TRAPPERS AND TRADERS IN THE KEEWATIN:

THE FUR TRADE AS AN AGENT OF ACCULTURATION

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in the
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

by

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For Matthew
UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

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ABSTRACT

In the years immediately following the whaling enterprise in Hudson's Bay, the organized Fur Trade established and consolidated an extensive trade network. This corporate presence had a number of direct and indirect repercussions for the Inuit of the Keewatin, the inhabitants of that area on the western shore of the Bay. Accompanying the fur traders were other external institutions and agencies which also played important roles in effecting changes in the indigenous culture of the region. This study will attempt to depict and explain such changes, examining the events as recorded in the available documents of the period 1920 to 1950.

Attention will be focused upon the several aspects of change which resulted, including those in the material or ecological, and the social and cultural realms. A key facet of this analysis will hinge on the development of a body of ideas tentatively designed to frame those changes as they transpired at local and regional levels. This theoretical framework will incorporate models drawn from cultural ecology and transaction or exchange theory, whilst also striving to illustrate the less tangible areas of cognitive and value change. Such a broad-based theoretical approach is consistent with an awareness that change, both acculturative and otherwise, is a pervasive phenomenon, permeating many areas of material, cultural and social existence.

It is intended that this chosen mode of analysis will throw the
historical facts of cultural contact in the Fur Trade years into sharp relief by explaining how the process of change operated, in addition to documenting the unfolding of events. The character of the source material is far from uniform and is, in places, fragmentary. Nonetheless, by drawing from a comprehensive spectrum of documentary resources, it should be possible to render a holistic picture of the integrated nature of cultural change in the Keewatin. This will entail some scrutiny of ecological change stimulated by the Trade and sociocultural change engendered by all three institutions, the Hudson's Bay Company along with other fur enterprises, the Missions, and also the R.C.M.P. Furthermore, attention will be directed to the relationships of these agencies regarding one another, and the results of this interplay. Thus, the cultural changes, observably will stem from not only the watershed of Inuit and qallunaat exchanges, the traditional focus of Arctic acculturation, but also from the internal network of the qallunaat or White agencies.

Overall, the study seeks to point out and explain the changes wrought by acculturative contact, illuminating the historical events themselves and providing some anthropological insight into the cultural processes which guided such events.
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CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides both a geographical and historical context for the acculturative changes which occurred during the Fur Trade era. The importance of the geographical and physical character of the land, upon which traditional and Fur Trade resource strategies alike were pursued, merits detailed description of this aspect of the Keewatin. The physical and topographical nature of the region is considered, as well as the interaction of the various human and animal populations inhabiting the land. The significance of climate, particularly relating to ice formation in the littoral regions, is noted. It should be stressed that the land represents not only a physical environment in which activities occur, but also possesses a great cognitive significance for the indigenous people who live on it. For the Inuit of the Keewatin, the land was, and still is, a living resource invested with immense positive sentiment.

The historical background which follows serves to illustrate the longevity of acculturative contact between Inuit and qallunaat, from the early trade and exploratory encounters to the more comprehensive exchanges of the whaling period. Such considerations are a necessary preamble to the study of the Fur Trade era, for they provide a sense of temporal continuity and reflect the extensive nature of cultural contact prior to the establishment of the organized Fur Trade. In this way a historical focus is achieved without discounting the significance of early encounters, which set important precedents for contact in the Fur Trade era.
1.2 The Geography of the Keewatin

The Keewatin District comprises that area of land north of Churchill and south of the Rae Isthmus, lying on the western shore of Hudson's Bay and bounded in its western extremity by Lakes Pelly, Dubawnt and Kasba. The District occupies some 57,100 square miles and includes a number of offshore islands, notably Southampton, Coats, Mansel and Marble Islands.

Traditionally, mainland Keewatin is known as part of the "Barren Grounds" or the "Arctic Prairies", rather bleak epithets which strive to connote the geographic vastness of this region but do little to indicate the inherent complexity of the landscape or the ubiquitous presence of water upon it. A profusion of lakes and rivers etch the landscape, and drainage is generally chaotic and poorly integrated, consistent with the low to moderate relief of the mainland region. The major rivers, the Kazan and Dubawnt thread north-northeast, the former flowing into Baker Lake, the latter tracing a more sinuous course from Dubawnt Lake through Wharton and Marjorie Lakes into Beverly Lake to join the Thelon River, which also flows into Baker Lake. The Thelon River basin once contained an immense glacial lake, a fact attested to by the presence of successive raised beaches at Beverly Lake, the highest at an elevation of 700 feet. From its headwaters in Whitefish Lake, the Thelon flows some 450 miles possessing a drainage area totalling 59,700 square miles contained completely within the Pre-Cambrian Shield. The overall pattern of drainage in the interior is broadly trough-shaped and northeasterly in aspect.
Coastal drainage conforms largely to a southeasterly orientation with numerous small rivers and creeks debouching into Hudson's Bay south of Chesterfield Inlet, among them the Wilson, Ferguson, Copper-needle, Maguse, McConnell and Tha-anne. These rivers find their origin in the profusion of lakes which lie inland, most notably Banks, Kaminuriak, Kaminak, Maguse, Dionne and Thaolintona. They flow sluggishly and sinuously through a maze of smaller lakes in poorly defined channels. The confused drainage of the immediate coastal plain and inland, through rolling terrain rising towards the west, reflects the chaotic nature of the periglacial landscape which characterizes much of the interior south of Wager Uplands. Local topographical features have been obscured by the radiating icesheets' expansion and shrinkage. The classic components of the periglacial landscape are present on a surface which has relinquished local topographical identity to the widespread scourings and depositions of the former icesheet. Innumerable lakes and gatherings of surface water interspersed with low hills of glacial origin present a variegated and rolling topography, south of Chesterfield Inlet. The land rises gradually from the coast to the plateau inland which lies at an elevation of 1,000 to 1,500 feet.

The abundance of surface water in the interior is noted by Kelsall (1957) to occupy up to 60 per cent of the surface area in some localities, ranging from the immense Dubawnt Lake, covering some 1,600 square miles (Kelsall, 1968: 56), to the small accumulations of surface water in depressions formed in the wake of the retreating ice. In the central interior, Yathkyed Lake (860 square miles), Baker Lake (975 square
miles) and Maguse Lake (510 square miles) are noteworthy. To the north lies Garry Lake on the Backs River with an area of 980 square miles. The Backs is the largest of the rivers in Northern Keewatin, flowing some 400 miles from the west to Franklin Lake and finally into Chantrey Inlet.

1.2.1 Glacial Topography in South and Central Keewatin

The interior of mainland Keewatin south of the Wager Uplands is rendered distinct by the pronounced and widespread occurrence of periglacial topography upon the tundra, and extending in many locations well into the taiga. Eskers are widespread, sometimes over 100 feet high and extending for 100 to 200 miles. Drumlinoid ridges and moraines are also abundant, in general oriented roughly northwest to southeast in the country south of Chesterfield, providing an aerial impression of furrowing across country. A Department of the Interior publication of 1930 referred to the "mantle of glacial debris which gives a smooth rounded outline to the topography...broken in places by island-like areas of bare rocky country; and by hills of glacial origin - moraines, eskers and drumlins" (1930: 5).

Somewhat earlier, the landscape of the interior was scrutinized by J.B. Tyrell, who in 1894 charted the course of the Dubawnt, Kazan and Ferguson Rivers to the coast in explorations for the Geological Survey of Canada (1896, Vol. 9). Tyrell also observed the pre-eminent influence of successive glaciations upon the topography of the interior. North of Ennadai Lake, he observed the land around Sandy Hill Lake to conform largely to this rolling glacial character: "The hills are strewn with
boulders, but the general appearance of the whole country is that of a level prairie, with a few elongated hills rising above its otherwise even surface" (1896: 126). Tyrell's observations of glacial striations were quite meticulous and are largely consistent with subsequent surveys. At Angikuni Lake, he notes conspicuous glacial grooving with "rounded and polished northwestern surfaces, and the curved transverse fractures in the grooves, all opening towards the South East", indicating with an angle of S.57°E., a N.W. - S.E. ice movement. Tyrell further notes the recent geological uplift of the country west of Hudson's Bay indicating numerous examples of raised beaches as the land rebounded upon the dessication of successive ice sheets, notably at Quartzite Lake on the Ferguson River (1896: 144) and Aberdeen Lake on the Kazan, with distinct raised beaches at 320 feet, 290 feet and 180 feet (ibid.: 70). At Last Lake on the same river, he notes once more, the predominant glacial depositional nature of the country: "The surrounding country was a great stretch of low hills of boulders, probably morainic. The boulders are rounded and there appears to be barely sufficient finer material to fill the interstices between them" (1896: 145). Possibly, these hills are rock drumlins or merely rocks stranded in situ by wasting ice and subsequently modified by the action of glacial meltwater. Earlier he has noted "hill covered country studded with low hills of boulders" (ibid.), and the overall impression of the landscape is one of massive and widespread deposition. In areas where the protruding igneous strata of the shield is discernable, the effects of glaciation have been similarly observed in the tendency for such strata to be ground down and
rounded off by the passage of ice. North of Aberdeen Lake, Tyrell notes, "a ridge of bare, smoothly rounded hills 300 to 400 feet high" of grey micaceous gneiss bearing striations in a N.W. - S.E. direction once again (ibid.: 70).

The profusion of periglacial landforms in the interior should not be belaboured, but the significance of such topographical features as have been indicated extends beyond their intrinsic geomorphological interest. As distinct landmarks, they provide a constant living cartography for the Inuit of the Keewatin, a source of orientation and a sense of place; in effect, as the familiar reference points of a mental map.

In terms of the movement of caribou too, the distinctive character of the glacial topography has an important role to play, with regard to both drainage and relief. As Kelsall points out, the eskers which thread through the interior provide a windswept refuge for the animals from troublesome flies during summer migration, and easy travelling and browsing when lower land has accumulated soft snow in spring and winter (1968: 58). The importance of crossing points for caribou during migrations, created in a sense by the topographic subtleties of the landscape, should also be noted. A tendency for the Inuit to use the landscape and a variety of hunting devices such as blinds, drift fences, pounds and stampedes to funnel migrating herds into position for the kill, is frequently observed in early ethnographies of Tundra-dwelling Inuit (Jenness, 1922; Boas, 1907; Richardson, 1851; Hearne, 1795). Tyrell too, in addition to his geological duties, made useful ethnographic and
ecological comments, some of them concerning the significance of crossing points for caribou hunting.

About the middle of the east shore of the lake (Sandy Hill Lake, Kazan River) families of Eskimos were encamped on the stony beach. These camps, inhabited by family groups, appear to be more or less permanently situated at spots resorted to by the caribou in crossing the river. These animals are speared here in great numbers, some being eaten immediately while others are piled in heaps and covered with large stones for winter use.

(1896: 126).

Other incidences of this kind of water drive and attendant camp are noted, usually at locations where the river is deep and narrow, invariably where caribou return from year to year. The importance of caribou hunting as a traditional activity, and as a facet of the broad spectrum resource quest which characterized the Fur Trade years, cannot be underestimated. But Tyrell's observations serve as an illustration of the importance of the character of the land per se, in terms of the subtleties of topography and the drainage of the interior country as they relate to the location of human and faunal populations.

