on Victoria Island. Additionally, these investigations also examined sites directly associated with the 1851-52 "wintering" of H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove.

Field surveys were conducted in the immediate Winter Cove area - including Flagstaff Hill - and at several (unnamed) inland lakes south and southeast of Winter Cove. A total of approximately 30 sites, comprising historic Copper Inuit tent rings and caches, Royal Navy habitation, burial, cache and survey features and several mid-20 th century habitation and survey features associated with the 1940-41 "wintering" of the R.C.M.P. Schooner *St. Roch* in Winter Cove, were recorded.



Donald S. Johnson examining cairn constructed by the crew of the RCMP schooner " *St. Roch* " in 1940-41, Winter Cove, Walker Bay.

Figure 21a. Archaeological Investigations At Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, N.W.T., July-August, 2003 (In: Archaeological Fieldwork in the Northwest Territories: 2003).



A view, looking north toward Flagstaff Hill, of the project's field camp, Winter Cove, Walker Bay.

were recorded in detail. The items recovered from sites also varied, although 19th century manufactured metals, glass, and wood predominated. In some cases, evidence of modification of manufactured materials into projectile points and uniface cutting implements was present. All recovered items are now undergoing conservation procedures.

Preliminary results of these field surveys suggest that Northern Copper Inuit groups interacting with the officers

and crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the Winter Cove, Walker Bay area ca. 1851-52 acquired significant amounts of manufactured items. Many of these items were modified into tools and introduced into the material culture of these groups. Similarly, it can also be suggested that these items were "filtered" into intra- and intergroup trade systems of the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas thereby contributing to changes in traditional social interaction.

The project has received the strong support of the Holman Community Corporation, and the Olokhaktomiut Hunters & Trappers Committee, Holman, Victoria Island, N.W.T. Aaron Kimiksana and Tony Alanak of Holman and Ethan Applegarth of Idyllwild, California, served as Research Assistants. Donald Inuktalik, Jack Kataoyak and Helen Kimiksana provided other invaluable support in the field and in Holman. The following institutions and individuals have contributed support, expertise and guidance:

Inuvialuit Land Administration; Aurora Research Institute; Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre; Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board, University of Manitoba, Dr. Jill Oakes, Department of Native Studies, University of Manitoba; Dr. Rick Riewe, Department of Zoology, University of Manitoba; Dr. William "Skip" Koolage, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba; Dr. James Savelle, Department of Anthropology, McGill University; Vermillion Community College, Ely, Minnesota; and Gerard and Nan Snyder, Montpelier Station, Virginia.

Figure 21b. Archaeological Investigations At Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, N.W.T., July-August, 2003 (In: *Archaeological Fieldwork in the Northwest Territories: 2003*).

Study examines how Inuit coped with contact

Last Updated: Jul 16 2004 10:22 AM CDT

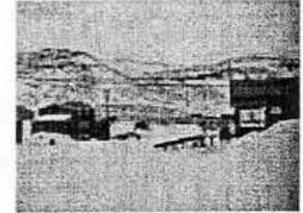
YELLOWKNIFE - A unique anthropology project is under way in Holman – part of a growing trend to try to understand history from an Aboriginal perspective.

Anthropologist Don Johnson is studying the adaptations Copper Inuit made after Europeans arrived in the Arctic.

Johnson teaches anthropology at Lakehead University and is also a Ph.D student at the University of Manitoba. He says in some ways his job is to re-write history – in this case, from the Copper Inuit perspective.

"It's rounding out the record," he says. "It's creating that whole picture. And I think what's inherent now is greater respect to things like traditional environmental knowledge and to the oral tradition."

Johnson is studying the long-term effects of Inuit-European relations from the 1850s to the 1940s. His study involves interviewing elders, and also running an archeological dig.



Pictured here in winter, Holman is the focus of research on Inuit adaptation to the coming of Europeans

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He says he's pleased with the results so far. "What I've been able to find are things off the ship that they turned into projectile points, arrowheads, ulu-like uni-faced cutting implements. For instance, I have the bottom of what I think is a rum bottle that a Copper Inuit Inuk or a seamstress turned into an ulu."

The artifacts will eventually go to the Prince of Wales museum in Yellowknife.

This is the second year of Johnson's two-year study.

Figure 22. Sample of study publicity, July 16, 2004, Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC). Text of Radio interview with study author. (From: CBC Radio).

CHAPTER 4: The Human Community: The Historic Copper Inuit

Introduction

Exactly when the traditional period of Historic Copper Inuit culture began is open to continuing scholarly debate and interpretation. There is direct linkage with regionally-based Thule groups and these groups, having experienced climatic cooling and subsequent migration southward starting around 1200 A.D., seem to have given rise to each of the distinct central Inuit societies - Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik - that were initially encountered by European explorers and early ethnologists and anthropologists (Damas 1969, 1971, 1975, 1984b, e.g. Richardson 1851a, 1851b; Boas 1888; Collinson 1889; M'Clure 1857; Rae 1953). These Inuit societies developed new hunting strategies, such as mid-winter sea ice breathing hole sealing, in direct response to climatic cooling (McGhee 1983). Other scholars, notably David Damas (1972) have surmised that the "ethnographically recorded seasonal cycle did not develop until the 19th century." The classic ethnographic interpretations of Copper Inuit lifeways were produced within the first three decades of the twentieth-century (Stefansson 1913, 1914, 1919; D. Jenness 1922, 1991; Rasmussen 1932). Other equally important studies have followed (e.g. Damas 1972, 1984a 1988b; Morrison 1987, 1991, 1992; Condon 1996; Pálsson 2001, Bennett and Rowley 2004).

The Historic Copper Inuit

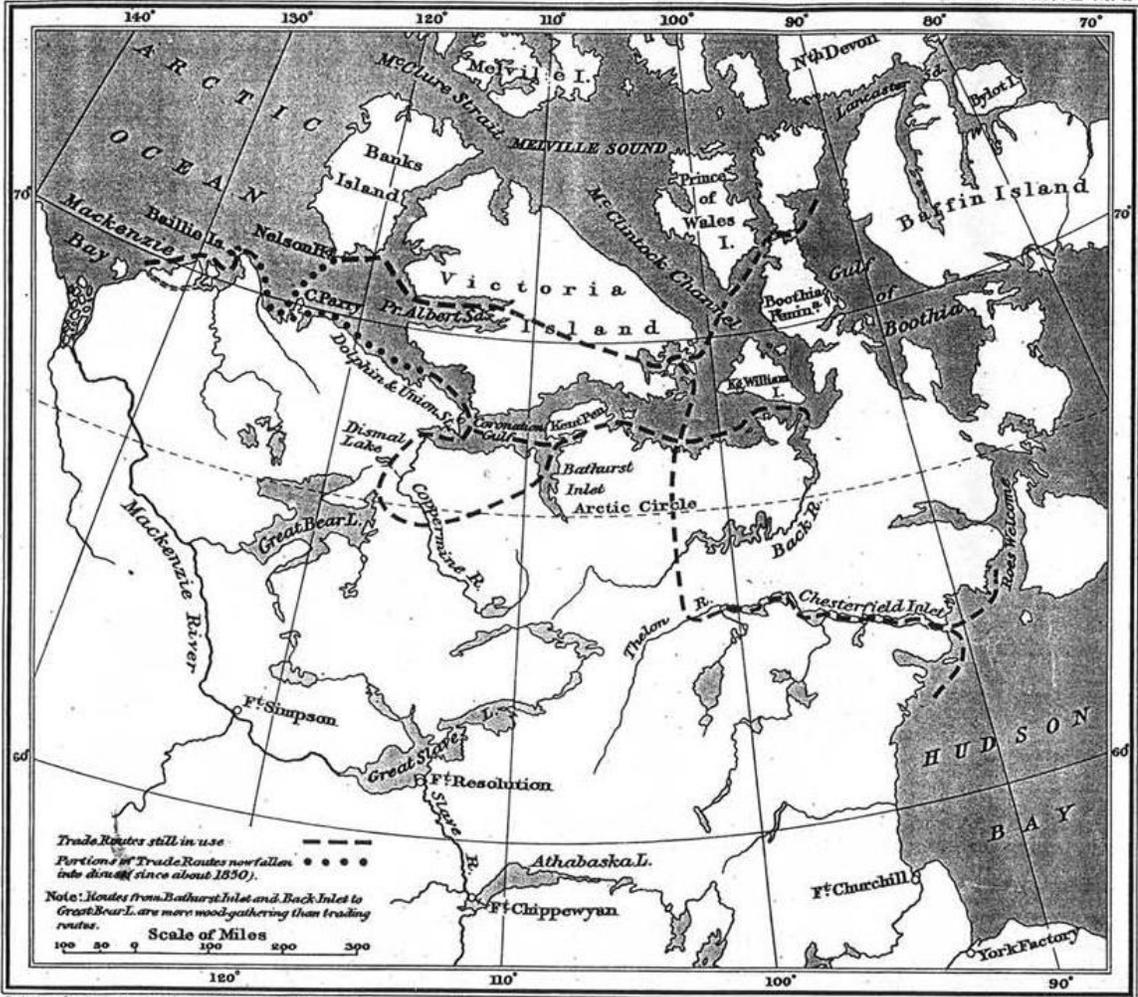
The Historic Copper Inuit are the westernmost of the groups living within the traditional ranges of the central Canadian Inuit (e.g. Stefansson 1913, 1914, 1919, 1921, 1922; D. Jenness 1922; Damas 1969, 1971, 1984a; Condon 1996). The geographical area traditionally inhabited by the Copper Inuit (Figures 23, 24 and 27) extended from what is

now southern Banks Island, eastward across the western, southern and southeastern areas of Victoria Island, and, along Dolphin and Union Strait and the Coronation Gulf littoral, south, to the Dismal Lakes, Great Bear and Contwoyto Lakes and their respective environs (Hanbury 1904:213; D. Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1932; Damas 1984a; Riewe 1986; Stevenson 1993; Gordon 1994:336; Condon 1996).

According to the established ethnographic record, the traditional sociocultural system of the Historic Copper Inuit is characterized as being a highly egalitarian, consensus-based hunter-gatherer (or forager) society possessing no formal positions of group leadership. Integral to Copper Inuit society was a family, kin and band oriented social organization, a gender-based division of labour, structured sharing protocols and partnerships, group seasonal fissioning and fusioning practices, “settlement patterns,” population regulation, intra- and intergroup trade systems, cooperative interaction, and, alliances (e.g. Boas 1888; Stefansson 1914; D. Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1932; Damas 1969, 1971, 1975, 1984a, 1984b, 1988; C. Adams 1971; Guemple 1971; E. Smith and S. Smith 1994). The Traditional seasonal cycle of the Copper Inuit can be distinguished as an economic system orientated within a land-sea dichotomy and based on the harvesting of specific animals such as seal, caribou and fish, during regular seasonal periods. Other “resources,” such as copper, pyrites, soapstone and, to a lesser extent, wood and other plants were utilized on a regular basis (Freeman 1984).

While Stefansson, D. Jenness and Rasmussen all compiled Copper Inuit group designations (e.g. Figures 23, 24), for the purposes of this study the compilation by D. Jenness (1922:33-41) will be used. Within this compilation, based on Jenness’s own field observations and information he gleaned from Copper Inuit informants, seventeen Copper Inuit groups or bands are noted. Stefansson (1919) estimates the Copper Inuit

population at 1,100 individuals in nineteen bands, while Rasmussen (1932) estimated the population at 816 individuals spread throughout fourteen groups. Demographically, these groups, totaling between 700-800 individuals, thereby averaging 45-50 individuals per group, were situated from the western to eastern territorial boundaries (see above), and possessing superb knowledge of their environment, were positioned at “productive ecotones” that existed at boundaries between Marine, Freshwater and Terrestrial Subsystems (D. Jenness 1922:42; Freeman 1984). All groups participated in intra- and intergroup trade systems wherein constant communication was maintained (Figure 25) (e.g. Stefansson 1914; D. Jenness 1922; Morrison 1987).



C.O. Sonécal, Geographer and Chief Draughtsman.
 R.B. Yorston, Draughtsman.

MAP 102 A
 (Issued 1914)

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ESKIMO TRADE ROUTES, ARCTIC COAST, CANADA.

Figure 25. Map: "Eskimo Trades Routes, Arctic Coast, Canada" (From: Stefansson 1914).

Environment

In essence, the Arctic ecosystem inhabited by the Copper Inuit, including parts of the North American mainland and islands within the Arctic Archipelago, was created during the retreat of continental ice sheets during the Pleistocene era, some 8,000-10,000 years ago. As a direct result of its general youthfulness, it is characterized by low biological diversity, aridity, relatively short growing seasons, and winds of high velocity (e.g. Freeman 1984; Pielou 1994). While the greater part of this area is tundra in which a variety of mosses, low herbs and lichens grow, the more southerly areas such as the Dismal Lakes and the Coppermine River and Tree River valleys do possess ample vegetation including willow and white spruce growth (D.Jenness 1922; Damas 1972). The high latitude (as opposed to temperate) environment or ecosystem inhabited by the Copper Inuit, and of which they are an integral part, is essentially comprised of three major subsystems: 1) Marine, 2) Freshwater and 3) Terrestrial (Freeman 1984).

Marine mammals including, whales, seals and polar bear constitute the primary fauna of the Marine Subsystem. Indeed, sea life is richer than that found within the terrestrial system. Seals, including the ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) and bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) are, without exception, the most important marine food and fuel source traditionally for the Copper Inuit, while the polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*), (which were and are, often hunted) are ubiquitous off the southeast coast of Banks Island and northward along the Prince of Wales Strait (Stefansson 1919; Damas 1972; T. Smith 1987; A. Kimiksana, personal communication). Sea birds, loons and various species of duck are also present within this system in large numbers.

While marine mammals, as noted above, seem to be present in significant populations, it should be pointed out that these populations exist in subpolar seas or in areas where water masses combine causing an “up welling of nutrients”. Therefore, Copper Inuit harvesting of sea mammals necessitated profound forms of Traditional Environmental Knowledge (TEK), which took into consideration: 1) seasonal migrations, 2) understanding that a majority of available food species is taken by few species feeding on them, 3) reproductive and growth rates within this system were low. For instance, ringed seals produce pups once in every two-years and these offspring are slow to mature, 4) the lack of diversity in marine species meant that there existed greater numbers of individual species, and, 5) these species were more visible to Inuit hunters (Freeman 1984; Hickey 1984; T. Smith 1987; Wenzel 1981, 1991, 1995, 1999).

Low productivity also characterized the Freshwater Subsystem, where the low nutrient base of drainage areas, and, “thermal/density stratification” of Arctic waters limited annual production of species such as Arctic char (*Salvelinus alpinus*), lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*) and grayling (*Thymallus arcticus*). Nevertheless, this system was also integral to the annual Copper Inuit economy, especially in the form of summer harvesting of Arctic char and the taking of lake trout through a variety of methods throughout much of the seasonal cycle.

The productivity of the Terrestrial Subsystem was also influenced by environmental factors such as low availability of nutrients, aridity, low temperatures, and extreme seasonal variations in light density. Snow cover was also variable, and while accumulated snow could, on the one hand, accelerate growth of plants causing lush meadows and therefore enhancing biological productivity (especially in the form of insects and herbivores), conversely, heavy snow cover could often times prevent

mammals and birds from reaching their food supply (Freeman 1984). All of these factors contributed to a uniformity in vegetation and a corresponding lack of diversity in mammal populations. These populations included caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*), the primary source of food and skins for clothing and shelter for the Copper Inuit, wolf (*Canus lupus*), arctic hare (*Lepus arcticus*), arctic fox (*Alopex lagopus*) musk ox (*Ovibus moschatus*) as well as others. The avifauna within this system included possibly more than fifty shore and land species. Populations of the above mammals - especially caribou and musk ox – have, traditionally, fluctuated widely (D. Jenness 1922).

Historic Copper Inuit “Traditional” Culture/Economic Overview

The traditional period of Copper Inuit land use and its concomitant sociocultural features such as group “settlement patterns,” was based on subsistence practices and therefore, the harvesting of animals, the chief of which were seals, fish and caribou within the above environmental subsystems throughout seasonal periods. To a much lesser extent, plants and mineral resources such as copper, pyrites and soapstone were regularly utilized. Further, land usage within this period was also contingent on food harvesting strategies that focused on “core” areas (Damas 1972; Freeman 1984; Hickey 1984; Wenzel 1991).

The traditional seasonal cycle of the Copper Inuit can be divided into two distinct phases, 1) the winter phase lasting from approximately December through May when fusion of Inuit groups would occur on the sea ice for breathing hole sealing (*mauliqtug*) and, (for more northerly groups) polar bear hunting, and, 2) the spring and summer phase which occurred from the latter part of May into November. During this period, there would be a fissioning of Copper Inuit groups off the sea ice and onto land for arctic char

spearing at weirs (and harvesting other types of fish, birds and small mammals) and then, in late summer, more fusion of groups for caribou hunting (e.g. Figure 26) (Damas 1972, 1984a).

The winter phase of traditional seasonal cycle was initiated after fall caribou hunting and was preceded by a period of some two-four weeks when, located near the coast, subsistence took the form of cached dried fish, caribou and trout caught while occasionally jigging in lakes. At this point in the seasonal cycle women sewed clothing out of fresh caribou hides for the New Year. Group movement to the sea ice was made after the sewing period. Breathing hole sealing on the sea ice saw maximal aggregations of Copper Inuit when a fusioning of groups occurred. Upwards of eight sealing sites were used by some seven to nine aggregations. Utilizing the figures derived by Diamond Jenness, the average population at each site would have been 114, although variations in size undoubtedly occurred year to year and group to group. (D. Jenness 1922; Damas 1984a).

Breathing hole sealing - primarily for ringed seal, but often for the larger bearded seal - was carried out through cooperation among hunters, each stationed at a breathing hole waiting for a seal to surface for air, at which time the seal would be harpooned with a toggling head. This method was utilized by hunters within each group of the central Canadian Inuit (e.g. D. Jenness 1922:110-120; Balikci 1970:56-80, 1984; Damas 1972, 1984a,1984b; Wenzel 1991:17-20). Polar bears (which were taken in other seasons if encountered, see D. Jenness 1922:152, 1991:509) were hunted using dogs, which would run down the bear and surround it. The bear, distracted and hindered by the dogs, would then be killed by hunters using spears and/or harpoons (Interviews: J. Memoranna, 2004; Morris Nigiyok, 2004) (e.g. Damas 1972; A. Kimiksana, J. Kataoyak, personal

communications). This method of hunting polar bear is used by hunters from Ulukhaktok to this very day. Only the weapon has changed, as Inuit now use firearms.

Sealing camps of snowhouses were always set on ice formed within the current year as seals create new breathing holes and subnivian birthing lairs every fall (T. Smith 1987). Importantly, Copper Inuit groups were not static while engaged in breathing hole sealing. There was considerable movement of camps for reasons of subsistence, and social interaction (D. Jenness 1922:120). As an example, Jenness has documented the movements of one Copper Inuit group on Dolphin and Union Strait during the winter and early spring of 1915-1916:

“From December 1915, to February, 1916, they were all united in one settlement of thirty-three snow huts on the shore of Illuvillik, the most westerly island of the Liston and Sutton group. Some time during the first week in February they migrated in a body ten miles to the west and built new snow huts on the ice. They remained here almost a month, then moved four or five miles south-southwest. Throughout March they were visited by large numbers of Coronation Gulf natives, some from the Coppermine river basin and others from as far east as Bathurst Inlet. On April 3, the settlement split up. One band of sixteen families made new homes ten miles farther west, four families migrated about the same distance north-northwest, and the remainder, save for two or three who left for Coronation Gulf, moved eastward again and camped on the ice between two eastern islands of the Liston and Sutton group, where they could seal in an area that had not been hunted over during the winter” (D. Jenness 1922:120).

With the passage of time, by mid to late-May, groups would migrate to land and engage in surface sealing (*qaqipqayuq*) when seals would sometimes be stalked and killed while lying on the ice surface near the ice edge. Stefansson, however, relates that this was not a primary spring activity, and Damas states that sealing was not undertaken in open water during summers (Stefansson (1913; Damas (1984a:398).

Summer was given over to harvesting arctic char and trout with caribou hunting occurring by June, but growing in importance by August, when hides were in prime condition and the animals had gained several layers in fat. Group movement to land saw a fissioning of groups, with significant variation in size - from foraging nuclear families, to multi-family and extended family groups, to larger aggregations for weir fishing (*haputit*) and caribou hunting (e.g. Condon 1996). Trout fishing in lakes and disparate forms of caribou hunting continued through June and July at which time larger groups assembled for a one-two week period at rivers for the spearing of arctic char returning from the sea (e.g. D. Jenness 1922:123). Fishing of this type seems to have been more important at several locations on Victoria Island and in the southwestern Coronation Gulf area, while Inuit groups on the mainland, particularly in the Bathurst Inlet and Perry River areas initiated larger-scale caribou hunting (Damas 1984a;D. Jenness 122-123; Rasmussen 1932:76-77).

By August the caribou have started to congregate in larger herds preparatory to migration, and at this time there was generally a fusioning of family groups in order to engage in the hunt which would last through the months of fall until November. Prior to and during the caribou hunt, individuals and groups would take small game, molting

birds, the occasional musk ox. Caribou hunting took many forms, the most common being accomplished by drive systems utilizing *inukhuit*, rows of stones placed along ridges meant to resemble humans, between which caribou were essentially driven by a cacophony of shouting woman, children and often elders toward hunters waiting in shallow pits with bows and arrows. Similarly, spearing caribou by kayak at migratory crossing places (both rivers and lakes) was another traditional hunting strategy. In both instances, cooperation among all Inuit was essential. Like breathing hole sealing, the methods employed by Copper Inuit for hunting caribou were virtually identical to those used by other central Canadian Inuit groups (D. Jenness 1922; Damas 1972, 1984a, 1984b; Balikci 1970; Arima 1984). With the arrival of colder weather in November, groups once again participated in a period of sewing before enacting the entire seasonal cycle once again.

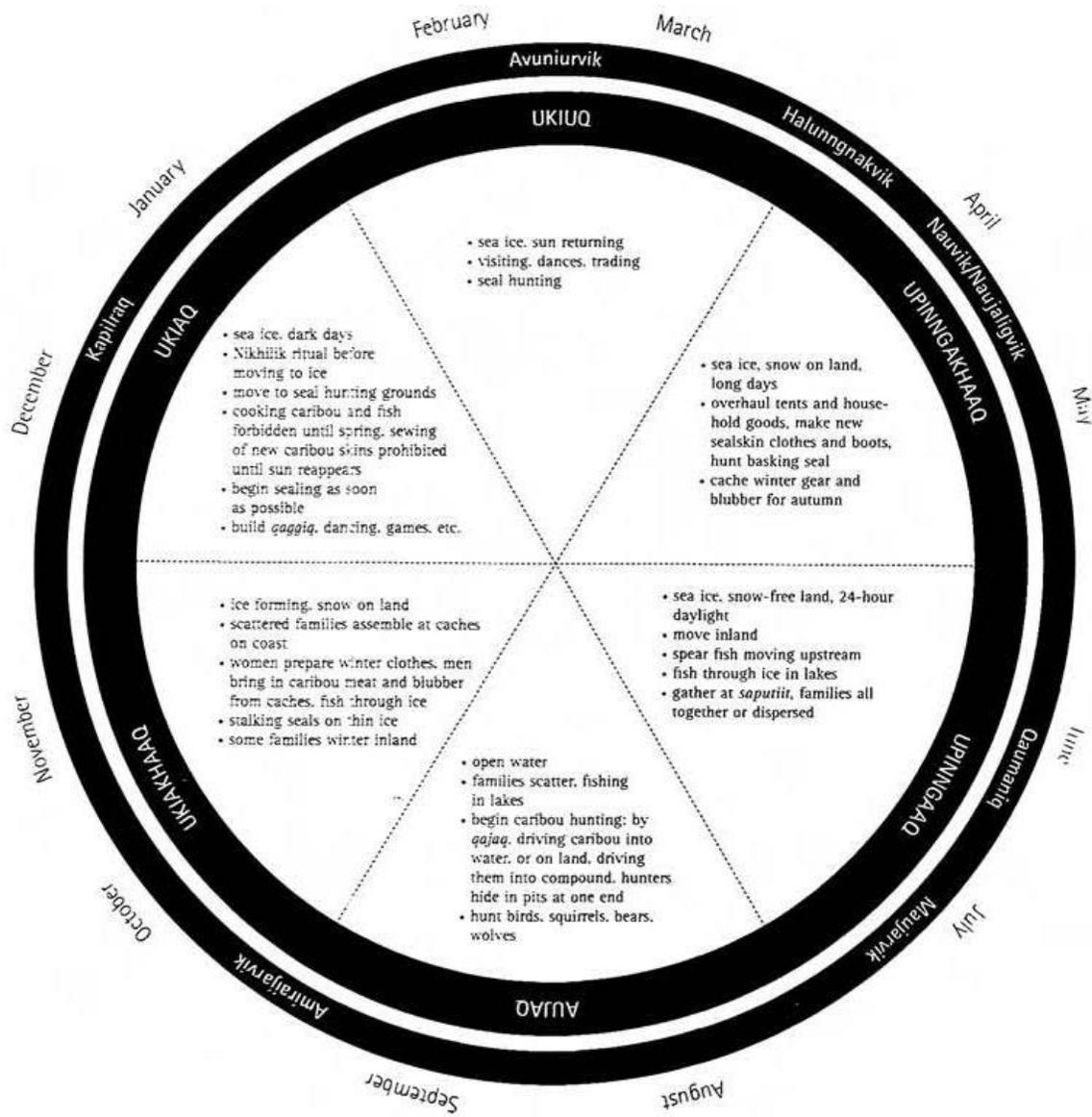


Figure 26. Traditional seasonal cycle. (Bennett and Rowley 2004:410).

SECTION II

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION EXTERNAL ZONE (2000 B.C.-1000 A.D.) and THE INCIDENTAL ZONE (1000 A.D.-1717 A.D.)

This chapter briefly examines Copper Inuit origins and prehistory within the External Zone, that period of time when ancestral populations migrate from Alaska into the west/central Canadian Arctic. Here, the traditional range, or, territory of the people destined to become the Historic Copper Inuit is ultimately established. However, more critically, this chapter provides a discussion of the Incidental Zone (1000 A.D.-1717 A.D.). This is a closely scrutinized temporal period, for it is during this period-of-time when the Thule (and later, Protohistoric) ancestors of the Copper Inuit experienced the first tentative, long-distance indirect interaction with the world-system. By 1717, as the later period closes, the long process of incorporation within the World-System begins in earnest for the Protohistoric Copper Inuit.

External Zone - 2000 B.C. - 1000 A.D

Due primarily to the fragmentary archaeology record there is no material evidence of Paleo-Eskimo interaction – directly or indirectly – with early European societies. Alaskan-based ancestral groups such as the Punuk and, later Birnik peoples of the Bering Strait and the Beaufort Sea regions can be said to form cultures that gave way to the development of Thule culture (McGhee 1978:80-82). The Thule, a highly adaptable whaling culture discussed below, would migrate into the Canadian Arctic area, ca.1000 A.D., and form the ancestral society from which the Historic Copper Inuit ultimately emerge (Figure 27).

Predictions Incidental Zone

1. Breadth is relatively low. Regular interaction occurs between neighboring groups due to intra- and intergroup connections. Material trade goods originate in a limited number of areas.
2. Depth is also low.
 - a. Material trade goods should be rare.
 - b. Material trade networks should exist primarily between immediate neighboring groups.
 - c. Social Interaction is confined primarily to immediate neighboring groups
3. Internal Differentiation. There is little internal differentiation between neighboring groups.

Incidental Zone

At the beginning of the period of the Incidental Zone (Figure 28), approximately 1000 A.D., members of the Central Thule culture (1000 A.D. – 1600 A.D.), the direct cultural and biological ancestors of the Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic, initiated a series of migrations from northern Alaska and across the Canadian Arctic to Greenland (Mathiassen 1927; McGhee 1978, 1984:370-374; Savelle and McCartney 1990:702; Schledermann 1996:104). These migrations can be directly linked to climatic changes in arctic regions, and, in particular, to a warming trend starting around 1000-1200 A.D. Gradually warming temperatures during this period created seasonally open-water areas in more northern Arctic areas. These areas were exploited as feeding areas by bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) (and other marine mammal species) expanded their own territories into the High Arctic (Savelle 1987b:26; Savelle and McCartney 1999:437-

451). Such movements may have encouraged aggressive and far-reaching Thule expansion (Stoker and Krupnik 1993:590; McGhee 1984).

The Thule have been described as a classic whale hunting society and, as such, they occupied “relatively large and permanent settlements [including those located in areas later occupied by the Copper Inuit] that were established on the coast or channels where bowheads were available during periods of summer-fall open water” (e.g. McGhee 1972; McCartney and Mack 1973:331; Morrison 1987; Savelle 1987a, 2005:55; McCartney 1988; Savelle and McCartney 1990:705, 1999:437-451; McCartney 1991:34). In comparative terms, Thule society’s material culture and social organization most closely resembled that of the complex North Alaskan Eskimo (e.g. Spencer 1971; Burch and Correll 1972; Burch 1980; McGhee 1984:372-373; McCartney 1991:34; Savelle and Wenzel 2003). Many Thule period sites exist within traditional Historic Copper Inuit territory, along the mainland coast of Amundsen Gulf, on the mainland and, Victoria Island coastlines of Dolphin and Union Strait, throughout the Coronation Gulf area, on southeastern Victoria Island and on southern Banks Island (McGhee 1972:21; Savelle 1987a; Gordon 1994; Friesen and Arnold 2008). Additionally, two Thule sites exist at Berkeley Point in the Walker Bay, Victoria Island area, and, at what is termed the Memoranna Site, on the northeast coast of Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island (McGhee 1972). These last two sites were visited by the author several times from 2003-2007.

Both native and foreign metals were highly desired as trade materials and almost certainly served as prestige materials within these “ranked societies” (McCartney 1991). These materials were cold hammered into knife blades and projectile points and utilized primarily in sea mammal hunting and butchering contexts (McCartney and Mack 1973:337). Copper was used and traded extensively by Thule groups occupying the area later inhabited by the Historic Copper Inuit (McGhee 1972; McCartney and Mack

1973:331; Morrison 1987; McCartney 1988). Other important trade metals included telluric iron found in the Disko Bay area of western Greenland, meteoritic iron from Cape York, northwestern Greenland, Asian trade metals which entered the Arctic across the Bering Strait, and, lastly, Norse metals from the Western and Eastern settlements in Greenland (McCartney and Mack 1973:336; McGhee 1984:374; McCartney 1988, 1991:26, 30). Additional trade materials utilized by Thule societies included obsidian, hematite, mica, silver, amber, bear teeth, skins, oil and stone pots (e.g. Stefansson 1914:27; McCartney 1991:34).

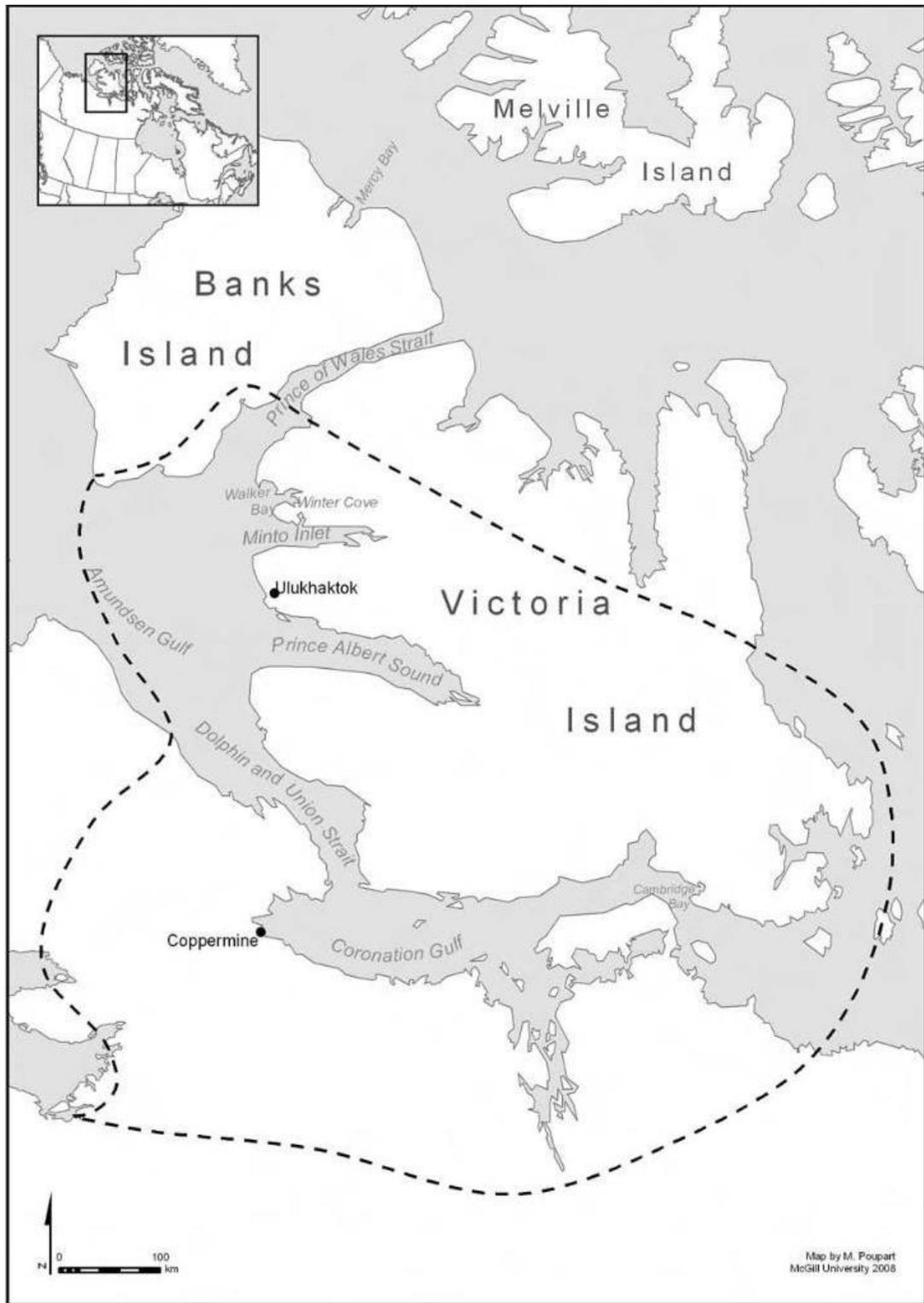


Figure 27. Map of Traditional Range of the Copper Inuit – External Zone.