1.2.2 The Wager Uplands and Northern Keewatin

Geologically, Wager Bay is a fault basin extending some 150 miles from Cape Dobbs inland to Brown Lake. It is bounded in the south shore by the rocky bluffs flanking the northern edge of the Wager Uplands which are drained from a height of land of 1,200-1,500 feet by the Quoich and Lorillard Rivers, flowing south to Chesterfield Inlet and Daly Bay, respectively. The craggy relief of the Wager Inlet region presents a topographic counterpoint to the more undulating,
depositional landscape of the central and southern portions of the Keewatin. To the north of the Inlet the land rises to some 2,000 feet in a rugged dissected hill country which becomes the Arrowsmith Uplands. There remains a characteristic preponderance of surface water, most notably Curtis, Walker and Stewart Lakes, although these bodies of water are effectively dwarfed by their southern central counterparts. To the west of Brown Lake another contiguous mass of hills exists, rising to an elevation of 1,650 feet and providing the source of the Quoich and Brown Rivers. The Hayes River flows northwest from this watershed to Chantrey Inlet. West again of this range of hills lies the Backs River region, referred to by Robinson as the Back's River High Plains (1968: 203).

The Backs River and particularly the lakes connected with it, were traditional camping grounds of the Uthuhikjalingmiut. Welland, in a comprehensive survey of the Keewatin land-use patterns, indicates a number of people also living on the chain of lakes separating Baker and Garry Lakes, notably at Whitehills, Woodburn, Sand, Naujatung and Deep Rose Lakes and numerous smaller lakes throughout the region (Welland 1977: 92). The lakes north of Garry Lake, (Armark and McAlpine) also carried a regular winter population. In the Lower Back River area around Franklin Lake, year-round fishing camps were established. The river itself provided a corridor of access to both spring sealing at Chantrey Inlet and fall caribou hunting and fishing camps upstream, and is an important thoroughfare for trading activities, as well as providing access to seasonally-scheduled resources. Given
the rugged and demanding character of the upland topography north and west of Wager Inlet, the Backs River, and the country between the Backs and the lower Thelon Rivers, assume a considerable significance as a negotiable and relatively abundant resource area. Welland notes that the Garry Lake area and the Hayes River between Chantrey Inlet and Wager Bay (the uplands west of Brown Lake) were commonly hunted, the latter area primarily by those wintering there or en route to the Wager Bay trading post (Welland, 1977: 94). Caribou and some musk oxen and arctic hare were the primary objects of this hunting. The same author notes a concerted fall hunting of caribou at crossing points on Garry Lake and to the southeast along the string of lake camps referred to, between Garry and Baker Lakes (ibid.). (See Map 2).

Significant parallels emerge between this region and the southern interior of the Keewatin. Despite the rocky upland character of the Wager Uplands there is a similar pattern of abundant surface water and an important focus on the river and lake drainage in terms of resources. The tendency for the major waterways to guide the spatial character of population dispersal by providing access to resources is particularly noteworthy. The Backs River area and the High Plains northwest of Baker Lake acts as a natural physiographic arena for both seasonal subsistence pursuits and trading routes. From the Fur Trade perspective, the strategic value of this tendency for terrain to channel movement and localize seasonally-responsive populations is

1. Prior to N.W.T. Game regulations prohibiting the hunting of musk oxen.
most significant, for it effectively facilitated or impeded access to the trading posts in the area.

Regarding Wager Inlet itself, certain of its physical characteristics render it particularly valuable as a resource area. The shape of the Bay, with its narrow straits at each end, produces sufficient tidal pressure to keep stretches of water at the narrows free of ice throughout the winter, giving rise to what is known as a "polynia". In spring, tides flush loose ice from the bay creating ice jams at the narrows to Hudson's Bay. Such barriers may linger long after the inlet itself is free of ice. At the opposite end of the Bay at the junction of Forde Lake and the Inlet, a reversing falls is created by the interaction of tidal pressures, where the fresh water outflow meets the salt water of the inlet proper. Given these twin drawbacks of ice barrier and dangerous falls in terms of supplying and establishing a trading post, the location of the post at Forde Lake beyond the reversing falls seems somewhat puzzling. However, bearing in mind the populated interior and the access such a post provided to those inhabitants of Backs River High Plain and Lower Backs River, the viability of the locale becomes more evident. Furthermore, the abundance of a variety of game in the locale bespeaks well of its capacity to support a variety of seasonally oriented hunting camps. The inhabitants of this area might avail themselves of seal, caribou, beluga whale, fish and small game in the diversity of niches produced by the natural attributes of the Inlet. A Parks Canada survey in July of 1975 counted 150 beluga in the shallows around the Paliak Islands on the south shore (Parks Canada Survey, 1978). Later
analysis of Fur Trade documents attests to the relative abundance of seal and the plentitude of fish in Brown Lake and the rivers and creeks feeding into it. In this context, the rather isolated position of the Fur Trade Post at Forde Lake becomes more comprehensible. (See Map 3).

1.2.3 The Coastal Character of Keewatin

The coastal features of Keewatin and their particular influence upon settlement patterns and resource utilization also merit consideration. Three basic divisions emerge in terms of the character of the coast.

South of Tavani the coastline is predominantly low lying and sandy, consisting of a marshy margin of flats or dunes, created by the deposition of sediment from the numerous sluggish rivers and creeks which empty into the Bay in this region. Tidal flats extend in a ribbon along the coast as far north as Angusko Point on the south side of Dawson Inlet. In a description of the coast six miles west of Wallace River, J.B. Tyrell offers this observation:

> From this place southward for many miles, no rock in place was seen, but the shore is very flat and strewn with boulders and the tide at low water runs out several miles.
> (Tyrell, 1896: 87).

Many of the characteristic features of a coastline of deposition were noted by Tyrell, too. He remarks on spits and sand bars and the tendency for glacial features to intrude upon the shoreline in the form of eskers and morainic ridges. He further notes the tendency for the low energy of the river systems to give rise to incipient deltas and extensive marshy flats. The relatively linear character of the
coast is possibly explained by a continuous long shore drift toward the south. Tyrell notes, "it would seem that there is a persistent current flowing southward down this shore" (ibid.).

The inhabitants of this coastal belt (The Padlimiut) customarily wintered inland moving back from spring sealing and fishing camps to fall caribou crossing locations. Welland indicates that the Maguse Lake and River system was a major focal point for winter camps, some families moving north to Kaminak and Kaminuriak Lake (Welland, 1977: 85). This pattern of movement, however, he associates with fur trapping activities. With regard to summer and spring activities the coast afforded a range of country resources. The coastal area was hunted for seals and geese, whilst fish netting was instigated upon the break up of river ice (usually around June).

North of Dawson Inlet, the character of the coast changes markedly. The marshy stretches of beach give way to a rugged, crenolated shoreline of jutting headlands and promonotories, interspersed with numerous bays and coves and rocky offshore islands. Tyrell, with a precision characteristic of his exploratory sorties, gives a comprehensive description and analysis of the coast from Chesterfield to Churchill on the last leg of the 1896 Geological Survey. He notes that the coast north of Angusko Point is rugged and composed largely of igneous rocks, schists, gneisses, diabases and quartzite (1896: 85).

This indented shoreline persists as far north as Whale Point at approximately the same latitude as Anchor Cove on Southampton Island.
which lies across Roe's Welcome Sound. North from this point, the coastline is markedly less rugged, with the exception of Wager Bay and Repulse Bay to the north. The advantages of the eroded character of the shoreline, and the alternating bays and headlands which it comprises, were early recognized by the Scottish and American whalers in the latter half of the last century. The critical interaction of coastal features and ice conditions effectively dictated the spatial patterns of the whaling enterprise. As Ross notes:

On the west side of Roe's Welcome Sound the rugged margin of the Precambrian Shield contained three major indentations (Chesterfield Inlet, Wager Bay and Repulse Bay), and a number of small islands with deeper offshore waters, possessed suitable sites for wintering vessels. (Ross, 1975: 47).

Marble Island and Depot Island both found favour with wintering whalers in the 1860's despite the relatively cramped conditions in the harbour of Marble Island when several ships wintered there. Two whalers were shipwrecked in 1872 despite the land-locked and protected nature of the harbour (ibid.). At Bernheimer Bay and Winchester Inlet, safe anchorage was afforded in good harbours, and shelter provided by clustering islands. The formation of sea ice between the islands and the shore enhanced the favourable character of these locations, affording propitious access to the mainland for hunting and good island sites with proximity to the floe-edge for seal, walrus and whale hunting (ibid.: 49).

It is important to acknowledge the key role of floe-edge position along this indented northern coastal region. The floe-edge is designated
as the leading or seaward edge of the shelf of landlocked ice and its proximity to the coast is governed primarily by the interplay of wind and current. It protruded farther from the shore wherever clusters of islands promoted its extension and was restricted by currents and pack ice movement elsewhere. The movement of pack ice against floe ice provides a crucial yet hazardous zone for the pursuit of marine hunting. According to the direction and intensity of wind and the action of sea currents, the pack ice might alternately cling to or diverge from the floe-edge. The pack ice itself would also fragment or coalesce to provide temporary open leads where seals, beluga or walrus might be found. This capricious and dangerous niche demanded acute awareness of wind and current strength, direction of movement, (usually pack ice moved south along the coast) and accurate perception of distance and time. The floe-edge offered abundant resources for the wary and swift retribution for the incautious.

The significant interplay of coastal geomorphology, and ice position and movement, as a key aspect of winter and spring coastal subsistence patterns should not be underestimated. Although a complete and scientific inquiry into the nature and influence of this interface cannot be undertaken in the confines of this study, it is necessary to point out the central role of ice, as it pertains to mobility and hunting or trapping endeavours. The sinuous nature of the coast in this region has important implications for the hunter, by greatly expanding the resource area at his disposal. The tendency for coastal configuration to extend or restrict resource potential for the hunter is noted by
Welcome Sound

Ascension Islands

Mercy Pt. Manteo • Walrus Is.

J. Leyson Pt. Coats Island

Churchill
Brack with references to Chesterfield:

It will be seen that Chesterfield has, within a 50 mile radius, a larger coastal area than any of the other settlements in the area - a fact of great importance to Chesterfield as a home of seal-hunting people.

(Brack 1963: 1).

The northern coastline thus presents, by virtue of its physical character, certain natural resource foci which are in turn reflected by the development of specific technology and distributions of population. The tendency for such seasonal patterns to be accentuated or elaborated upon by the whalers will be explored at a later juncture.

1.2.4 Southampton Island

Southampton Island, in conjunction with neighbouring Coats Island merits attention and despite its geographic separation from mainland Keewatin, must be considered as an integral part of the Keewatin. (See Map 4). The Island may be divided into two broad regions arising from basic physiographic distinctions.

In the west lies undulating lowland limestone country, liberally strewn with rock detritus of shattered bedrock ranging in size from angular fragments to larger flat stones (Robinson 1968: 232). The southern lowlands south of the Bell Peninsula in the east and extending to Cape Kendall and Cape Low in the west are less arid, containing innumerable pockets of surface water and expanses of marshland. The Boas River rising in the eastern uplands, braids into an extensive network of wide shallow channels as it approaches the Bay of God's Mercy, emphasizing the boggy, deltaic character of this area.
Distinct from this western "rock desert" (ibid.: 232) and marsh topography, the Eastern portion of the island comprises rugged upland topography with widespread appearance of Precambrian granites, schists and gneisses. This Shield remnant may be viewed as an arcuate extension of the Wager Upland area and manifests general geological similarities. Tracing this arc southeast, a less pronounced, but nonetheless discernable outcropping is notable on Coats Island, as a ridge of Precambrian hills to the northeast, similarly juxtaposed with a flat marshy plain to the west. This eastern band of Uplands on Southampton Island attains an elevation of 1,950 feet in the Kirchoffer Hills northeast of Coral Harbour. There is a conspicuous absence of surface water in this hill region, with the exception of the Kirchoffer River and its tributaries, which flow broadly northwest to southeast following the general trend of fault escarpments in these uplands.

The coastal features of the Island reflect the dichotomous character of relief upon it, the west coast offering a predominantly smooth configuration of low cliffs and extended tidal flats, with little sanctuary for vessels skirting it. At Ell Bay the tide reputedly ebbs some seven miles, exposing a bare wave-cut rock platform. The treacherous nature of the west coast, from the mariner's perspective, is well documented by Captain G.F. Lyon in his unsuccessful bid to reach Repulse Bay by way of Roe's Welcome Sound in the 'Griper' in 1824. Recording a position off the extreme southwest of the Island, Lyon notes with some trepidation:
A strong weather tide rose so short and high a sea, that for three hours the ship was unmanageable, and pitched bowsprit under every moment. We now found that although with our head off this truly dangerous shore, we were nearing it rapidly and driving bodily down on the shoal.

(G.F. Lyon 1825: 70).

Lyon noted the falling of the tide to be 12-15 feet off the west coast and his vessel possessed a draught of 16 feet. Delivered from a watery grave by what seemed like divine providence, he anchored safely at a point which he called Bay of God's Mercy (ibid.: 81).

In contrast to this shallow coastline of attenuated flats and hazardous tides, the east coast is possessed of a deepwater indented shoreline, but no less dangerous in terms of navigation, even for small craft, as a result of south setting currents which grind heavy pack ice along it throughout the year (Brack 1962: 8). Brack observes that "in summer, Eskimos are reluctant to attempt passage of the coast in small boats as there is always the danger that east winds will push ice right up against the shore" (ibid.: 8). Even in comparatively ice-free months, September and October, extreme storminess militates against safe travel.

Given the disadvantageous nature of both west and east coasts, it is not entirely surprising to find that the southern indented coastline, traditionally and up to the present, provides the major focus of human activity and settlement. In 1824, Lyon made contact with the Inuit of Southampton Island on this coast and commented on the penurious conditions which they seemed to endure, at a salmon fishing camp. He notes: "from their total want of iron, and from
their extreme poverty, I am led to imagine that these people had never before seen Europeans" (Lyon, 1825: 64). This is entirely possible, however, despite the material privations of their situation, these original inhabitants (the Saglermiut) survived until 1903 when an epidemic presumably resulting from contact with whalers decimated their numbers, leaving the survivors to be removed by a whaling captain.

The island was later repopulated by the Hudson's Bay Company with Baffin Island and Ungava Inuit who were moved from a rather unsalubrious and unsuccessful Fur Trade location on Coats Island in 1924, to Seal Point at the head of South Bay (presently known as Coral Harbour).

It is significant to observe the crucial importance of ice once again, in terms of resource accessibility and distribution of population. Although freeze-up times vary, the south coast possesses by far the most favourable ice conditions from the viewpoint of the indigenous hunter. In winter, an open lead exists between Southampton and Coats Island, usually about 30-40 miles from Coral Harbour (Brack 1962: 6). This lead may freeze in calm periods but is difficult to traverse. This zone of open water favours the hunting of marine mammals so vital to subsistence, particularly walrus and seal (Robinson 1968: 233). South Bay becomes ice-locked and develops a smooth snow packed surface providing convenient access to the floe-edge. Whales and narwhals are netted and pursued in the South Bay region following break up in July (Brack 1962: 43).

Regarding other natural resources, Captain G. Comer, a long-time
visitor to this island noted the abundance of small game in summer, observing in 1908 that waterfowl and trout are taken, the former using whalebone snares (1910: 86). Comer also observes the comparative lack of foxes, venturing to suggest that the absence of humans and human flotsam is the reason for this scarcity (ibid.: 86). Prior to and during the inception of fur trapping on the island, Southampton Island caribou were numerous (Welland 1977: 95). The latter author reiterates the central importance of marine mammal hunting, as a subsistence mode which acts as a foundation for the location of camps in the south of the island, the populace favouring the littoral as a source of game and as a location for intensive trapping. Welland further notes the importance of obtaining summer walrus and fishing with nets under new ice in autumn, both enterprises "directly related to securing an adequate supply of human and dog food and trap bait for winter" (ibid.: 96).

1.3 General Climatic Conditions

Having described the geographic and physiographic components of the Keewatin with some reference to overall resources, attention must now be directed to another fundamental of the region, that of climate. Without dwelling on the nuances of microclimate and the disparities which exist between sub-regions, a broad picture of climate will be attempted for the region as a whole.

The mainland of Keewatin displays the typical features of a tundra climate with light precipitation, long cold winters and short cool summers. The mean daily temperature for January at Baker Lake is -30°F and in July 50°F or lower. The cold winter temperatures are exacerbated by
almost continual wind, averaging speeds of 12-15 miles per hour (Thompson 1968: 274). Baker Lake and Chesterfield have the highest monthly wind chill values of all Canadian weather stations. Brack cites values of between 1800 Kcals/hr/m² to 2,000 Kcals/hr/m² (Brack 1962: 2). The psychological impact of consistent wind and cold is almost as debilitating as the physical power thereof, a fact often recorded in Fur Trade log books. A tendency for blowing snow to accompany wind is notable, often scouring areas of rock, while piling up snow in other locales. Winds of 15-20 mph. are sufficient to create widespread drifting on the exposed interior of the "Barren Lands". Actual snowfall, however, is rather light. Annual averages from Chesterfield from the period 1931 are recorded as 48-49 inches by Thompson (1968: 270). This amount decreases progressively inland. Average annual rainfall is similarly slight (4-7 inches), the bulk of this falling in summer.

In short, the Keewatin possesses a typically Arctic climate, and one which is closely linked not only to Polar air mass movement, but also to seasonal conditions in Hudson's Bay itself. The capacity for ice development inland and in the Bay is a primary factor in stabilizing a protracted cold winter and moderating autumn and spring temperatures. The importance of freeze-up and break-up in the Keewatin calendar has already been alluded to, and the role of ice in determining mobility, access to resources and the scheduling of seasonal subsistence activities is of paramount significance, to both trapping and hunting lifeways. Consideration of ice conditions in the Bay and the freeze-up inland has
Map 5: Distribution of Dialectal Subgroups, ca 1925

**Legend**

- --- Approximate Range of Dialectal Subgroups
  Circa 1925.
  Source: Powell '82.
an important bearing upon the logistics of Fur Trade Post location, providing avenues of access for trade and inhibiting or enhancing the potential for trapping. The presence of ice in the Bay also has a direct influence upon the facility with which individual posts can be reached by annual supply vessels. A tendency for ice to impede supply ships at Repulse, Southampton Island and Coats Island was particular notable during the fur trade years.

1.4 Population of the Keewatin

Within the Keewatin, a number of distinct dialectal subgroups make up the total Inuit population of the region. (See Map 5). The presence of these groups was cursorily noted by early explorers and later, more accurately described by ethnologists, notably Boas, 1900 and Birket-Smith, 1929. However, an unequivocal ascription of geographic or territorial affinities which conveys an accurate sense of aboriginal demography is somewhat elusive; for the observations of Birket-Smith and, to some extent, Boas, are gleaned from eras when the incursion of the whalers was affecting population distribution, or had already done so. Indeed, Ross counterpoints these two sets of observations as an index of demographic change, illustrating the degree to which the whalers' presence substantially influenced location of the various subgroups (Ross 1975). Birket-Smith infers that in the wake of the departing whalers, certain groups, notably the Qaernermiut who were involved in whaling enterprises north of Chesterfield and south of Wager, relocated in the vicinity of Baker Lake, by the time of the inception of the organized Fur Trade (Birket-Smith 1929: 62). He notes very few of this group have remained at the coast, averring that "since
the tribe has gone back to its old mode of living, which keeps it in the interior all the year round, only one or two families have remained at the coast" (ibid.: 63). However, the latter author does not attempt to causally connect the Fur Trade with this inland orientation. For the most part, Birket-Smith adheres to the view that the availability of country resources is the prime mover for group location (1929: 62). Certainly in an aboriginal or pre-contact context, country resources would prescribe or condition certain location patterns. Tyrell's observations whilst navigating the Kazan and Dubawnt Rivers seem to attest to this fact, particularly the clustering of family groups at strategic points where caribou might be obtained. By 1924, Birket-Smith found Dubawnt Lake and River devoid of these former residents.

Birket-Smith's observations and the estimates of population arising from the 5th Thule expedition remain as the first attempt to accurately enumerate the population of the "Caribou Eskimo", a generic term applied to the inhabitants of central interior Keewatin. Briefly, Birket-Smith discerned four main groups, which he placed under the rubric "Caribou Eskimo", these being the Qaernermiut, the Hauneqtorntmiut, the
Harvaqtormiut, and the Padlimiut. Somewhat closer affiliations, culturally and linguistically, obtain between the first than the latter two (1929: 60).

The Qaernermiut or "dwellers of the flat land" inhabit the reaches north and west of Rankin Inlet, whilst the Hauneqtormiut are associated with the Wilson River region west of Mistake Bay. The Harvaqtormiut or "dwellers of the place where the rapids abound" live on the lower reaches of the Kazan. The predominant group are the Padlimiut in the interior proper and with substantial numbers oriented to a coastal existence at the time of Birket-Smith's investigation. The Padlimiut represent the most southerly ranging of the four sub-groups, with camps around Lake Hikoligjuak and along the Kazan River between Ennadai and Hikoligjuak Lakes at the turn of the century (Tyrell 1896: 125-135) Hikoligjuak Lake was still a major focus of population in 1924 (Birket-Smith 1929: 64). Birket-Smith and Rasmussen arrived at a conservative total of 432 for the entire population of Caribou Eskimos (1929: 66).

The more northerly contingent of the Keewatin Inuit comprises peoples of both Netsilik and Iglulik origin and, as mentioned, the territorial affinities of these groups show major changes as a result of the presence of whalers on the northwest coast. Ross notes the tendency for the whalers to effectively erase former social and geographic barriers, in former times relatively rigidly observed by the Aivilingmiut, Simmiut and Netsilingmiut, and to stimulate group movement and relocation.
Whaling triggered off a dramatic sequence of occupance in northwest Hudson Bay. First, it attracted Simmiut and Netsilingmiut to Repulse Bay, the country of the Aivilingmiut, and in the process destroyed the barrier of fear that had previously held these people apart. Secondly, whaling superimposed upon the hiterto isolated Saglermiut of Southampton Island an imported population from Hudson's Strait and Repulse Bay, causing the extinction of the original inhabitants. And finally, whaling placed half the Aivilingmiut upon the then vacant island, following which the Netsilingmiut assumed numerical dominance in Repulse Bay.