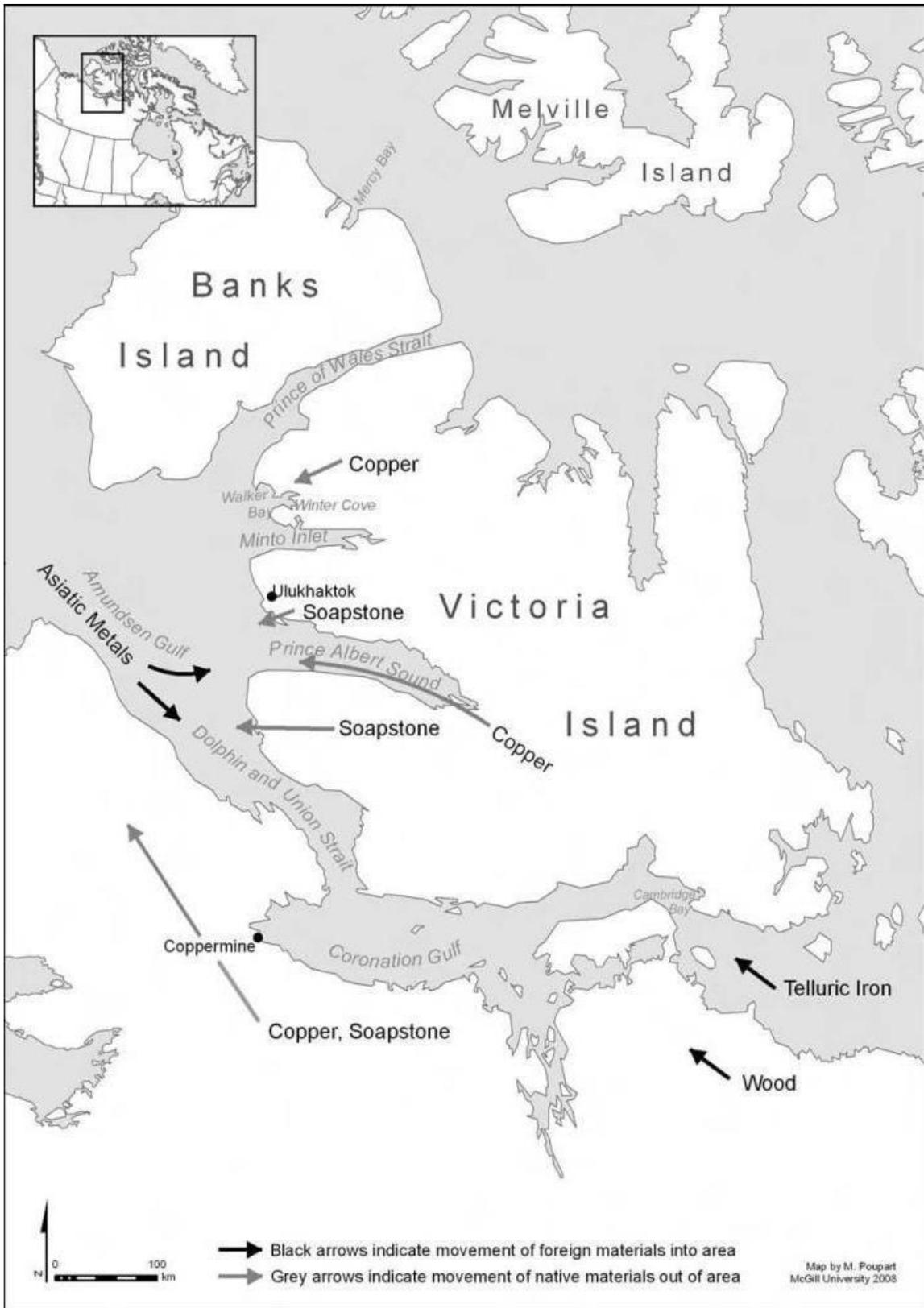


Figure 28. Map of Copper Inuit Territory – Incidental Zone.

According to McCartney (1991), intra- and intergroup exchange/communication routes among Thule groups across the central Canadian Arctic can be suggested in part by examination of the trade maps found in Stefansson (1914) (Figure 25.) and Boas (1888: pl. III). Trade was facilitated by Thule mobility, a predilection for lengthy travel, and through the use of dog sled technology in winter. *Umiaks* (large skin boats) were used to transport both people and trade materials during summer and early fall when “leads” in the ice would open. Travel in all seasons would have increased exchange between Thule groups (McCartney 1991:36; Condon 1996:14-15; Schledermann 1996:105). According to McCartney: “...the very strong continuity of Thule artifact styles (harpoons, arrows, carving knives, *ulus* (women’s knives], graters, snow knives, gaming pieces, etc.), that spread from the Siberian coast to Greenland suggests that once Thule migrations took place from the Beaufort Sea coast throughout the New World Arctic, social and economic networks remained open between these societies. It is along these extensive networks that metals are postulated to have moved across the Arctic” (McCartney 1991:35). It is suggested herein that this trade and communication network, given its traditional geographical patterning and, its longevity, would, in essence, help shape the process by which the World-System of Capitalism later penetrated Historic Copper Inuit territory. It can also be suggested that the above factor helps in our understanding of the, “... ways in which the *type* of society being incorporated may shape the incorporation process” (Hall 1986; Carlson 2002:431).

The end of the Thule period, circa A.D. 1600, was marked by deteriorating climatic conditions and the related collapse of whale hunting during the Neo-Boreal climatic episode or Little Ice Age when cooling temperatures forced the movement of Thule groups to mainland arctic areas (McGhee 1983, 1996). Archaeological evidence gathered from sites such as *Nadlok*, which is geographically situated inland, on the Burnside River in the southern Bathurst Inlet region of Nunavut, supports the

hypotheses that a transition from Thule to Protohistoric Copper Inuit culture occurred from about 1450 A.D. to 1750 A.D.(Gordon 1994:336). Continuing archaeological research suggests that a Thule transition to Protohistoric Copper Inuit may have occurred even earlier (Friesen and Arnold 2008).

This significant cultural development coincided with Martin Frobisher's three voyages (1576-1578) of exploration and commercial inquiry signaling direct commercial interest by the nascent World System in Arctic areas (e.g., Oswalt 1979; Neatby 1984; Holland 1994). Frobisher's abandoned mining operations on southern Baffin Island introduced hundreds of manufactured tools and other items into intra- and intergroup trading systems of that area (McCartney 1991:31; Fitzhugh and Olin 1993). The possibility exists that some of these materials entered trade systems far beyond the Baffin Island region, with some diagnostically-altered materials reaching west/central Thule areas. In the years prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, various European expeditions explored the coast of Baffin Island and the interior of Hudson Bay. While several of these expeditions did make landfall, their contributions to material trade networks on the periphery of the central Canadian Arctic would have been small in scope (McCartney and Mack 1973:337; Oswalt 1979).

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION EARLY CONTACT PERIPHERY (1717 A.D.-1818 A.D.)

Predictions Early Contact Periphery

4. Breadth should increase.

a. Availability of material trade goods should increase. This increase should be apparent in all areas, although there is greater diffusion of goods in mainland areas. Trade goods reach groups on Victoria Island, though in smaller quantities.

b. Material trade networks should expand.

5. Depth should increase.

a. Material trade networks should expand.

b. Material trade through intermediaries should increase.

6. The degree of internal differentiation should increase due to increasing access to European trade goods, especially among mainland groups.

At the opening of the period of the Early Contact Periphery (Figure 29), in approximately 1717, the cultural transition from Thule to Protohistoric Copper Inuit (or, Neoeskimo) is nearing completion (McGhee 1984:374-375; Gordon 1994). With the return of a warming climate, corresponding movements of Protohistoric Copper Inuit to sites along the southeastern coastline, northeastern Prince Albert Sound, and the southern Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island occurred (McGhee 1972:56, Gordon 1994:334). Several of the above sites were visited by the author while engaged in fieldwork for this study. Indeed, an image of a Protohistoric Copper Inuit cache recorded at “The Nichol Site” (OhPo-6) located at the mouth of the *Kuujjua* river at its confluence with Minto

Inlet, can be seen in this study (Figure 30). Interestingly, a previously unrecorded Protohistoric Copper Inuit site was located during the 2004 field season by project participants in the northernmost area of Boot Inlet (see Table 1.). The above site is comprised of a number of “heavy” stone tent rings and associated caches have now been given the Borden number designation of OjPq-7 (Johnson 2004c, 2005a, 2005c; J. Savelle personal communication).

Culturally, the Protohistoric Copper Inuit continued to maintain strong intra- and intergroup trading links, a factor that takes-on even greater relevance throughout this period with the growing presence of materials emanating from European workshops of the World-System. Within the area of subsistence, a greater reliance on marine mammals, such as the ringed seal and bearded seal, along with caribou is apparent. Similarly, there is a concomitant decrease in the former overwhelming focus on bowhead whale hunting, although whales continued to be harvested when available (McGhee 1972).

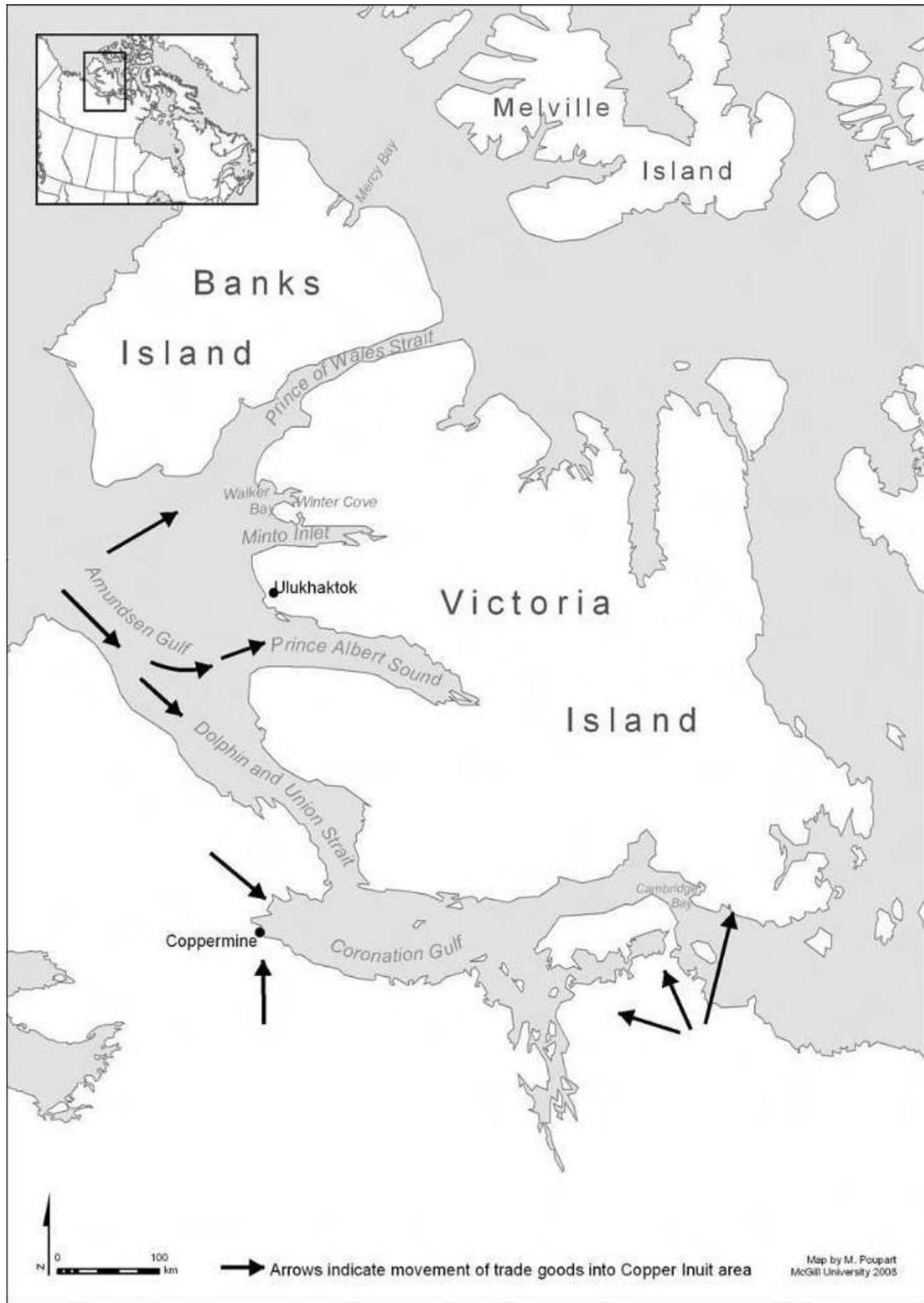


Figure 29. Map of Copper Inuit Territory – Early Contact Periphery.



Figure 30. Archaeology Survey, 2005/2003. Top: Jackie Kataoyak, at a Neoeskimo cache site at *Kuuujua*, Minto Inlet, 2005. Photo: Author. By permission. Below: author, survey scene in the immediate Winter Cove area, 2003. Photo: Ethan Applegarth.

If the Protohistoric Copper Inuit no longer placed whale harvesting at the center of their economic cycle, they did continue the inherited usage of long distance down-the-line intra- and intergroup trade systems. In particular, trade routes remained extant to the west, reaching as far as Alaska and Siberia (Morrison 1991:240). It is along this western trade link that European iron and other rare goods reached Protohistoric/Historic Copper Inuit territory, while soapstone and some copper traveled from Copper Inuit territory to points west. This trade route is a critical factor in terms of the indirect penetration of World-System wares. More importantly, it is the systemic factors inherent in a trade system; the middlemen, and the propensity to trade regularly that will latter play pivotal roles in incorporation within the World-System.

In addition to the above, several new factors emerge during this period which significantly influences the type and the growing number of trade goods entering the intra- and intergroup trading networks of Historic Copper Inuit, at least, those on the continental mainland (Figure 28). Of salient importance in this respect was the establishment in 1717 of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Churchill on Hudson Bay (Burch 1978:4, 1979:78; Cooke and Holland 1978:52). Secondly, the growth of trade between ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Caribou and the Hudson Strait Inuit and the dispersal of trade items into Inuit intergroup trading systems (Burch 1974:143; Barr 1994). Third, it is also during this period (in 1771) that the first known direct contact between a European agent of the World-System and the Historic Copper Inuit of the west/central Canadian Arctic occurred (e.g., Cooke and Holland 1978). Lastly, in 1778, in a quietly momentous event (as it relates to the Historic Copper

Inuit), Captain James Cook of the Royal Navy and his ships H.M.S. *Resolution* and H.M.S. *Discovery* reached Icy Cape in what is now northern Alaska thereby initiating British penetration of the western Arctic (Cooke and Holland 1978:95-96; Hough 1997; Carlson 2002 407-408).

The Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Churchill was established with the specific intention of developing trade with the Chipewyan (Dene) Indians (Smith and Burch 1979:78; c.f., Burch 1978:7). At the time, this Athapaskan group inhabited territory with fluctuating boundaries which extended to the Coppermine River, and the vicinity of Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes on the west, to the Hudson Bay drainage and Seal River in the north, and south to the limit of the boreal forest (Smith and Burch 1979:77, 79). The Chipewyan, now acting as middlemen and carrying manufactured trade items obtained at Churchill, maintained what were probably infrequent trade meetings with the Historic Copper Inuit at Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River (Stefansson 1914:3; Smith and Burch 1979:80; Morrison 1991:244). Samuel Hearne mentions a meeting between the Chipewyan middlemen *Matonabee* and *Idotleaza* and the Copper Inuit in the late 1760s.

Hearne himself noted some iron among the possessions of the Copper Inuit "massacred" by his Chipewyan guides at Bloody Falls in 1771 (Hearne 1958; Smith and Burch 1979:82; Morrison 1991:244). There is no evidence of this trade relationship continuing after the massacre. Interestingly, another tenuous Chipewyan trading affiliation with the *Utkuhikhalingmiut* or the *Hanningayurmiut* Inuit (or both) on the

Back River (a trading locus for the Historic Copper Inuit) may also have existed during this period (Back 1836:86, 197-198; Stefansson 1914).

The Chipewyan maintained regular though uneasy trading links with the Caribou Inuit along their northeasterly boundary throughout this period (Birkett-Smith 1929; Smith and Burch 1979; Arima 1984:459). This is an important factor given that Caribou Inuit acted as middlemen with other Inuit groups at mid-summer “trade fairs” along the wooded reaches of the Thelon River or “*Akilinik*” (e.g. Hanbury:1904:140; Stefansson 1914:4-6; D. Jenness 1922:47-48; Burch 1978:24-25; Morrison 1991:243). Trade and social interaction (that undoubtedly stressed the importance of trading partnerships) at *Akilinik*, was directly responsible for some Churchill materials reaching the Copper Inuit groups, especially those residing in mainland territories. Trade between ships of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Hudson Strait and Caribou Inuit undoubtedly added to the infusion of materials and manufactured items entering the Canadian Arctic. The Hudson's Bay Company’s trade with the Hudson Strait Inuit actually began in the late seventeenth century as Inuit became accustomed to contacting supply ships bound for Company posts in Hudson Bay in their kayaks and *umiaks* in order to barter (e.g., Oswalt 1979).

This trade became more formalized in the eighteenth century. Subsequently, a significant volume of manufactured goods such as awls, hooks, files, beads, kettles, etc., reached the Hudson Strait Inuit who had taken-up the role of middlemen (e.g., Hood 1975: 13-16; Barr 1994:240, 245). The items acquired by these Inuit were then circulated

for more than a century from Lake Harbour by intergroup trade throughout Baffin Island and into other areas, even as far as the territory of the Copper Inuit (Barr 1994:244).

Between 1717 and 1792, Hudson's Bay Company vessels sailing north also conducted a summer trade with the Caribou Inuit. Initially of a sporadic nature, these trading voyages became regular in 1750 (Burch 1974:143; Smith and Burch 1979:81-82; Arima 1984:459). Manufactured goods acquired by the Caribou Inuit during these summer trade rendezvous, like the items procured from the Chipewyan, entered various down-the-line intergroup trade routes and were disseminated throughout Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit areas.

As can be observed above, a "quickening" in the pulse of material trade in exotic materials (such as iron) from Europe and thence into Inuit areas of the Arctic occurred during the eighteenth-century. The level of trade in all probability was not large. Although one should not dismiss the exceptional value of iron in Inuit material culture. However, as we have seen, at this time there is growing evidence of the expansion of the capitalist World-System into Copper Inuit trade systems, if not directly into core areas of Copper Inuit territory.

Yet another event alluded to above, is the voyage of Captain James Cook with H.M.S. *Resolution* and H.M.S. *Discovery*, during the years 1776-1780. Cook and his ships had already been engaged in exploratory and scientific undertakings for the better part of two-years (visiting New Zealand, Tahiti and the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands in the process) when his expedition reached Icy Cape, Alaska on August 18, 1778 (Horwitz 2002). Here, at the Arctic ice front, his ships were turned back due to the impenetrable nature of the ice barrier. Cook would later visit the Hawaiian Islands for a second time,

and it was in Hawaii that he was (famously) killed in an altercation with native Hawaiians (e.g. Cooke and Holland 1978:96-96; Sahlins 1987; Hough 1997). These are justifiably notable and historic events, and have been much discussed, however, what is of critical importance in this discussion of Cook and his expedition regarding this study, are the orders Cook carried. Cook's primary objective was to search for the storied Northwest Passage, and hence a passage to China "...with a view to determining [the] future *economic* [author's emphasis] and strategic relevance to Britain's imperial interests" (Carlson 2002).

This is a singularly portentous statement as it illustrates that Great Britain, the most powerful core state within the World-System during this period of time, intended to continue (and expand) its interest in Arctic areas, and to compete with other core states (such as Spain and Russian) in the process. Soon after Cook's ships returned to Britain, information about the extraordinarily rich sea mammal populations (such as sea otter) observed in the northern Pacific area (and of the exploitation of these populations by Spain and Russian), prompted British merchants to send ships to the area in order to exploit this abundant resource. Hence, by 1784, the World-System can be seen to expanding to the western boundaries of the Canadian Arctic, and into areas that lay at the furthest reaches of the far-flung trading system of the Historic Copper Inuit. This expansion of markets as represented by the lucrative fur trade in western Alaska, would, within decades, move eastward across the northern slopes of Alaska and into the Beaufort Sea, as the first agents of Britain's imperial expansion directly contacted groups of the Historic Copper Inuit.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION LATE CONTACT PERIPHERY (1818 A.D.–1880 A.D.)

Predictions Late Contact Periphery

7. Breadth should increase very significantly.

- a. Greatly increased material trade and social interaction between agents of the world-system and Copper Inuit groups should be apparent.
- b. Trade goods and exotic materials should increase precipitously, and in great numbers.

8. Depth should increase, Great group movement should be observed in “Core” and “Minor Core” Areas.

9. The degree of internal differentiation should continue to increase.

At various periods during this period, Major Core Areas should appear at Mercy Bay, Banks Island, and at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, due to the presence large quantities of exotic materials. Coppermine/Coronation Gulf, Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island, and Princess Royal Islands, Prince of Wales Strait should become Minor Core Areas due to the presence of abandoned exotic materials and depots.

- a. Trade goods and other exotic materials should exist in greater quantities in Major Core Areas.
- b. Increased social complexity and change in groups is seen within the Major Core Areas, and, to a lesser degree, in Minor Core Areas.

Introduction

The events occurring during Late Contact Periphery period are hypothesized to be of singular importance in our understanding of the process leading to the ultimate incorporation of the Copper Inuit within the World-System (Figure 31). Because of the critical nature of this period, all of the methods utilized in this study are brought to bear in order to more fully examine this period. The archaeological investigations discussed in Chapter 8 serve as a companion inquiry of the Late Contact Periphery period. The findings presented in these chapters seek to complement each other in the critical reading of the incorporation process.

As this period begins, the traditional Historic Copper Inuit trade system remains intact, with intergroup connections leading to the west, south and east. A crucial question to pose is how vibrant was this particular system? Similarly, how extensive were these trade linkages and how much material of European origin was reaching the various Copper Inuit groups - southern and northern - indirectly? Quite suddenly, starting in 1818 and continuing until 1853, The Copper Inuit experienced other forms of contact with the approaching World-System, including direct contact of both short-term and long-term with agents of the World-System. These agents were members of Royal Navy and Hudson's Bay Company expeditions. This pronounced contact and penetration also led to a major infusion of exotic materials, which, when acquired by Inuit through direct contact or by way of post-abandonment utilization, certainly changed the material culture of the Copper Inuit for a time. Did this period have a longer lasting impact to the point where culture modification occurred? Moreover, was this period instrumental in "preparing" the Copper Inuit for a more profound culture change leading to incorporation in the twentieth century? And, how did the Copper Inuit mediate the events of this period?

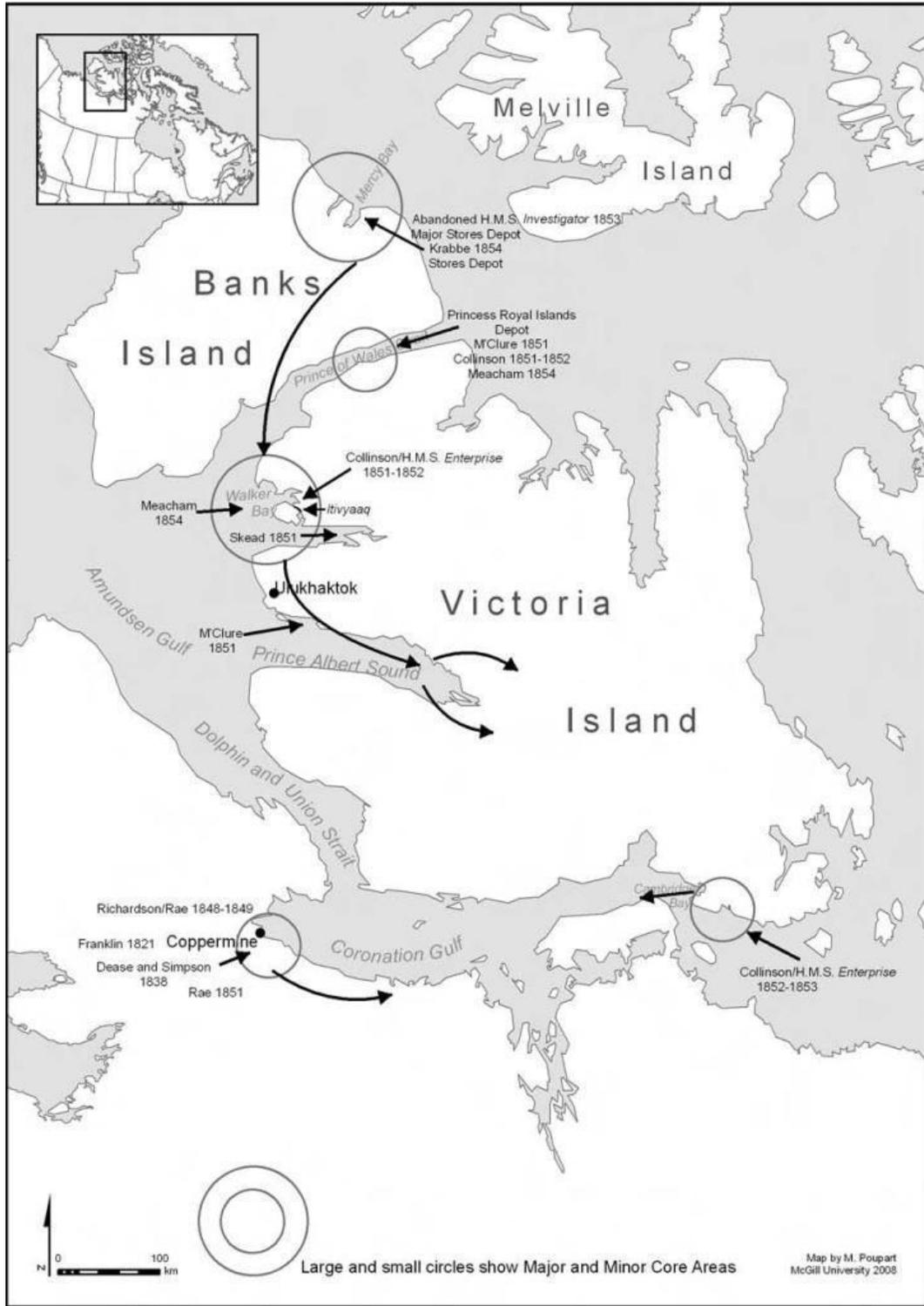


Figure 31. Map of Copper Inuit Territory – Late Contact Periphery.

The Historic Copper Inuit and the Nature of Nineteenth Century Contact and intersocietal Interaction

As previously observed, direct interaction between Copper Inuit and the World-System was initiated in 1771 when Samuel Hearne, an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, reached the mouth of the Coppermine River where it debouched into Coronation Gulf (Hearne 1958; Stefansson 1914:3; D. Jenness 1921:541; Smith and Burch 1979:82; Morrison 1987:4). A half-century would pass before contact was reestablished in 1821, six years after Great Britain's ultimate victory over the forces of Revolutionary, and later, Napoleonic France in 1815, when the territory of the Copper Inuit came into the orbit of several Royal Navy and Hudson's Bay Company expeditions (e.g. Franklin 1823:85).

These expeditions were primarily employed in operations either directly related to, or ancillary (such as search operations for the last Franklin Expedition) to attempts ordered by the Parliament of Great Britain and the British Admiralty to chart and traverse the Northwest Passage through what is now the Canadian Arctic, from Baffin Bay in the east to the Beaufort Sea in the west (e.g. Neatby 1958, 1970, 1984; Fleming 1998; Delgado 1999; Savours 1999). As noted above, Great Britain's growing interest in this exploratory endeavour was based on long-standing historical and economic interests, the pressing need to find employment for much of its large, wartime Navy, and burgeoning nationalistic impulses (e.g. Fitzhugh and Olin 1993; Hobsbawn 1968; Herman 2004). Perhaps more importantly, the exploration of the Northwest Passage (or, to be more precise, finding one route among several ice-filled Northwest passages that exist within

the myriad islands that form the Canadian Arctic archipelago), was a direct manifestation of Great Britain's growing confidence as an imperial and economic power on the world stage (e.g. Hobsbawm 1968; Savours 1990:33; Herman 2004). Since at least 1750, France and Great Britain shared the world stage as the economic centres of the capitalist World-System (Wallerstein 1989:138). Now, Great Britain took its place as the most powerful core nation within the world economic order.

Contact between Copper Inuit and these expeditions during the early to mid-nineteenth century can generally be categorized as those involving:

- 1) **Indirect contact** (including post-abandonment utilization of materials) (e.g. Savelle 1985).
- 2) **Direct contact of short duration** (e.g., Franklin 1823).
- 3) **Direct contact of long-term interaction** in “wintering” locales (e.g. Collinson 1889).

Manufactured items, and exotic materials of European origin (or those items manufactured within peripheral areas of the World-System – such as glass beads - and brought with expeditions) such as iron, tin, glass and a variety of woods often entered Copper Inuit trading systems indirectly, either as items left by expeditions as gifts, left *en cache*, or, as materials abandoned by expeditions. On those occasions when recently occupied Inuit campsites, or sites associated with seasonal harvesting (such as river weirs, caches, basking seal and caribou hunting camps) were encountered, expedition personnel would, in most cases, leave materials such as ironwork, needles, beads, kettles, etc., with the clear expectation that such articles would be retrieved and later utilized by Inuit (e.g., Franklin 1823:199, 226, 240, 245-247; Simpson 1843:305, 384; Richardson 1851a:300, 309-310). It is important to note, that trade items were normally carried by expedition personnel in the expectation that contact situations would arise. Similarly, the giving of such gifts was explicitly ordered by the British Admiralty and Hudson's Bay

Company in order to illustrate an expedition's peaceful intentions, and, to insure cooperation of many forms (the critical need for geographic information, procurement of food, collecting natural history specimens and ethnographic data, etc.) in any future meetings (e.g., Franklin 1823:185-186; Idiens 1993:95). To this end, instructions for Royal Navy officers were ultimately codified in; A Manual for Scientific Enquiry; Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy and Travellers in General, and first published by the Admiralty in 1849 (Herschel 1849). The Manual ultimately appeared in many editions and contained chapters on Ethnology, Geology and Zoology, (among other subjects) that were authored by some of the principal scientific thinkers of the mid-nineteenth-century. Joseph Dalton Hooker, and Charles Darwin, for example, both contributed chapters to this publication (Herschel 1849).

As noted above, many Inuit groups were the recipients of materials abandoned by expeditions. These materials, which ranged from wooden boats, and ship's stores, to a plethora of manufactured and personal items, were, at least in some areas, responsible for both immediate and long-term post-abandonment utilization by Inuit, and, it is suggested, were instrumental in causing important, albeit perhaps temporary changes in intra- and intergroup trading and social relationships.

Direct contact encounters of short duration were fairly common. These meetings generally occurred in the late spring through the summer and into early fall, the only seasons suitable for Europeans to travel long distances by foot, boat or sledge. Not surprisingly, in most cases expedition members usually made contact with Inuit as they (Inuit) were engaged in food harvesting activities such as fishing at weirs, caribou hunting, sometimes on the sea ice during sealing at breathing holes, or, in transit to and from food harvesting areas.

Inuit groups interacting with over-wintering expeditions, benefited economically through the acquisition (by trade, gift, refuse or, post abandonment usage) of significant amounts of exotic materials and highly-valued manufactured items (Mackinnon 1985:21). These groups also experienced extensive “psycho-social” interaction which may have influenced culture modification. The obvious reciprocity that existed (and will be discussed below) in the relationship between officers and seamen of the Royal Navy and the Copper Inuit during long-term direct contact episodes was certainly enhanced by long and very intimate interaction (Sahlins 1987). If “friendship engenders material aid,” it follows that the Copper Inuit may have formed partnerships, alliances, or, what Damas calls “extra-local associations” especially in reference to trade, with expedition members (Damas 1971:47, 52). Moreover, the adaptive qualities of the Copper Inuit kinship system which manifested itself in the extension of kinship, adoption and integration, may also have been at work (Damas 1971:50-51; 1975:21, 25).

Southern Historic Copper Inuit Areas

Among the first expeditions sent by the British Admiralty to explore and map the Northwest Passage, was that of Lieutenant John Franklin, Royal Navy. Franklin and his party undertook the initial “overland” expedition in 1819-1822 in an attempt discover a Northwest Passage and failing that, to map the northern coastline of the continent. Franklin’s party, while surveying some 1086 kilometers (675 miles) of coastline in birchbark canoes, came perilously close to disaster due to starvation and the deaths of several members of the expedition. It is clear today that Franklin’s misfortunes might have been mitigated or averted entirely had his party been able to “communicate” with, and obtain assistance from, Copper Inuit groups along the expedition’s route (Franklin 1823: 212, 237; Neatby 1970). Nevertheless, his expedition did initiate direct short-term

contact with the Copper Inuit. Franklin's brief encounter with a small group of Copper Inuit (*Kogluktogmiut*, or "Deer Horn Esquimaux") on July 16, 1821, in the immediate vicinity of Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River, was possibly the first meeting between this group and Europeans since 1771 (Franklin 1823:85; Stefansson 1919:26-32; Morrison 1991:244), and would prove to be the first of a series of contact situations between the Copper Inuit and expeditions that occurred in each of the next four decades.

Franklin was able to ascertain that the *Kogluktogmiut* were receiving some iron through down-the-line trade (Franklin 1823:181; Morrison 1991:243 c.f., Smith and Burch 1979:82). Similarly, these "highly esteemed" articles had come to the *Kogluktogmiut* through trading with other Inuit groups to the east (Franklin 1823:187; Stefansson 1914:3-4; Richardson: 1984:78-80; Back 1994: 49). Franklin also left trade goods including "ironwork," (axes, chisels, knives, files, needles), beads, copper kettles and looking glasses, not only with the *Kogluktogmiut* at the Coppermine River, but throughout the territory, to the east, traversed by the expedition (Franklin 1823:199, 226, 237, 240, 246-247, 249; Hood 1975:134).

A (presumably) much more circumspect, far better equipped, and experienced Franklin accompanied, again, by Dr. John. Richardson and George Back from the first overland expedition, and by E.N. Kendall, an Admiralty Mate, and Thomas Drummond, a naturalist, returned to the Arctic in the summer 1826, in order to complete the survey and mapping of the northern coastline (e.g. Franklin 1828; Bird 1967:262-263; Savours 1999:81; Delgado 1999). Expedition personnel included a party of Royal Navy sailors, a complement of Royal Marines, Canadian Voyageurs, several Chipewyan hunters, and two Inuit guide/interpreters. Significantly, the expedition possessed four boats (rather than birch bark canoes), specially-constructed of mahogany and ash in an Admiralty dockyard.

With a base-of-operations centered at Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake, the expedition later descended the Mackenzie River to its confluence with the Arctic sea at which point Franklin's party in the boats *Reliance* and *Lion* journeyed northwestward while Dr. Richardson and Kendall in the *Dolphin* and *Union* traveled to the east, and ultimately into Copper Inuit territory. Richardson's party successfully executed their mission – and, at several points on the journey “deposited iron utensils” for Inuit - reaching Coronation Gulf and the Coppermine River in early August of 1826 (e.g. Franklin 1828:249). No direct contact was made with the Copper Inuit; still, at Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River, Inuit dogs, and cached fish and equipment were observed (Franklin 1828:267). Prior to initiating a planned overland journey to Great Bear Lake and Fort Franklin, equipment necessary for overland travel was sorted and Richardson recorded on August 9, 1826, that:

“The boats were drawn up on shore, out of reach of any flood, and the remainder of the articles, that we had brought to give the Esquimaux, were put into boxes and placed in the tents, that they might be readily found by the first party of that nation that passed this way. They consisted of fish-hooks, lines, hatchets, knives, files, fire-steels, kettles, combs, awls, needles, thread, blue and red cloth, gartering, and beads, sufficient to serve *a considerable number of Esquimaux for several years* [author's italics] (Franklin 1828:268-269).

It can be suggested that the above materials, not forgetting that the boats (which were up to twenty-four feet in length), were soon found by the *Kogluktogmiut* and incorporated into their material culture and trade systems, a fact later confirmed by other expeditions (Simpson 1843; Dease and Simpson 1839; Dease 2002) At this point, the party made sure their tents were securely pitched, raised the Union Jack “partly for the purpose of attracting the attention of the natives, and partly to show them the mode of

using the tents, which may prove very useful in their summer journeys” (Franklin 1828:269). Some of the party’s gunpowder was thrown into the Coppermine River “that no accident might occur from the natives finding any...”. Richardson was a highly competent traveler - and leader – and his party ultimately reached Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake in good time, and - safely. On the route of travel five of the party’s muskets were discarded in order to reduce the loads carried by the men. Given that there is evidence that the Copper Inuit utilized this route traditionally in order to hunt and fish, one could conclude that the muskets were (possibly) later found and rendered diagnostically into materials for making knives, and other implements (Franklin 1828:269-270; Riewe 1986; Douglas 1914).

In the mid-1830s, George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, delegated his nephew Thomas Simpson and Chief Factor Peter Warren Dease, to complete the chart of the Arctic coast (Neatby 1970:88; Lehane 1981:130-132; MacLaren 1994). Simpson and Dease spent three remarkably successful seasons finalizing this task. In 1837, their party, traveling by boat, on foot and by Inuit *umiak*, traveled west from the Mackenzie River Estuary past Franklin’s farthest western survey mark at Return Reef, to Point Barrow, thereby completing the charting of the coastline from the Bering Strait to Franklin’s Point Turnagain.

The following season, Dease and Simpson descended the Coppermine River, traveled east by boat to Point Turnagain, and, on foot, surveyed another 161 kilometers (675 miles) of the coast before retreating to the Coppermine River. The next season was untypically warm, and descending the Coppermine River once again, they discovered favorable ice conditions that allowed them to journey east, past Chantrey Inlet as far as the Castor and Pollux River on the Boothia Peninsula. At this point Dease and Simpson sailed back to the Coppermine River after coasting 241 kilometers (150 miles) of the

southern shore of Victoria Island, completing “the longest voyage ever performed in boats on the Polar Sea” - 2266 kilometers (1408 geographical miles), (Dease and Simpson 1839; Simpson 1843; Dease 2002).

Dease and Simpson made contact with the Copper Inuit in both 1838 and 1839. Their meeting with the *Kogluktogmiut* near the mouth of the Coppermine River on July 2, 1838, was in all probability, the third instance in which this group had experienced indirect and direct contact with Europeans since 1821. Franklin, of course, met this group during his initial expedition. Similarly, they would have known that Dr. John Richardson and members of the eastern survey party of Franklin’s second expedition in 1826 passed up the Coppermine after leaving their boats, *Dolphin* and *Union* and a cache of supplies at Bloody Falls (Franklin 1828; D. Jenness 1922:29). As will be seen, Dease and Simpson observed numerous examples of post-abandonment utilization of these boats by the Copper Inuit.

Dease and Simpson met the *Kogluktogmiut* several more times and always on or near the Coppermine River (Dease and Simpson 1839:325; Simpson 1843:265, 266-267, 352-353; MacLaren 1994:473). Another Copper Inuit group, the *Uwalliarmiut* (D. Jenness 1922:36) was encountered on the Richardson River just to the east (Simpson 1843:344-345, 348). Significantly, the first indirect communication with the Copper Inuit of Victoria Island - possibly the *Ekaluktomiut* (D. Jenness 1922:40-41) - also occurred on this expedition as Dease and Simpson coasted the Cambridge Bay and Wellington Bay region during the late summer of 1839 (Simpson 1843:384).

Simpson (much like Franklin and Richardson), found evidence that copper was being mined and utilized as material for tools and weapons by these groups (e.g., Franklin 1823:206; Simpson 1843:264, 384). Small pieces of iron were also seen and

may have entered the Coppermine River area through down-the-line trade from the east and southeast (e.g., Stefansson 1914:3-5; D. Jenness 1922: 44-46; Rasmussen 1932:67). Contact with groups to the west of Copper Inuit territory may have ended by 1830 (Damas 1984b:397; Morrison 1991:243). However, by 1838, the Copper Inuit groups living in the Coppermine area, west to the Richardson River, and east, as far as the estuary of the Tree River, had clearly been acquiring materials from Richardson's two boats and associated cache, probably since 1826. While at the mouth of the Coppermine River in July of 1838, Dease and Simpson noted that the Inuit "keepings" had "carefully preserved... pieces of *Dolphin* and *Union*" as well as tin canisters, gunlocks, pencil strips of red cloth and other items from Richardson's cache at Bloody Falls (Franklin 1828:268-270; Dease and Simpson 1839:326; Simpson 1843:262-263). This is the first evidence of post-abandonment utilization of materials left by expeditions by the Copper Inuit and the entry of these exotic materials (especially mahogany) and other objects into their intra- and intergroup trade system.

Immediately to the west of the Coppermine, "Fragments of Dr. Richardson's mahogany boats were found widely scattered" (Dease and Simpson 1839:326). More remains of the boats were discovered further west in "Back's Inlet" (near the Richardson River). While to the east: "Seven sledges, with a variety of other articles (including the wide-spread remnants of Dr. Richardson's boats), were laid up close at hand" (Simpson 1843:272). At the Tree River Estuary, they found "the caches of six tents of the Esquimaux." Inside, among the remains of caribou, musk ox, seal, was a "striped cotton shirt, almost new" and "wrapped-up and preserved with especial care" (Simpson 1843:273). Interestingly, while passing Cape Hearne (north of the Richardson River) in August of 1848 in the search for the missing Franklin expedition, Sir John Richardson's party: "...found a decayed [Inuit] sledge, that was put together with copper

nails marked with the broad arrow [of the Royal Navy], which must have been extracted from the boats... abandoned on the Coppermine River in 1826” (Richardson 1851a:298).

In effect, materials and associated items from the boats abandoned by Richardson at Bloody Falls in 1826 had entered the Inuit intra- and intergroup trade system and passed from the *Kogluktogmiut* on the Coppermine River approximately 50 kilometers west to the *Uwalliarmiut* in the Richardson River area, and possibly another 50 kilometers further north to Cape Hearne. Presumably, these materials were also traded to the *Asiagmiut* who inhabited the area east of the Coppermine, and possibly further, to the *Pingangnaktomiut*, a total distance of 100-150 kilometers. Simpson also noted that the *Uwalliarmiut* he met, on the Richardson River, journeyed to the Beren’s Islands in Coronation Gulf during the winter to hunt seals. A number of Copper Inuit groups interacted socially during the winter on the sea ice, therefore, some materials may have been traded to groups from southwestern Victoria Island as well (Simpson 1843:344-345; D. Jenness 1922:110-111; Rae 1953:104).

During the two seasons that they spent in Copper Inuit territory, Dease and Simpson left behind materials and a number of trade items of their own. In 1838, a box containing a copper kettle, two axes, two ice-trenches and an assortment of files, hooks, awls, beads, buttons, rings and two parcels of iron hoop was left on the Coppermine River during their return journey to Great Bear Lake (Simpson 1843:305). Some awls, iron hoops and other trade items were left at an Inuit site near Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island, that same year (Simpson 1843:384). Lastly, at Bloody Falls on September 16, 1839, they left: “...one of our sweet little craft [boat], the sails, masts, ironworks, some dressed leather skins, old nets, and oilclothes, besides the surplus of our pemmican” (Simpson 1843:389). As can be seen, by 1839, the three expeditions which had experienced only brief direct contact with the Copper Inuit of the southern Coronation

Gulf area, had enriched these small groups with a significant number of exotic materials and manufactured articles.

Following the disappearance of Sir John Franklin's last expedition, several searching expeditions were ordered by the Admiralty in 1848 (Fleming 1998; Delgado 1999). One of these expeditions commanded by Franklin's friend and former subordinate, Sir John Richardson, with Dr. John Rae serving as second-in-command, traveled in two boats built in England that were especially designed for coasting in shallow waters (Richards 1985). Their route took them from Great Bear Lake, down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean and eastward through Dolphin and Union Strait. At this point, Richardson and Rae veered south, into the territory of the Copper Inuit at the western end of Coronation Gulf, where they would make direct contact with Inuit groups in 1848, and with Rae as 'acting' leader, in 1851.

Meeting thick sea ice at Cape Krusenstern, Richardson and Rae abandoned their boats and some stores, including cooking utensils and hatchets, with the knowledge that the boats would probably be "broken up" by the Inuit for copper and ironwork (Richardson 1851a:300, 309). At Back's Inlet on September 4, 1848 they met with the same group of *Uwalliarmiut* encountered by Dease and Simpson in 1839 and confirmed that this group communicated with the Inuit of Wollaston Land, Victoria Island (c.f., Simpson 1843:344-345; Richardson 1851a:310, 314, 1851b:122).

In 1849, after wintering on Great Bear Lake, Rae attempted a second voyage through Coronation Gulf without success, though direct contact with the Copper Inuit continued. In July and early August, Rae met groups at Richardson River, Rae's River and near Cape Krusenstern where his men encountered five Inuit who had been spearing salmon at "a rivulet that falls into Pasley Cove." It was learned that this small group also

hunted seals and traded with groups from Wollaston land, Victoria Island, during the winter (Richardson 1851b:122-124, 125-126). As expected, Rae found their abandoned boats at Cape Krusenstern “brokenup” by the Inuit for ironwork (Richardson 1851b:124).

As previously noted, direct contact was necessarily of short duration and therefore social interaction was limited to interviews in reference to geography, location of game, trade, and ice conditions. However, as during Dease and Simpson’s visits in 1838-1839, Richardson and Rae did distribute “presents” to all groups encountered (Richardson 1851a:309-310, Richardson, 1851b:122-123). More importantly, there was evidence of Inuit post-abandonment utilization of wood, copper and ironwork from the boats left at Cape Krusenstern. These were sizable boats of up to thirty-feet in length, six-feet in breadth and weighing up to half-a-ton, built in the shipyards of the Royal Navy in England utilizing Norway Fir, English Oak and Rock Elm, and they provided the Copper Inuit with roughly 900 board feet (212 board meters) of wood per boat, as well as ironwork (“fittings”) (Richardson 1851a: 40-42). Excepting the Tree and Coppermine River valleys, there was a general scarcity of wood throughout the Copper Inuit territory (D. Jenness 1922:14, 50). The large amount of exotic woods and iron taken from the two boats left by Richardson in 1826, Dease’s and Simpson’s boat in 1839, and Richardson and Rae’s two boats in 1848 provided groups like the *Kogluktogmiut*, with significant materials for their own use and for trading purposes.

Northern Historic Copper Inuit Areas

Some of the more important questions about Copper Inuit-European intersocietal interaction and the effects of contact on material trade networks, intra- and intergroup social relations, material culture, seasonality and subsistence harvesting have emanated

from the analysis of two critical mid-nineteenth century contact scenarios involving northern Historic Copper Inuit groups, the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* of the Minto Inlet and Walker Bay areas, and the *Kanghiryuarmiut* of the Prince Albert Sound region, and the Royal Navy vessels H.M.S. *Investigator*, and H.M.S. *Enterprise* (e.g. M'Clure 1853, 1857; Miertsching 1967; Armstrong 1857; Collinson 1855, 1889; Manning 1953; Manning, et. al. 1956; Savours 1990; Barr 1999). Between 1851 and 1853, the presence of these vessels in Copper Inuit territory prompted contact episodes of various kinds - from short-term to long term direct to post-abandonment utilization. The cultural ramifications of this interaction would be significant, representing the first serious penetration by agents of the World-System into northern Copper Inuit territory.

Copper Inuit Areas - Victoria Island and Banks Island: The Copper Inuit and the Reluctant Consorts, H.M.S. *Investigator* and H.M.S. *Enterprise*

Of all the expeditions engaged in European exploratory endeavours in Copper Inuit territory during the mid-nineteenth century, none seem to have had a greater immediate and, long-term impact on changes in Copper Inuit culture than the eventful voyages of H.M.S *Investigator* and H.M.S *Enterprise*. Under orders from the Admiralty to act in consort in a search mission in the western Arctic for the “lost” Franklin Expedition, the ships departed England in 1850, but were separated in the Pacific *enroute* to the Bering Strait. Captain Robert M'Clure, who commanded the *Investigator*, essentially ignored orders for a planned rendezvous in Alaska with *Enterprise*, (which was commanded by the expedition's senior officer, Captain Richard Collinson), and sailed eastward through the Beaufort Sea and then northeast into Prince of Wales Strait

and the territory of the Copper Inuit (Figure 32) (e.g. O'Byrne 1849:218; M'Clure 1857; Neatby 1958; Holland 1982).

Encountering impenetrable ice opposite Barrow Strait, M'Clure and the *Investigator* wintered in a precarious position at the Princess Royal Islands (Figure 33) (M'Clure 1857:130). From this locale, M'Clure dispatched sledging parties in the spring, including a southern party commanded by Lieutenant William Haswell, which subsequently made contact in late May of 1851 with a group of eighteen Copper Inuit - probably the *Kanghiryuarmiut* - on the north coast of Prince Albert Sound where they were hunting seals (M'Clure 1853, 1857). There were, in fact, actually two brief meetings with this Inuit group within several days. In early June, M'Clure, with a party that included *Investigator's* interpreter, Johann August Miertsching, was able to reestablish contact with the same group.



H. M. S. ENTERPRISE
Entering Dolphin and Union Strait, Sept. 1852
Drawn by F. Beissell, F. R. S. from original sketches.

From Collinson 1889



Figure 32. Top: “H.M.S. *Enterprise* entering Dolphin and Union Strait. Sept. 1852.” (From: Collinson 1889). Bottom right: Captain Richard Collinson, commanding officer, H.M.S. *Enterprise* (From: Fleming 1998). Bottom left: Francis Skead, Second Master of H.M.S. *Enterprise*. (From: Unknown).

At this stage of the expedition, M'Clure was primarily interested in acquiring geographical and cartographical information from the Inuit who, subsequently, provided assistance in both of these areas. Further, it was clear to M'Clure that the weapons and tools of this group were fabricated entirely with native materials, most prominently copper. M'Clure and *Investigator's* interpreter, Johann August Miertsching, noted the complete absence of materials of European manufacture within Inuit tool kits and other material possessions. Indeed, M'Clure and his men saw "pure lumps" of copper lying inside tents, apparently recently acquired through direct trade with a group(s) "further east" for seal oil and skins (D. Jenness 1922:50-52). The trade that ensued during this meeting saw the *Investigator's* party receiving skins and copper knives, and, in return, this group of Inuit acquired what were probably their first wares from the factories of the World-System; red and blue flannel, knives, saws, needles, beads and other "trifles" such as a looking glass, and a thick red shawl or scarf. These trade goods may, in fact, have influenced this group to visit with *Investigator's* consort, H.M.S. *Enterprise* later in the same year during *Enterprise's* wintering at Winter Cove (see below) (M'Clure 1857:185-186; Armstrong 1857:338-341; Skead 1849-1852; Collinson 1889:172; Miertsching 1967:114-117; Condon 1996:22-28; Johnson 2004a, 2005b).

After being freed from the ice in the summer of 1851, the *Investigator* (having left a depot of supplies at the Princess Royal Islands, including a 30-foot whale boat with associated gear and various foodstuffs) (Figures 33, 34), sailed a torturous, ice-filled passage around the south, west and north coasts of Banks Island (then, "Banks Land") before finding succor of a kind in Mercy Bay, "the Bay of God's Mercy" or, "Harbour of

Mercy” as it was then termed (e.g. Great Britain Parliament S1855:99; Armstrong 1857; M’Clure 1857; Barr 1999). Here, the *Investigator* spent nearly two-years trapped in the ice before being abandoned on June 3, 1853; the exhausted ship’s officers and crew ultimately reaching other search units of the Royal Navy situated near Melville Island, and later, in the Barrow Strait (Figure 35) (e.g. M’Clure 1853,1857; Manning 1953, 1969; Manning et. al 1956:17; Barr 1999; Delgado 1999:130-133). Critically, M’Clure left behind H.M.S. *Investigator*, still trapped in ice, a substantial depot of naval stores which included various kinds of metals and wood, and middens of the crew’s refuse (consisting of hundreds of tin cans, glass bottles and iron barrel hoops) (Figure 36) (Great Britain Parliament S1855a:84; M’Clure 1853, 1857:161; Hett 1978; Janes and Stewart 1985; Phillips 1985). It is a fact apparently little-remembered today that M’Clure and his crew were acknowledged as being the first to successfully complete the Northwest Passage. That they completed the Passage by ship, foot and sledge was immaterial. M’Clure was provided with a munificent award of some twenty-thousand pounds, his officers and crew likewise received compensation for their efforts (e.g. Neatby 1958, 1970, 1984; Holland 1992; Fleming1998; Delgado 1999).



Figure 33. Top: “Esquimaux of Pr [ince] Albert’s Land,” ca. 1851-1852. Artist: Edward Adams. (From: SPRI 83/11/32). Bottom: “Princess Royal Island Is. [Islands],” ca. 1851-1852. Artist: Edward Adams (From: SPRI 83/11/28).

Stores on Princess Royal
Island.

LIST of PROVISIONS, STORES, &c., landed on the "Princess Royal" Islands, from
H.M. Discovery Ship "Investigator," on the 3d Day of March 1851.

Flour	-	-	-	-	-	5,688 lbs.
Preserved meat	-	-	-	-	-	2,238 "
Salt pork	-	-	-	-	-	1,920 "
Preserved potatoes	-	-	-	-	-	1,344 "
Sugar	-	-	-	-	-	392 "
Chocolate	-	-	-	-	-	324 "
Rum	-	-	-	-	-	26 gallons.
A whale boat and gear complete, ammunition, &c.						

Figure 34. List of Provisions, Princess Royal Islands (From: Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855).



Figure 35. Top: “Winter Quarters 1852.” Artist: Edward Adams. H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove (From: SPRI n/d). Bottom: H.M.S. *Investigator* at Mercy Bay, Banks Island ca. 1853. Artist: Lieutenant S. Gurney Cresswell. (From: Savours 1999: 238).

PROVISIONS, &c., remaining in Depôt at the Bay of Mercy on the 5/10 May 1854, Provisions on board when visited by Mr. Frederick J. Krabbé, Master of H.M. Ship "Resolute," "Investigator." landed from H.M. Ship "Investigator," in May 1853; also the Remains on board that Ship, abandoned at the same place.

Articles.	On Shore.	On Board.	Articles.	On Shore.	On Board.
Biscuit - - lbs	2,232	2,420	Potatoes - lbs.	764	112
Rum - - galls.	None.	36	Sugar - - "	1,473	None.
Do. concentrated "	20	52½	Chocolate - "	435	Ullage.
Brandy - - "	20	30¾	Tea - - "	176	None.
Wine - - "	None.	28	Oatmeal - gall.	None.	Ullage.
Beef - - lbs.	912	None.	Vinegar - - "	None.	30
Pork - - "	1,800	None.	Tobacco - lbs.	1,234	368
Preserved meat "	4,150	3,350	Soap - - "	349	385
Flour - - "	7,140	210	Pickles - - "	None.	1,100
Suet - - "	224	None.	Carrots - - "	None.	194
Peas - - bush.	10½	3½	Lemon juice "	None.	345

Clothing.

Blankets - No.	32	11	Wrappers - No.	13	44
Flannel - - yds.	460	354	Box cloth jackets "	11	—
Serge frocks - No.	50	24	" trowsers prs.	12	—
Blue cloth - yds.	64	10	Guernsey frocks No.	21	—
Flushing jackets No.	70	None.	Knitted drawers prs.	3	—
Boots - - prs.	7	9	Boot hose - "	8	—
Shoes - - "	15	17	Comforters - No.	22	—
Blue cloth jackets No.	49	—	Box cloth boots prs.	25	—
" trowsers prs.	11	—	Seal skin boots "	27	6
Duck - - yds.	220	54	" caps No.	20	—
Stockings - prs.	40	26	" gloves prs.	47	—
Mitts, worsted - "	250	14	Sea boots - "	9	—
Caps, worsted - No.	30	12	Welsh wigs - No.	12	—
Shirts - - "	—	59	Sou-westers - "	1	—
Serge - - yds.	80	—	Green crape - yds.	30	100
Beds - - No.	—	31	Carpet boots - prs.	—	3
Black silk } "	—	122	Needles - No.	—	—
handkerchiefs } "	—	40	Thread, &c. - lbs.	—	—
Badges - - "	—	—			

N 2

Stores, Ammunition, &c.

Articles.	On Shore.	On Board.	Articles.	On Shore.	On Board.
Musket ball } No.	200	—	Tool chest - No.	1	—
cartridge - }	—	—	Mahogany board ft.	about 50	—
Do. blank do. - "	1,000	—	Deals, ordinary No.	10	—
Caps, percussion "	2,000	—	Grindstone - "	1	—
Shot - - lbs.	112	—	Boats' coppers "	2	—
Paper, white - qrs.	4	—	Boats' anchors "	{ not known	—
Muskets, per-	4	—	Pumps - - "	do.	—
cussion - } No.	—	—	Saws, cross cut "	do.	—
Fowling pieces "	1	—	Empty casks -	100	—
Boats with gear "	6	—	Quarter-deck }	1	—
Topmast - - "	1	—	housing - }	—	—
Jib-boom - - "	1	—	Tents' labo- }	1	—
Hand-mast - - "	1	—	ratory - }	—	—
Spars, small - "	6	—	Coals - - tons.	7	—
Housing main- }	1	—	Tent gear - - }	{ quantity not known	—
deck - }	—	—	Main course - No.	1	—
Housing main- }	1	—			
forecastle - }	—	—			
Royal sail - - "	1	—			

Figure 36. "List of Provisions, Slops, Stores, &c., landed and remaining on board H.M.S. Discovery Ship "Investigator," in the Bay of Mercy, Baring's Island, abandoned by the Crew on the 3rd day of June 1854." (From: Great Britain Parliament S1854-55).

H.M.S. *Enterprise* also entered Arctic waters in 1851, essentially following in *Investigator*'s wake. The more cautious Collinson attempted, unsuccessfully, to locate *Investigator*, finding only the depot of supplies placed by M'Clure at the Princess Royal Islands, and numerous "Marks" and cairns containing "communications" left by its supposed consort, situated on prominent headlands along and near Prince of Wales Strait (e.g. Collinson 1855, 1889; Skead 1849-1852; Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855). By late summer of 1851, Collinson sailed *Enterprise* into a protected winter anchorage at Winter Cove, Walker Bay (*Qikohok*), Victoria Island (Figure 32). The first long-term direct interaction between groups of Northern Copper Inuit – the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* and Europeans occurred in this location over the course of the next ten months (e.g. Collinson 1855, 1889; Skead 1849-1852). This critical encounter is discussed at length below.

Enterprise extracted itself from the ice on July 3, 1852, and Collinson and his crew then searched south and east before finding a haven for the winter of 1852-1853 at Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island. Here too, a period of often intense long-term direct interaction ensued with Copper Inuit of southeastern Victoria Island, and other groups from the Coronation Gulf area. Collinson departed Cambridge Bay in August, 1853, wintered for the final time at Camden Bay, Alaska, in 1853-1854, and then sailed home to England (Collinson 1855, 1889; Holland 1982).

As can be seen above, M'Clure's *Investigator* directly contacted the Copper Inuit only twice, however, these were meetings of singular importance. The *Investigator* was

abandoned along with a substantial depot of naval stores at Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island in 1853 (Great Britain Parliament S1855a:107-112; M'Clure 1857). Additionally, as will be remembered, M'Clure had left a depot of stores at the Princess Royal Islands (Figure 34). Moreover, and directly related to this discussion, the original depot at Mercy Bay was enlarged by additional stores from *Investigator* when the ship was visited by a Royal Navy party commanded by Frederick J. Krabbé in 1854 (Figure 36) (Great Britain Parliament S1855a:105-106). As a result of the exchanges occurring during two direct contact episodes, the creation of supply depots, and the wholesale abandonment of H.M.S. *Investigator*, M'Clure and his men left significant amounts of exotic material within Copper Inuit territory.

H.M.S. *Enterprise* and its crew spent two winters – 1851-1852 and 1852-1853, directly interacting with various Copper Inuit groups, the only Royal Navy vessel to do so within the Copper Inuit culture area. In a general sense, long-term Inuit-expedition interaction was a rare occurrence throughout the Arctic during the nineteenth century, there being only two (additional) recorded wintering/interaction scenarios during that time, one with the Iglulik Inuit (e.g. Parry 1824; Lyon 1824; Oswalt 1979; Mackinnon 1985), and, the other with the Netsilik Inuit (e.g. Ross 1835; Boas 1888; Rasmussen 1931; Savelle 1985, 1987a). Moreover, large amounts of wood, metals and other materials were provided to Inuit in trade, reciprocally for foodstuffs, and as refuse. Additional materials were deposited at various Royal Navy cache sites in and around Walker Bay, including Ramsey (Bear) Island (Great Britain Parliament S1854-55; Collinson 1889; Savours 1999:263-264). Both ships deposited messages in copper message containers throughout their search and survey areas. Other materials and refuse were left behind by crew members of ships during various duties (Skead 1849-1852).

Thus, in the course of exploratory activities, initial first contact and later, extended intersocietal interaction occurred between northern Copper Inuit and Europeans. Critically, and like her consort *Investigator*, *Enterprise* also left large amounts of exotic materials within Copper Inuit territory.

H.M.S. *Investigator*: Effects of Contact

In order to analyze the impact on the Copper Inuit of *Investigator*'s Arctic peregrinations in 1851-1853, and its effects long after the ship and its stores were abandoned in 1853 and 1854, we must first consult the ethnographic record and by close association, the oral tradition of the Copper Inuit. The first references to *the cultural impact of Investigator* on Copper Inuit can be found in the work of the ethnologist/explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson. While interviewing Copper Inuit in Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island, in May of 1911, Stefansson's informants described their journeys to Mercy Bay on Bank's Island and their long-term "mining" of *Investigator* (and the associated depot) for materials. Visitation and "mining" may have lasted from as early as 1855 to approximately 1890 (Stefansson 1914:17, 1919, 1921:240-241, 256, 360-361, 367; Hickey 1984:18). Our initial understanding of what is essentially a long-term indirect contact episode, and, a fairly lengthy post-abandonment utilization by Copper Inuit groups of exotic materials at Mercy Bay derives wholly from Stefansson's interviews in the early twentieth century.

However, an even earlier (historical) reference to the probable Copper Inuit exploitation of the abandoned *Investigator* and the nearby depot, can be found Captain Joseph Elzear Bernier's report of a visit to Mercy Bay in May of 1909 by crew members

of his command, D.G.S. *Arctic* (Bernier 1910: 153-161, 167-177; Manning 1953:189). Bernier's eventful and important voyages in the Arctic regions are little cited, however, his three voyages in the Arctic between 1906-1911 did much to assert Canadian sovereignty in the face of threats to Canadian title to Arctic areas from the United States in the western Arctic, and, from Denmark in the eastern areas of the Arctic (e.g. Savours 1999:310-3111; Delgado 1999:180-181). While visiting Melville Island in 1909, some of Bernier's officers and crew undertook a sledging trip southwards to Mercy Bay. On arrival, a cairn was built at Point Back, a record of the visit (and, of Canadian title) were deposited. Another cairn was built in "the interior of the Bay" and a flag was raised and a record deposited. Meanwhile, crew members undertook to examine much of Mercy Bay itself (Bernier 1910:157-176-177).

There was no sign of *Investigator*, and similarly, little remained of the large depot left by *Investigator's* officers and crew. A "pick-axe" bearing the broad arrow symbol of the Royal Navy was found at Cape Hamilton. The large coal pile (estimated at six-tons) left by *Investigator* was discovered (it remains *in situ* to this day), and, Bernier's men found pieces of sails, old ropes and "debris of packing materials" (Bernier 1910:176; see also Hett 1978; Janes and Stewart 1985). The cairns erected by *Investigator's* crew were found "demolished." C.W. Green, one of the exploratory party's leaders, later recorded:

"While travelling in and around Mercy Bay, I found ancient traces of *Esquimaux* [author's italics] at Point Back and at the bottom of the bay; rings of stones showed where they had camped, also bones of seals and deer [caribou] lay strewn about" (Bernier 1910:161).

It should be noted that Green was an experienced Arctic traveler who had encountered Inuit groups in the eastern Arctic. He would have possessed knowledge of Inuit lifeways and their material culture, thereby lending veracity to his observations.