(Ross, 1975: 133).

This phenomenon of relocation is noted by Birket-Smith also who indicates the southward movement of the Arviligjuarmiut from Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay, filling the vacuum left by the southern shift of the Aivilingmiut to the Roe's Welcome Coast and subsequently to Southampton Island in 1908, the latter moving 82 members of the total populace of this group (Ross 1975: 133).

Inland toward the west in the Backs River country, the area is peopled by the Utkuhikhalingmiut and the Haningajumiut, designated by Birket-Smith as "belonging to the Netsilik group" (1929: 36). (The range of these groups is referred to in the section pertaining to the geography of Northern Keewatin).

The patterns of location and mobility associated with whaling enterprises and revealed by the investigations of the Fifth Thule Expedition serve as an important bedrock on which to build further analysis of movements in the Fur Trade era. The significance of the whalers as population 'magnets' is considerable, and the legacy
of these demographic shifts in terms of this thesis is the implication that the Fur Trade possessed a similar centripetal impetus, generating movements and relocations, but also building upon the existing population characteristics of the whaling era. The legacy of the whalers in this, and other respects will be duly noted in a following section.

It is hoped that this outline of population serves to illustrate the malleable character of demographic features in the Keewatin. By focusing upon the dynamics of population, human groups emerge as adaptive and responsive, rather than as static or inflexible entities. Such a perspective is consistent with the need to approach change holistically as a continuous and culmulative phenomenon; despite the impression sometimes conveyed in historical reconstruction, that the process is akin to a clearly delineated sequence of discrete segments or separate interludes.

1.5 Conclusions

This initial appraisal of the geography, climate and population of the Keewatin serves to create the physical context of the study at hand. Attention has been directed to the major sub-regions of the Keewatin; the southern interior lowlands, the Wager Uplands and Northern region, the coastal zone and important offshore islands. The basic interactions of human groups, resources and physical characteristics of the land have been alluded to as a way of demonstrating how the fundamental rapport between man and the land operates. Without attempting to evaluate the microclimatic features of the regions designated, the salient elements of climate are noted, particularly as they pertain
to human ecological relationships. At a later point the nuances of such ecological relationships between man and animals will be more fully explored. At this early juncture it is considered more opportune to present a general physical setting in which subsequent developments can be placed.

1.6 Historical Considerations

It is important to understand that prior to the advent and development of the Fur Trade in the Keewatin other significant contacts were established between the Inuit and a number of external change agents. The role of whaling as an impetus for demographic change has been briefly discussed. The whalers stimulated migrations and relocations of considerable numbers of people who were drawn by the desire to trade and the possibility of employment. The whaling enterprise will be subjected to further scrutiny herein, as a powerful stimulus for economic and sociocultural change. Such a glimpse of the years preceding the inception of the organized White Fox trade is mandatory, if an intelligible analysis of the changes stimulated by this trade is to be rendered. This task of creating a temporal continuum of change, in which a number of forces emerge and subsequently diminish, is a key one. Essentially, in attempting a reconstruction of cultural events it is necessary to retrace the elements of change in order to shed light upon the total process of cultural change.

It is equally imperative to dispel any impression that the Fur Trade, as an enterprise and as an agent for change, emerged in the midst of a pristine, aboriginal culture. As indicated in the preceding
section in reference to population dynamics, the Trade enters a context already widely changed in certain important respects, and comes to assume many of the functional, trade-related activities formerly carried out in the whaling era. Thus there is a need to extend the history of influence beyond the confines of the Fur Trade and the whaling era before it, in order to recognize the significance of contact which pre-dated these enterprises and thus extends the history of cultural change in the Keewatin.

As Innes has suggested, the legacy of early mercantile exploration was quite far-reaching, possessing important implications for the course of acculturative events thereafter. Innes, whilst considering the pan-Canadian implications of early Fur Trade expansion nonetheless makes certain observations useful in comprehending Arctic trade. Innes points out the essentially integrative character of trade encounters with indigenous people, the manner in which the H.B.C., and other enterprises, courted the affiliations of the native populace by fostering an intimate working and trading relationship with their clientele of trappers and hunters. In later examination of the impact of the whalers, the significance of such attempts to engender positive sentiment at least in a viable economic sense, becomes even more notable. The following review of historical contact implicitly acknowledges the widespread and far-reaching affect of exploratory and mercantile contact.

1.6.1 Voyages of Discovery

Word-of-mouth reports of the existence of a large inland sea by Basque fishermen predate any organized exploration of the Hudson's Bay region. Murray-Smith credits the mercantile expansion of the Genoan and Venetian maritime powers with creating the possibility for a northern trade corridor leading to the wealth of the Indies (Murray-
Smith 1877: 13). In the spirit of Cabot's 1496 voyages, patronized by the King of Spain, Robert Thorne of Bristol undertook an exploratory voyage to the shores of Newfoundland in 1527. In 1553, Wolloughby and Chancellor, acting under the direction of the Grand Pilot of England Sebastian Cabot, were charged with the discovery of a North-East passage to Cathay. This undertaking brought about a most fruitful trade liaison with Russia, but did not diminish aspirations to locate the North-West Passage. This was a quest which was to become, for successive generations of British Mariners, an abiding and largely frustrating preoccupation. The procession of voyages listed here (Appendix I) reveals the prodigious effort invested in the search and in mercantile concerns from 1527 well into the mid-nineteenth century.

Sir Martin Frobisher's attempts to locate the sea route in 1576-1578 were largely futile. The discovery of iron pyrites in the Baffinland Bay which bears his name sparked two subsequent voyages to retrieve this ore and to locate other ores and establish a colony. The failure of Frobisher's endeavours were sufficient to warrant his subsequent disappearance from the ranks of northern maritime explorers. John Davis is credited with the discovery of the entrance to Hudson's Bay two decades later. Davis' failure to locate the Western outlet of the Northern passage in 1592 lost him the support of his London merchant backers. Davis did, however, make contact with the natives of Hudson's Strait, who greeted him in droves with trade offerings of skins and game (Murray-Smith 1877: 21).

The initial exploration of the Bay in 1610 by Henry Hudson is marred by tragedy, Hudson being stranded in the Bay which bears his name. Sir Thomas Button receives the distinction of sighting land on the western shore of the Bay in 1612. Button coasted into the inlet of the Churchill River finding a harbour which he named Port Nelson (Neatby 1958: 33). The following summer
Button pursued a course between Southampton Island and the mainland as far north as Whale Point. Luke Foxe named this channel Roe's Welcome Sound. The Danish expedition of Jens Munck in 1619 followed a course similar to Button's and after wintering near the mouth of the Churchill returned to Europe with a surviving crew of three, including Munck. Munck is credited with the discovery of Chesterfield and Rankin Inlets and made rudimentary maps of these two places (Birket-Smith 1933: 18).

In 1631, Luke Foxe, the self-styled 'North-West Fox', and Thomas James were independently dispatched by Bristol merchants, both with expressed purposes of locating the North-West passage. Foxe reached land at Cape Fullerton and struck south past Marbel Island, encountering James on the Bay's south shore. There followed a hiatus in exploration until 1670, when King Charles II granted a charter to 'the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay'. Ostensibly the charter was granted to merchants who would strive for 'the discovery of a new passage to the South Seas, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities'. It transpired that the former mandate was largely eclipsed by the latter (Murray-Smith 1877: 29).

The advantages of Hudson's Bay as an accessible Fur Trade base had been expressed by two French voyageurs, Radisson and Grosseilliers. Unable to acquire any commitment for exploration there from their New French superiors, they approached the London merchants and their efforts produced sponsors and the aforementioned charter. The Royal charter gave effective sovereign rights to the entire Hudson's Bay drainage basin, essentially a carte blanche for the founding and operation of what was to become a vast mercantile empire. Despite the pretext of discovery or search for the North-West
Passage, it became apparent, with the granting of the charter, that the directive of trade had superceded this quest.

Following a preliminary expedition in 1668, Fort Charles was erected at the mouth of Rupert River in James Bay, (later to become Ruperts House). A succession of fortified Trading Posts followed, their building rendered more urgent by continuing rivalry between English and French interests. A condition of open war prevailed, all English forts but Fort Albany being captured in 1686, obliging the Company to supplement regular supply voyages with military reoccupation expeditions in 1696 (Cooke and Holland 1978). In this uneasy atmosphere of military confrontation and trade expansion, the Company sought to control and direct trade enterprises. The focus was largely to the south of Hudson's Bay, and contact with the Inuit of Keewatin had been negligible. However, the building of Fort Churchill in 1717 provided a convenient location for northern trade expansion, and it was from here, and later from Fort Prince of Wales on the same site, that a fledgling northern trade was begun.

Along with its entrepreneurial advantages, the Company now also possessed in Fort Churchill a suitable base from which to renew the search for the North-West Passage, and was duly charged to undertake this quest. This directive was somewhat grudgingly complied with. Birket-Smith observes that in Fort Prince of Wales, the Company held "a possession which served as a base for its usually unwilling and consequently only slightly effective exploration" (Birket-Smith 1933: 19).

The failure of the Knight expedition, which left Churchill in 1719, served both to highlight the futility of the quest for the passage and to stimulate renewed interest in the search. Both vessels
of the Knight expedition appear to have been stranded, possibly ice-bound, off the east coast of Marble Island. Following the winter of 1720, only 20 of the crew of 30 remained. By the spring of 1722, all were dead. Search and rescue expeditions revealed nothing of the fate of the Knight party, a tragedy which was to come to light some fifty years later (Birket-Smith 1933: 19).

1.6.2 Trade Explorations

Following this episode, the Company made exploratory expeditions along the west coast of the Bay. A trade and mining expedition in 1736 was followed by regular annual trade voyages north of Churchill, this initial voyage having resulted in contact with the Inuit at Whale Cove. Meanwhile, in Britain, Sir Arthur Dobbs, a vociferous Member of Parliament and landowner, was loudly advocating the energetic renewal of the search for the North-West Passage. Duly dispatched in 1741, Captain Middleton, a former Company man, led a British Expedition to seek the presumed corridor. His failure to do so incensed Dobbs, although Middleton's voyage significantly expanded the geographic knowledge of the North West coast. Further scrutiny of Chesterfield Inlet in 1762 revealed no western exit.

Nonetheless, the northern voyages were not entirely without recompense. From 1737 onwards, annual trade parties made sporadic contact with the inhabitants of the coastal margin as far north as Whale Cove. William Christopher's observation of an abundance of whales off Marble Island in 1763 led to dual purpose whaling and trading voyages from 1766-1773 (Cooke and Holland 1978). The protracted
search for the legendary trade corridor was also by no means forgotten, despite the hardship and despair which had marked the quest thus far. The commitment of the Hudson's Bay Company to this venture was weak, the guiding priority of the merchants being the extension of trade, rather than the accomplishment of grand discoveries.