Oral testimony obtained from Inuit informants through later ethnographic research lends support to Stefansson's findings regarding Copper Inuit visits to Mercy Bay (e.g. Jenness 1922, 1946; Condon 1996:30). Regarding interviews conducted by the author in the Hamlet of Holman (later Ulukhaktok), Victoria Island, (where many descendents of the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* reside to this day) in support of this study, there now seems to be little in the way of cultural memory regarding the above event, at least insofar as the individuals interviewed by the author were concerned (e.g. see List of Interviews). However, two informants, Jimmie Memogana, the adopted son of *Natkusiak*, a member of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918, and, Morris Nigiyok an elder who lived the greater part of his life in the Minto Inlet area, both recalled some discussion among family members concerning visits to Mercy Bay (Interviews: J. Memogana 2003, 2004; Morris Nigiyok 2003, 2004).

Harold Wright (see also: Smith and Wright 1989), a long time resident of Ulukhaktok with professional research experience throughout the Canadian Arctic, has informed the author of his conversations with elders in the late 1960s and early 1970s, who often referenced previous knowledge of group members visiting Mercy Bay "in years past" (H. Wright, personal communication). Interestingly, many older residents interviewed in Ulukhaktok possessed strong memories of the overwintering of the R.C.M.P. schooner *St. Roch* in Winter Cove, Walker Bay in 1940-1941, and, some individuals (such as Morris Nigiyok) retain vivid recollections of visiting this vessel as young children, but commonly-held memory of interaction episodes with *Investigator*, and/or visitations to Mercy Bay no longer figure in present day cultural memory. A consideration of the archaeological evidence of Inuit visitation at Mercy Bay is presented below.

How was the *Investigator* and the depot found by the Inuit? We know from a close reading of ethnohistorical sources, especially M'Clure's various reports and narratives, that *Investigator* did not encounter Copper Inuit when invested in-the-ice at Mercy Bay (M'Clure 1853, 1857; Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855). Had northern Copper Inuit groups utilized Mercy Bay and environs regularly for hunting purposes, a direct encounter with M'Clure would have been inevitable. There is every possibility nevertheless, given evidence from the ethnographic present, and the recent past, that northern Copper Inuit groups visited the Mercy Bay area irregularly, perhaps for polar bear and musk ox hunting just as hunters from the Hamlet of Ulukhaktok do today (R. Kuptana, J. Kataoyak, A. Kimiksana, personal communications; Freeman 1981:264). In this last scenario, Inuit groups may have found *Investigator* while hunting or through the process of "frontier scanning" (Hickey 1984:18). There is also the distinct possibility that the Inuit searched for the ship - possibly to trade. It needs to be remembered that the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* had experienced, at first hand, the material benefits to be reaped from long-term interaction with Collinson's *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, Walker Bay in 1851-1852 (Collinson 1889:221). They were joined at Winter Cove by some of the *Kanghiryuarmiut* who had met and bartered with M'Clure in Prince Albert Sound in June, 1851 (Collinson 1889:172). During the latter meeting they supplied M'Clure and his interpreter, Johann August Miertsching, with geographical information, and there is every reason to suppose that the Inuit knew of M'Clure's intended route or, other "exploratory intentions" (M'Clure 1857:185-186; Miertsching 1967). At some point after the abandonment of *Investigator*, one or both of these Copper Inuit groups from Victoria Island discovered the ship and the associated depot.

Once discovered, Mercy Bay became, again, according to Stefansson, “a place of Pilgrimage” for the Copper Inuit, and the *Investigator*, a “treasure ship” (Stefansson 1921: 240-241). Hickey has stated the depot at Mercy Bay was comprised of a “ton or more” of iron, copper, brass, tin and various woods (Hickey 1979, 1981, 1984:24). What interested the Inuit of course, were the exotic and invaluable materials available at Mercy Bay; the soft woods, (like mahogany) that were easy to carve, and the metals like iron and tin that could be exploited for tool and weapon components (Stefansson 1921:360). These items were of extreme value to the Inuit. When Stefansson visited the Mercy Bay area in 1915 while leading the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918, he confirmed the accuracy of the ethnographic information he obtained at Prince Albert Sound in 1911: “Everywhere the Eskimos had preceded us, although apparently none had been there in ten years. We formed the opinion that few of the relics were very old, probably none over a century. There were ‘tent rings,’ or circles of stones that had been used to hold down the flaps of a tent and been rolled away when camp had broken, giving a somewhat enlarged outline where the tent has stood.” Stefansson continues: “Near many of the camp sites were shavings and small pieces of wood. In at least three cases out of four these had been brought from Mercy Bay, for they were fragments of barrel staves, painted boards, or other parts of a ship or the equipment of a ship” (Stefansson 1921:256).

Traveling south from Mercy Bay into the interior of Banks Island, Stefansson continually encountered evidence of Inuit occupations and the presence of European

materials carried from Mercy Bay and modified; “we saw no campsite that did not have some evidence that the campers had been at Mercy Bay” (Stefansson 1921:367). At one location, Stefansson saw a series of tent rings and stone caches, and one-two hundred yards of musk ox bones and “wood shavings” from interior fittings of M’Clure’s depot, or the *Investigator*. Stefansson’s reference to musk ox bones and, the substantial number of these bones, is also illuminating as it provides evidence of the harvesting of these animals as a source of food while materials were being collected, modified or both. The number of bones reported by Stefansson also provides evidence of the number of Copper Inuit making the journey to obtain materials, and, the extensive use of this camping area over time. This evidence, as we shall see below, is substantiated by more recent archaeological findings. Similarly, Stefansson’s informants reported that metals and soft woods were the most desirable items available at Mercy Bay. Hard woods (such as the oak used to make barrel staves), were rarely used (Stefansson 1914; Condon 1996:30). This fact is - interestingly - confirmed by later visitors who found (and often utilized) barrel staves –ignored by the Inuit - from the depot up to the mid-twentieth century (Manning 1953:190; Yont 2003:8; S. Jenness 2004:311).

The archaeological studies conducted by Clifford Hickey in northeastern areas of Banks Island, and, in particular, at Mercy Bay and environs, confirms previously collected ethnographic information through significant material evidence of Copper Inuit visitation, seasonal occupation, and *in situ* modification of metals and woods and other materials at the depot site and at habitation sites along the route leading to and from the depot at Mercy Bay (Hickey (1979, 1981, 1984). Hickey and his research team recorded

upwards of 196 sites “known or believed to be associated with” the Copper Inuit exploitation of exotic materials from the *Investigator*, the depot, or - both. The sites fall under several categories, including; cache sites, animal kill and/or butchering sites, hearth sites, habitation sites, and perhaps most importantly within the context of this study, sites directly linked to the collection, and diagnostic alteration of exotic materials from *Investigator* and/or the depot (Hickey 1984:21-22). Hickey is at his most emphatic in describing the larger “base camp” type sites recorded and analyzed in his research:

“Many sites contain materials of direct relevance to the study; that is, items taken from the *Investigator* depot at Mercy Bay, Included are debitage as well as complete and incomplete or broken artifacts containing exotic wood (of many kinds), smelted copper, iron, tin, glass, various textiles and leather from foot wear. In addition, traditional materials such as caribou antler and muskox horn bear marks of tools made from metal such as saws, drills, adzes and groovers. The depot itself contains unmistakable evidence of the Inuit presence, not only in terms of the removal of most of the material deposited there but also because of *in situ* modification of many items (one can think of the depot as being a “quarry” site for several kinds of raw materials) and the presence of diagnostic Copper Inuit artifacts” (Hickey 1984:22).

In describing two of the base camp sites noted above – “Head Hill” and “Kuptana” – Hickey tells us that “close to 100,000 individual items” were recorded in *each* (Hickey 1984:22).

Having established the dates when *Investigator*’s depot was first laid-down, and later, enlarged, and, having established Copper Inuit visitation of the aforementioned through the ethnographic record, ethnohistorical references, and the empirical evidence obtained through archaeological research, we are now able to more fully document the

extent of Inuit post-abandonment utilization of the materials of *Investigator* and the depot. Thus, we might well turn our attention to a more exacting analysis of the materials found on *Investigator*, and, contained in the depot. In doing so, it is possible to more fully comprehend why Inuit were initially attracted to the depot, and further, why their utilization of this site loomed large in the changes, even if they be of a temporary nature, that they experienced in their lifeways as a result of post-abandonment utilization from ca.1855 to perhaps 1890. The Royal Navy was, (and, is today), exacting in its record-keeping, and the habit of accurate maintenance of records was deeply enculturated in Royal Navy commissioned and non-commissioned officers in particular. This habitual practice – manifested in this case through the records of M’Clure and Krabbé - enables us to examine and, to analyze with some precision, the inventory of materials landed placed in the depot at Mercy Bay, and, those materials left onboard *Investigator*. These inventories were submitted for inspection and subsequently added to the published Parliamentary “Blue Books” of Great Britain (Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855; Hickey 1984:23; Koolage 2000) A closer examination of the “*List of Provisions, Slops, Stores, & c.*” landed by the crew and remaining on board the *Investigator*, prepared by M’Clure in 1853 (and a similar list compiled later by a visiting sledge party from H.M.S. *Resolute* commanded by Frederick J. Krabbé in May, 1854), reveals a cornucopia of metals, wood and other materials including ship’s boats, masts, spars, tools, etc. *landed* and placed in the depot at Mercy Bay (Figure 36) (Great Britain Parliament, S1854-1855:996-998).

One is able to further appreciate the size of the depot, quite vividly, through the words of Krabbé, who on approaching Mercy Bay in May of 1854, reported: “I saw the ship [H.M.S. *Investigator*] from Point Back, and when within four or five miles could plainly see with the naked eye the stacked spars on the beach, but the cairn I could not see so quickly; the former, however, will always be efficient marks for the depôt.” (Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855:998-999). Anyone who has spent any amount of time “on-the-land” in the Arctic will know that large stones, or, for instance, a small cairn of stones placed on-top the other are instantly noticeable on the generally flat and the treeless Arctic landscape. This is why Inuit constructed *Inuksuit* to mark cache and fishing sites as well as good camping areas. The Royal Navy too, followed this Inuit practice by building *Inuksuit*-like “marks” or cairns that could be seen from the sea from long distances on land and, in which messages were deposited or, supplies stored (Figure 39). Taking the above factors into consideration, the depot at Mercy Bay was - even at “four or five miles” – readily visible and was therefore, one feels, a wholly impressive assemblage of materials set against the relatively flat and totally treeless land and seascape of Mercy Bay. Importantly, this depot grew even larger during Krabbé’s visit, as he and the sailors in his party unloaded additional stores and materials from *Investigator* and placed them in the depot before their ultimate departure and return to their own ship, H.M.S. *Resolute* (e.g. Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855).

Among the provisions listed in the (final) depot inventory completed by Krabbé were 2,232-pounds of biscuit, 4,150-pounds of “Preserved meat”, 1,800-pounds-of-pork, and, (among other foodstuffs), 7,140-pounds of flour. There were blankets, and all

manner of clothing, gloves, boots, and various fabrics (such a serge, flannel, etc.). Several muskets, a “fowling piece (double shotgun)” and thousands of percussion caps, paper wadding, and 112-pounds of shot were deposited as well. The aforementioned represents only a sampling of the materials deposited. Most importantly, in terms of wood, M’Clure and Krabbé’s men had removed and stacked six ship’s boats (complete with gear), a topmast, one jibboom, one handmast, six small spars, wooden “housing” for both the main deck and main forecastle, approximately fifty-feet of mahogany board, and, a chest of carpenter’s tools (Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855:99). The six ship’s boats were large working craft, capable of ocean travel in their own right, and would have served (as we have already seen above) as a primary source of wood for the Inuit (e.g. Skead 1849-1852; Savours 1999:313). The topmast, jibboom and handmast are large spars used to support sails within the complex combination of rigging, sails and spars that constitute a sailing vessel’s system of harnessing the wind in order to propel it through water (Lees 1984). The spars (large and small), too, would have represented “workable” and easily accessible sources of wood to the Copper Inuit.

Finally, what of the fate of H.M.S. *Investigator* itself? Was the ship (along with the depot) a source of exotic materials for the Copper Inuit? And, if so, for how long? These are fundamental and critical questions insofar as our understanding of suggested changes in Copper Inuit culture are concerned, for while the depot left by Royal Navy at Mercy Bay formed an important stock pile of raw materials for the Copper Inuit, the massive wooden-hulled *Investigator* would have presented the Copper Inuit groups with an extraordinary array of exotic woods, metal and other items.

As we have observed above, Stefansson's informants stated that *Investigator* was grounded on the beach at Mercy Bay, and therefore "mined" for materials (Stefansson 1914; Condon 1996). Krabbé (a veteran sailor with extensive Arctic experience), reported in May, 1854, (approximately one-year after the ship was abandoned), that he had found *Investigator* in the ice: "...heeled about 10 [degrees] to starboard, and slightly by the head; there was no sign of pressure about her, although the oakum was hanging very loosely out of most of the seams". Once he entered the ship (by walking up a drift on the northern side of the ship and over the gunwale), and went below he discovered that: "...she had leaked during the preceding summer so much that she was now full to the orlop beams forward, and within 10 inches of them abaft" (Great Britain Parliament S1855a 436-438). According to Krabbé's orders, should he find *Investigator* in a state: "... that the provisions on board her would be spoiled or destroyed, you will endeavour to place them, as well as the stores most useful to a retreating party, in safety on shore" (Great Britain Parliament S1855a: 95). Having ascertained the state-of-the-ship, Krabbé and his party "... cleared her of all useful stores". The above information would therefore seem to suggest that *Investigator* was no longer seaworthy and, in danger of ultimately sinking.

At some point between May of 1854 when *Investigator* was visited by Krabbé, and May, 1909, when Bernier's crew visited Mercy Bay - some fifty-four years - *Investigator* had disappeared. We know this because of the official reports of two of

Bernier's officers, C.W. Green, and Mr. Morin. In 1909, Green and Morin reported that there was "no sign" of the ship." Green stated further: "... my opinion is that *Investigator* [author's italics] is now lying on the bottom of Mercy Bay, and all the caches and cairns have been rifled by whalers" (Bernier 1910:154,161,176). Green's mention of "whalers" adds an intriguing element to our investigation of this engaging scenario concerning the fate of the *Investigator*. While greater discussion of *Investigator*'s ultimate disposition is beyond the parameters of this study, we might ask, did Green actually find evidence of whalers, and if so, did these "whalers" discover the *Investigator*? We do know that by the early 1900s, whalers operating out of Herschel Island to the west were seeking dwindling bowhead whale stocks in the waters off the northwest coast of Banks Island (Bockstoce 1975:298-299, 1977:95, 1986:325,335). Could one or more of these vessels visited Mercy Bay? And, if so, did whalers find the *Investigator*? While preparing this study, the author discovered an intriguing newspaper report in the April 11, 1908, Buffalo Evening News, in which it is reported that an American whaler discovered *Investigator* afloat in Mercy Bay, and, that the crew of the whaler planned to sail the vessel to the west coast of the United States (Buffalo Evening News, 1908). Apocryphal, or a story based on fact? Perhaps we shall one day see this conundrum solved. Still, we should be aware that the aforementioned article appeared just one year before Green reported evidence of whalers at Mercy Bay.

Based on the testimony of Stefansson's informants, as well as other references within the oral record, and through the material evidence provided by archaeological research, it seems highly probable that the *Investigator* itself was "mined" by Inuit. The

post abandonment utilization of the vessel lasted for a period during the mid- to late nineteenth century while the vessel was frozen in Mercy Bay, or, was forced by ice movement on shore. We know, positively, that *Investigator* had disappeared by 1909. All evidence presented above supports the view that the northern Copper Inuit modified their seasonal cycle to an extent in order to visit Mercy Bay, and once there, to obtain and modify exotic materials. These materials entered the material culture of these Inuit groups, while also entering the Copper Inuit intra- and intergroup trade system at large. We can also suggest that access to these materials provided northern Copper Inuit groups with a point-of-trade advantage. Lastly, that Inuit altered their normal diet while engaged in travel to and from and, while resident at, Mercy Bay by consuming large numbers of musk ox. The harvesting of significant numbers of musk ox most probably precipitated a decline in the musk ox population of Banks Island.

H.M.S. *Enterprise*: A Long-Term Direct Contact Episode

By the late summer of 1851, H.M.S. *Enterprise*, *Investigator*'s supposed consort on the search for Franklin in the western Arctic (see above), became the first and only Royal Navy ship to engage in long-term social interaction with the Copper Inuit on not only one, but two occasions (Skead 1849-1852, ND; Collinson 1889; Holland 1982; Damas 1984a, 1988; c.f., Morrison 1987:4; Mackinnon 1985:21). These unique encounters have been discussed, but only to an extent (e.g. Stefansson 1913; D. Jenness 1922; Holland 1982; Morrison 1995; Condon 1996; Pálsson 2001). Through the interdisciplinary research performed during this study, it can be strongly suggested that

compelling evidence of various kinds exists of temporary changes in Copper Inuit sociocultural and economic systems during, and after, interaction with *Enterprise*.

Collinson and his crew established “Winter Quarters” at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island in September of 1851. Soon after, contact was initiated with the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*, a northern Copper Inuit group whose traditional territory included the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet areas (Stefansson 1913:278-279; D. Jenness 1922:41-42). Collinson also met other groups from the *Kanghiryuarmiut*, including the Inuit who had met crew members of H.M.S. *Investigator* earlier that year at Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island (Great Britain Parliament S1854-1855:992-994; Collinson 1889:172). For two months, September 17-November 18, the Inuit were nearly always present, fishing through the ice in lakes situated on the isthmus or *Itivyaaq*, a traditional crossing place between Walker Bay and Boot and Minto Inlets to the south (Figures 1, 33, 37, 38), bartering fish and caribou for goods and materials, teaching the crew to use sleds and sled dogs, and visiting the ship. However, by November 7th, it was apparent that the caribou were leaving the area and the cached food stocks of Inuit were low, as crew members were only able to acquire small amounts of caribou. On November 18th the sun disappeared for the winter months, and on November 22nd Collinson recorded that “both the natives and deer [caribou] appear to have left us” (Collinson 1889:173).

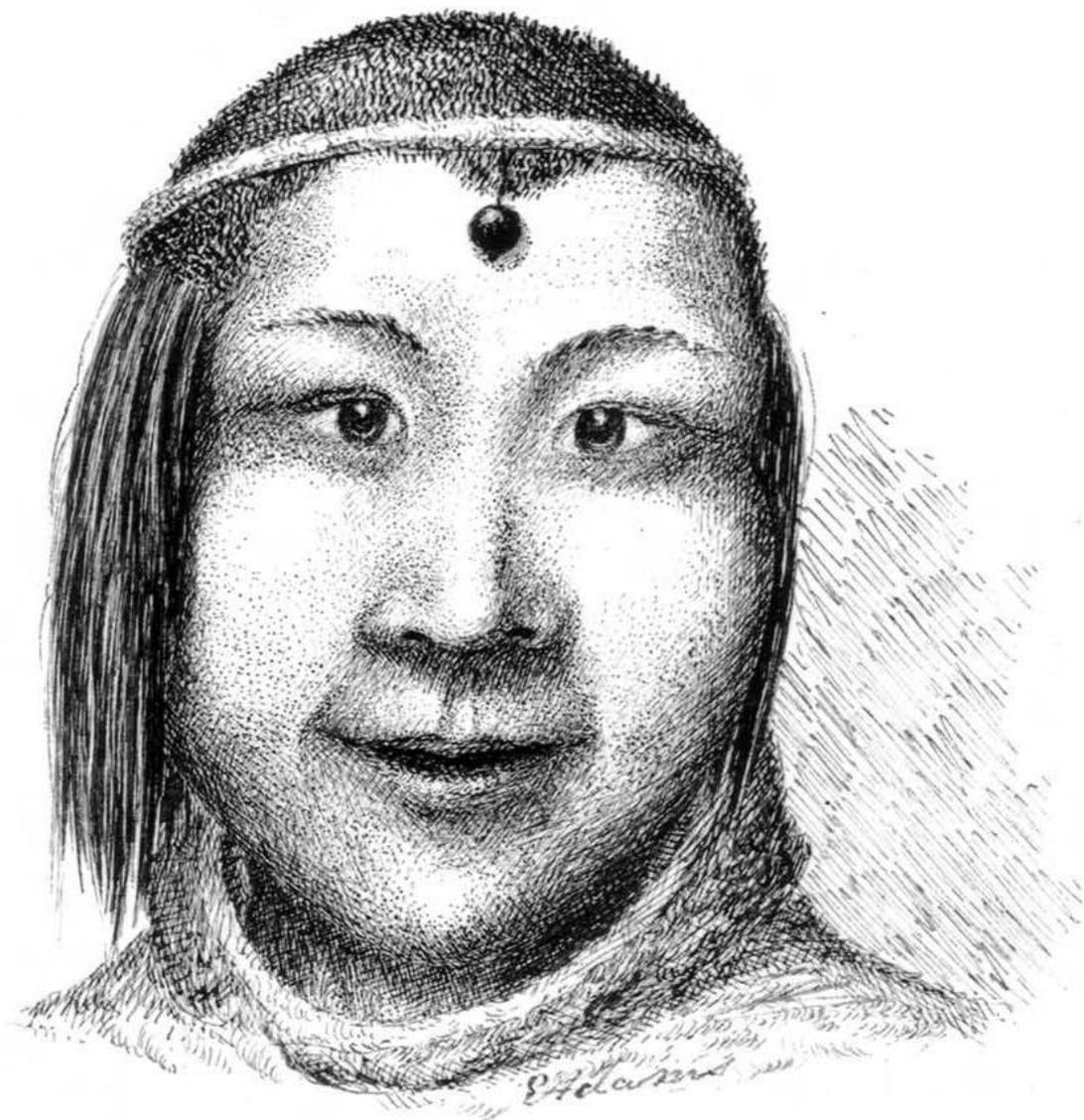


Figure 37. "Boy of Pr [ince] Albert's Land," ca. 1851-1852. Artist: Edward Adams.
(From: SPRI 83/11/30).



Figure 38. “Esquimaux Woman of Pr[ince] Albert’s Land in Dancing Cap,” ca. 1851-1852. Artist: Edwards Adams. (From: SPRI 83/11/29). Inset: Fred Kataoyak of Ulukhaktok in loon dancing hat, 2007. Photo: Author. By permission.

This turn-of-events is not surprising, considering that breathing hole sealing for these groups began on, or about, November 22nd. At this critical juncture in their annual subsistence cycle, groups move out on to the sea ice. In this case, they may have moved far enough, and with enough regularized group movement, to make regular communication with the ship impossible (Collinson 1889:221; D. Jenness 1922:110-120; Damas 1984b:398). Certainly, the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* were sealing in one of the richest ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) habitats in the Canadian Arctic (T. Smith 1987:13). In any case, with their knowledge of seasonal ice movements, these Inuit groups knew that the *Enterprise* and all that she held, would still be icebound in the spring “when they abandoned the snowhouse villages on the sea ice and moved to land” (Damas 1984b:398).

Regular interaction resumed in June and continued until July 3, 1852, when *Enterprise* was able leave Winter Cove. However, before leaving, the Inuit asked for (and received) all of the expedition’s iron hoop, empty preserved meat tins, old clothes and more (Collinson 1889:221; Holland 1982; Pálsson 2001:159). Given the size of the known tin can middens left by Royal Navy expeditions in the Canadian Arctic, it can be surmised that the Inuit groups in the Winter Cove area were the recipients of an enormous amount of tin (e.g., Hett 1978:15-16; Phillips 1985; Janes and Stewart 1985:34-50).

Collinson spent only two months on his search that brief summer, primarily coasting the islands and southern shoreline of Victoria Island, before finding a winter anchorage at Cambridge Bay. Less than a week after Collinson’s arrival, small groups of Copper Inuit, possibly the *Kiglinirmiut* (D. Jenness 1922:246), began to appear. Soon individuals were visiting the ship daily (Collinson 1889:247). Thus the *Enterprise* became a focal point for trade and social interaction, as Cambridge Bay was a popular

meeting place for different groups and was only a short distance from the many islands in Coronation Gulf, where different groups of the Copper Inuit hunted seals. Groups continued to visit through December and into January, even though it was apparent that breathing hole sealing was occurring at this same time. On December 26th, Collinson recorded that eleven Inuit “arrived from continent.” Twenty-five more Inuit arrived on December 29th. By January 7, 1853, Collinson noted that “40 natives were being rather troublesome.” Apparently the demand for trade goods had become so great as to cause Collinson to carry the beads, buttons and halfpence in his pocket, while “sentries armed with cutlasses” mounted guard at the gang ways (Collinson 1889:248-250).

This intense interaction declined to a certain extent, during February, before increasing again in March. There were “considerable numbers” of Inuit about in late April and May, and “frequently aboard” or “visiting” from June to August. On August 5th, all the meat tins, broken iron hoops, and “other refuse” was collected and taken on shore for the Inuit (Collinson 1889:253, 258, 272-273, 281, 283). Yet another example of a large amount of exotic material entering the orbit of Copper Inuit material and trade systems.

Collinson also observed that copper was the primary material utilized by the groups in and around Cambridge Bay. What little iron he saw seemed to be used in making “arrow tips.” He also commented on the intermittent “crossing to the continent” and back by these groups (Collinson 1889:284). The winterings of the *Enterprise* were the first (and last) examples of direct long-term intersocietal interaction between Europeans and the Copper Inuit in the nineteenth century. After August of 1853, a period of approximately fifty years would elapse before direct contact and interaction, of a more extensive nature, that is, with whalers and later through the fur trade, would be reestablished (D. Jenness 1922:30; Bockstoce 1975:298-299).

Conclusions:

The purpose in examining Historic Copper Inuit-European interaction during the Late Contact Periphery period has been to more fully illustrate that the re-examination of pertinent ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources combined with archaeological investigations can lead to a reappraisal some of the more intriguing questions about Historic Copper Inuit contact and intersocietal interaction with European expeditions and its temporary, or possibly, more long-lasting effects on Copper Inuit lifeways. Similarly, there is recognition of the fact that Copper Inuit mediated this interaction. This was a period of time when the agents of the World-System directly entered Copper Inuit territory. Similarly, a period when a large infusion of exotic materials from workshops of the World-System penetrated Copper Inuit material and trade systems as a result of indirect and direct contact episodes. In all respects, the process leading, ultimately, to full incorporation within the world-system had begun in earnest. How?

As a direct result of the contact episodes discussed herein, it is very clear that an infusion of exotic and manufactured European materials occurred within certain areas of the Copper Inuit territory during the early to mid-nineteenth century. We have seen that Copper Inuit groups within the southern Coronation Gulf area were the recipients of a significant number of exotic materials and manufactured articles due to indirect and direct contact with various expeditions during the early and mid-nineteenth century, possibly precipitating changes in intra- and intergroup material trade and corresponding social relationships. Some of these groups engaged in the post-abandonment utilization of materials as well. After during the period of 1821-ca.1850, neighboring Inuit groups on Victoria Island may have received small amounts of these same expedition materials and goods through cross-Coronation Gulf intergroup trade and, during the fusion of groups

during winter sealing. Similarly, evidence presented herein suggests that the *Kogluktogmiut* of the Coppermine River may have enjoyed an enhanced intra- and intergroup trading position from approximately 1826 to 1850 due to their post-abandonment utilization of materials and wood from several sizable expedition boats.

Concerning the penetration of *Investigator* and *Enterprise* within Copper Inuit territory, of the two episodes, that involving the *Investigator's abandonment* in Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island in June of 1853, is perhaps the more well known (e.g. M'Clure 1857). Basing his findings on information gleaned from Inuit informants, Stefansson (1914) first posited that significant and lengthy post-abandonment utilization by Copper Inuit groups from the Minto Inlet and Prince Albert Sound areas of Victoria Island, of wood, iron and other materials from *Investigator*, and the “tons” of ship's stores deposited by the crew in a nearby depot (Figure 36). Stefansson hypothesis stands up under the scrutiny of scholars like Hickey, who offer us strong empirical evidence of Copper Inuit utilization of these materials. Similarly, we have seen that other evidence exists documenting the movement of these materials into Copper Inuit intergroup material and trade systems. Thus, as a direct result of the post-abandonment utilization of *Investigator* and the associated depot, at least two significant culture changes occurred within the closely allied *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut*.

First, the “mining” of such enormous amounts of exotic materials enabled these groups to attain paramount positioning within their intergroup trading system (Stefansson 1914:17; Morrison 1991:244; Pálsson 2001:265). The wealth of iron alone taken from *Investigator* would also have alleviated the need for these groups to make long trading trips to southern Victoria Island, and beyond to the mainland interior (Stefansson 1914:3;

D. Jenness 1946; Morrison 1991:243). Secondly, the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* modified their traditional seasonal cycles and extended their summer range to northern Banks Island to salvage *Investigator's* materials. This movement probably had an adverse effect on subsistence resources on Banks Island, especially the musk ox population, which is known to have been severely reduced (Stevenson 1993). Further, this range extension may explain the disappearance, during the mid-nineteenth century, of basking-seal hunting techniques in these groups, as individuals eschewed spring seal hunting in order to journey to Banks Island (Hickey 1984:20, 22; c.f., Damas 1984:409). The *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* seem to have stopped utilizing the Mercy Bay materials by 1890, or thereabouts, possibly because of depletion. However, materials continued to circulate in material and trades systems for decades afterwards (e.g. Figure 43).

Certainly, some temporary changes in Copper Inuit lifeways occurred when Inuit experienced and mediated indirect and direct contact with European expeditions several times from 1821 to 1853 (e.g. Franklin 1823, 1828; Collinson 1889; Rae 1953; M'Clure 1857). For example, interaction with *Enterprise* afforded the Inuit extensive psycho/social interaction which may have prompted the transference and diffusion of ideas as well as trade items and materials. These were seminal events in the culture history of these Inuit groups, a fact attested to by the strength of oral tradition over time and space (Interviews: W. Kagyut 2003; J. Memogana 2003; Morris Nigiyok 2003) (e.g., Stefansson 1913:287; Jenness 1922; Rasmussen, 1932; Condon 1996; H. Wright, personal communication). As the recipients of a large number of materials and some

manufactured goods, one posits that this infusion may have altered intra- and intergroup trade systems on Victoria Island temporarily. Inuit visitations on board, and near *Enterprise* at various times during its wintering at Cambridge Bay provides one with the sense that the “seasonal round” of some groups was, at the very least, temporarily interrupted.

It should also be noted, that many European observers – members of Royal Navy and Hudson’s Bay Company expeditions - interacting with the Copper Inuit from 1821 to 1853 commented on the *dearth of manufactured* European goods found in Inuit tool kits and possessions during initial contact situations (e.g., Franklin 1823, 1828; Dease and Simpson 1839; Simpson 1843; Richardson 1851a, 1851b; M’Clure 1857; Armstrong 1857; Collinson 1889; Rae 1953; Miertsching 1967). Alternatively, most of these individuals remarked on the abundance of native materials such as bone and copper in Copper Inuit tool kits (e.g., Franklin 1823:181; Simpson 1843:264; Richardson 1851a:353-354; M’Clure 1857:186; Armstrong 1857:339; Collinson 1889:206-207, 284; Rae 1953:197; Miertsching 1967:114-117).

If one gives credence to the accuracy of these observations (remembering that they were made by individuals who were instructed to look for evidence of local resources) found throughout the ethnohistorical record, then one can begin to suggest that prior to contact with European expeditions - starting in 1821 and continuing to 1853 - the Copper Inuit received little in the way of manufactured trade goods from the Bering Strait route, or, from the *Akilinik* axis on the Thelon River. This is not to say that exotic

materials were not reaching the Copper Inuit, and, had been for some time. This fact has been established and certainly quantities of iron were circulating in Copper Inuit trade systems prior to the period under discussion. Rather, there is little evidence that manufactured articles, such as axes, knives, pots, and their like were present. It was only *after* 1821 that Copper Inuit groups along the southern littoral of Coronation Gulf started receiving greater numbers of manufactured materials through the indirect and direct contact episodes with expeditions active in Copper Inuit territory. Similarly, it is probable, given the evidence presented in this study, that Copper Inuit groups on Victoria Island also acquired their first *significant* amounts of trade goods and manufactured materials *only after* direct contact and continued indirect interaction with H.M.S. *Investigator* and H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the early 1850s. European expeditions therefore, and not trade links to the mainland interior, seem to have been primarily responsible for the presence of trade goods and manufactured materials on Victoria Island from approximately 1821 to the 1890s, and possibly beyond (c.f., Stefansson 1914:7).

The overall effects at this time of the direct penetration of the World-System within Copper Inuit territory, or, their world-system, did not prompt major changes in Copper Inuit Culture. True, some temporary shifts – adaptations really - had occurred - primarily in seasonal cycles and in material trade systems due to interaction. Perhaps new ideas had been disseminated cross-culturally, and cross-cultural (if temporary) partnerships had been formed during this period of interaction. One would suspect so, given the extent of social engagement at places like Winter Cove and Cambridge Bay. All Copper Inuit groups, as we shall observe, continued to live within their traditional

sociocultural and economic system well into the twentieth century. However, penetration of the World-System *had* occurred, and a response had been needed - this a salient point. While traditional materials like bone and copper would continue to be used, the highly desired manufactured metals, soft woods, glass and other exotic materials left at Mercy Bay, Winter Cove and Cambridge Bay and at other locales would change the material culture of the Copper Inuit. These materials now flowed freely within Copper Inuit intra- and intergroup trade systems, and, would continue to do so into the twentieth century when other agents of the rapidly advancing World-System would notice their presence alongside that of bone and copper. Most importantly of all, agents of the World-System had engaged in a major reconnaissance of Copper Inuit territory during which it was very thoroughly surveyed, mapped and spatially claimed, quite without an invitation. Specific natural landmarks had been renamed (e.g. Figure 42). Stone cairns holding copper message tubes essentially proclaiming title now dotted Copper Inuit territory (e.g. Figure 39). Flags had been raised (e.g. Figure 40), and information on the region's geology and resources collected and recorded. The indigenous inhabitants, too, had been studied, images drawn, "customs" noted (e.g. Figures 1, 20, 33, 37, 38). To all intents and purposes, Copper Inuit territory had been added to the British Empire as a periphery in waiting. The process of incorporation was now well in motion.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION LATE CONTACT PERIPHERY: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS, NORTHERN VICTORIA ISLAND

Introduction:

As outlined in Chapter 3 (above), archaeological methodology and, field investigations are viewed as critical to the holistic nature of this study. Such investigations can provide empirical evidence of the penetration of the World-System within Copper Inuit territory during the nineteenth century, and, a greater understanding of the impact of this penetration in the incorporation process overall. Thus, the chapters discussing the Late Contact Periphery and Archaeological Investigations, Northern Victoria Island, should be viewed as companion inquiries, with the findings of these chapters complementing each other in the critical reading of the incorporation process. In this chapter, archaeological research and findings are discussed. Included in the discussion are descriptions of recorded sites, and the interpretation and analysis of these sites.

Following a period of preparation in Hamlet of Holman (now Ulukhaktok), Victoria Island, Northwest Territories.), archaeological investigations were initiated between July 30 and August 15, 2003 in the Winter Cove area, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, Northwest Territories. During the following summer, 2004, investigations were undertaken from July 26 to August 15 in the Boot Inlet and Minto Inlet areas of Victoria Island, Northwest Territories (Figures 16,17) (Johnson 2003a, 2003b, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a). As will be remembered, these investigations – the first of their kind - formed the

“centerpiece” of a two-year project which focused on an assessment of mid-nineteenth century direct and indirect contact and intersocietal interaction between historic northern Copper Inuit groups and the Royal Navy vessels H.M.S. *Enterprise* and H.M.S. *Investigator* in northwestern Victoria Island. The investigations systematically probed possible changes in northern Copper Inuit material culture, intra- and intergroup material trade systems and social relations resulting from direct and indirect contact with the 1851-1852 "overwintering" of the Royal Navy vessel H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island (e.g. Collinson 1889). A total of thirty-one sites, comprising historic Copper Inuit tent rings and caches, Royal Navy habitation, burial, cache and survey features and several mid-twentieth century habitation and survey features associated with the 1940-1941 "wintering" of the R.C.M.P. Schooner *St. Roch* in Winter Cove, were recorded. All sites were assigned Borden Numbers within The Borden System of Site Identification, by Ms. Lucie Johanis, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec. The nature and amount of data collected varied according to project methodology and research plans, though random sampling was conducted at many sites, and all features were recorded in detail. The materials recovered from sites also varied, although nineteenth century manufactured metals, glass, and wood predominated. In some cases, evidence of modification of manufactured materials into projectile points and unifacial and bifacial cutting implements was present in these materials.

2003 Archaeological Survey Walker Bay Area: Winter Cove and northern area of *Itivyaaq* (Table 1). Site Descriptions and Investigations: The following sites were visited, recorded and added to the archeological record.

Site 1. OjPr-9

St. Roch cairn/survey marker, located above a broad strip of beach gravel on the western shoreline of Winter Cove, Walker Bay. This stone survey feature, 5.5- meters in height, was constructed by the crew of the R.C.M.P. schooner *St. Roch* during its overwintering at Winter Cove in 1940-1941 (Figure 44) (Interviews: William Kagyut 2003; Morris Nigiyok 2004, 2005) (J. Delgado, D. Riedel, personal communication; e.g. Savours 1999:311-312; Bockstoce 1991:215, 2000:50).

Site 2. OjPr-8

Stone cairn, a survey feature, 1.90-meters in height, located at southwestern point-of-land/entry point from Walker Bay proper to Winter Cove where H.M.S. *Enterprise* overwintered, 1851-1852 The dense growth of jewel lichen (*Xanthoria elegans*) and weathered patina of stone suggests that the construction of this feature is associated with the overwintering of H.M.S. *Enterprise* rather than with the later overwintering of the *St. Roch*, 1940-1941 (e.g. Pielou 1994:188-190).

Site 3. OjPq-1

Site is a nineteenth century Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring, which is situated on shoreline of an inland freshwater lake located immediately south of Winter Cove, and

along the *Itivyaaq* connecting Winter Cove with Boot and Minto Inlets. Nineteenth and twentieth century metals, glass and woods found, and representative examples recovered for analysis and interpretation. *In situ* modification of metals noted.

Site 4. OjPq-2

Site consists of multiple (thirteen-features/A-M) nineteenth century Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings. Tent rings are situated along a prominent ridgeline, immediately above and overlooking southern shoreline of Winter Cove. Nineteenth and early twentieth century metals, glass and woods found, and representative examples recovered for analysis and interpretation. *In situ* modification of many materials noted (Figure 15 bottom).

Site 5. OjPq-3

Site consists of multiple (seven-features/A-H) nineteenth century Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings. Site is situated on shoreline of inland lake approximately .three-kilometers south from Winter Cove, along the *Itivyaaq* connecting Winter Cove with Boot and Minto Inlets. Nineteenth and twentieth century metals, glass and woods found, and representative examples recovered for analysis and interpretation. *In situ* modification of metals noted.

Site 6. OjPq-4

Site consists of one Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring situated along unnamed river flowing into northeast quadrant of Winter Cove. Site is located approximately fifty-meters from river mouth, south side of river. No exotic materials located.

Site 7. OjPr-11

Site consists of two features of nineteenth century European origin associated with overwintering of H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, 1851-1852. Features located on Flagstaff Hill, north side, and overlooking Winter Cove. The stone covered, raised mound is the burial site of William Driver, Cook/crew member of H.M.S. *Enterprise*. Nearby is the circular stone base for a flagstaff erected by crew of *Enterprise*, 1851-1852 (Figure 40) (Collinson 1889:224). Two pieces of wood thought to be of nineteenth century European origin found and collected.

2004 Archaeological Survey Minto Inlet, Boot Inlet Area and southern area of Itivyaaq (see also: Table 1). **Site Descriptions and Investigations: The following sites were visited, recorded and added to the archeological record.**

Site 1. OiPq-1

This site is located immediately below a high headland (“Cliff Head”), and the southeast point-of-land, at the entrance to Boot Inlet (from Minto Inlet) (Collinson 1889:171; Skead 1849-1852:54). The island of *Napigavik* lies immediately to the south (Interview: Morris and Mabel Nigiyok 2004). The site is comprised of approximately seven stone Historic Copper Inuit tent rings, and five stone caches. Probable Royal Navy tent ring

(ca.1851) also found. Four polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*) skulls located on site and (ritually?) arranged in semi-circular pattern. Nineteenth and twentieth century metals, glass and woods found, and representative examples recovered for analysis and interpretation. *In situ* modification of some metals noted. Probable nineteenth century manufactured glass found on surface bears maker's marks in some cases. Metals found include probable pemmican tin bearing maker's name, etc. (Figure 39).

Site 2. OiPq-2

Island (*Napigavik*) located immediately south (approximately 20-meters) of southeast headland ("Cliff Head") located at entrance to Boot Inlet (from Minto Inlet). Series of an estimated 128-plus Historic Copper Inuit stone caches located primarily on eastern side of island. Three stone tent rings located northeast point of island. Three stone blinds also recorded. Inuit elders interviewed in community of Holman (Ulukhaktok) state island is named *Napigavik* ("Swing"), and the large number of caches on this island were traditionally utilized by Inuit families to store oil from seals harvested during winter breathing hole hunting (Figure 39) (Interview: Morris and Mabel Nigiyok 2005) Additionally, a fragment of a probable nineteenth century Royal Navy tin can was found on this island



Figure 39. Archaeological survey, 2004:

Top: Jack Kataoyak, field assistant at OiPq-1 (background arrow).

Middle: Mid-Nineteenth century glass at OiPq-1.

Bottom: Probable remains of a “cairn” constructed by the crew of H.M.S.

Enterprise, August 5, 1852, OiPr-2, Fish Bay, Minto Inlet. Photos: Author.

Site 3. OiPr-1

This site, consisting of a series of Historic Copper Inuit stone caches and a blind is located at the extreme southern point of western headland (some ten-meters from shoreline), of Fish Bay, at confluence with Grassy Bay and Minto Inlet. No materials observed.

Site 4. OiPr-2

This site consists of scattered remains of stone cairn possibly erected by crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise*, 1852, at summit of headland, western side of Fish Bay, Minto Inlet (Collinson 1889). Also found at this site were remains of probable Canadian Government. “rescue cache” ca. 1950s, comprised of seven- pieces of lightweight aluminum. Brass survey marker, eight-centimeters in circumference also found at this point set in rock. The following recorded: “Dept of National Defense, 59M115, POS 1, 19__” (Figure 39).

Site 5. OiPq-3

Site consists of a Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring located on protruding point of land at unnamed bay near west headland, Boot Inlet and Minto Inlet. Several pieces of nineteenth century metal observed and left *in situ*.

Site 6. OiPq-4

Site comprised of two early Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings located approximately ten-meters from west shoreline, Boot Inlet.

Site 7. OiPq-5

This site is comprised of a Historic Copper Inuit stone cache, and is situated on raised area ten-meters from shoreline, located on Southwest extremity, point-of land, west headland, Boot Inlet and Minto Inlet.

Site 8. OiPq-6

A stone cache site consisting of ten-plus Historic Copper Inuit stone caches, located on the west headland, Boot Inlet and Minto Inlet.

Site 9. OiPq-7

Site is comprised of a Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring located southeast quarter of island approximately four-meters from shoreline on gravel beach. Site is located on a smallish unnamed island located mid-passage, of north and south ends, Boot Inlet. Smaller islet located one-half kilometer to east of recorded island site.

Site 10. OiPq-8

Site is comprised of a Historic Copper Inuit stone cache which is located approximately eight/nine-meters from shoreline, southwest quarter of island. Unnamed island located mid-passage, of north and south ends, Boot Inlet. Smaller islet located one-half kilometer to east of recorded site.

Site 11. OiPq-9

Site is comprised of a Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring located on raised bluff above shoreline, southwest point of island, located approximately twenty-meters from shoreline. Unnamed island located mid-passage, of north and south ends, Boot Inlet. Smaller islet located one-half kilometer to east.

Site 12. OiPq-10

Site is located near river mouth and is locally known as “The Willows,” east/northeast wider section of Boot Inlet before narrowing at inlet’s northern extremity. Interviews with elders and other residents of Holman, Northwest Territories, identify this area as “The Willows.” Area seems to have been used heavily during fur trade period and, certainly right up to present day. Traplines have been set in this area along river until recently (R. Memogana personal communication). Tent rings comprised of stones. Scatter of (uncollected) miscellaneous late fur trade era materials present including wood, tin and aluminum. Site well-used over long period. Dense, forest-like growth of willow immediately to northeast and inland along river (Interview: J. Kataoyak 2004).

Site 13. OjPq-5

Heavily used site is situated at extreme northern point (“bottom”) of Boot Inlet and consists of a series of features including; six-plus Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings, three-plus stone caches, and probable fireplaces/hearths (stone) sited immediately along and above shoreline. Possible ca.1851-1852 Royal Navy habitation/tent ring located in center of this site. Nineteenth and early twentieth century exotic metals, wood, glass

recovered. This site can be said to be the southern starting point of the *Itivyaaq* connecting Winter Cove with Boot and Minto Inlets.

Site 14. OjPq-6

Site is located on a raised point-of-land, western side, extreme northern end, Boot Inlet, and is comprised of Historic Copper Inuit stone cache and fireplace area.

Site 15. OjPq-7

The site, identified as Neoeskimo (Protohistoric Copper Inuit) by author and Dr. James Savelle, Department of Anthropology, McGill University, is located on raised, hummocky point-of-land, east side of narrowing inlet, near extreme northern extremity, Boot Inlet (J. Savelle, personal communication) (see also: McGhee 1972:57-58). The site is comprised of a series of twenty-four large (heavy) stone tent rings, two caches, and one windbreak.

Site 16. OiPq-11

Site is comprised of Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring and cache and is located on protruding point-of-land, east shoreline, in the narrowing northeast extremity of Boot Inlet. Feature located approximately five-meters from shoreline atop rocky knob-like area, immediately above beach area/shoreline, northeastern quarter of extreme northern extremity of Boot Inlet.

Site 17. OjPq-8 - Site, which consists of Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring, is located approximately forty-meters above southern shoreline of unnamed inland lake located one-half kilometer north (immediately above) northern extremity of Boot Inlet. Lake is situated near southern end of the *Itivyaaq* connecting Boot Inlet (south) with Winter Cove (north). Exotic metals and glass present with evidence of *in situ* modification by Inuit.

Site 18. OjPq-9

Site comprised of small Historic Copper Inuit stone tent ring and fireplace/hearth is located on point-of-land extending into eastern body of unnamed lake located one-half kilometer immediately north of northern extremity of Boot Inlet on *Itivyaaq* connecting Boot Inlet (south) with Winter Cove (north). Exotic metals, wood and glass present with evidence of *in situ* modification by Inuit.

Site 19. OjPq-10

Site is comprised of three Historic Copper Inuit stone fireplaces situated on prominent bluff overlooking (on north side) northeast end of unnamed lake. Lake is located approximately one-half kilometer immediately north of northern extremity of Boot Inlet and lies on *Itivyaaq*, connecting Boot Inlet (south) with Winter Cove, (north). Wooden box from fur trade era present.

Site 20. OjPq-11

This site consists of two Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings and one fireplace/hearth situated on an unnamed lake located approximately 2.5 kilometers from north end of

Boot Inlet (second lake to the north from Boot inlet), roughly midway along *Itivyaaq* connecting northern extremity of Boot Inlet (south) with Winter Cove, (north). Site is an elevated area, southwest side of unnamed lake, overlooking lake. Exotic metals, wood and glass present.

Site 21. OjPq-12

Site consists of two Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings and five fireplaces located southwest quarter of lake, (south side) which is located approx 2.5- kilometers from north end of Boot Inlet (second lake to the north from Boot inlet), roughly midway along *Itivyaaq* connecting northern extremity of Boot Inlet (south) to Winter Cove (north). Some (unidentified) wood present.

Site 22. OjPq-13

Site is comprised of one stone fireplace/hearth and is situated on high ground at foot/base of peninsula extending into midsection of lake from south side. Lake is located approximately 2.5 kilometers from north end of Boot Inlet (second lake to the north from Boot inlet), roughly midway along *Itivyaaq* connecting northern extremity of Boot Inlet (south) to Winter Cove (north).

Site 23. OjPq-14

Site consists of five stone tent rings - one, the largest in size and situated at farthest northeast point on peninsula jutting into unnamed lake. One stone tent ring is a possible ca.1851-1852 Royal Navy habitation site. There are four Historic Copper Inuit stone tent

rings situated along peninsula, south to northeast. Probable Royal Navy tent site is identified by larger size, three stones situated for support of center pole and by a wider door opening. Lake is located approximately 2.5 kilometers from north end of Boot Inlet (second lake to the north from Boot inlet), roughly midway along *Itivyaaq* connecting northern extremity of Boot Inlet (south) to Winter Cove, (north). Site is situated on peninsula extending into midsection of lake from south side. Manufactured wood (probable Royal Navy pulley segment), metal fragment, wood fragment, faunal (small projectile point made of unidentified bone) and fish spear point recovered. Scatter of faunal remains both musk ox (*Ovibus moschatus*) and ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) present (Figure 41). This unnamed lake may be “Isthmus Lake” as described by Captain Richard Collinson of H.M.S. *Enterprise* (Collinson 1889:172).

Site 24. OjPq-15

Site consists of Historic Copper Inuit stone tent rings, four-plus caches and fireplace/hearth located on hillock immediately north and west of northern extremity (shoreline) of Boot Inlet. Hillock overlooks northern extremity of Boot Inlet.



Figure 40. Archaeology Survey, 2003. Two views of OjPr-11, Flagstaff Hill, Winter Cove. Top: Stone “flagstaff” base constructed by the crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise*, 1851-1852. Bottom: Grave of William Driver, Cook, H.M.S. *Enterprise* (Collinson 1889). Both Photos: Author.

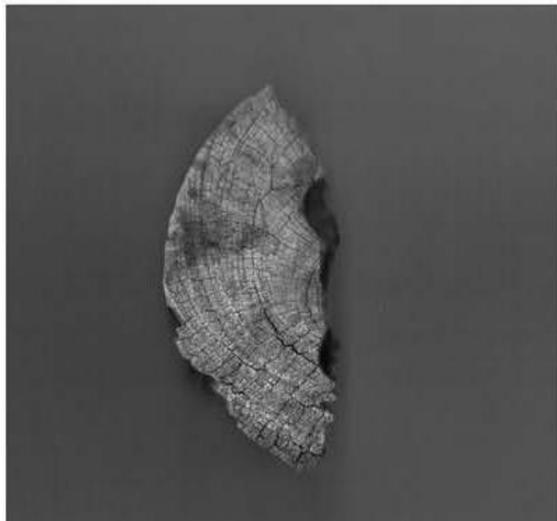


Figure 41. Top: OjPq-14, an Inland lake site recorded during archaeology survey of 2004. The lake is located at the mid-point of the *Itivyaaq* and is probable location of “Isthmus lake” noted in Collinson 1889 and, Skead 1849-1852. Bottom: partial nineteenth century pulley fragment found at OjPq-14. Both photos: Author.

Findings

Of the thirty-one sites selected and recorded during archeological surveys in 2003-2004, twenty-four sites were identified as exclusively nineteenth and/or early twentieth century Historic Copper Inuit in cultural affiliation (Figure 17) (Table 1). Three sites were identified as exclusively nineteenth century European (Royal Navy) in cultural affiliation. Two sites revealed material evidence suggesting occupation by both Copper Inuit and European. One site was identified as mid-twentieth century European (Eurocanadian). One site was identified as Neoeskimo (Table 1). It became clear during the first walking surveys in 2003 that a palimpsest of cultural materials from different periods overlay the Winter Cove area. That is, numerous sites existed given material and natural evidence that were associated with the mid-nineteenth century encounter between the Copper Inuit and H.M.S. *Enterprise*; several sites were associated with Copper Inuit interaction with the Canadian Arctic Expedition in the early twentieth century, while some sites represented the latter Fur Trade era of the mid-twentieth century. One expected the latter as the Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort Collinson and the Canalaska post were located in the immediate proximity during the late 1920s and through much of the 1930s. Therefore, in all instances, extreme care was taken in the identification of sites, and particularly those associated with the contact episode between the Copper Inuit and the Royal Navy in 1851-1852. Temporal identification of sites was accomplished through the relative dating of cultural materials, examining differences in habitation construction and orientation, and by measuring of lichen growth as seen in sites (e.g. Savelle 1987a; Hett 1978; Janes and Stewart 1985; Phillips 1985; Pielou 1994:188-190).

Of the twenty-four sites associated with nineteenth and/or early twentieth century Copper Inuit occupation, thirteen revealed the presence of exotic manufactured materials such as metals, wood and glass, or, nearly fifty-percent of the recorded sites. The two sites identified as being probable Copper Inuit and European in occupation also revealed exotic materials. In reference to the later sites, it cannot be determined conclusively that the sites were utilized by Copper Inuit and Europeans (Royal Navy personnel) simultaneously; however, the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence strongly suggests the co-habitation of one site, OjPq-14 (Figure 41). The presence of exotic materials in almost half of the Copper Inuit sites associated with the nineteenth century suggests a strong “pulse” of exotic material entering Copper Inuit intra- and intergroup material culture and trade systems.

The designation of “nineteenth/early twentieth century” was provided to a Copper Inuit site if a definitive temporal identification through material recognition could not be made. In some cases, both nineteenth and early twentieth century exotic materials were located in the same site, meaning that long-term usage of the site had occurred. However, priority in sampling in-the-field was given to nineteenth century sites clearly identifiable as such. The materials located in sites, some of which were collected for research purposes, varied, although metals, soft woods and glass predominated. Exotic materials were located throughout the survey areas in 2003 and 2004 (Figure 19). Some Copper Inuit sites, such as OjPq-2, a series of thirteen stone tent rings situated on a ridge on the southern periphery of Winter Cove, yielded diagnostically-altered exotic materials (Figure 15). At this particular site, for instance, a long, projectile-like point manufactured from tin, was located. This artifact was later analyzed by the staff of the Prince Of Wales

Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, and close examination revealed that the tin matched that of nineteenth century Royal Navy tin cans in onsite collections. OjPq-2 is definitely a nineteenth century Historic Copper Inuit site and yet, nearby, just below the ridgeline where the tent rings were located, survey members discovered a bifacial *ulu*-like implement constructed from glass (Figure 47). In this case, the glass was identified by its manufacturer's mark as early twentieth century in origin by staff members at the Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg. It is suggested that the implement was made from the bottom of a glass bottle associated with the Canadian Arctic Expedition overwintering at Winter Cove in 1916-1917 (Andrew Fallack, personal communication).

The surveys conducted in 2003-2004 also established that the *Itivyaaq* (or, portage), connecting Winter Cove with Boot Inlet was a traditional transit route used by northern Copper Inuit groups over a lengthy period of time (Figure 16). As indicated by the number of habitation sites, the lakes situated on the isthmus which the *Itivyaaq* crossed were visited seasonally by Copper Inuit for lake trout fishing. The aforementioned is corroborated by ethnographic and ethnohistorical information presented in other discussions within this study. Ten of the thirty-one sites recorded during surveys are located along the *Itivyaaq*.

A total of six sites were identified and recorded as European or Eurocanadian in origin (Figure 18). Five of these sites are associated with the overwintering of H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, 1851-1852 (Figure 32). The *Enterprise* was involved in two long-term direct contact episodes with the Copper Inuit, and these encounters are discussed at length in Chapter 7. The sites associated with the *Enterprise* are especially

interesting in that it is suggested that at two of the sites, discussed below, both Copper Inuit and Royal Navy occupation occurred.

In the Winter Cove area, Royal Navy activity is clearly associated with the two features at OjPr-11, a site located at the summit of Flagstaff Hill, a prominent physical landmark on the northern side of Winter Cove (Figure 17) (Table 1). One of the features at OjPr-11 is the burial site (grave) of William Driver, a Cook/crew member of H.M.S. *Enterprise* (Figure 40). In close proximity, the second feature, the stone base for a “flagstaff” made from one of ship’s spars, is located (Figure 40). Descriptions of, and information related to, both features is found in the published journal of Captain Richard Collinson, the commanding officer of the *Enterprise* (e.g. Collinson 1889:165, 221, 224). A stone cairn site (OjPr-8) located at the entrance to Winter Cove from Walker Bay was also recorded. In all probability, given evidence of weathering and extreme lichen growth, this survey feature was constructed by the crew of *Enterprise*.

Two sites recorded during the 2004 survey located south of Winter Cove suggest European habitation and activity associated with fuel and food procurement, and in both instances, possible Copper Inuit-Royal Navy social interaction. At OjPq-14, a site located on a lake at what is essentially the mid-point of the isthmus *Itivyaaq*, cohabitation is suggested by the presence of Copper Inuit stone tent rings and what purports to be a Royal Navy tent site (differentiated from Copper Inuit tent rings by the size and arrangement of stones used to hold-down canvas) (Figure 41). The site was certainly used by Inuit for fish harvesting activity, as suggested not only by tent rings, but by materials such as the fish spear points which were recovered. In addition to the probable Royal

Navy tent feature, a wooden pulley (later identified as a probable nineteenth century ship's pulley by staff members at both the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, and, the Manitoba Museum) was found at the site. The recovery of this artifact and its probable association with Royal Navy activity suggests that the lake at which OjPq-14 is situated, is Collinson's "Isthmus Lake," a Royal Navy fish netting locale, and the staging point for the transport (by "sleighs" or "sledges") of driftwood from Boot Inlet north to Winter Cove and the anchorage of H.M.S. *Enterprise* (e.g. Collinson 1889: 171).

Collinson noted frequent interaction between Copper Inuit and crew members at this location. The second site associated with possible Copper Inuit and Royal Navy social interaction is OiPq-1, a physically impressive site situated beneath a high cliff face on the southeast point of land where Boot Inlet joins with Minto Inlet. The Island of *Napigavik* lies just to the south of this site (Figure 39) (Table 1). OiPq-1 is believed to be the site described by Collinson in his journal where he and his party prepared a meal, possibly with Copper Inuit (Collinson 1889:171; Skead 1849-1852:57). Several Copper Inuit tent rings and a probable Royal Navy tent site were recorded at OiPq-1, while a number of European materials and manufactured objects – such as a pemmican tin, and, a colored glass bottom of a bottle – were collected (Figure 39). Both of the aforementioned items have been identified as nineteenth century in origin.

The two remaining sites associated with European occupation are associated with both nineteenth and twentieth century contact episodes. OiPr-2, was located in 2004 on a western headland overlooking Fish Bay, on Minto Inlet and is comprised of a (now dismantled) stone cairn, or, survey feature, constructed by the crew of H.M.S. *Enterprise* (Figure 39) (Collinson 1889:227). A large, very prominent (and, locally well-known)

stone cairn located on the western shoreline of Winter Cove was also recorded during the 2003 survey (Figure 44). The cairn was constructed by the crew of R.C.M.P. Schooner *St. Roch* during its overwintering in Winter Cove in 1940-1941 (e.g. Bockstoce 2000:50; Johnson 2003a).

When designing this study, it was felt that archaeological examinations could provide empirical evidence of the penetration of the World-System within Copper Inuit territory during the nineteenth century, and provide, by extension, a greater understanding of the impact of this penetration in the incorporation process overall. By conducting field surveys and employing systematic site survey methodology within the traditional territory of the northern Copper Inuit, a microcosm of all Copper Inuit areas, it was hoped that World-System penetration could be gauged or measured through the recording, analysis and interpretation of material evidence. The results from the 2003-2004 surveys provide some of this “evidence”. In particular, the fact that almost fifty-percent of all recorded nineteenth and/or early twentieth century Copper Inuit sites contained exotic materials is very significant. Undoubtedly, an infusion of these materials entered Copper Inuit material and intra-and intergroup trade systems during the mid-nineteenth century, and later. Much of this exotic material was found diagnostically altered in some way. These exotic materials could have emanated directly from H.M.S. *Enterprise*, however, we cannot rule out the probability that some materials could have been obtained from H.M.S. *Investigator* at Mercy Bay, or possibly from other Royal Navy related depot sites such as the Princess Royal Islands, Ramsey Island, or, those situated in Walker Bay (Figure 31). Other materials dated to the twentieth century were most likely obtained through interaction with the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918, and via the fur trade. The

salient point remains that many recorded Copper Inuit sites (and those observed though not recorded in the surveys) contained exotic material.

Results from the surveys also point to the cultural importance of the *Itivyaaq* which connects Boot Inlet with Winter Cove, to northern Copper Inuit groups as a route for group migration, and as an artery for the movement of trade to the south to Minto Inlet, and Prince Albert Sound where similar nineteenth century exotic materials have been recovered through archaeological investigations (McGhee 1972:98-100). The freshwater lakes located along and near the *Itivyaaq* were also of some importance in the seasonal food harvesting cycle of Inuit groups.

Lastly, in addition to their historical interest, some recorded nineteenth century European sites revealed evidence suggesting close cohabitation and interaction between Copper Inuit and Royal Navy personnel. Moreover, the very presence of Royal Navy sites – burial, ceremonial, survey, habitation – in northern Copper Inuit areas reminds us that similar sites were being left throughout Copper Inuit Territory at large by other agents of the World-System during this period. We need to bring this point into close relief, and focus on the realization that virtually no such sites existed prior to the period of the late Contact Periphery. Royal Navy sites like the survey cairns and the flagstaff base, are symbolic sites too, they represent a new language of “claims,” “possession,” and “flags”. This is the language of the World-System.



Figure 42. Two views of Skead's Bluff (*Kiguhuuq*), Walker Bay. Top: 2003. Photo: Ethan Applegarth. Bottom: 2007. Photo: Author.

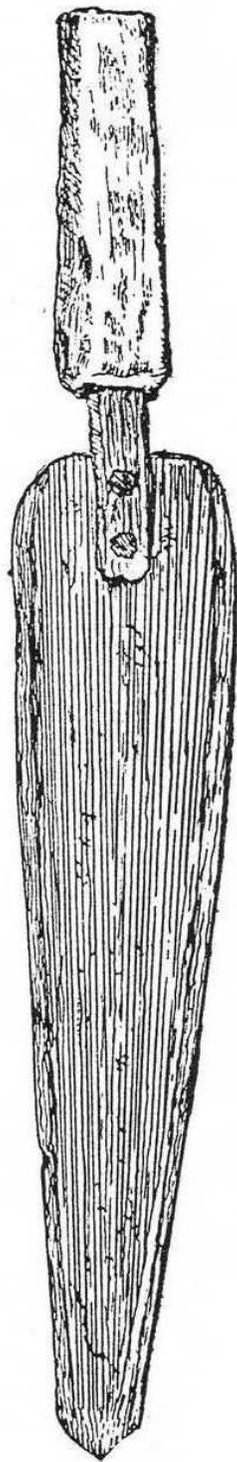


Figure 43. Left: “Knife, made of iron from M’Clure’s ship *Investigator*”. (From: D. Jenness 1946).

Right: “VR” (Victoria Rex) Royal Navy Bottle cap cutter. (From: McGhee 1972:98).



Figure 44. Three views of the cairn constructed by the crew of R.C.M.P. vessel *St. Roch*, in 1940-1941, Winter Cove. Top: cairn (OjPr-9), during author's survey, 2007. Photo: Author. Bottom right: Author at cairn during archaeological survey in 2003. Photo: Ethan Applegarth. Bottom left: cairn after construction by crew of R.C.M.P. vessel *St. Roch* (background) (From: Vancouver Maritime Museum).

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION MARGINAL PERIPHERY (1880 A.D.–1925 A.D.)

Predictions: Marginal Periphery

10. Breadth should increase. Greater interaction with agents and middlemen of the world-system should occur.

11. Depth should increase.

- a. Demographic shifts occur due to the introduction of the Fur Trade.
- b. Subsistence practices show new adaptations developed to obtain commodities for export to commodity chains of the world-system.

12. Internal Differentiation should continue to increase through expanding contact and interaction with agents of the world-system.

- a. Increased social complexity overall.
- b. Copper Inuit groups in some mainland areas exhibit greater social and economic complexity.

After experiencing direct and indirect contact episodes with agents of the Royal Navy and Hudson's Bay Company in the first half of the nineteenth century the Copper Inuit remained – as far as can be determined at this juncture - isolated from direct contact the World-System until the 1880s-1890s. The period characterized as the Marginal Periphery is initiated at this stage of incorporation (Figure 45). Nevertheless, indirect contact with the World-System, that is, through the post-abandonment utilization of exotic materials, continued in northern Copper Inuit areas, as groups of Inuit visited Mercy Bay and the *Investigator*, the depot – or both (see above). The traditional trade link to *Akilinik* on the Thelon River remained, and served as well used route to the southeast (Stefansson 1914). The continued usage of exotic materials by northern Copper

Inuit groups would change - at least to a certain extent - Inuit material culture, both in an intra- and intergroup usage as exotic materials moved through established trade systems (D. Jenness 1946). As we have seen, it is generally accepted that the mining of the Mercy Day depot (and, perhaps the *Investigator*) ended by the 1890s (e.g. Stefansson 1914, 1921).