1770 saw the adoption of somewhat different tactics by the Company in their trade endeavours. The overland expedition of Samuel Hearne and that of Kelsey in 1692, marked a departure from the maritime approach hitherto employed. Hearne's trek also represented yet another attempt to establish beyond doubt the presence or absence of the northern sea route, as did the overland journeys of Franklin in 1769 and 1819-21. The decision to carry out the quest by overland travel is indicative of the realization of failure which had so far marked maritime probings. The purposes of the trade were well served by the glimpse Hearne provided of the northern interior. The overland journeys, notwithstanding the inaccuracies of Hearne's mapping and the terrible privations of the Franklin party in 1820, clearly pointed out the need to approach Arctic discovery not solely as seafarers, but as land travellers. George Back's 1833 journey to the coast along the river which bears his name is ample testimony to the efficacy of overland travel, when conducted by an individual sensitive enough to respond to the land and people encountered (Back 1970). Besides representing a major contribution to the geographical existence of a hitherto unknown group of Inuit, the Uthuhikhalingmiut (Birket-Smith 1933: 25) and defined the extensive river system to which he lends his name.
Back's endeavours, along with the efforts of John Ross in the Boothia peninsula region, rejuvenated official interest in general discovery and in the search for the North-West Passage. In 1836, Back was placed in command of an expedition which seems, in retrospect, to have profited very little from the lessons and achievements of his previous overland journeys. The plan called for the hauling of boats across the base of the Melville Peninsula to explore the sea to the west, a Herculean task during which the 340 ton 'Terror' was continually assaulted by rafting ice. The vessel limped home to England, the mission a complete failure. As Neatby observes:

The failure of Back's last venture put a stop to official Arctic enterprise for nearly a decade; no individual or organization was disposed to spend more on the conquest of the stubborn passage.

(Neatby 1958: 122).

Back's failure did not completely dampen the enthusiasm of the admiralty, who consented, on the basis of Thomas Simpson's optimistic 1839 journal, to refit the 'Terror' and the 'Erebus' for yet another attempt to locate the sea route. This was to be the final voyage of Franklin who sailed in 1845, and the trigger for a spate of rescue missions dispatched by the admiralty and independent searchers. Whilst Franklin searched for the elusive sea route north of King William Island, the energies of the Hudson's Bay Company were focused south and east of that point.

In 1845, Dr. John Rae, a Company man, led a small party (by admiralty standards) for the purpose of exploring the remaining
coastal and interior geography of North West Hudson's Bay. Rae successfully mapped the Repulse Bay, Rae Isthmus, Committee Bay and Pelly Bay area. The accomplishments of Rae were, in large part, due to his efficient utilization of indigenous travel techniques, dog-sled mobility enabling Rae to chart some 600 miles of coastline (Murray-Smith 1977: 410). The discernable superiority of this approach had thus far been unnoticed by the sea-borne expeditions of the Royal Navy. Neatby makes the following observation regarding Rae's achievement:

Rae redelivered his party safe at York Factory on 6th September, 1847, after a journey unique in two respects, - the maintenance in the Arctic for a year and a quarter of a party supplied for four months only, and the ease and rapidity with which his discoveries had been effected. He had revolutionized the methods of northern travel and become the unacknowledged teacher of the great Arctic discoverers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

(Neatby 1968: 113).

Neatby's comment, however, omits mention of the vital role of the Inuit, the "unacknowledged" teachers of all those individuals attempting to come to terms with the Arctic. Rae's success, like that of George Back, accrued from his close attention to and rapport with the Inuk members of his party. Not only did he adopt the hunting and travel methods native to the region he explored, but he showed respect and tact in his encounter with the Inuit. He is recorded as having in his party one Ooligbuck and one of his sons (Murray-Smith 1877: 399). Neatby refers to a half-breed, Turner who was "an able improviser" (Neatby 1968: 133). Doubtless, Rae's native complement ensured his success, for Ooligbuck and his son acted as interpreters, facilitating essential contact throughout the
journey. The following extract aptly illustrates this:

At first the natives were much afraid, but after a few words with the interpreter, they became quite at ease, and chatted and laughed with great good nature. Rae obtained from them a few items of valuable information, and one of them drew a chart, from which he learned that the Isthmus, from Repulse Bay to the sea on the west side of Melville Peninsula, was not much more than forty miles across, and that water communication by means of a chain of deep lakes existed along thirty-five miles of the route...

(Murray-Smith 1877: 400).

Thus in remembering the laudable achievements of Dr. Rae, it is fitting to note the instrumental role of the Inuk members of his party. Rae is probably also one of the first travellers to have recognized the intelligence of the Inuk women and their cartographic expertise (ibid.: 401).

Somewhat belatedly the official Franklin search expedition of Austin acknowledged the possibility of indigenous travel techniques. Lieutenant McClintock, who holds the honour of finally locating the North West Passage and telling of it, dedicated himself with characteristic thoroughness to the logistics of sled travel, Royal Navy variety. Murray-Smith notes "he has brought this method of exploration to great perfection" (ibid.: 524). One might note that the good lieutenant was pre-empted in this achievement by a number of years. In fact, there is a sense of irony in reviewing the whole array of admirality quests, considering the manner in which the naval expeditions assaulted the land from the sea, only successfully changing tactics after the fact, and the loss of many lives. Neaby observes that "the disappearance of
Franklin caused a revolution in methods of polar exploration" (Neatby 1958: 137).

Some details of the unfortunate failure of the last Franklin expedition were eventually returned by Rae, but ultimately by the two Americans, Charles Hall and Fredrick Schwatka. Hall spent many years among the Inuit of Baffinland, having developed a deep interest in the fate of the Franklin voyage, and later he travelled extensively in the Back and Hayes River region seeking information regarding the Franklin party's fate. His approach to the situation was direct and refreshing. As Murray-Smith puts it: "English explorers had examined coasts; Hall proposed to examine Eskimos" (Murray-Smith 1877: 742). Hall himself saw that the truth might be determined only through communication: "Though no civilized person knew the truth, it was clear to me that the Eskimo were aware of it, only it required peculiar tact and much time to induce them to make it known" (ibid.: 743).

Herein lies the essential difference in the contacts of naval personnel with the natives of Hudson's Bay, and those of the traders and people such as Hall and Schwatka. Only through communication could trade or indeed any meaningful interchange be accomplished. From the time of Hearne onward, the traders' modus operandi was characterized by the willingness, arguably born of necessity, to undertake exploration and trade expeditions in a manner consistent with the Arctic environment. The naval tendency to confront the unfamiliar without the aid of indigenous techniques is in striking contrast with the traders' adaptation to indigenous lifeways.
Schwatka's overland expedition from 1878-1880 in the Backs and Hays River country, north to King William Island and back to Marble Island reiterates the importance of local travel techniques and the enlistment of Inuit services. Along with a four man U.S. army party, Schwatka obtained the services of 13 Inuit and was made aware of the importance of food sharing and living off the land. He carried only 1,125 pounds of qallunaat or "whiteman's" provisions (Gilder 1887: 59). Schwatka's travels reveal a capacity for understanding and a sharp grasp of material and sociocultural modes in the Keewatin. His ethnographic contributions like Hall's are praiseworthy, and far supercede the efforts of previous observers such as Hearne and Franklin whose overland guides and interpreters were not even native to the regions they explored. It is significant that, like the whalers who were their contemporaries, and the Hudson's Bay Company through the efforts of John Rae, these two Americans grasped something of the value of cultural 'immersion' as a means to their respective ends. Furthermore, following Rae's expedition the Churchill Post began to earn its keep as a serious base for northern trade. It seems, however, that apart from annual trade voyages along the coast, early trade contact was negligible.

Nonetheless, the Churchill Post earns the distinction of being the first real inroad made by the Company towards commerce in the Keewatin. The tendency for the Churchill trade to be somewhat circumscribed, and thus manipulated by those groups within its range, is notable. Ross quotes Rae's observation of trade control by the
Padlimiut of the southern Keewatin:

The hunting lands and waters of these extend about five degrees, or 350 English miles, north of Churchill, but they do not permit their more distant countrymen to visit the place, preferring to barter their own half worn weapons, tools, cooking utensils etc., with these, at a much higher price than would be payed for new articles at the trading post, and thus secure a double profit.

(Rae 1866: 139 in Ross 1975: 70).

This observation is made at the beginning of the whaling era. Although such a situation of indigenous middle men may have prevailed throughout this era for those Inuit close to Churchill, the more northern extremities of the west coast were to experience more direct interchange than at any time before as a result of the whaling enterprise.

In summation, and in keeping with the stated goal of offering a continuum of contact, the following points may be reiterated. The Hudson's Bay Company, despite its longevity in the Bay, had sporadic and somewhat limited contact with Keewatin Inuit during the early years of its existence. The trade focus was largely southward and only later did Churchill provide a springboard for northern trade forays. The continued quest for the North-West Passage brought some naval personnel into the Bay, thus diversifying the nature of contact. Nonetheless, the sea-borne methods favoured by navy expeditions brought relatively limited contact with the Keewatin Inuit. The nineteenth century brought more extensive encounters and increased geographic knowledge of the interior and
northern Keewatin regions. The Geological Survey of Canada expedition of 1894 has been mentioned as being particularly important in this respect. J.B. Tyrell's overland work for the Survey did much to enrich ethnographic, linguistic, faunal and floral knowledge of the south and central portions of Keewatin. The mid and late nineteenth century contact made by Tyrell, Schwatka, Rae and Hall represents an extension of contact and a heightening of awareness as to prevailing conditions, material and sociocultural. During this time, the most comprehensive interchanges hitherto experienced in the Keewatin emerged from the impact of the whalers. By the time Schwatka made his extensive inland trek, whaling was already an established activity in the northwestern quadrant of the Bay. It is to the presence of the whalers, and its several implications, that attention will now be directed.

1.7 The Presence of the Whalers

From 1860 to its effective cessation in 1915, the impact of the whaling enterprise in Arctic waters as a whole, and particularly in the Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay regions, was unprecedented and profound. The economic rewards which whaling achieved have been noted by both Rae in her study of the enterprise in the Bering Straits, and Ross in his work on the Hudson's Bay and Straits regions. Ross estimates that some 688 whales were killed in the period 1860 to 1915 in Hudson's Bay, some 62% in the first decade of whaling alone (Ross 1974: 85). While certain scholars, notably Jenness, have observed that whaling in the Bay was somewhat less disruptive socially than in the western Arctic, the whole enterprise represents an initially profound exteriorization
force in the historical process of acculturation. Through its introduction of hitherto unexperienced sociocultural and socioeconomic patterns, and its forging of connections with a distant and somewhat capricious marketplace for those commodities it obtained, (mainly baleen or featherbone and oils), the whaling enterprise merits consideration as a primary initial agent of acculturation and externalization.

The advent of whaling in the Hudson's Bay region, and in particular its north-western quadrant, brought with it cumulative and comprehensive interchange between the whalers and the indigenous peoples of the Keewatin. The dimensions of this contact were significantly more extensive than the somewhat limited trading voyages of the Hudson's Bay Company in the eighteenth century. From 1740 to 1773, the Company had attempted to foster a regular trade with the Inuit north of Churchill, using this latter Post as a convenient base of operations. Worthies such as Francis Smith, James Walker, John Bean and Magnus Johnston, among others, made annual trade forays with varying degrees of success. Given the geographic limitations of these trade contacts, (the trader's voyages are recorded as going only as far north as Marble Island (Cooke and Holland 1978: 65)); the commodities dispensed found a much wider market through internal exchange. John Rae's observations on this have been noted previously.