This brief interregnum, a period when there was no direct contact between Copper Inuit and agents of the World System, certainly came to an end by the early twentieth-century, though perhaps, even before. During the last decade of the nineteenth-century, whalers based at Herschel Island (in what is now Yukon Territory) may have encountered Copper Inuit while engaged in bowhead whale (*Balaena mysticetus*) hunting (Bockstoce 1975:298-299, 1977:95, 1986:325,335). Indeed, as whalers sought out rapidly diminishing bowhead populations, some ship's captains left journal entries, (or, a record of their intentions within correspondence), suggesting that they sailed into, or near, Dolphin and Union Strait, and therefore, Copper Inuit territory. Other whaling vessels, such as the *Jeanette*, reported sailing up the west and north coasts of Banks Island in 1899 (Bockstoce 1977:95). In the early years of the twentieth-century, still other vessels - including the *Penelope* and the *Narwhal* - are known to have visited and landed at points along southern Banks Island (Stefansson 1921:240). Another vessel - the *Belvedere* - steamed to the northern reaches of Prince of Wales Strait (Bockstoce 1975:299). Similarly, it will be remembered that in 1909, Bernier's crew reported that they had found evidence of whalers having visited Mercy Bay. Additionally, as previously mentioned, there is the somewhat cryptic (though no less intriguing) report of whalers reaching Mercy Bay and finding the *Investigator* in 1908 (Bernier 1910; Buffalo Evening News 1908). In 1902, David Hanbury encountered a group of Copper Inuit children in the area north of the Back River and south of the coastline of Queen Maud Gulf, who, in Hanbury's words, "...very often played at a game of baseball, which they

had picked up from the American whalers (Hanbury 1904:130). This statement, (which is supported by personal observation by Hanbury rather than second-hand information), lends even greater weight to a growing body of evidence supporting probable Copper Inuit contact with whalers. The activities of whalers at this juncture can be seen as the continuation of the inexorable movement of the agents of World-System directly into Copper Inuit territory.



Figure 45. Map of Copper Inuit Territory – Marginal Periphery.

This penetration from the west in the last years of the nineteenth-century and into the very early twentieth-century was soon followed by even more invasive and continual penetration from the east and south as a stream of traders, scientists, missionaries, and governmental representatives entered Copper Inuit areas. The effects of the resulting direct and indirect contact would be long lasting, and the challenges of culturally mediating these effects would place a heavy burden on many Copper Inuit groups.

As bowhead whale stocks in western Arctic areas declined precipitously due to over-hunting, and whalers departed, seemingly forever, direct contact between Copper Inuit and Europeans and -Eurocanadians was resumed very early in the twentieth-century, and this was contact accompanied by a *frisson* of intersocietal interaction. The vanguard of this new generation of agents of the World-System can be said to have been led by David T. Hanbury (see above), a “traveler-sportsman” and two Inuit companions, who journeyed from Great Slave Lake to Chesterfield Inlet in 1898-1899. During this impressive journey, Hanbury essentially skirted the southern boundaries of Copper Inuit territory (Hanbury 1900). As Hanbury passed through the “well wooded” areas of *Akilinik* (on the Thelon River), he encountered several Inuit:

“We had the good luck to meet the Eskimo from the Arctic coast on the *Ar-e-leenik* River, who resort to this river to obtain wood for their sleighs. These natives had never set eyes on a white man before, and had no articles of civilization whatever. They were all dressed in deerskins, and armed with long bows arrows, and spears, beaten out of native copper. The use of tobacco was quite unknown to them, and firearms they had only heard about. They gave me a good deal of information about their country and the copper deposits along the Arctic coast, and I obtained from several copper implements, such as daggers, spears and arrowheads, needles, etc. which were beaten out of native copper, giving them in exchange knives, files, needles

which last appeared to have by far the most value in their eyes” (Hanbury 1900:69).

The “Eskimo” Hanbury mentions were, as we shall observe below, Copper Inuit - most probably members of groups residing along mainland coastal areas of western Coronation Gulf and, on Kent Peninsula (Hanbury 1900, 1903; D.Jenness 1921). Hanbury was a keen observer, and his written accounts are interesting – and relevant - for a number of reasons. First, it is apparent that at least some Copper Inuit at this time were still utilizing traditional trade systems and traveling to *Akilinik* for wood. Second, one notes that copper remains the predominant (and distinguishing) resource within their material culture and, finally, this particular group of individuals seems to have had little direct contact with agents of the World System.

Ever the inveterate traveler, Hanbury (again accompanied by Inuit hunter/interpreters), undertook an even more ambitious (and arduous) journey in 1902. Travelling from Chesterfield Inlet in the east, across the Thelon and Back Rivers, and thence, north to Ogden Bay on the Arctic Ocean, and, westward to the Coppermine River, Dismal Lakes, and ultimately, Great Bear Lake. This journey - accomplished on foot and by canvas canoe - essentially traversed mainland Copper Inuit areas from east to west (Hanbury 1903, 1904; D. Jenness 1921:543-544, 1922). Given the particular moment-in-time, and the route, this often forgotten “expedition” is important and illuminating, as we shall see, for several reasons. Hanbury was well educated, a meticulous observer, and he benefited greatly by having the invaluable service of Inuit interpreters. His observations, though obviously influenced by the mores and values within his own cultural *milieu*, do

reflect objectivity and can be generally considered to form a reliable ethnohistorical “portrait” of some (though not all), Copper Inuit groups on the eve of major change in their lifeways.

Hanbury’s account portrays the Copper Inuit that he encountered throughout his journey as people that have retained much of its traditional material culture (e.g. Oakes 1991; Oakes and Riewe 1995). Copper tools predominate in his descriptions in this respect, and so too, does traditional clothing made with sealskin and caribou hides, and containers manufactured with soapstone (Hanbury 1904:137, 144,148-149, 151, 153, 167,199). In one instance Hanbury states that “they [Inuit] were rich in copper implements” (Hanbury 1904:151). There are some references to Copper Inuit acquisition of manufactured materials, such as the “strings of beads” wore by a woman (obtained during a journey to *Ark-i-linik*), and, a small group of Inuit on the Back River possessed three manufactured metal knife blades, while one Inuk near Fitzgerald Island possessed a “musket” (without ammunition) (Hanbury 1904:140,144,151). Hanbury’s party also met an older woman on Kent Peninsula who remembered Collinson’s H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Cambridge Bay in 1852-1853, and of course, there is the mention (see above) of Inuit children playing baseball (Hanbury 1904:130,156). Lastly, there was ample evidence of Inuit travelling to *Akilinik* for trading (e.g. Hanbury 1903, 1904). This is a portrait of a people still deeply engaged in traditional lifeways, though, clearly, group members had been, and still were, directly and indirectly in contact with agents of the World-System or, their intermediaries.

Hanbury was, most definitely, an agent of change in his own right. Prior to initiating his journey, he had ordered a rather large collection of “articles” to be used for trade with the Inuit. His inventory of some sixty-one items included; eight dozen knives, five-thousand needles, fish lines, hatchets, ten-pounds of white beads, fifty-pounds of chocolate and four-dozen finger rings (Hanbury 1904:289-290). All of the articles were distributed through Inuit territory in trade or as gifts (Hanbury 1904:69,123,136,138,145, 148-149, 150,183,189,199; D. Jenness 1946:97). Indeed, Hanbury’s influential role in introducing new trade items into the intra- and intergroup material culture and trade systems of the Copper Inuit was recognized later by Stefansson, who, while conducting interviews in Prince Albert Sound with the *Kanghiryuarmiut*, learned that the Inuit who accompanied Hanbury from Chesterfield Inlet 1911 had soon after opened a more formal trade link to the Arctic coast in concert with the Hudson’s Bay Company on Kent Peninsula (Stefansson 1913:251). The cultural significance of this event was later noted by Diamond Jenness, an anthropologist with the Canadian Arctic Expedition’s Southern Party (1913-1916) during his fieldwork with the Copper Inuit (D. Jenness 1921:543-544).

Hanbury was followed by the Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen, who sailed through Copper Inuit territory from east to west while successfully navigating the Northwest Passage in the *Gjoa* from 1903-1907 (Amundsen 1908; Savours 1999:304-309; Delgado 1999:170-180). Thus did Europeans finally fully traverse the “traditional” and more southern passage, an area used for millennia by the Copper Inuit and their ancestors, the Thule. In early 1905, members of Amundsen’s party established contact with the Copper Inuit of Southeastern Victoria Island. Later, in August of 1905,

Amundsen and the *Gjoa* visited with the Copper Inuit of Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island (Savours 1999:307).

Now, in increasing numbers, free traders, (many of whom were former whalers), and other adventurers attracted by the publications of Hanbury and Amundsen, and recognizing the potential markets that had been, heretofore, virtually unexploited, began entering Copper Inuit territory, often for extended periods. These traders did not limit themselves solely to peripheral areas, but carried their trade into the very heart of Copper Inuit territory, often by ship (essentially, “trading schooners”). This is a very noteworthy period of time, in that a more regularized and large scale commercial trade developed in Copper Inuit areas, both northern and southern.

One of the first traders was Christian (or, “Charlie”) Klengenberg, a Dane and former whaler who, in his schooner *Olga*, wintered in the Cape Kendall area of southeastern Victoria Island in 1905-1906 (D. Jenness 1921:544; Condon 1996:35-46, 91; Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003). Klengenberg’s interaction with the Copper Inuit is also significant for a number of important reasons including those of an economic, cultural, material and demographic nature. By trading with the Inuit, Klengenberg essentially introduced and disseminated aspects of a new economic system – that of entrepreneurial capitalism - to Copper Inuit territory over the course of several years (Usher 1971:101). Klengenberg was also married to an Inupiat woman from northern Alaska named *Qimniq*, and the sons and daughters of their union would later play an intimate role in diffusing western Arctic influences in Copper Inuit territory. Some of the

Klengenberg's children would inter-marry with Copper Inuit and their descendents can be found in many Arctic communities today, (including several in Ulukhaktok who befriended and assisted the author at various times) (S. Jenness 2004:630-631). This "western Arctic" influence, primarily seen through movements of Inuvialuit peoples into Copper Inuit territory throughout the period of the Marginal Periphery, was initiated in part by Klengenberg who hired Inuvialuit men and their families to assist him in promoting trade (e.g. Metayer 1966:41; Condon 1996; Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003).

William Mogg, another whaler turned trader, utilized the *Olga* in 1907-1908, and overwintered among the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* in Minto Inlet, possibly in the Fish Bay area (D. Jenness 1921:544; Condon 1996: 45-46; c.f. S. Jenness 2004:210). Mogg was followed by Captain Joseph Bernard, in the schooner *Teddy Bear*. Bernard traded with Copper Inuit throughout the Coronation Gulf area, in 1910-1911 in the Kogaryuak River, just to the east of the Coppermine River; in 1912-1913 in Bernard Harbour in Dolphin and Union Strait, and in 1913-1914 in the protected waters of Lady Richardson Bay near Cape Kendall, Victoria Island (D. Jenness 1921:544, 1922; S. Jenness 2004:149). Barnard estimated that he had traded with approximately 1,700 Inuit during his stay at Lady Richardson Bay, though not more than two-hundred individuals at a time. (S. Jenness 2004:231). Nevertheless, these numbers (if correct) are significant given the total population of the Copper Inuit (see above), and suggest that individuals from several bands were attracted to Barnard's ship for trading purposes.

During this period, trading with the Copper Inuit was not relegated to “floating posts” of in the Coronation Gulf and Minto Inlet regions (Usher 1971:101). Great Bear Lake and its environs also acted as a trading *entrepot* of sorts, and became, as a result, an area of increased intersocietal interaction. As we have observed, some Copper Inuit groups traditionally resorted to the Dismal Lakes region near Great Bear Lake to hunt (especially caribou in the fall) and, to harvest fish during the summer season (e.g. Franklin 1828:269-270; G. Douglas 1914; Whalley 1962; Riewe 1996). Similarly, we have also seen how Great Bear Lake served as a locus for a number of expeditions (e.g. Franklin 1828; Dease and Simpson 1839; Richardson 1851a). Now, starting in 1908, and continuing for several years afterward, traders seeking to exploit the advantageous geographical/logistical position of the region, engaged in trade with the Copper Inuit at Great Bear Lake itself, but, more often, along the Dease River, at the Dismal Lakes, and along the Coppermine River. Foremost among these traders was C.D. Melville and John Hornby, who spent the years 1908-1911 trading with Inuit. Other traders followed, including Henry Radford and George Street in 1912, and, D’Arcy Arden in 1914 (D. Jenness 1921:544, 1922:31; Whalley 1962; S. Jenness 2004:231; c.f. Usher 1971:59). These new traders can be seen as actors in a broader pattern of diffusion that was developing, as materials and ideas entered southern Copper Inuit areas with ever greater frequency.

As traders penetrated Copper Inuit territory from the west, southwest and southeast, other agents of the world system representing exploratory, scientific, commercial, governmental and religious agencies initiated, almost simultaneously, wide-

scale movement into all regions of Copper Inuit territory. Bernier's voyage to Melville Island (see above), and the visit of his crew to Mercy Bay, Banks Island, in 1909, can be seen as the initial manifestation of governmental activity in (or near) Copper Inuit territory (given that Mercy Bay had been regularly visited by Copper Inuit for some time in order to obtain exotic materials, to hunt, or both) (Bernier 1910; Freeman 1981). The *raison d'être* behind Bernier's voyage in 1908-1909 was to fully establish Canada's claim of sovereignty over the entire archipelago of islands found in today's Northwest Territories and Nunavut Territory (Zaslow 1981:63). The long-term ramifications of Bernier's strategic, geopolitical exercise are clear. It is important to note that Copper Inuit territory had now "officially" been drawn into the Dominion of Canada, part of the British Empire and a core area within the expanding World-System.

Geopolitical considerations partially influenced the explorer/ethnologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson to return to Copper Inuit territory (accompanied by Dr. R.M. Anderson), on the second of his three Arctic journeys – the Stefansson-Anderson expedition of 1908-1912. This expedition was officially sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History, although Stefansson also received encouragement and, some monetary support from the Canadian Government through the auspices of the Geological Survey of Canada (e.g. Stefansson 1913, 1919; D. Jenness 1921:544; Christie and Kerr 1981:193; Pálsson 2001). Stefansson prepared for his entry to the Coppermine/Coronation Gulf area at Fort Norman on Great Bear Lake, where he met adventurers and traders like Melville and Hornby (Whalley 1962). Here, Stefansson mused with some prescience:

“The fur trading post on Bear Lake River [Fort Norman] is the natural market for Coronation Gulf. The white men there are eager for the Eskimo’s furs; the missionaries there are no less eager to extend their activities. Both (*or the fur traders at least*) will go to the sea if necessary to attain their ends. The Eskimo, after familiarity with our outfit for a summer, are set on getting guns, fish nets and tools, now that they know the Indians are really a harmless lot and friendly. In a year or two the Eskimo would go to the traders if the traders did not come to the Eskimo... Commerce in goods may, therefore, be said to have begun; commerce of ideas cannot help following close behind” (Pálsson 2001:255-256).

The stated purpose of Stefansson’s expedition was ethnographic in nature (he entered Copper Inuit areas in 1910), and it is very true that, in anthropological terms, his interviews with Copper Inuit in both the Dolphin and Union Strait, Coronation Gulf and in Prince Albert Sound during the years 1910-1911, yielded valued insight into the lifeways of a culture that was, even at this juncture, experiencing, and responding to, change. Materially, Stefansson noted that copper predominated among the groups he encountered, although he recorded the appearance of iron as well; from sources as diverse as both Winter Cove and H.M.S. *Enterprise*, and Mercy Bay and H.M.S. *Investigator* in the north, and via the traditional trade link to *Akilinik* to the south (e.g. Stefansson 1913:248, 284, 287). Similarly, Stefansson produced what would become a seminal article on Inuit trade systems through his interviews with Inuit informants (Stefansson 1914). Still, Stefansson possessed an overweening ambition and an uncanny instinct for publicity. His research was, in-part, focused on investigating whether the *Kanghiryuarmit* of Prince Albert Sound were in actuality the fabled “Blond Eskimos,” that is, descendents of survivors from the medieval Norse colony in Greenland (e.g.

Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003:124). The controversial aspects of Stefansson's career aside, a close and critical reading while hopefully, eschewing the concept of Presentism, (by comparing Stefansson's research methodology to present-day anthropological methods and techniques), of his ethnographic material, does lead one to the conclusion that his ethnographic work remains relevant even today (Steckley 2008:41). Like Hanbury before him, Stefansson also served as an agent of change, and knowingly, to be sure. He contributed to the infusion of trade materials entering Copper Inuit intra- and intergroup systems by exchanging such materials for ethnographic information and collections of clothing and tools. Similarly, he continued the by now standard practice of employing Inuvialuit from western Arctic areas much as whalers and traders (such as Klengenber and Mogg) had previously done. Stefansson and his employees, individuals like the famed hunter *Natkusiak*, also diffused new materials - and ideas - within Copper Inuit areas (J. Memogana, personal communication; e.g. Stefansson 1913, 1919; Pálsson 2001:257).

Core areas of the World-System, such as Great Britain, had, as we know, long expressed curiosity about the native copper deposits located in Copper Inuit Territory, even before direct contact was established between the Hudson's Bay Company's Samuel Hearne and Inuit in 1771. Within mainland Copper Inuit territory the distribution of copper occurs in some thirty-six localities, although primarily in three broad areas; northeast of the Dismal Lakes, scattered in several sites east of the Coppermine River, and within the Coppermine Mountains (Franklin, et. al. 1981:4). Copper deposits can also be found on Victoria Island in the Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet areas (e.g.

Stefansson 1913, 1914; Franklin, et. al. 1981:136; Morrison 1987; S. Jenness 2004:327; D. Morgan, personal communication). In addition to being one of the primary resources in their material culture, the Copper Inuit also traded copper widely through their intra- and intergroup trade networks (Morrison 1987). In the eighteenth-century, they sometimes traded with Chipewyan (Dene) peoples of the sub-Arctic regions, who, in turn, alerted employees of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Churchill of the mineral's presence in Copper Inuit territory (Burch 1979). Hence, one can more easily understand the economic rationale supporting Hearne's long journey from Hudson Bay to the Arctic Ocean undertaken at least in-part to investigate copper deposits (Hearne 1958:112). Several nineteenth-century expeditions reported on Copper deposits (e.g. Franklin 1823:341; M'Clintock 1856). During the early years of the twentieth-century, Hanbury exhibited keen interest in copper usage among the Copper Inuit he encountered and he took time to investigate copper-bearing sites in the Bathurst Inlet area during his east-west transect of Copper Inuit territory in 1902 (Hanbury 1903, 1904:206). By 1911, serious interest in reports of copper in the region was renewed when a group of geologists headed by George Douglas, who entered Copper Inuit territory via the Great Bear Lake axis. During a preliminary reconnaissance, Douglas and his party established direct contact with Copper Inuit hunters near the Dismal Lakes (Jenkins 2005:31-32). The following summer of 1912, Douglas, his brother Lionel and Dr. August Sandberg retraced their route to the Dismal Lakes and the Kendall River, and then descended the lower section of the Coppermine River, portaged around Bloody Falls, and ultimately, reached Coronation Gulf. During their descent of the Coppermine River this party

surveyed the river valley for copper deposits and, once again, interacted with Copper Inuit families (e.g. Douglas 1914; Jenness 1921:544; Mallory 1989).

For Missionaries, agents of both the World-System and an order eager to diffuse the dogma of Christianity, there were other “resources” to be found in Copper Inuit territory; the Inuit themselves with their animistic/shamanic (and highly pragmatic) belief system (e.g. D. Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1932). Here too, the Great Bear Lake axis served (at least initially) as the “port of entry” for these ideas. Missionization was initiated by the Catholic Church in 1911 when the Oblate priest, Father Jean-Baptist Rouvière established long-term contact with a group of Copper Inuit at Lake *Imaerinik*, in the Dismal Lakes region. Later, Rouvière was joined by Father Guillaume Le Roux, and their intention was to develop a full-time mission station on Coronation Gulf. It was on their return from a reconnaissance to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1913, that Rouvière and Le Roux were killed by the Copper Inuit, *Sinnisiak* and *Uluksak*, near Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River (Douglas 1914:157-169; D. Jenness 1921:544; Neatby 1984:386; S. Jenness 1991:596-598; Jenkins 2005). Prior to the deaths of the missionaries, two other trader/adventurers - Henry Radford and George Street – were killed, also by Inuit, in Bathurst Inlet (Harring 1989; New York Times 1913). These cases are discussed below, though suffice it to say that they provide evidence of the conflict that can often ensue through intercultural encounters. The deaths of Rouvière and Le Roux slowed the process of Missionization until the 1920s at which time both Anglicans and Catholics would return to Copper Inuit territory.

By 1913, Stefansson returned to the area as the leader of the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918 (Stefansson 1914, 1921; Douglas 1914; D. Jenness 1916, 1921, 1922, 1946; 1991; S. Jenness 2004). Stefansson's far reaching project emanated out his previous experiences in the Arctic, and through his personal ambition. To be sure, he envisioned himself as a classic polar explorer, much like an Amundsen perhaps. Stefansson was a gifted self-promoter as well, and having earlier established a relationship with the Geological Survey of Canada, in 1913 he was now able to obtain the complete support – financially and otherwise – of the Canadian Government. However, there was sense of balanced reciprocity at play between the Canadian Government (and then Prime Minister Robert Borden), and Stefansson, the entrepreneurial explorer/ethnologist. By 1913, there was increasing concern for the claims of Canadian sovereignty over Arctic islands, and by supporting Stefansson's exploratory agenda, and, through sponsorship of scientific research projects; the Government's jurisdiction would, in essence, be directly extended into areas of the Arctic claimed by Canada – including Copper Inuit territory (Zaslow 1981:63). It should be noted that this expedition was the "...most all-encompassing government scientific expedition into the Canadian Arctic prior to 1955..." (S. Jenness 1991: xxvii). The actions of the Canadian Arctic Expedition would have a profound effect on the Copper Inuit. Direct interaction between the expedition's members and a number of Copper Inuit groups would be frequent, often long-term and eventful. Similarly, the nature and geographical locales of the interaction would also vary widely. Expedition members would introduce significant numbers of trade goods into Copper Inuit material culture, solicit and obtain ethnographic

information and collections, continue the now standard practice of employing Inuvialuit, and, would ultimately engage the Copper Inuit themselves as employees.

The Canadian Arctic Expedition was organized into a northern discovery (or, exploratory) party, and southern party comprised of a number of scientists tasked with investigation in the Natural Sciences including the fields of zoology, oceanography, botany, mineralogy and geology as well as in the Social Sciences, specifically, geography and anthropology. The northern party, whose task it was to search for “new land,” was primarily based at Cape Kellet, Banks Island, although wintering locales were, at times, located deep within Copper Inuit territory. The operations of the Expedition’s southern party were centered-on Bernard Harbour, a mainland site west of Coronation Gulf in the Dolphin and Union Strait area (Stefansson 1914, 1921; D. Jenness 1921:545; Condon 1996:53-54).

The northern party’s interaction with the Copper Inuit was especially intense during the years 1915-1917, when expedition members, and, individuals, families, and entire groups of northern Copper Inuit came into contact with each other. Quite ironically, it was the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* of Minto Inlet, and the *Kanghiryuarmit* of Prince Albert Sound, denizens of areas situated on the very outermost periphery of the World System – who, like their relatives at Winter Cove in 1851-1852, once again experienced (and mediated) the arrival of agents of the prevailing world economic order.

Stefansson's northern party was wholly successful in its determination, and efforts, to discover "new lands," as Brock, Meighen, Borden and Lougheed Islands were added to the map of Arctic Canada at this time, while coastal surveys initiated by the Royal Navy of Victoria and Prince Patrick islands in the 1850s were also completed (e.g. Stefansson 1921; Cooke and Holland 1978). In 1915-1916, a support base for the Northern party was established at Armstrong Point, north of Deans Dundas Bay on the northwest coast of Victoria Island. In 1916-1917, another base was established within *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* territory at Winter Cove, Walker Bay. The locus for these bases was CAE *Polar Bear*, an expedition schooner which served a magnet of sorts (along with expedition personnel, both Eurocanadian and a growing number of Inuvialuit), which attracted groups of Copper Inuit to both Armstrong Point and Winter Cove (Figure 46) (Stefansson 1921:401,469; Condon 1996:54-55). The presence of the expedition occasioned some – though not, it seems, total - disruption in the Copper Inuit seasonal cycle as Inuit traded, and in some cases, found employment at these bases. By 1916-1917, at least two Copper Inuit, including one named, "*Ulipinna*," a member of the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut*, were providing logistical support for the expedition, and even traveling to the northern party's forward base on Melville Island (Stefansson 1921:598). Additionally, expedition members associated with the northern party, individuals like Hubert Wilkins, *Natkusiak*, and Stefansson himself, visited with disparate groups of Copper Inuit from Victoria Island and beyond (e.g. Stefansson 1921:416, 469). Wilkins, the peripatetic expedition photographer, executed some of the first (and certainly some of the most evocative), photographs ever taken of the Copper Inuit during this period (e.g. S. Jenness 2004:319-328).



Figure 46. Canadian Arctic Expedition schooner CGS *Polar Bear*, on the beach at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, June 1917. (From: Canadian Museum of Nature, JH 63491).

Nevertheless, beneath the somewhat subjective imagery of what Stefansson termed “pleasant” relations between Copper Inuit and expedition personnel at Winter Cove, a more exacting examination of the writing of various contemporary observers clearly suggests an underlying and growing social turbulence among Copper Inuit groups being manifested due to contact with the growing number of “outsiders” (Stefansson 1921:598). There seem to have been sizable numbers of both *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and the *Kanghiryuarmiut* visiting Armstrong Point and Winter Cove, and similarly, some Inuit had been attracted to Cape Kellet on Banks Island to trade (Stefansson 1921:370). By 1916, the schooner *Challenge*, crewed in-part by former members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition who were keen to trade with the Inuit, was wintering in Minto Inlet “... within a half-days journey by sled from the *Polar Bear* in Walker Bay” (Stefansson 1921:598; D. Jenness 1921:545; S. Jenness 2004:355-356). Subsequently, Stefansson reported that there was “trouble” with the Inuit near Ramsey Island (sometimes know as Bear Island) outside of Walker Bay (Stefansson 1921:430). Similarly, in June, 1916, Diamond Jenness of the Expedition’s southern party reported: “There had been a great number of Eskimos – combined *Kanghiryuarmiut* and *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* off outside Minto Inlet, with whom they [members of the northern party] had much trouble. Two sleds from [Cape] Kellet or the Sound which visited them were stripped of everything by the natives” (S. Jenness 2004:600).



Figure 47. Glass bifacial *Ulu*. (From: Archaeological Survey 2003, Winter Cove).

Meanwhile, the Expedition's southern party - comprised of scientists and the lone anthropologist, Diamond Jenness - was actively engaged in numerous surveys and studies, and, much like their counterparts to the north, were intensely involved with various groups of Copper Inuit throughout 1915-1916 across the entire southern tier of Inuit territory. Operating from the expedition base at Bernard Harbour, geological and geographical surveys were mounted throughout the Coronation Gulf area, eastward to Bathurst Inlet and north to southern Victoria Island. Among the highest priorities of the southern party was the mapping of copper deposits in Bathurst Inlet. This project was accomplished, (thereby ensuring the future exploitation of copper) and, in the process, greater interaction with mainland Copper Inuit groups was initiated as expedition members traveled from Bernard Harbour, along the southern coastline of Coronation Gulf into Bathurst Inlet and back (S. Jenness 1991). As the expedition gradually settled-in to residence at their base, growing numbers of Copper Inuit were attracted to Bernard Harbour to trade. As a noteworthy example, in February of 1915, Diamond Jenness found that a nearby sea ice encampment of Inuit was comprised of individuals representing no less than nine different bands; the *Walliarimuit*, *Nagyuktomiut*, *Kanghiryuarmit*, *Noahognirmiut*, *Haneragmiut*, *Piuvlirmiut*, *Akulliakuttugmiut*, *Pallirmiut*, and *Kogluktomiut* (S. Jenness 1991:395). Still other Inuit responded to overtures offering part-time employment with the southern party as well as serving as informants and guides for ethnographic research.

Much in keeping with the professional agenda of fellow scientists, the highly capable Diamond Jenness set about conducting the first holistic anthropological study of

the Copper Inuit. Jenness was eminently suited to the task at hand. Born in New Zealand, and educated at Oxford University, and essentially a “citizen of the British Empire,” Jenness had previous fieldwork experience in Papua New Guinea, and possessed the intellectual and physical attributes necessary to undertake – alone - a classic four-field study – cultural, physical, archaeological and linguistic – of the Copper Inuit (e.g. D. Jenness 1922; S. Jenness 1991:xxxix-xxxix; Steckley 2008:38-39). Jenness initiated his field studies with the Copper Inuit in September, 1914, and concluded his work in July 1916 (e.g. S. Jenness 1991). In the intervening period he worked, through every season, with Copper Inuit in Bernard Harbour (or, the “station” as Jenness termed it), at other sites in the Coronation Gulf area, including the Coppermine River area, Liston Island, Sutton Island, and, on Victoria Island. Significantly, at one point Jenness spent seven-months living with the *Haneragmiut* on Southwestern Victoria Island (e.g. D. Jenness 1922, 1923; S. Jenness 1991:415-545). Jenness also briefly met and interacted with a group of traveling *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* while with the *Haneragmiut* (e.g. D. Jenness 1922). The scope of his ethnographic project was impressive, as he collected some 2,500 items representing every aspect of Copper Inuit material culture. Similarly, he conducted interviews, amassed hundreds of photographs, drawings, recorded songs and, took cephalic measurements (e.g. D. Jenness 1921, 1922, 1923, 1946; S. Jenness 1991).

Moreover, as a participant-observer, Jenness was fully aware of the changes that were occurring within Copper Inuit culture. Overall, the expedition was responsible for the infusion of thousands of material items – rifles, metal pots, traps, knives, axes, and tools, “fathom” after fathom of calico, and much more besides (e.g. Figure 47). Jenness

himself distributed items in recompense for the materials and information he collected from Inuit over the course of two-years (S. Jenness 1991: 671-696). Beyond *matériel* brought by the expedition and which was now circulating widely through Copper Inuit intra- and intergroup trade systems, the fox hunting that had been initiated by free traders was fully established and a firm foundation was constructed for the fur trade. Many of the Inuvialuit, such as *Natkusiak*, who had been employed by the expedition, stayed and married Copper Inuit woman, and, more would soon follow (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003:124-125). Expedition vessels were left with Inuvialuit, (who were fast becoming an entrepreneurial class), and these were used to expand the fur trade on Banks Island and deep within Inuit territory. Similarly, ideas and knowledge of a new world were disseminated. After leaving Copper Inuit territory in June of 1916, and then, serving in the Canadian forces during World War I, Jenness ultimately went on to produce several authoritative articles and books on the Copper Inuit (e.g. D. Jenness 1916, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1946). He would later state, echoing and then amplifying on Stefansson's comments in 1910-1912, (see above), that, "since 1916... the revolution has been rapid and complete" (D. Jenness 1921:547). And further, "...clearly for better or for worse, the new era has dawned, and only the future can decide whether the natives will survive or go under: (D. Jenness 1922:249).

The articulation of the Copper Inuit into the Fur Trade and the first stages of economic dependency continued during, and immediately after, the First World War as the Hudson's Bay Company and a number of independent traders such as Northern Traders Ltd., established a series of fur trade posts across the southern tier of Copper Inuit territory (Usher 1971:101-120; Zaslow 1981:70; Damas 1988a). Critically, by 1916,

the Hudson's Bay Company had established a post at Bernard Harbour on Coronation Gulf thereby providing a springboard for future fur trade operations (D. Jenness 1922:31; Riewe 1986). Soon, two additional Hudson's Bay Company posts appeared, both in 1919, at Tree River, and, in Melville Sound, Kent Peninsula (D. Jenness 1921:545, Usher 1971, (figure 49). However, the appearance of a monopolistic power like the Hudson's Bay Company (or, reappearance, if one recalls that Samuel Hearne, a "servant" of the Hudson's Bay Company, visited Bloody Falls in 1771), did not preclude the continued activity (at least for a time), of independent traders like Bernard and Klengenberg who operated in Coronation Gulf and environs until 1920 (D.Jenness 1921:545, Usher 1971). In the case of Klengenberg, after 1920 his trading activities were assumed by his daughter Etna, and her husband Ikey Bolt, an Inuvialuit who had worked for Stefansson in the past (Condon 1996:91).

The appearance of the Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP), (later, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police), within Copper Inuit territory dates to this period as well. This paramilitary organization representing one component of governmental administration was introduced – albeit gradually – in the Coronation Gulf area due to the murders of Rouvière and Le Roux in 1913, by the Copper Inuit, *Sinnisiak* and *Uluksak* near Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River and that of Henry Radford and George Street, also by Inuit, in Bathurst Inlet in 1911 (see above). In 1916, an RNWMP patrol led by Inspector C.D. LaNauze covered some three-thousand miles from Great Bear Lake to Coppermine and thence west to Bernard Harbour and ultimately, Herschel Island, in the process of bringing *Sinnisiak* and *Uluksak* to trial (e.g. S. Jenness 1991:597; Jenkins 2005). A second and equally intensive patrol under the command of Inspector Francis H. French was tasked with investigating the Radford and Street killings. During much of

1917-1918 French and his party traveled from Baker Lake, west to Bathurst Inlet, and Coppermine, and then southeast via the Thelon River to Baker Lake, a total distance of over 5,000 miles (Steele 1935:193-199 Haring 1989; New York Times 1913). Inuit guides accompanied both patrols. In-the-end, *Sinnisiak* and *Uluskak* were tried in Edmonton, and, in the course of two celebrated legal proceedings, found guilty and condemned to death. Their sentences were later commuted and, after serving two-year's minimum security confinement at Fort Resolution, these Inuit were ultimately released (Jenkins 2005:171-224). The Bathurst Inlet Inuit were found to have acted in self-defense and no arrests were made. And so, the first RNWMP patrols and, the establishment of a RNWMP post at Tree River in 1919, can be seen as the beginning of the introduction of a State judiciary system which within the next decade would encompass most of the Copper Inuit territory and gradually form a palimpsest over the egalitarian, band organized social control system of the Copper Inuit., a system that had operated – seemingly - for hundreds of years (e.g. Jenness 1922:242; Steele 1935:202; Condon 1995:115).

Other incursions continued, and no sooner had the Canadian Arctic Expedition departed then Missionization reemerged with the establishment, in 1915-1916, of an Anglican facility at Bernard Harbour (e.g. D. Jenness 1921: Condon 1996:115). By this time, due to the initial presence of trader Captain Joseph Bernard in 1912-1913, and later, expedition personnel, Bernard Harbour had become a natural point-of-trade and, idea exchange for several Copper Inuit groups. Roman Catholic efforts at Missionization had declined after the deaths of Rouvière and Le Roux, although they had not been entirely diminished. When visiting a dance house of an Inuit encampment on the sea ice of

Coronation Gulf (near Coppermine) in February of 1915, Diamond Jenness observed that one Inuk: "... had two small cups and two saucers, and tea, obtained at Great Bear Lake...". Jenness also recorded that the Inuk possessed: "... a Roman breviary (in Latin), [and] a French illustrated Scripture lesson book..." as well as an impressive number of trade goods, including firearms (S. Jenness 1991:394). By 1918, The Catholic Church had reopened the mission at Lake *Imaerinik*, in the Dismal Lakes region, which was attracting some of the Inuit who traditionally engaged in food harvesting in that area (D. Jenness 1921:545).

With a certain sense of inevitability, the final years of what was surely a period of significant transition for the Copper Inuit gradually came to a close. A "new era" beckoned, one might say (Damas 1988a:133). Copper Inuit interaction with Eurocanadians, and Inuvialuit continued apace, and Copper Inuit-Aboriginal contact was also reestablished after more than one-hundred years. Trade seems to have been the catalyst in Inuit-Aboriginal interaction. In 1916, some of the Copper Inuit living near the Tree River travelled to the "upper-reaches" of the Coppermine River to trade with Dog Rib people from Fort Rae. The following year, a band of seventeen Dog Rib journeyed hundreds of miles down the Coppermine River to Coronation Gulf to trade with Inuit. Similarly, trade connections continued to occur in the Great Slave Lake area (D. Jenness 1921: 548).

All of the changes seen during the period of Marginal Periphery did not seem to create profound social dislocation among Copper Inuit groups, let alone a major shift in seasonal economic activity. True, seasonal trading locales, and later, expedition bases such as Bernard Harbour and Armstrong Point acted as magnets attracting Copper Inuit and thereby having some effect on traditional seasonal group harvesting activities and settlement patterning. The influx of trade items, as we have observed, certainly changed

Copper Inuit material culture, and this would also have manifested itself within intra- and intergroup trade systems as well. Iron, firearms, metal pots and calico coverings were now gradually replacing stone and bone and skins (e.g. Damas 1988a:141). Even copper, a material mainstay was being replaced, except perhaps when used as rivets (D. Jenness 1921: 547). Similarly, we can be sure that ideas – both the mundane, and the sublime – were also traded. Conflict between Inuit and Eurocanadians had also taken place, though the violence was isolated and, in these occurrences, Copper Inuit can be said to have acted in self defense or, as in the case of *Sinnisiak* and *Uluksak* within the specific bounds of their cultural interpretation of human behavior (Jenkins 2005).

Where some definite change had occurred was in the economy of the Copper Inuit. Traps and fur trapping had been introduced by free traders, and by 1916, fox trapping was growing, although it as yet remained adjunct to subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering which remained the primary economic activity. Northern Copper Inuit groups seem to have maintained (with minor variation) the traditional seasonal cycle with its emphasis on the land-sea dichotomy (Damas1988:142). However, incipient changes in the economic activity were observed within southern Copper Inuit groups. Though they too continued to engage in the seasonal round, some modifications in this practice can be seen. The period spent on the sea ice by some of these groups seems to have been abbreviated to a certain extent by the need to spend more time on land trapping and hunting caribou (Jenness 1921:548). This was true of groups, such as those in the Dease Strait and Kent Peninsula areas, who began spending more time inland during the winter. In 1920, the trader Captain Joseph Bernard reported to Diamond Jenness that during the winter of 1919-1920, only about half of the Inuit population of the Dease Strait area remained on the sea ice during the winter, as some gravitated inland to hunt arctic fox, and subsequently, caribou as well (D. Jenness 1922:548). This is a clear manifestation of the influence of free traders, (and later, the Hudson's Bay Company), and the

introduction of a trapping/barter economy and how this “new economic idea” was diffusing throughout Copper Inuit groups. In this instance, inland trapping, (and, hence the harvesting of more and more caribou for subsistence during this activity) began to change the nature of cyclic winter sea ice sealing. Given the growing need for imported items such as rifles, ammunition, knives, etc., (a quasi-pragmatic consideration at this stage to be sure, rather than one overt consumerism), and, once established, there emerged the necessity of maintaining the newfound economic (barter) relationship with a trader. This relationship burgeoned with the establishment of additional Hudson’s Bay Company posts on Melville Sound, Kent Peninsula, in 1920, and at Perry River in 1926 (e.g. (D. Jenness 1921:548; Usher 1971; Damas 2002:19-20).

Knud Rasmussen, the Danish/Greenlandic ethnologist and leader of the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-1924, visited mainland Copper Inuit groups during his peregrinations in 1923-1924. Like Jenness before him, Rasmussen was a skilled and highly competent participant-observer who possessed a strong background in ethnological research in Greenland. David Damas has observed that the “...information brought by Knud Rasmussen from his brief but intensely productive journey through Copper Eskimo country in the winter of 1923-24 is an excellent example of... [“highly useful”]... baseline data” (Damas 1988a:130). Rasmussen recorded that a major diminution of caribou herd numbers had occurred, and particularly in the numbers of caribou that reached Victoria Island during the annual migration from the mainland. Overhunting of this mammal by Inuit (now using rifles), being the primary cause in the rapid population decline (e.g. Jenness 1921, 1922: 243; Rasmussen 1932: 55-62). The reaction, that is to say, the cultural adaptation to this shortage of caribou is reflected in the subsequent actions of the Copper Inuit groups on Kent Peninsula who now faced a shortage of new skins for clothing and the Tree River peoples, who experienced a shortage of food (Damas 1988a:141). Both groups initiated breathing hole sealing a

month earlier than usual, though in reduced numbers. Other groups from southern Victoria Island reacted to the caribou shortage by joining the sealing camps of western Inuit groups on Dolphin and Union Strait, and creating intergroup social composition. Some of these Victoria Island Inuit also joined caribou hunts on the mainland in the summer as well (Rasmussen 1932:69; Damas: 1988:142).

Rasmussen, who was also present when the first Hudson's Bay Company post was established within Netsilik Inuit territory in 1923, observed the same radical changes – at least in a material sense - and extraordinarily rapid cultural articulation taking place within the Copper Inuit region. In November of 1923, Rasmussen encountered an Inuk “carrying a brand-new Mark 1920 repeating rifle” who led Rasmussen and party into his camp:

“From the furnishings and utensils in his snow hut it was easy to see that we could not be far from the trading post. Fine blankets, the best of the Hudson's Bay Company stock, were spread about the platform along with rugs of much more useful material in this land and climate - caribou skin. Enamel dishes had replaced the fine, blubber-shiny wooden trays that are made of driftwood; aluminum pans took the place of stone pots, and even the handsome Eskimo lamp of soapstone had had to surrender to a shiny basin of tin.

Up on the platform, sitting cross-legged, was a young woman in a magnificent caribou-skin jacket, though its beautiful color effect was entirely concealed by a red overall of calico. Her hands were weighted with gaudy “shop” rings, and between two fingers she held a fragrant “Lucky Strike” cigarette with almost blasé nonchalance”
(Rasmussen 1932:10).

CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION DEPENDENT PERIPHERY (1925 A.D. – Present)

Predictions: Dependent Periphery

13. Breadth should increase greatly. Copper Inuit interaction with agents of the World-System continues. Regularized interaction with fur traders is now apparent. Other forms of interaction are also increasing.

14. Depth increases greatly.

a. Copper Inuit populations are centered in core areas such as Coppermine, Cambridge Bay and Holman (Ulukhaktok).

b. The Fur Trade is now the primary mode of production. All “indicators” show incorporation has occurred.

15. Internal Differentiation continues with expanding interaction with agents of the World-System.

a. Centralization of Copper Inuit populations occurs following “Dispersal Policy”.

The period of the Dependent Periphery is characterized by a gradual transition within Copper Inuit groups from a quasi-subsistence-trapping economic system into active participation within the Fur Trade as a mode of production (Figure 48).

The arrival of fur trading operations essentially meant that Copper Inuit were now operating, in part, within the market economy – a major step in terms of ultimate incorporation, and dependency, within the World-System. By 1923-1925, this factor had, as we have already seen, altered the traditional seasonal cycle of land use, although it

must be said, not holistically. Indeed, elements of traditional economic orientation, especially the practices revolving around subsistence hunting and fishing, continued in some form, and indeed, persist in large and important degrees within Copper Inuit societies until this very day.

Although the changes in Copper Inuit society seem revolutionary, upon closer inspection, one can observe change occurring within Copper Inuit society through a more gradual process. Critically, though outside forces were increasingly present in the form of economic and governmental institutions, as has been suggested, the very nature of Copper Inuit society seems to have helped shape the process of incorporation and, aid in the mediation of new ideas. This factor worked to the benefit of the World-System, and, as we shall see, it also served to lessen the negative impact of “change” within Copper Inuit society itself. The Inuit were among other things, expert traders, and their *in situ* intra-and intergroup interconnections insured the movement of new ideas and commodities. So too, in this regard, did their impressive capabilities as travelers, used to constant seasonal movement. Moreover, Inuit everywhere were practiced traders, highly skilled at receiving “good measure” in trading relationships. Similarly, traditional egalitarian sociocultural practices such as forming extra-familial alliances and partnerships were adapted for interaction with traders, like Hudson’s Bay Company factors, for instance.

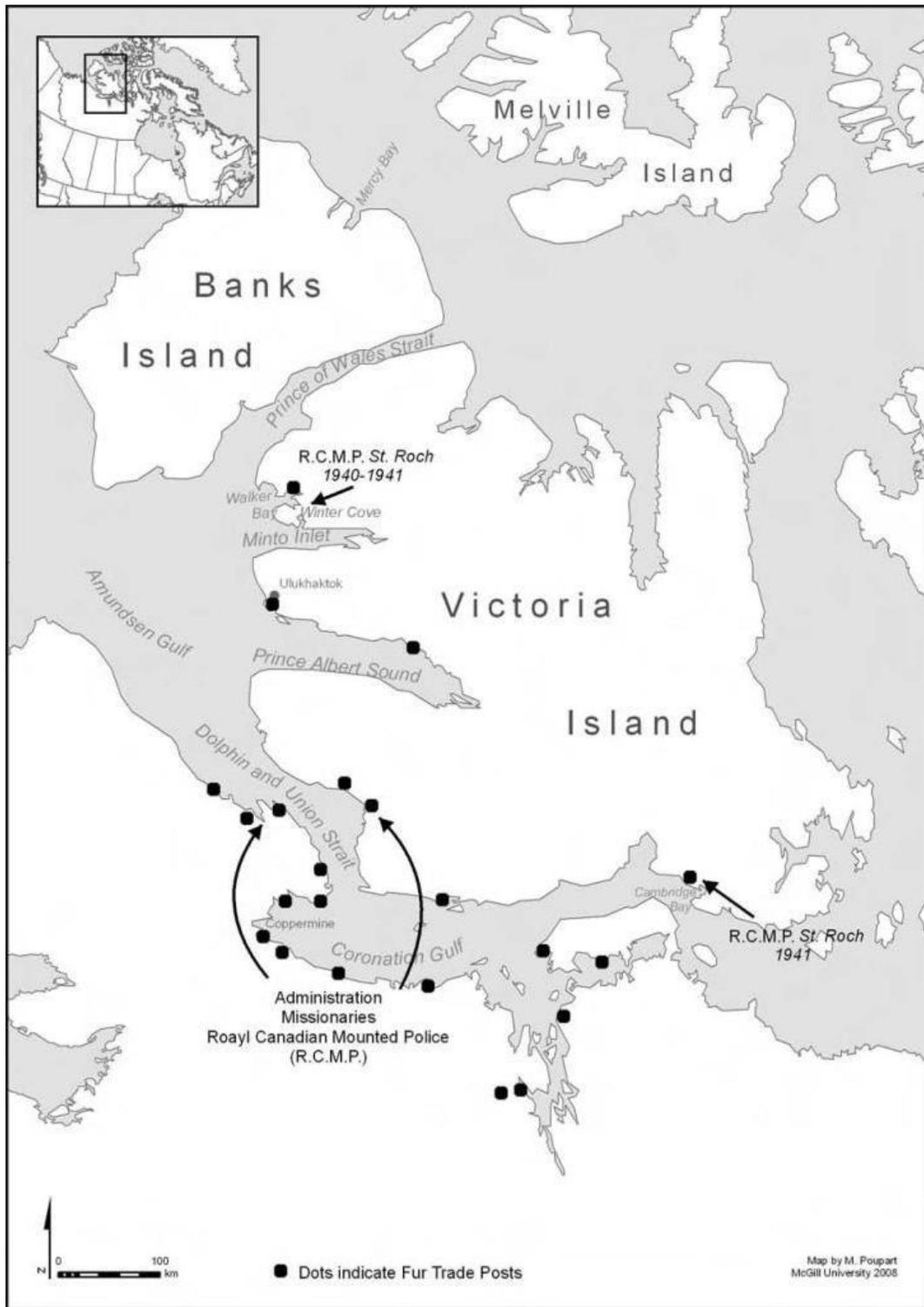


Figure 48. Map of Copper Inuit Territory – Dependent Periphery.

By embracing a fur trade economy, Copper Inuit added not only rifles to their material culture, but steel traps and fishnets as important hunting, trapping and fishing tools. The use of rifles was already widespread by this time, and, with increasing frequency, sealing areas were being abandoned early in order to begin the caribou hunt. Group numbers, both on the sea ice and inland, exhibit noticeable irregularity at this juncture, which points toward strong transitional tendencies economically (Damas 1988a, 1988b). According to Damas, by 1923-1924, Inuit in the Dolphin and Union Strait area were engaged in caribou hunting inland for a substantial part of the winter thereby shortening the breathing hole sealing season (1984a:409). As another example, the *Kilusiktomiut* of the Bathurst Inlet area now moved inland during the winter, or, situated themselves on bays and inlets caribou hunting, trapping and placing nets in streams and lakes. Taking the above into consideration, one can observe that the classic land-sea dichotomy of this particular Copper Inuit group was reversed seasonally compared with previous traditional practices (e.g. Rasmussen 1932; Damas 1988b).

Significantly, after 1925, the major migration of caribou to Victoria Island ended, which presaged continued movement of Copper Inuit from southern Victoria Island to the mainland for spring and summer hunting (Damas 1972). Among the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and *Kanghiryuarmiut* of northwestern Victoria Island and Banks Island, the continued decline in caribou numbers meant that land use centered even more strongly on harvesting seal, which were now being taken from wooden boats – a newly introduced, and, one might say, adaptive technique - during the summer months. In winter, seal were now being harvested by both spearing and, setting steel hooks at breathing holes which were only inspected infrequently, a practice that continued into the 1950s (Interviews: J. Memogana and Morris Nigiyok, 2005; E. Banksland 2007). Elsewhere on Victoria Island - in this instance, Wellington Bay - gill netting became an important economic factor. Moreover, as land use was, increasingly, focused on trapping during which the trapper

would also hunt, fish and gather, increased time spent traveling on land, and in traveling to trading posts, meant that there was a need for greater mobility; hence, dogs were used in greater numbers than in previous periods (Damas 1984a, 1988a).

The Fur Trade expanded rapidly across the Canadian Arctic during this period. By 1929, 117 posts were operating (Damas 2002:27). At least fifty-one such posts were established in the 1920s and 1930s in Copper Inuit territory, with locations changing according to demographic shifts and changing animal populations. The majority of these posts were located within the Dolphin and Union Strait, Coronation Gulf and Queen Maude Gulf areas including those at Bernard Harbour, Cape Krusenstern, Coppermine, Tree River, and Kent Peninsula (Figure 49) (e.g. Usher 1971; Condon 1996:94). However, several posts were also established on Victoria Island, (including northwestern Copper Inuit territory), causing subsequent changes in seasonality within these island dwelling groups as well. In 1923, the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Brabant on the northern shore of Prince Albert Sound (initially at *Halahiqvik* and later, near *Kuuk* River) (Figure 49). In 1928, this post was relocated northward to Walker Bay and renamed Fort Collinson. In 1939, the post was moved to a large bay approximately midway between Prince Albert Sound and Walker Bay and named Holman Island (e.g. Usher 1971; Hudson's Bay Company Archives Ft. Brabant B 394/a/1; Washburn 1999).

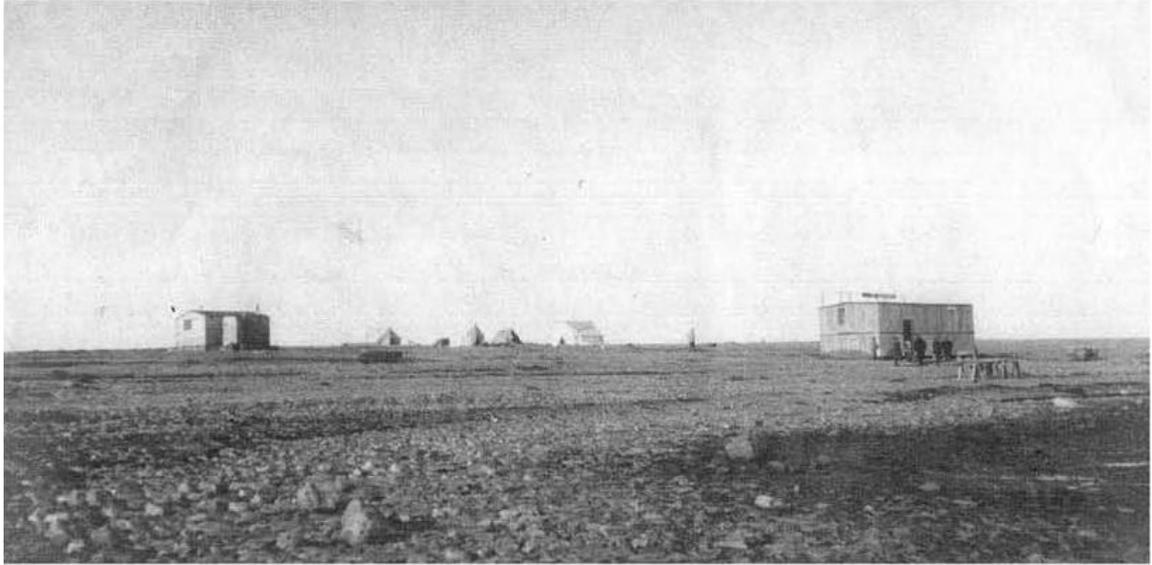


Figure 49. Top: “Fort Brabant, Prince Albert Sound”, ca.1928 (From: Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Photo A.102/1044/11). Bottom: “Tree River” Hudson’s Bay Company post, ca, 1928. (From: Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Photo A.102/1044/7).

The journal (or diary), maintained by employees at these posts provides strong contemporary evidence of the adaptive synthesis of traditional and transitional economic strategies embraced by northern Copper Inuit at this time. For example, on November 15, 1927, the manager at the new location of Fort Brabant, Prince Albert Sound, recorded that the first Inuit family arrived with foxes. On November 16, goods were traded for “14 fox” and this was deemed a “good start for the season” (Hudson’s Bay Company Archives Ft. Brabant B 394/a/1 pp. 26). On February 29, 1928, “13 natives” arrived at the post from Banks Island having travelled nine nights. One month later (March 28), the manager noted that, “. . . natives all out for seal only speared one”. On March 31, more “natives” were arriving from Banks Island, bringing “less than 100 fox” (Hudson’s Bay Company Archives Ft. Brabant B 394/a/1 pp. 40, 42, 45). Significantly, the reference to “start of the season” signifies that Inuit harvesting of furbearers is being regulated and specific areas being “set aside” and protected by law, are manifestations of direct governmental administrative control (Zaslow 1981:72). In fact, this quite momentous occurrence meant that the Copper Inuit economy was now, in large degree, in-the-hands of agents of the World-System, whereas heretofore, the Inuit had always “managed” their own resources through expeditious interaction the environment, and by highly developed modes of environmental knowledge. One can also perceive through a close reading of the above entries that northern Copper Inuit groups are utilizing Banks Island – perhaps more than ever before – within their newly adopted, post-traditional seasonal cycle. Of course, (and, as we have seen), Copper Inuit had hunted polar bear in southeastern Banks Island, and then, during the second-half of the nineteenth century, made forays northward to the Mercy Bay area for post-abandonment utilization of Royal Navy materials during which time muskox were harvested. Now, these Inuit groups were abroad and on-the-land during times (in February, for example), that had traditionally been reserved for breathing hole sealing, which, as we can deduce from the above, continued in a modified form though later in season. Fundamentally, Inuit usage of Banks Island was now closely

linked with the fur trade, arctic fox trapping, and, with the highly entrepreneurial Inuvialuit who, more and more since the appearance of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, were exploiting the furbearing resources of Banks Island (Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003). Too, greater interaction within a new economic system encouraged movement of even more Inuvialuit directly into the inner sphere of the Copper Inuit, particularly on eastern Banks Island and in northwestern Victoria Island. By the late 1920s, Inuvialuit or, “Westerners,” many of whom were operating within a wide-ranging schooner fleet, were active throughout Copper Inuit territory. The *Uallingmiut* or, *Walliningmiuk* (as they were soon called by Copper Inuit), also served as a middleman class within the fur trade economy, often competing with firms like the Hudson’s Bay Company for Copper Inuit furs (Condon 1996:110-111). As the Inuvialuit-Copper Inuit inter-cultural relationship grew over the next decade, Inuvialuit traders proved to be a potent force in the diffusion of new ideas, and ultimately –through inter-marriage with Copper Inuit - in the formation of an entire new culture with its own attendant mores and traditions (Usher 1971; Stevenson 1993; Condon 1996). As (an often) wealthy middleman class, these individuals were instrumental in the formation of a new, and slightly more stratified, society. Wealth, as Max Weber tells us, provides for an enhanced economic status, and with wealth, and the accruing prestige – greater social status within Inuvialuit/Copper Inuit society centered on Banks Island and western Victoria Island. This was a society formed over time through the patterned socioeconomic structure found within the Incorporation process of the World-System (e.g. Carlson 2002:427; Kottak 2005:207).

By August 27, 1928, the Hudson’s Bay Company relocated its Prince Albert Sound operations to Walker Bay (Fort Collinson). The move was inspired in-part, by profit motive, and the sense that the Company could attract more Inuit – from Prince Albert Sound, Banks Island, and, of course, the Minto Inlet area - to Walker Bay.

Similarly, the move may also have been undertaken in response to Governmental pressures (Zaslow 1981:72-73). Fort Collinson (the former site of which was visited by the author in 2003), was advantageously situated deep within the broad, though protected, reaches of Walker Bay, and, near the all-important *Itivyaaq* (or portage) connecting Walker Bay with Minto Inlet to the south (Figures 16, 31, 41). Called the “Minto portage” by Company personnel, the *Itivyaaq* (which we know was being used during the visits of H.M.S. *Enterprise* in 1851-1852, the Canadian Arctic Expedition in 1916 and 1917), clearly remained a well-used route in 1928-1929. The importance of the *Itivyaaq*, the changes occurring in the economic lifeways of Copper Inuit, and continuing reliance on breathing hole sealing season (albeit, of shorter duration and adapted to a new economic cycle), is revealed in the following Fort Collinson journal entries. On December 3, 1928, Fort Collinson personnel reported that, “...natives left for Minto Inlet to visit traplines...” On February 7, 1929, “...large number natives [Inuit] arrived, some from Banks Ld. [Land] and some from other side of Prince Albert Sound... They have had a very long trip, but – they have quite a number of foxes...” (Hudson’s Bay Company Archives Ft. Brabant B 394/a/1 pp. 65, 86, 97). March 20, 1929, “All the natives left this morning to go *back* [author’s italics] to the seal camp....” More natives arrived this afternoon (May 29, 1929), reporting caribou tracks on “Minto Portage” (Hudson’s Bay Company Archives Ft. Brabant B 405/a/1 pp. 4, 17). A close examination of the above journal entries informs us that more and more of the Copper Inuit in northern areas of Victoria Island were turning to the fur trade as their prime economic system.

With the profusion of fur trading activity, competition between rival companies and, with free traders, became intense. For example, as early as 1917-1918, Northern Traders Ltd. had challenged (in this case, unsuccessfully) the Hudson’s Bay Company at Tree River. And, of course, there are additional examples to be found during this period

of time across the Coronation Gulf and Queen Maude Gulf areas (e.g. Usher 1971:110-114). Nor was competitive endeavor limited to southern Copper Inuit areas. On Victoria Island, too, the dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company was severely challenged by both free traders, like Etna Klengenber, Ikey Bolt, Peter Nordberg, and, by company's such as L.F. Semmler, and Canalaska (e.g. Usher 1971:114-115). At Walker Bay, the Hudson's Bay Company and Canalaska operated side by side from 1931 to 1938 (e.g. Usher 1971; Condon 1996).

Evidence suggests that traders worked diligently to influence Inuit economic "orientation". Ideally, traders hoped to see trappers working arctic fox traplines from mid-November to April, after which they were encouraged through the issue of liberal credit, to stockpile subsistence foods, thereby enabling them to spend significant time on the trapline during the following season concentrating on acquiring fox and other furbearers (Damas 1988a). For the Copper Inuit, this newfound economic system could prove to be exploitive; nevertheless, the Inuit were not powerless actors in what was becoming a "high-stakes" world-system scenario. An integral part of Inuit adaptation to newer economic lifeways was the mediation of the system for their own advantage. Inuit would regularly seek preference at point-of-trade by selecting one competing fur trader over another. Similarly, Inuit remained, as ever, particularly adept in barter transactions, oftentimes establishing a price on skins in poorer condition prior to presenting the trader with top-quality skins (Interview: J. Memogana 2005) (Condon 1996:112).

In a larger sense as the 1930s progressed, the Copper Inuit were now mediating change "on all fronts". Change, as such, appeared in the form of new materials, new administrative bureaucracy, rules and regulations, the growing presence of law enforcement representatives, and, continued Missionization. It took a certain amount of persistence to counter the aspects of change that created imbalance and stress in the

egalitarian lifeways of the Copper Inuit. However, some changes can be said to have been relatively beneficial. Materially, Inuit now possessed firearms, watches, iron stoves, nets, wooden boats and other manufactured items that in some ways, made life less labour intensive. Laws protecting Inuit lands from outside commercial depredation had also been enacted and only Copper Inuit hunted, trapped and gathered on their traditional lands. Additionally, traders at this point were required to maintain an annual license, and all transactions were to be open to governmental scrutiny (Zaslow 1981:72-73) Similarly, the first evidence of a nascent, governmentally-administered social support system appeared with the passage of the Old Age Pension Act in 1927 (though it would be many years before payments actually reached substantial numbers of Copper Inuit elders) (e.g. Zaslow 1981; Damas 2002:27, 39). While decisions impacting Copper Inuit were being made by the Government of the Northwest Territories, and, in Ottawa, Inuit themselves possessed little in the way of representation. Governmental policies were well-meaning in most respects, although deeply paternalistic and all too often - parsimonious (e.g. Damas 2002). Essentially, authorities espoused a policy within which Inuit were protected, dispersed, and, living in a state resembling traditional lifestyles of the past (Zaslow 1981:75).

Incorporation Within the World-System

Critically, the Copper Inuit (and, some Inuvialuit), may have enjoyed undisputed access to their territory economically, but there is little doubt that far beyond the acquisition of material items, the economy they now engaged in was now deeply interconnected within the World-System itself, and, wholly controlled by agents of this system. The Fur Trade to all extent and purposes was now an integral part of what Wallerstein terms the, “commodity chains that constitute the ongoing division of labor of

the capitalist world-economy” (Wallerstein 1989:130). At this time, the Copper Inuit, having at one point been fully External to the World-System and, as we have seen above, having successively proceeded through an early Contact Periphery, a Late Contact Periphery, and the Marginal Periphery, were fully Incorporated within - the World-System. How do we know this? According to Wallerstein:

“A production process can only be considered to be thus integrated if its production responds in some sense to the ever-changing “market conditions” of this world-economy (*whatever* [author’s italics] the source of these changes) in terms of efforts by those who control these production processes to maximize the accumulation of capital within this “market” – if not in the very short run, at least in some reasonable middle run” (Wallerstein 1989:130).

Further, Wallerstein proposes that “indicators” of incorporation be recognized, and “empirical consequences” be found. The primary indicator is the continued growth of the fur trade, and the direct accumulation of greater capital within this burgeoning production process through the 1920s and into the 1930s (e.g. Usher 1971). Similarly, “units of decision making” within this growing system can also be noted at the “site of direct production,” that is, the fur trade posts where Copper Inuit and Inuvialuit deposit fur, and where the mechanisms of “debt obligation” are applied to the “petty producers,” the Inuit who became a generally dependent, “localized” group (Wallerstein 1989:130-131; Carlson 2002:430). Following Wallerstein further, another “indicator” is that decisions in the expanding of production “must be possible in terms of the ability to acquire (or rid oneself of the responsibility for) the elements that enter into the production process – the machines, the material, the capital, and above all, the human labor”. And, additionally, human labor must be “coercible” (Wallerstein 1989:131). These last criteria definitely were met by contractors such as the Hudson’s Bay Company. We have already seen how Company personnel (and employees of competing companies) coerced Inuit to spend

more time trapping through the use of (or, reduction of) liberal credit. The final two indicators, according to Wallerstein, can be found in “political institutions” which possess the requisite “power and authority” to “permit, abet and subsidize” the contractors, and finally, in a broader “institutional infrastructure” that provides security and “currency arrangements”. These final two indicators are seen to exist in the territorial and national governments which gradually created (and safeguarded) territories in which to conduct the regulated, though highly profitable, business of the fur trade (e.g. Zaslow 1981:73-74; Wallerstein 1989:131-132). Wallerstein describes this entire process as the “hooking” of a zone “into the orbit of the world-economy in such a way that it virtually can longer escape (Wallerstein 1989:130).

The continued growth of controlling, governmental institutions and their influence outside of Ottawa can be observed primarily through the growing presence of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police within Copper Inuit territory from the mid-1920s through the 1930s. With the establishment of Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P). detachments in locales such as Coppermine and Cambridge, more semi-regularized long-distance police patrols were initiated. These patrols brought a kind of “creeping governmental jurisdiction” to Copper Inuit camps (e.g. Steele 1935; White 2004). Still, R.C.M.P. personnel were more than representatives of the nascent judicial system, they formed an early core group of field administrative officials whose reports were read and acted upon in Ottawa. As in earlier years, R.C.M.P. patrols were impressively conducted in the winter over long distances, and in most cases, employed Inuit as guides. For example, in 1932 Corporal G.M. Wall traveled 1,103 miles over forty-three days from Coppermine to Lady Franklin Point on the southern shore of Victoria Island, and then north to visit Inuit groups in Prince Albert Sound, Minto Inlet and Walker Bay before returning to Coppermine (Steele 1935:340-341). It is through the reports of individuals like Corporal Wall that we are able to obtain an encapsulated ethnohistorical view – albeit,

one that needs to be critically examined – of Copper Inuit during this period. After his 1932 patrol, Wall reported on comparative differences between Inuit living in southern Victoria Island and those in Prince Albert Sound, noting the “remarkable difference” in the Prince Albert Sound Inuit and those Inuit living near a trading post on Read Island off the southern shore of Victoria Island. It seems clear based on Wall’s observations that Inuit living at or near the trading post on Read Island were undergoing acculturation to a degree unlike that of Prince Albert Sound peoples who – though fully engaged in trapping - were still maintaining lifeways more closely associated with their former, traditional, seasonal cycle. The more noticeable differences were in material culture (the Prince Albert Sound people still utilizing skins for clothing and seal oil lamps for cooking and light, whereas the Inuit to the south were dependent on calico and had adopted the primus stoves which were run on “imported” coal oil) (Condon 1996:116-117; Steele 1935).