The whaling presence reveals certain fundamental differences as an effective impetus for material and sociocultural change when considered in the light of such previous company trading and exploratory voyages. Unlike the ephemeral, annual sorties of the company the whalers presented a continuous and pervasive source of contact. Ross, in a detailed account of whaling in Hudson's Bay, documents a gamut of changes stimulated by the
whalers. Ross avers that 'Whaling, as it happened, was the first powerful agent of contact, and it inevitably altered some of the fundamental aspects of Eskimo life' (Ross 1975: 138). The whalers set important precedents both materially, by generating a familiarity with manufactured commodities, and socioculturally by introducing the concept of employment. The cultural patterns emerging from such contact may be seen as a template upon which later contact relationships of exchange and employment were established. The power of the whalers, not merely as dispensers of hardware, but also as shapers of behavioural modes should not be understated. Ross focuses largely upon the material changes which resulted from whaling contact, and the economic and demographic patterns which sprang from the co-existence of whalers and Inuit. These material innovations are of great consequence and such emphasis is warranted. However, interchanges may also be seen as a stimulus for subsequent sociocultural change. The Inuit who were contracted for summer whaling, or as hunters for wintering crews, were the first formal servants of an organized qallunaat enterprise. This was the beginning of a series of relationships which were to be developed and elaborated upon by subsequent ventures, particularly the Fur Trade.

1.7.1 Material Innovation

The most readily apparent changes wrought by the whalers were material in nature. The introduction and widespread diffusion of firearms and the displacement of the traditional umiak or women's boat by
clinker built whaleboats are graphic examples of such material innovation. The introduction of whaleboats possessed a central significance, increasing as it did the capacity for whale hunting, whilst cementing an economic bond between Inuit and whalers. Ross notes the decline in the utilization of the traditional umiak contemporaneously with the depletion of whale stocks, but also cites sources which suggest that the inhabitants of the Bay's west and northwest coast were not familiar with the umiak at all prior to the coming of the whalers (Ross 1975: 89), unlike the inhabitants of the Hudson's Strait region. The alacrity with which the imported whaleboats were taken to is adequate testimony to their quality and utility. The new boats were both light and robust, designed for a crew of six and whaling tackle. As a general utility vessel, too, these boats were highly favoured. In the Bay, the rapid acceptance of the boats is adjudged, in part, to be a consequence of the previous lack of umiaks (Ross 1975: 91). Very soon after the inception of whaling, whaleboats could be counted as part of the material inventory of the Aivilingmiut, along with a complement of whaling equipment. Toward Depot Island the craft made an appearance somewhat later, after 1870 in this more southerly location (ibid.: 93). 1880-1890 marks a period of widespread distribution of these vessels throughout the northwest whaling waters. The crafts were also left for contract whaling after 1890. The Aivilingmiut were the main owners, but Qaernermiut individuals also possessed such vessels by the
Certain ramifications of this whaleboat utilization bear closer scrutiny. The littoral groups who actively pursued marine mammals had formerly done so from qayaqs in terms of three, a hazardous method requiring skill and great courage. The hunt was a highly individual pursuit and the use of the whaleboat arguably removed this individual element, rendering the hunt a cooperative enterprise. The whaleboat method necessitated acknowledged leadership and close harmony of activity. Internal social relationships were solidified through the communal focus of the hunt, for the undertaking demanded trust and cooperation.

Furthermore, the endowment of the craft from the whaler's perspective was a calculated strategy, for the vessels generated and facilitated more widespread contact between the Inuit and the whalers. This accelerated trade exchanges and enabled the inuk crews to actively solicit employment from ships lying offshore. Ross indicates that this increase in mobility also served Inuit families well, by permitting extended hunting, egging or visiting trips by large groups of people (ibid.: 95). A whaleboat with a capacious ability to move passengers and equipment greatly assisted in the following of game and the search for new hunting locations. The boats exemplify an essential symbiosis which characterized this material aspect of whaler-Inuit interchanges. It should
also be noted that the craft enabled the Inuit to initiate trade relations with other enterprises such as the Hudson's Bay Company by providing a means of seeking out and visiting trade posts. All in all, the introduction of whaleboats seems to have created positive repercussions, and was integrated swiftly into the existing system of priorities regarding hunting, and well accommodated behaviourally through its place of emphasis upon traditional values of sharing and cooperation. It further fostered a strong working relationship between the Inuit and whalers.

The impact of firearms deserves similar consideration. The firearms traded by the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the arrival of the whalers were largely flintlock weapons. The whalers were to introduce percussion-type firearms which demanded increased trade needs in the form of ignition caps and bullets. Furthermore, the geographic extent of firearm possession was greatly increased by the wintering whalers. Hitherto, it had reached only 200 miles north of Churchill, but by 1830, guns were common throughout the coastal region from Churchill to Foxe Basin (Ross 1975a: 97).

Although the coastal dwellers were the ostensible beneficiaries of firearms, the weapons were primarily used to hunt terrestrial rather than marine animals. Despite its superior fire power and a greater accuracy than traditional projectiles, the rifle could not retrieve game, and was, therefore, more suited to land-based hunting. However,
using rifles in tandem with harpoons for the hunting of walrus proved highly effective.

Several facts emerge from the widespread utilization of firearms. Counterpointing the tendency of the whaleboat to diminish the need for individual effort in favour of group action, guns tended to individuate formerly cooperative enterprises such as the caribou drive. Firearms facilitated the hunting by the lone hunter, possibly to the point of depletion of country food resources. Numerous writers have casually linked the decline of both caribou and musk oxen (the latter almost to extinction) with the influx of firearms from the whalers. Ross finds no hard evidence for caribou decline as a direct result of whaler's winter food demands or of the increasing numbers of native-owned rifles (ibid.: 108). Periodic scarcity of winter caribou notwithstanding, it seems that the accelerating use of guns did not conclusively lead to a general decline in caribou population. Musk oxen numbers did, however, fall off drastically.

Firearms, and the constant ammunition supplies they necessitated, may be considered as being tended to foster trade dependency. Owning a gun involved the user in repeated trade contacts to procure ammunition. Much mention is made of the priority attached to this need during the Fur Trade era and observers comment upon the incaution with which ammunition is disposed of and the consequent waste of large numbers of game animals (R.C.M.P. Reports, 1927-1931).
Accompanying these two primary innovations were a host of other, less central, material influxes. The whalers introduced items with no previous Inuit equivalent and the material repertoire swelled to accommodate such devices as telescopes, time pieces, and a variety of tools and utilitarian articles. Musical instruments, notably the small accordion or squeezebox represented another aspect of the whaler's inventory of goods which won widespread acceptance. Such an influx of material goods and commodities was unprecedented, particularly when viewed against the Company trade whose traffic during whaling years was limited, both geographically and in terms of the range of goods supplied.

1.7.2 Employment and Contract Whaling

The inception of employment relationships is an important milestone in the history of cultural contact in the Keewatin. It should not, however, connote the European sense of punctuality and regularity. Despite an observed continuity of employment, particularly in the last twenty years of whaling in the Bay, the tasks undertaken were largely congruent with traditional pursuits. The more menial tasks hardly sustained the interest of employed natives, but the hunt itself brought into play the experience and aptitude of a long-practiced hunting orientation. American whaling captains began the practice of distributing whaleboats in return for service in the Cumberland Sound area. According to Ross, the whalers "learned to utilize the Eskimo aptitude for sighting, stalking, killing and fleshing, and his qualities of hardiness and endurance" (Ross 1975: 90). Summer employment, and contract whaling while the whalers themselves were away, increased the spread of whaleboats,
which in turn served to encourage the trend toward such employment.

Whilst all Inuit were not necessarily gainfully employed as actual whalers, the associated needs of the whalers engaged a wide spectrum of the population. During the winter, the demand for suitable apparel employed Inuk women as garment makers and repairers. They made boots, clothes and sleeping bags according to the seasonal requirements of the crews. The boat crews themselves were often hired during winter to provide fresh meat. As Ross indicates, this arrangement bound the individual to automatically give over all the fruits of the hunt to the vessel he was serving (ibid.: 79).

Whaling employment was quite variable in nature and it affected substantial numbers of the Inuit both directly and peripherally. Beyond the immediate demand for material goods which stimulated this employment trend, and the perceptible impact of such commodities, other significant effects require acknowledgement.

1.7.3 Demographic Changes: Mobility and Location

One more or less direct repercussion of the employment relationship has already been cursorily noted with regard to population geography (pg. 25). This is the observed tendency for local groups to take up summer and winter residences in close proximity to whaling vessels, producing shifts in regional affinities and generalized migration to the littoral by those groups formerly inhabiting the hinterland beyond the coast. While this does not assume an irrevocable forsaking of aboriginal territories, it does attest to the "magnetism" of the whaling presence and the attractiveness of commodities and employment.
Evidence suggests that wintering whalers at Repulse Bay attracted Eskimos from a very broad area, including Igloolik, Pelly Bay, the Boothia Peninsula and Chesterfield Inlet, an attenuated zone of some 500 miles north to south and 200 miles to the west. The Inuit of the north-west coast became, in terms of geographic mobility, economic opportunists; ascertaining the location of wintering vessels and converging upon them. When wintering locations were shifted, the pattern of residence reflected this change. For example, both the Aivilingmiut and Qaernermiut, whose aboriginal watershed seems to have been Cape Fullerton, were attracted to winter residence at this point (Ross 1975: 126). This represented a notable departure from winter patterns prior to 1860, where small groups favoured dispersed locations relying mainly on caribou caches laid up in the autumn. Groups of 50 to 200 persons were drawn to Depot Island, Cape Fullerton, Repulse Bay and Marble Island during the height of the whaling era. A pattern of concentration rather than dispersal became customary. The decisive factor in such agglomerations was the location of wintering vessels. It is significant that the volume of contact between Inuit and whalers was seven times greater during the second decade of Hudson's Bay whaling than during the initial ten years of whaling (Ross 1975: 129). This reflects the increased mobility brought about by whaleboat ownership and a more general focus upon the coast for the purpose of employment and trade contact. The root cause of these demographic shifts reveals itself as a demand for material goods attainable through seasonal employment, be it whaling or other services.
The "dramatic sequence of occupance" in northwest Hudson's Bay referred to by Ross, represents an important stage of development in terms of later demographic and spatial patterns and is highly germane to an understanding of movements and activities engendered by the Fur Trade. In a material and sociocultural sense, the whalers and their vessels provided a locus of interaction for a variety of exchanges. The impact of such exchanges upon winter residence patterns, deployment of human activity and seasonal resource strategies was profound. However, the whaling enterprise as a trigger for such changes differed somewhat from the Fur Trade, for although the whalers provided the essential in-roads, as purveyors of goods and employers of men, which the Fur Trade came to expand and build upon, the whaler's trade was characteristically footloose. Granted, the majority of whaling vessels worked in a circumscribed area, but this was rather different from the fixed locations of the Fur Trade Posts, which represented more permanent trade stations and also became established in the interior as well as coastal locations. Moreover, the quest for furs was a material departure from the resource priorities of the whalers.