More ominously perhaps, Corporal Wall reported that some Copper Inuit had adopted the habit of alcohol consumption, saying, that he was “sorry to report that the drinking of denatured alcohol and methylhydrate is quite common among them” (Steele 1935:341). There were other changes occurring. The diffusion of religious ideas had also continued, and Wall noticed that the animistic orientation of the Inuit was being modified to a degree, as Inuit as far north as Minto Inlet had absorbed certain ideas and rituals – most probably through interaction with traders and Inuvialuit - associated with monotheism (Christianity) many years prior to the establishment of a mission in their area (Condon 1996:117). Only later, in 1939, would the Roman Catholics (represented by the Oblate, Father Roger Buliard, who had been working amongst the Copper Inuit in the Prince Albert Sound area for a short time previously), build a mission station at the site of the future Hamlet of Holman (later, Ulukhaktok) just as the Hudson’s Bay Company was shifting its operations at Fort Collinson in Walker Bay southward to this location

(Condon 1996:118-122; Washburn 1999:124-136). Soon after, an R.C.M.P. detachment joined the mission and Hudson's Bay Company post, forming, in the process, the "classic" northern juxtaposition of the "Big Three" - judicial, economic and religious interests/control – within northern Copper Inuit territory, an area that was now home to many Inuvialuit. During this same period -1938-1939 - both the Anglicans and Roman Catholics established missions at Cambridge Bay as well (Zaslow 1981:74).

As a greater number of world-system actors penetrated more northern Copper Inuit areas, be they traders, crew of supply ships, missionaries, or, researchers, epidemic disease was directly and indirectly introduced with dreadful ramifications for the Copper Inuit. In 1928, influenza epidemics decimated Inuit groups in Bathurst Inlet, and, at Bernard Harbour. In 1930-1931, tuberculosis struck Coppermine, a particularly widespread epidemic which was followed by a measles outbreak in 1935 (e.g. Damas 2002; Vanast 1991). Further, and perhaps even more telling (and damaging) "proof" of full Incorporation within the World-System occurred during the 1930s as the effects of economic depression within the World-System reached the Copper Inuit. The decline in fur prices, and, in demand for furs, is another salient example of the "production process" immediately reacting to "market conditions". According to Zaslow:

"Conversion of many Inuit into trappers and their widespread adoption of white man's technology, staples and luxuries undermined the long ingrained self-sufficient, self-reliant habits and made it difficult for them to resume their previous mode of living when the prices and markets for white fox pelts fell sharply. This was the case during the prolonged depression of the 1930's. Traders, policemen, missionaries and administrators tried to return the Inuit to their life on the land so as to reduce their need for relief" (Zaslow 1981:72).

Thrown back on their subsistence skills, Inuit did endure depressed economic conditions with little governmental support. Similarly, the Inuvialuit trappers also returned in large part to a subsistence lifestyle, as it was only a matter of time before their schooners were “laid up for want of fuel” (Zaslow 1981:72; c.f. Alunik, Kolausok and Morrison 2003:127). It should be noted, however, that in terms of culturally mediating this dire situation (which existed for the Copper Inuit throughout the 1930s and well into the 1940s), the Inuit were fortunate in being able to utilize their subsistence skills more fully in order to survive, while simultaneously placing greater emphasis on the cooperative aspects of their still-functioning (if modified), egalitarian social system.

With the processes of incorporation complete, the Copper Inuit lived with the vagaries and fluctuation of the fur trade, while relying on subsistence practices in order to find economic balance. Hunting and sealing remained extremely important. This was true of Inuit in all areas of their traditional territory. Within the prevailing government Policy of Dispersal, Inuit to a large extent lived on-the-land, and rifles, gillnets, wooden boats, steel traps and other related manufactured items such as metal cook stoves, canvas tents, were now fully part of their material culture (Damas 1988). No formal Cooper Inuit communities – such as a planned hamlet - existed as such, and yet there was a gradual growth of Inuit population in places like Coppermine, Cambridge and Holman/Uluhkaktok (e.g. Damas 1972, 2002; Smith and Wright 1989:93-94; Condon 1996; Washburn 1999). In many areas the traditional group identity remained important, as did various forms of cooperative economic activity. This was particularly true in areas like Bathhurst Inlet, and at the *Kuujjua* River on the south shore of Minto Inlet. At *Kuujjua* River, Minto Inlet people lived in extended family grouping in all seasons, while making several trips south to Holman/Uluhkaktok to trade, and to take part in various activities at the Roman Catholic mission. According to Morris and Mabel Nigiyok, residents of Uluhkaktok, the seasonal cycle at *Kuujjua* River centered on fox trapping, a

rich arctic char fishery and, the equally productive activity of seal hunting (Interview: Morris and Mabel Nigiyok 2004). For the Minto Inlet families at *Kuujjua* River in the early to mid-1950s (and even later), a typical year might commence in winter with sealing on-the-ice, polar bear hunting with dogs, and some caribou hunting. By March/April, families were taking arctic char through-the-ice on nearby inland lakes, while also shooting basking seals, and migrating ducks. Gill netting arctic char in the river and in Minto Inlet and shooting seals from boats. As fall arrived, the netting of arctic char increased, lake trout were speared in inland lakes, and caribou were hunted well through September and into October. The trapping season was initiated in November (as was now traditional), and trappers were aboard and ranging far inland. Trapping season continued into winter and gradually – year by year, merged once again into winter harvesting activity (Figure 50) (Interview: Morris and Mabel Nigiyok 2004).

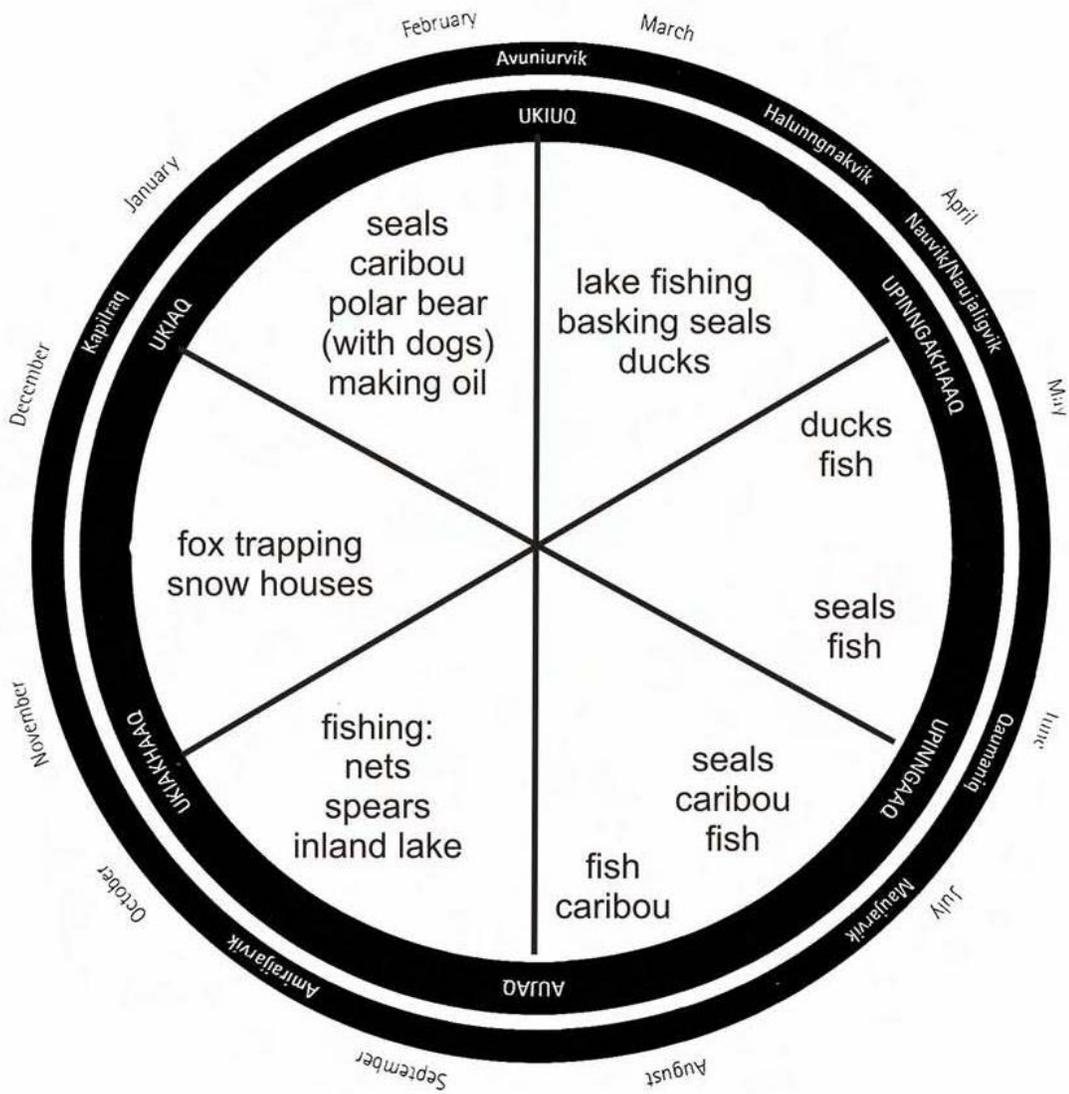


Figure 50. 1950s Seasonal cycle, *Kuujjua* River, Minto Inlet. (after Bennett and Rowley: 2004). (Interview: Morris Nigiyok).

By the 1960s, it was apparent that a gradual centralization of the Copper Inuit within several communities had been occurring. Demographic changes coincided with, (and, were in some ways prompted by), changes in governmental policy as the old, austere Policy of Dispersal applied to the Copper Inuit was ultimately superseded by “progressive” social policies more in keeping with the contemporary Welfare State. Always highly pragmatic in their view of life, Inuit were most assuredly influenced by governmental overtures signaling the advantages of diverse opportunities - regularized employment, medical care, the presence of schools, housing, and social services – available in three communities; Coppermine on the mainland, Cambridge Bay on southeastern Victoria Island, and Holman/Ulukhaktok on the northwest coast of Victoria Island (e.g. Damas 2002).

Additional reasons for this shift toward centralization are many and include another precipitous decline of caribou populations, fluctuating markets for furs (especially arctic fox), subsequent closure of Hudson’s Bay Company trading establishments and famine. As seen above, while declining in numbers on Victoria Island, caribou hunting had become critically important to groups on the mainland during the intervening period since the 1920s. In the Bathurst Inlet area, caribou continued to be hunted in large numbers while sealing in all forms was undertaken but rarely. In 1952-1953, five-thousand caribou were reportedly taken in the Bathurst Inlet area. Because of the dearth of caribou, in little more than three-years, in 1955, the economic cycle had been reversed once again with sealing during all seasons emerging far ahead of caribou hunting (Damas 1972, 1984a, 1984b, 2002). Nevertheless, Copper Inuit (or, the self-named *Nunamiut*) situated inland, within the Contwoyto Lake area and environs, maintained a fairly regularized pattern of subsistence based on caribou and trapping (Riewe 1986). Still, the decline in caribou forced other groups to consolidate, as Copper Inuit along the Coppermine River area moved in increasing numbers to the settlement of

Coppermine in the mid-1950s. In 1962 the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned its post on Read Island, and, in 1970, the establishment in Bathurst Inlet closed its doors (Damas 1984a). On Victoria Island increasing numbers of families settled in Cambridge Bay due to the decline in caribou populations.

Cambridge Bay provided other attractions. With growing experience of the market economy, individuals were drawn to the employment possibilities at Cambridge Bay due to the construction of a Distant Early Warning (DEW) radar site. As the population expanded, so too did social-infrastructure such as housing, health services, schools and government offices. Employment at Coppermine lagged somewhat behind Cambridge Bay, still, the community experienced steady growth in population through the 1960s and 1970s. Some 864 individuals (76.8 percent Inuit) lived in Cambridge Bay by 1979, in Coppermine the number for the same year stood at 766 (91.7 percent Inuit) (Damas 1984a). Meanwhile, in the community of Holman/Ulukhaktok, a hunting/trapping economy prevailed through the 1960s and 1970s. By 1979, that community's population reached 336 (88.4 percent Inuit). By the 1970s, all Copper Inuit living both within the above communities, and, those still living in scattered settlements and in group aggregations such as those at traditional "outpost camps" like Contwoyto, Concession and Pellet Lakes (among many others), were receiving government social assistance payments while remaining engaged in subsistence hunting, fishing and trapping activities. (Damas 1972, 1984a; Riewe 1986).

Centralization of the Copper Inuit population continued through the 1970s and 1980s. Trapping had become a "traditional" activity despite the vagaries of the market place (and steady opposition from anti-trapping groups in Europe, Canada and the United States), thus providing needed income (Wenzel 1991). Hence, one observes the formation and politicalization of numerous Hunter/Trapper organizations throughout Copper Inuit

territory. The technology of hunting and trapping evolved as well. Snowmobiles, state-of-the-art firearms, boats and outboard motors had also become, with time, part and parcel of “traditional” Inuit material culture. Cooperative ventures in Copper Inuit art also added to economic growth, cultural expression and integrity.

According to Damas (1984a: 410), “by the 1960s there was little left of the externals of Copper Inuit culture, and that condition has continued to prevail [in 1985].” Certainly, subsistence hunting, long a cultural necessity, and part and parcel of cultural identity for the Copper Inuit, grew more costly for individual hunters as times changes (Smith and Wright 1989:93). Nevertheless, while traditional Copper Inuit land usage may have given way to more contemporary lifeways, it is Sahlins (1987) who informs us that “...culture is precisely the organization of the current situation in terms of a past”. For the Copper Inuit, language and land usage in the form of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering, continued, for the most part, to define their culture. New forms of mediation ultimately came to the fore as Copper Inuit faced contemporary challenges. Many Copper Inuit, such as those living in Ulukhaktok, as well as their Inuvialuit relations, were involved in either negotiations and the final decision making process of western Arctic land claims during the 1980s (R. Kuptana, personal communication). The resulting, Inuvialuit Final Agreement provided benefits, new forms of nascent self-government as well as negative ramifications (The House of Commons of Canada 1988).

Having experienced various land claims initiatives over the course of two decades, on April 1, 1999, the Northwest Territories, (which had, heretofore, included all of the Copper Inuit traditional range), was divided through the creation of the new federal territory of Nunavut. The division has caused some adverse effects and created internal difficulties, many of them economic. This period also saw, paradoxically, the complete articulation of the Copper Inuit within a market economy, while some Copper Inuit (other

than the Copper Inuit communities in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement area in the Northwest Territories), joined Inuit across the Canadian Arctic in attaining significant cultural and political autonomy. It will be seen that while land usage may have radically changed from the traditional periods, Copper Inuit everywhere maintain close ties with the land which, in effect, “defines” their culture.

However, the Copper Inuit continue to culturally mediate the reality of living within a twenty-first century geopolitical entity that has become an integral part of global market economy. More recently, issues of sovereignty and global warming have been added to an exacting and often troublesome cultural agenda. With growing political sophistication and power, a new cultural paradigm seems to be emerging for the Copper Inuit. Living within globalized world community means, ultimately, that the World-System that emerged in the sixteenth century has expanded to fully incorporate the planet. According to Goldfrank, the World-System is now;”... reaching limits in the present with intensifying exploitation of the Arctic, the Tropics and the temperate woodlands. The last remaining areas of hunting/gathering and subsistence cultivation now find themselves incorporated into national development programs and/or open to exploitation by multinational enterprises” (Goldfrank 1995:4).

CHAPTER 11: DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

External Zone and Incidental Zone

External Zone

We have observed in the discussion of the External Zone that, to date the fragmentary archaeological record provides no material evidence of Paleo-Eskimo interaction – directly or indirectly – with European societies. In a socioeconomic sense, the ancestral groups of the Historic Copper Inuit live within their own interconnected hunter-gather world-system with over-lapping group boundaries and trade systems.

Incidental Zone

The Thule, an ancestral group of the Historic Copper Inuit, are now established within the geographical area – an indigenous world-system - fully associated with what became a traditional territory of later Thule groups and their descendents. The Thule interact within an expansive geographical area. However, world system breadth (Table 2) is relatively low due to population size and the generally limited number of “settlements” (J. Savelle, personal communication). Greater social complexity is noted within Thule society due primarily to their bowhead whale hunting-based economic system (e.g. Spencer 1971; Savelle and McCartney 1990). Thule social structure, “information systems” (or, networks) as well as regular intra- and intergroup interaction occurs, possibly facilitated by Thule transport technology (e.g. McCartney 1991:36; Savelle 2000; Savelle and Wenzel 2003). The presence of intra- and intergroup communication system is also noted as a salient factor in the future penetration of exotic materials into the Arctic world system.

Evidence obtained through the archeological record supports the view that World-System depth is not as low as originally predicted during this period. Materials obtained by the Thule and later, Protohistoric Copper Inuit – telluric iron from northwestern Greenland, meteoritic iron from western Greenland, and Norse metals from western and eastern Greenland - were clearly highly-valued prestige and trade materials.

Archaeological research continues to illuminate the fact that the supposed rarity of these materials needs to be questioned due to the regular recovery of metals in excavated Thule settlement sites across the Canadian Arctic. The supposed rarity of these materials needs to be reconsidered due to the ongoing (and generally) regularized appearance of metals in nearly all excavated Thule winter homes, and the constant occurrence of these metals in Thule material culture (e.g. McCartney 1991:30). The presence of native materials (especially copper) seems to be even more pronounced, especially within the area later traditionally occupied by the historic Copper Inuit (McCartney and Mack 1973:328; Morrison 1987:10). McGhee has stated that throughout Thule occupation, stone tools were almost completely replaced by “small points and blades” made of smelted metal, iron from meteorites and native copper (McGhee 1989:98).

Thule trade and information networks was strongest at the linkage between neighboring groups, it is clear that the entire material trade and information system extended beyond localized settlements. McCartney (1991:35), following Stefansson (1914) has postulated that extensive socioeconomic networks existed between Thule groups throughout the Canadian Arctic. Savelle has shown in various studies that regional settlement systems existed in Thule societies and that interaction took place between regions as well (Savelle 2000:76-78). Thus, knowing that Thule groups were patterned on “ranked” Alaskan societies, the structured and controlled transmission of trade materials, information and ideas can be predicted far beyond immediate neighboring groups.

Little internal differentiation seems to have existed within the Thule intergroup dynamic. No evidence can be brought to-the-fore to suggest the presence of core regions at this time. Nevertheless, some groups may have established effective middlemen positions in trade systems, or perhaps, even obtained control and therefore trade advantage over local resources such as copper (Johnson 1999). Similarly, the economic well being of some groups may have been enhanced due to proximity to local resources, or, more productive food harvesting environments.

Predictions	Archaeological Data	Ethnographic Data	Ethnohistorical Data
1. Breadth is relatively low. Regular Interaction between groups due to intra- and intergroup connections. Material goods originate in limited Number of areas.	+/- -		
2. Depth is low. a. Material trade goods should be rare. b. Material trade networks should exist between groups. c. Social interaction is confined to neighboring groups.	- +/- +/-		
3. There is little Internal Differentiation between neighboring groups.	+		

Blank = no data; + = supported; - = negated; +/- = equivocal or contradictory data (after Friesen 1995).

Table 2. Summary of Predictions for the Incidental Zone.

Early Contact Periphery

Given the extant (and extensive) trade and communication system that overlay the Protohistoric Copper Inuit territory, it is, perhaps, not surprising that this period would witness a strong indirect influx of trade goods from the World-System with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Churchill. World-System breadth would subsequently increase markedly. The greater part of Fort Churchill trade would occur in Caribou and Netsilik Inuit areas, although some goods reached Copper Inuit territory either through direct trade, or, through intermediaries among neighboring Inuit groups, or the Chipewyan (Dene). An increase in World-System breadth and depth is very apparent as these new trade goods enter Protohistoric/Historic Copper Inuit trade system via "trade fairs" at *Akilinik* in the Thelon Woods area. From this critical axis point a down-the-line trade route reached northward into the Bathurst Inlet area. Trade between ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Caribou and Hudson Strait area may have increased intergroup trade through intermediaries to Protohistoric Copper Inuit areas. Trade goods continue to enter from the Bering Strait-Alaskan axis as well through intermediaries although usage of this route is declining.

The degree of internal differentiation is hypothesized to have grown during the Early Contact Periphery, especially in those groups located closest to point-of trade locales. These groups would have possessed greater numbers of European trade goods, and may have benefited more materially and economically in relation to groups located on the periphery of trade.

Predictions	Archaeological Data	Ethnographic Data	Ethnohistorical Data
<p>4. Breadth should increase.</p> <p>a. Availability of material goods should increase. This increase should be apparent in all areas. There is a greater diffusion of goods in mainland areas.</p> <p>b. Material trade networks should expand.</p>	+	+	+
<p>5. Depth should increase.</p> <p>a. Material trade networks should expand.</p> <p>b. Material trade through intermediaries should increase.</p>		+	+
<p>6. The degree of internal differentiation should increase due to increasing access to European trade goods, especially among mainland groups.</p>		+	+

Blank = no data; + = supported; - = negated; +/- = equivocal or contradictory data (after Friesen 1995).

Table 3. Summary of Predictions for the Early Contact Periphery.

Late Contact Period

Near the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, the territory of the Historic Copper Inuit is hypothesized to have been in the late Contact Periphery of the World-System of capitalism (Table 4). Both breadth and depth increase dramatically during this period. A greater degree of internal differentiation can also be observed at this time in groups located within, or near Major Core Areas and Minor Core Areas (Figure 31). A strong “pulse” of materials with World-System origins penetrates most areas in Copper Inuit territory, and there is frequent indirect and direct contact between Copper Inuit and agents of the World-System.

World-system breadth increases due to the continued movement of materials via the Thelon Woods axis. This movement occurs primarily through middlemen. However, there is a diminished flow of materials from the old western Bering Strait-Alaskan axis and, probable closure of this route by 1830 (Richardson 1851a; Stefansson 1914:10-11; Morrison 1991:239). Where breadth exhibits its most dramatic increase is through indirect and direct interaction with agents of the World-System. Copper Inuit groups experience interaction with both Hudson’s Bay Company and Royal Navy expeditions several times from 1821 to 1853. The wintering of H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove, 1851-1852, and at Cambridge Bay, 1852-1853, afforded the northern Copper Inuit extensive social interaction and ready access to exotic materials. These same groups are ultimately able to access, and utilize tons of Royal Navy materials and stores associated with H.M.S. *Investigator* at Mercy Bay, the Princess Royal Islands and elsewhere. There

is also more indirect and direct interaction between some mainland Copper Inuit groups and expeditions.

A noticeable change in internal differentiation among groups can be observed as well during this period. A Minor Core Area occurs within the Coppermine/Coronation Gulf area as Copper Inuit groups in this locale during the early years of this period acquire abandoned expedition materials thereby establishing an advantage in point-of-trade within the intergroup trade system. Other Minor Core Areas during this period are located in the Cambridge Bay and Princess Royal Islands Areas, again, due to the presence of Royal Navy depots, abandoned material and refuse. Copper Inuit groups with access to these locations also possess trade advantages within the intergroup system. However, it is the *Kanghiryuatjagmiut* and the *Kanghiryuarmiut* of western and northwestern Victoria Island – a Major Core Area - who benefit greatly due to access to exotic materials, depots and refuse closely associated with H.M.S. *Investigator*. The conspicuous material wealth possessed by these groups placed them in a strategic geographical position for a number of years during which they enjoyed a major trade advantage in relation to other groups. To be sure, changes in intergroup boundaries and seasonal food harvesting activities can be seriously suggested due to the regularized “mining” of materials at Mercy Bay (e.g. Hickey 1984).

The findings of this study similarly suggest that the indirect and direct penetration of agents of the World-System within the Copper Inuit territories during this period is responsible for the *initial* appearance of *large amounts* of exotic and trade materials

within Copper Inuit material culture and trade systems. This is especially true for groups and systems on Victoria Island.

Predictions	Archaeological Data	Ethnographic Data	Ethnohistorical Data
7. Breadth should increase very significantly. a. Greatly increased material trade and social interaction between agents of the World-System and Copper Inuit groups should be apparent. b. Trade goods and exotic materials should increase precipitously, and in great numbers.	+	+	+
8. Depth should increase. Great group movement observed in Core and Minor Core Areas.	+	+	+
9. The degree of internal differentiation should continue to increase. At various times during this period, Major Core Areas should appear at Mercy Bay, Banks Island, and at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island, due to the presence large quantities of exotic materials. Coppermine/Coronation Gulf, Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island, and Princess Royal Islands, should become Minor Core Areas due to the presence of abandoned exotic materials and depots. a. Trade goods and other exotic materials should exist in greater quantities in Major Core Areas. b. Increased social complexity and change in groups is seen within the Major Core Areas, and, to a lesser degree, in Minor Core Areas.	+	+	+

Blank = no data; + = supported; - = negated; +/- = equivocal or contradictory data (after Friesen 1995).

Table 4. Summary of Predictions for the Late Contact Periphery.

Marginal Periphery

The process of Incorporation was fully implanted during the Late Contact periphery, and now, within the Marginal Periphery (Table 5), there is first a quickening, and then, a revolutionary acceleration of the process. The manifestations of this penetration can be found in the introduction of the Fur Trade and regularized interaction between free traders, the arrival of more expeditions, scientific investigations, greater involvement of middlemen, and the introduction of early forms of the State system.

World System breadth increases at this time due to the constant interaction between Copper Inuit and traders, especially in the Coronation Gulf area, and through the Great Bear Lake axis. The introduction of the Fur Trade and thus, an exchange economy, occurs at this time. Similarly, greater interaction can be observed between Copper Inuit and Inuvialuit middlemen, with expeditions of scientific and economic enquiry, missionaries and law enforcement officials, among others.

Changes in depth are observed in changing seasonal orientations of some Copper Inuit groups in response to the presence of traders, and the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918. Subsistence practices, most especially through the use of firearms, and trapping, show alteration and outright change. These changes are quite noticeable among some mainland Copper Inuit groups. In particular, the trapping of arctic fox and the exchange of peltries for manufactured commodities (while furs are exported, meanwhile, to the commodity chains of the World-System) is a change of profound significance.

In terms of internal differentiation, Copper Inuit groups on the mainland in regular contact with agents of the World-System exhibit a margin of change in social complexity as compared to northern Copper Inuit groups who maintain more traditional subsistence practices. Finally, it is during this period that instances of conflict occur between Copper Inuit and agents of the World-System.

Predictions	Archaeological Data	Ethnographic Data	Ethnohistorical Data
10. Breadth should increase. Greater interaction with agents and middlemen of the world-system should occur.	+/-	+	+
11. Depth should increase. a. Demographic shifts occur due to the introduction of the Fur Trade. b. Subsistence practices show new adaptations developed to obtain commodities for export to commodity chains of the world-system.		+	+
		+	+
12. Internal Differentiation should continue to increase through expanding contact and interaction with agents of the world-system. a. Increased social complexity overall. b. Copper Inuit groups in some mainland areas exhibit greater social and economic complexity.		+	+
		+	+

Blank = no data; + = supported; - = negated; +/- = equivocal or contradictory data (after Friesen 1995).

Table 5. Summary of Predictions for the Marginal Periphery.

Dependent Periphery

The full Incorporation of the Copper Inuit within the World-System occurs during the 1930s due to their complete involvement with the exchange system of the Fur Trade. At that point, the Fur Trade is fully responsive as a highly profitable mode of production within the commodity chains of the World-System. All of Wallerstein's criteria, or "indicators" signifying Incorporation can be observed, including; units of decision making, sites of direct production, coercible labour, political institutions and the ongoing development of infrastructure (Wallerstein 1989:130-131).

World-System increases greatly as all groups of Copper Inuit are actively involved with agents of the World-System. Interaction with the Fur Trade is constant as of the 1930s. Similarly, greater interaction occurs with representatives of the Canadian Government. An increase in depth is observed over time at core population centres such as Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, and, later, Ulukhaktok. Internal differentiation also is ascendant due to the continuing process of centralization within three core communities.

Predictions	Archaeological Data	Ethnographic Data	Ethnohistorical Data
13. Breadth should increase greatly. Copper Inuit interaction with agents of the World-System continues. Regularized interaction with fur traders is now apparent. Other forms of interaction are also increasing.		+	+
14. Depth increases greatly. a. Copper Inuit populations are centered in core areas such as Coppermine, Cambridge Bay and Holman (Ulukhaktok). b. The Fur Trade is now the primary mode of production. All “indicators” show Incorporation has occurred.		+	+
15. Internal Differentiation continues with expanding interaction with agents of the World-System. a. Centralization of Copper Inuit populations occurs following “Dispersal Policy”.		+	+

Blank = no data; + = supported; - = negated; +/- = equivocal or contradictory data (after Friesen 1995).

Table 6. Summary of Predictions for the Dependent Periphery.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, by the 1930s, the long process of Incorporation by which the Copper Inuit were fully articulated within the World-System had reached its conclusion. Following Wallerstein's "indicators" for Incorporation, or peripheralization, the units of decision making, sites of direct production, coercible labour, political institutions and the ongoing development of infrastructure were now all in-place (Wallerstein 1989:130-131). The mode of production was fully connected to the commodity chains of the world economy. The "long process" leading to the 1930s, essentially began during the period of the Incidental Zone, when the first materials with World-System origins passed along extant, long-distance down-the-line trade routes from the east and west and into Protohistoric Copper Inuit areas. This trade was, perhaps, greater than predicted due in large part to the prevailing socioeconomic complexity of the descendants of the Thule peoples of the Canadian Arctic.

During the next century, a period termed the Early Contact Periphery, the flow of trade materials into Historic Copper Inuit areas increased, both through the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade establishment at Fort Churchill, and increased interaction between Inuit and intermediaries. Critically, it is during this period that the first direct contact episode with the World-System occurs when in 1771, when Samuel Hearne of the Hudson's Bay Company accompanied by Aboriginal intermediaries, precipitated a violent encounter with Historic Copper Inuit at (the aptly named) Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River (e.g. Hearne 1958). Other agents of the World-System such as Frobisher and Cook, (representing, Great Britain, the emerging core state within

this system), can be observed establishing a British presence at this time on the western and eastern peripheries of the boundaries of the indigenous world system located within the Canadian Arctic. In particular, these individuals are especially interested in the “natural resources” of the indigenous world. Samuel Hearne, for example, is expressly tasked with investigations into the copper deposits of the region he “explores”. Hence, the appellation of Coppermine River is added by cartographers to published maps following his journey.

We have also observed utilizing ethnographic, ethnohistoric and the empirical evidence obtained through archaeological methods and studies, how, during the nineteenth century direct and forms of indirect contact and social interaction between the Historic Copper Inuit and the World-System increased markedly. During the Late Contact Periphery, the infusion of exotic materials that was obtained in a number of ways by Historic Copper Inuit groups caused greater incidences of internal differentiation within this highly egalitarian society, and, (it is suggested) caused adaptations in seasonality and, in material culture within some Historic Copper Inuit groups. By the end of this period, a palimpsest of hundreds of cairns, depots and sites of occupation left by expeditions essentially proclaim World-System possession of Historic Copper Inuit territory.

By the early twentieth century, as the World-System continued to expand, agents representing various agencies – economic, scientific, religious, etc., - exhibited enthusiastic and ultimately continued interest in Historic Copper Inuit territory. During

the period of the Marginal Periphery, a new economic system, that of the Fur Trade was introduced to the Historic Copper Inuit. With this exchange system, came the supporting and nascent edifice of social control and infrastructure. After a period of gradual adaptation, the exchange system of the Fur Trade, a wholly new mode of production, became entrenched by the 1930s, during the Dependent Periphery.

This study has also endeavoured to the extent possible to illustrate that the process of Incorporation was at all times, and out of necessity - mediated by the Historic Copper Inuit and their ancestors. This was never an easy process given that interaction with the World-System was not initiated by the Copper Inuit. Contact and ongoing interaction of various forms derived entirely from and through the systemic expansion of the World-System as it essentially enveloped indigenous territories in all areas of the World. Utilizing the methods of Close Encounters (including the Interpretive Programme and the Hermeneutical Spiral), we have observed that Copper Inuit mediation occurred during any and all interaction with the agents and the various manifestations of the World-System.

Today, traditional Copper Inuit areas – in the Territory of Nunavut, or, in the Northwest Territories – remain, at least insofar as World-System analysis is concerned, a Periphery within the World-System. To be more precise, (and, by definition), today's Copper Inuit inhabit a Periphery inside a Core State within the capitalist world economy. As such, it is, also by definition, in a weak and subservient position, wherein cheap human labour and raw materials are exported to Core and Semi-periphery areas of the

World-System (e.g. Kottak 2005). As the role of the Fur Trade gradually declined within Copper Inuit society, new forms agency were required to mediate the continued presence of the World-System. Expression of this agency can be found in land agreements, the creation of new semi-autonomous territories, partial ownership of, and control over, some natural resources, and degrees of self-government that seem extraordinarily enlightened compared to the previous, and more paternal, governmental policies introduced in the mid-twentieth century.

Perhaps, now, the need for more sophisticated forms of mediation is as great ever. One need only recognize the high-pressure economic role of peripheral areas in today's highly consumptive world economy to realize that this is the case. As one pertinent example, in Copper Inuit areas, the interest in copper that was expressed by agents of the World-System as far back as the eighteenth century and which continued through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is as fervent as ever. During the years in which this study was conducted, the copper deposits of the northeastern Minto Inlet area of Victoria Island were being actively investigated in-the-field by the South African firm of Great Northern Mining and Exploration. Resource exploitation of peripheral areas is integral to the operation of the World-System, and always will be.

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