1.7.4 Sociocultural Impact

As regards the social and cultural implications of the whaler's contact with the indigenous people of the northwest Hudson's Bay region, it could be argued that the technological, demographic and spatial impacts of the whalers were mirrored to a certain extent by sociocultural changes. First and foremost, the whalers presented, en masse, the initial impressions of gallunaat ways, in a behavioural as well as a material
They introduced not merely a technical compendium of perceived efficiency, but modes of interchange and patterns of interaction, which once encoded were to be solidified and developed by the next wave of visitors. As noted previously, there was a tendency for the whaling presence to erode barriers between formerly distinct and reputedly opposed dialectal sub-groups. Perhaps more significant, in terms of acculturative pressure, was the manner in which the whaler's overtures to the Inuit of Keewatin provided the formative patterns of elementary interchange between the latter and other newcomers. Such interchange was grounded in commercial undertakings and was essentially a trade relationship. Nevertheless, it served to establish the initial impressions which both parties held of each other, and implemented the basic working relationships with regard to resources and the direction which reciprocal exchanges would take. The whalers, in a manner not unlike the fur traders who followed them, were able to orient the Inuit toward certain resource activities, to temporarily introduce the directives of their own enterprise and guide the way in which these were executed.

1.7.5 Selection of Personnel

In order to achieve this economic modus vivendi, the whalers, or rather the whaling captains, exercised careful deliberation with regard to the employment of individuals. There was a notable tendency for captains to seek out, and gain the confidence of those individuals whose hunting skills and social prominence within their own extended family and composite aggregations of such groups, earmarked them as
The Inuktitut term *isumataq* refers to a quality of intelligence or thoughtfulness possessed by an individual and holds the literal meaning "he who is well endowed with thought" (Williamson 1974: 29). This kind of individual, as a result of the respect afforded to him by his peers as an *isumataq*, and his skills in traditional activities, emerged as a logical choice of the whaling captains in their selection of key personnel. Their stature as leader figures in their own cultural community provided an accessibility or centrality which the whalers might usefully exploit, for it permitted an extended contact with far larger groups of extended families or aggregations thereof.

By focusing upon such individuals, whose aboriginal prowess was acknowledged, whole groups might be induced to act in a manner consistent with the whalers' ends. The designated leader in this situation was responsible for translating the imperatives of the whalers into actions by his kinsmen. This brokerage position was one of proximity and access. The chosen broker was not only a go-between, but also a leader in the sense of his having the ability to direct and initiate efforts by his group. Simultaneously, he represented a bridge to the whalers' coveted material commodities for his countrymen, and a source of communication and access for the whalers. Although trade and employment negotiations seem to have been conducted on an *ad hoc* basis at first, the broker would come to possess, by virtue of his intimacy with the qallunaat, a degree of power and the means to act as a voice for his countrymen. The headman thus represented a vital link in the
chain of communication which made employment and trade possible for both parties.

This pivotal character of the whaler's Inuit "bosses" (Ross uses the term head native to define this kind of group leader, 1975: 80) parallels, and sets a precedent for, subsequent brokerage roles and economic links between the trapper and the fur trader. This complex of relationships will be examined in a theoretical light and as an empirical sociocultural phenomenon at a later juncture. At present, it should be observed that the whalers were of paramount importance in socializing their Inuit employees, and those indirectly involved, toward an understanding of this crucial sociocultural bridging process. The reverberations of these employment contacts, in particular, the brokerage role, were felt long after the whalers had departed and continue to be experienced beyond the time framework of this study. The whalers were the initiators of relationships, both economic and sociocultural, which can be recognized as most fundamental to the process of acculturation in the Keewatin. An Inuk, occupying the status of trusted servant of the whalers over a considerable period of time, might come to command a valuable grasp of gallunaat ways, and come to identify in some degree with such modes. At very least, he would gain some understanding of the behavioural codes and attitudes upon which relationships were predicated. This proximity to an alternative sphere of reference would, and in most cases, did, enhance his prestige as a leader and ensure recognition of his qualities as a leader amongst his own internal reference group. Ross presents this sketch of the qualities sought by captains in hiring a head native:
In selecting a head native, a whaling captain would look for a successful hunter who could catch whales and bring in meat and skins, a man who had sufficient influence within the Eskimo community to recruit and manage a gang of hunters, and one who (hopefully) could speak enough English to understand what the captain desired.

(Ross 1975: 80, my emphasis).

Many of the men who matched such requirements were leaders in the mental and spiritual realm as an *angaquq* or Shaman, acting in this capacity too as bridges, communicators between ostensibly separate but inextricably connected spheres. In many aspects, the *angaquq* or Shaman was a leader in a sense functionally consistent with the *isumatah*, but acting in a more specialized and esoteric realm. The sociocultural status of the *angaquq* will be explored more fully elsewhere, but it is notable that many long-serving whaling employees, one of whom, Wager Dick, also served the Hudson's Bay Company as Post Servant at 'Wager Inlet', are spiritual mediators in their own cultural context. John Ell, whose name graces Ell Bay on Southampton Island, Wager Dick of Wager Inlet and Pitsoolak were all men of this orientation, and all were key men for the whalers. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the *angaquq* and the institution of shamanism were directly challenged by the perceived power of the material technology of the whalers, and that rather than oppose such developments, these individuals saw fit to gain a pivotal role in the unfolding of them.

In addition to these strategic individuals and the close ties which came to exist between them and their employers, other persons in contact
with the whalers responded in varying degrees to the prospect of employment. Along with the key men and their crews were those individuals specifically contracted to a vessel and referred to as ship's natives, who received regular rations, ammunition and other more substantial recompense at the end of their terms of duty. Involved in a more peripheral sense were those people who took up residence near the vessels to barter and work on a piecemeal basis. A third group comprised infrequent visitors who were neither employees nor local residents. Ross sees these three groups as representing levels of socio-economic intimacy and states that the latter category had "no special attachment to the whalers" (Ross 1975: 77). However, those individuals regularly employed, particular the head men and those recruited by them, may be viewed as establishing the formative socio-economic and cultural patterns which were subsequently followed and developed during the Fur Trade era.

1.7.6 Generational Continuity of Employment Roles

There is a perceptible continuity in the pattern of later employment which bears out this observation. In the wake of the departing whalers, the fur traders also needed reliable middlemen, skilled in traditional areas and familiar with employment situations of this kind. Those individuals who had served the whalers in the capacity of head men possessed attributes which might fruitfully be applied to the Fur Trade. This should not imply that the transition from whaling head man to post servant of the Hudson's Bay Company was perfunctory or smooth. Arguably, the autonomy and personal power of the whalers' key men did not always auger well with the trader. Nonetheless, the brokerage
skills of those who had worked closely with the whalers were seen as invaluable to the building and operation of the Fur Trade. Wager Dick, referred to above, provides a well-documented example of a former whaling head man who comes to occupy an influential and long-standing position as Post Servant for the Company Post at Wager Inlet.

Moreover, the children of the whalers' key men and helpers were raised in a situation conducive to observation and adoption of the roles of their parents. The extent to which such cyclic continuity prevailed offers a potentially rewarding avenue of inquiry. Where possible, this will be explored in the context of the Fur Trade with a view to elucidating the character of employment relationships and their sociocultural implications.

1.7.7 New Names, New Games

Other features of the long contact with the whalers deserves mention, occurring as natural adjuncts to the widespread employment and trade interchanges discussed. In tandem with the new relationships formed and goods disseminated were a host of smaller but no less intrinsic acculturative innovations. Besides providing new roles through employment and new directions in the resource quest, the whalers also bestowed upon the Inuit a variety of names, usually to those persons in shipboard service. Not only did this facilitate identification for the whalers, but it also underlined the relationships being formed for both parties. The significance of name-giving in Inuit society transcended mere identification, it possessed the status of identity

3. The inextricable connectedness of name and soul in Inuit cosmology and belief is dealt with in regard to the missionary influence elsewhere in the text. Here it should be noted that by addressing this fundamental aspect of the Inuit belief system through the ascription of nicknames, the whalers were initiating a most significant change in the Inuit culture (Williamson, 1982, Personal Communication).
and was imbued with important spiritual connotations, linking the ancestral and the living. The names provided by the whalers, while not of this kind or intent, were a source of identity, linking individuals to the enterprise they served, often with great fondness. The names derived from physical traits, personal habits, and the cultural milieu of the whalers. In many cases, whaling names persisted long after the ships departed, along with treasured personal items such as timepieces, telescopes and musical instruments.

The whalers were also first to perceive the aesthetic beauty of Inuit carving and they actively encouraged the pursuit of scrimshaw, trading whimsies of their own for walrus and narwhal ivory canes, walking sticks and piecutters. In doing so, they presaged current awareness of the aesthetic value of indigenous crafts.

The vitality of the whaler's own love of music, gaming and dancing was communicated to those who came into contact with them. The Inuit responded enthusiastically to such innovations. Former traders remember with fondness the interminable square dancing and chess playing, and the ubiquitous "squeeze box" or accordion (W.A. Buhr 1980; personal communication).

4. Whilst the debilitating impact of the Western Arctic whalers upon the Inuit there was not felt to such an extent in the Bay, certain sociocultural repercussions of miscegnation and the introduction of diseases and alcohol were necessarily felt in the Keewatin. However, the Scottish and New England whalers who worked in the Bay seem to have been rather more temperate and ethical than their counterparts in the Mackenzie and Bering Straits regions, as Jenness has suggested (Jenness 1922: 84).
1.7.8 Summation

This brief examination of the impact of the presence of the whalers in the study region serves to illustrate the widespread changes which the whalers stimulated during their fifty year sojourn. These changes, although stemming ostensibly from commercial exchanges, permeated many areas of Inuit culture. The whalers not only stimulated the growth of a new material technology and fostered a demand for it, but they also left a fundamental legacy of specific intercultural relations. By introducing the idea of employment as a means to obtain material goals, where disparity of interest or conflict emerged between the whalers and the Inuit, the broad congruence of economic motives served to redress potential antagonism. In a relatively short time, the whalers also showed the accessibility of the natives of Keewatin, their propensity for trade, and the potential for an organized commercial enterprise which would draw upon the traditional skills and keen awareness of the natural environment possessed by the Inuit.
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ISSUES

Traditionally, in studies of this nature, the theoretical perspective from which the substantive data is evaluated performs a number of functions. The premises adopted provide a hypothetical grid upon which subsequent analyses, modifications and explications are based. This body of theory is not solely an intellectual device. It operates in a functional and epistemological sense by providing an instrument of evaluation. Consistent with the spirit of scientific enquiry, a theoretical orientation should not be so hermetic as to preclude falsification or resist correction. Rather, the conceptual and theoretical components of research comprise an analytical lodestone, a means of divining the facts and elucidating them.

A number of thinkers in anthropology and in other social and natural sciences have indefatigably wrestled with the task of theory building. In deference to their labours it may be said that without their concern for matters of theory, as well as matters of fact, the state of scientific inquiry would be a good deal less rich. Although the fruits of such searches for theoretical direction, and the acrimony which has often existed between adherents of seemingly opposing paradigms, would fill many volumes and indeed has done so, the crux of such concerns is rather more direct. At least in a study at this level of inquiry, the theoretical element of research must strive to be utilitarian and capable, therefore, of lucid and meaningful analysis. It must also achieve such ends in an intellectually rigorous manner, and be well-

tailored for the research at hand.

A theoretical design, no matter how rudimentary or sophisticated, is a symbolic pathway towards understanding. It provides a possibility for explaining, or even predicting, certain specific phenomena. In its capacity to address empirical facts, a theoretical design should be considered as a vector rather than a static entity. This vector should move in the direction of explanation and explication. Should the chosen theoretical approach prove unequal to its stated objectives, it may be jettisoned, modified or radically altered.

In this context, the application of theory will reflect such constraints as are imposed by the data itself. The synthesis of ideas chosen to deal with the documentary information will, by the same token, respond to the variable character of that information. As indicated earlier, the source material is in places fragmented both in terms of historical detail and in regards to temporal continuity through the period under consideration. The theoretical framework must, therefore, be appropriate for such data as exists. It must provide an insight into cultural change as it emerges out of acculturative contact between the Inuit of the Keewatin and the various intrusive groups. Furthermore, it must address the components of this cultural change, both material and ecological as well as sociocultural.

2.1 Theory and Problem

In the broadest sense, this study seeks to document and evaluate sociocultural and economic change in the Keewatin from 1920 to 1950. This involves a theoretical perspective wide enough to accommodate
the totality of changes experienced, yet still maintaining a narrow enough focus to provide understanding of the minutia of processes which comprise that whole. The theoretical priority then, is one of reduction of cultural and historical events to an accessible level while extracting the salient processes which comprise these events.

Essentially, the stream of change in the Keewatin emerged from acculturative contact between two distinct groups, Inuit and qallunaat. This represents a fundamental element of the theoretical viewpoint chosen. Ensuing from this acculturative contact, changes occurred in many realms, notably material, economic and ecological, but no less in sociocultural, behavioural and cognitive patterns. Attention will therefore be directed to the articulation of culture and ecology, or material facts, and the impact of acculturation upon cultural-material and cultural-ecological processes. This represents the second element of the theoretical synthesis. The third facet of the theoretical apparatus draws attention to the events of interaction in which acculturation consists; those transactions between the two broad cultural groups which engendered change. Such transactions consist of both economic or material, and sociocultural interchanges between qallunaat and Inuit, predisposing a perspective on acculturation which takes into account its holistic and multilaminar character. To briefly recapitulate, the combined theoretical considerations emerge as follows: an attempt to document the processes and events of cultural change in the Keewatin by focusing upon the transactions which characterized acculturation, and their cultural and material causes and consequences. Emphasis is
placed upon the holistic nature of acculturation in terms of its ramifications for both material and sociocultural change.

The focus upon change as an outcome of the juxtaposition of different cultural groups is far from innovative and is well represented in the literature and development of anthropology. The ethnological implications of culture contact amongst disparate groups were addressed as early as 1880 when Powell referred to "the force of acculturation" in his *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages* (Powell 1880). Since that time a spectrum of observations and definitions of the phenomenon of acculturation has emerged. The concept of acculturation and its application in anthropology have considerable bearing upon this study and represent a fundamental component of its theoretical orientation, dealing as it does, with changes stimulated within the Keewatin by diverse groups under a common sun.

2.2 Acculturation: Meaning and Implication

Herskovits, in 1958 pointed to a disparity of motive with regard to acculturation study. He observed a distinction between the practical application of studies of cultural contact which he saw reflected in British anthropology of the middle 1940's, and the scientific analysis of cultural processes undertaken in the United States (Herskovits 1958: 5). Herskovits' dissertation upon acculturation was a much needed clarification of what was entailed by the process, and an evaluation of its practical mettle in the field. The same scholar may also be credited with identifying important methodological inconsistencies in the application of the concept of acculturation. Herskovits voices a certain dissatisfaction with the muddling of 'assimilation' and
'acculturation'. In discussing Lesser's 1933 definition of acculturation as "essentially reciprocal" and assimilation as having the tendency for "the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals", Herskovits states:

The methodological principle implied by Lesser in differentiating acculturation from assimilation is one, which at best can only be used with the greatest caution. For just when are a people free or not free to choose one or another aspect of a culture being forced upon them by a dominating group?

(Herskovits 1958: 8).

Skirting, for the moment, the ethical implications of the issues raised by such a query, the same author indicates a useful definition drawn from a formative inquiry into the nature of acculturation:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

(Linton, Redfield and Herskovits (1936) in Herskovits 1958: 10).

This definition, although essentially useful and concise, conspicuously avoids questions of degree and relative group power. It suggests a kind of generalized cultural osmosis through proximity and is sufficiently elastic to apply to many culture-contact situations. Subsequent entrenchment of the sense of this definition into the conventional wisdom has reiterated the point that acculturation is a group process. Individuals may be spoken of as acculturated, but the mechanics of acculturation work upon groups to bring about changed cultural entities. In further consideration of this early definition, and its evaluation
by Herskovits some two decades later, it should be noted that acculturation is rendered distinct from assimilation and diffusion by its continuous nature and its reciprocal qualities. Whilst diffusion is concerned with all instances of transmission of some aspects of culture from one group to another, ..."acculturation has to do with continuous contact and hence implies a more comprehensive interchange between two bodies of tradition" (Herskovits 1958: 15).

In more recent efforts to clarify the acculturation process and to finally sunder it from 'assimilation', Teske and Nelson provide a binary checklist of the two phenomena according to their respective characteristics (Teske and Nelson 1974: 353). In contradistinction to assimilation, acculturation represents a two-way flow of change, and is a process which does not essentially require realignment of value systems (although values may be acculturated). Neither does it demand a positive orientation towards one reference group by another. Acceptance between groups or of one group by others is not a prerequisite for acculturating parties and no internal cognitive shifts are required. In other words, the acculturation process does not necessarily entail positive identification by one party with the internalized value system and mode of perception or cognition of the other party.

However, there is, in many acculturative situations, a tacit assumption of assimilation, held by the dominant party. Malinowski's charter theory of cultural contact and change is firmly planted in ideas of directed, colonial institutional change. As Bee has observed, Malinowski's recognition of the importance of contact and subsequent
change was a rudimentary step towards understanding acculturation but was "blatantly imperialist", implying as it did, the inevitable subjugation of one ethnic and cultural group by another external and superior entity (Bee 1974: 94). The ethnocentricity of Malinowski's view of a new hybrid culture with White institutions at the helm "and at times satisfying certain African interests" may be considered a gross hubris (Malinowski 1961: 65). That author's vision of an acculturated, collaborating series of units welded together by common or parallel institutional forms was essentially flawed, and ignored the simple ethics of reciprocity which such a collaboration demanded. However, the clash of cultures in Africa has certain echoes in other contact situations, for it embodies precisely the kind of ethical questions which are involved wherever cultural contact opens its 'Pandora's box'. In the Keewatin, the ambiguities of acculturation accompany the various intrusive agencies and the pursuit of their respective resources. The various agencies, broadly representative of an homogenous cultural group, each carry a set of directives and goals with regard to the indigenous inhabitants. The ethical implications of such an encounter, whereby the intrusive groups, avowedly self-interested, satisfy certain other group interests at times, must be considered. The respective economic and other goals of the intrusive parties in the Keewatin, as revealed by the data, suggest that acculturation in this context necessarily entails a certain amount of externally directed acculturative power\(^2\). The whole issue of power, in terms of capacity to guide and direct the acculturative exchange

\(^2\) The very fact that the institutions which guided the acculturative process were themselves directed from outside the locus of change, in order to achieve certain external goals, indicates the force for exteriorization which those agencies represented. This external thrust was a major element of the contact acculturation which occurred.
of the Fur Trade era could not accurately be described as coercive in the sense that Foster has identified to process in conquest situations (Foster 1960). However, this power variable is a key factor in grasping the dynamics of acculturation in the Keewatin. Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of Arctic acculturation, certain other aspects of the dynamics of cultural interaction deserve attention by virtue of their general theoretical importance.

The avowed distinction between acculturation and other change processes such as assimilation has been referred to. However, it is evident that such a distinction, whilst theoretically necessary, is often in practice, tenuous. Acculturation, whilst recognizable as a phenomenon which is, at times, egalitarian and reciprocal, a commingling of cultural forces possessing equal power, must actually be acknowledged as a weighted and directed process. Under the rubric 'acculturation' fall many of the characteristics of assimilation.

Acculturation is defined as a binary and reciprocal exchange of two or more cultural groups, and as such, stands in opposition to assimilation where the direction of exchange is fixed by the dominant cultural group and feedback is limited. Acculturation permits the maintenance of cultural autonomy and the retention of cultural elements, particularly of language and thought. Assimilation demands positive reference to a dominant body of tradition and necessitates the ultimate forgoing of such elements. Furthermore, the two processes are rendered distinct by their ultimate goals and end-states. Assimilation assumes a completion of the process of being assimilated, whereas acculturation, by virtue of its bidirectional character, is a continuous process.
However, these overt conceptual differences are often smudged in practise, even though they provide useful models of process. Acculturation may indeed by assimilative, particularly where there is an imbalance of technological or other power. While Teske and Nelson stress that a fundamental difference lies in the fact that acculturation does not demand changes in thought, attitude and cognition, such changes can arise in contexts where one cultural group possesses material leverage over another and can thus actively inculcate certain behaviour or encourage the adoption of their own dominant systems of belief. A situation where there arises a perceived superiority by one group of the material and technological power of the other thus provides for assimilation, for the perceived superiority acts as a powerful fulcrum for engendering dependency and positive orientation. Schapera envisages this causal process as invested with an emphasis in certain situations upon value acculturation which is indistinguishable from assimilation in terms of goals. It should be noted that material and social change is seen as a secondary goal, not as one which permits value change:

The aim of the mission...seeks essentially to convert the heathen native to Christianity. In pursuit of this policy it seeks also to introduce a new system of morals and general behaviour conforming to Christian ideals, and further undertakes the secondary task of promoting the general social and material advancement of the people.

(Schapera 1936: 255, my emphasis).

The implication is that the acculturation process may indeed embody assimilation, either as a stated objective, as above, where
attempts are made to convert to a dominant value system, or as a less
direct result of material acculturation and the emergence of a perceived
dependency upon or regard for technological power. Clearly, where
acculturation occurs as the meeting of groups possessing different
degrees of power, there is the possibility that it may be assimilative
in character. Acculturation in the Keewatin involves both direct
tries to change belief systems and the indigenous value complex, as
well as representing the kind of material or technological disparities
mentioned here.

Certain other clarifications of the process of acculturation are
worth devoting some attention to. As indicated earlier, whilst
acculturation is viewed as a dynamic and on-going phenomena, it has
also been regarded as a process possessing a finite state, as indicated
by the tendency to speak of 'acculturated' individuals. Herskovits
distinguished between acculturation in progress, and a situation in
which resolution of process has been attained:

Contact has taken place sufficiently long
ago so that conflicts have been resolved and
the present culture is a blend or mosaic,
depending on how far an harmonious consolidation
of custom has been achieved.

(Herskovits 1958: 117).

This paints a picture of balance in which the juxtaposition of
disparate cultural elements is ultimately reconciled or smoothed out,
leaving a situation of equilibrium where dissonance and disharmony
no longer exist. Such an idyll is rarely borne out by the facts of
cultural contact. Rather, acculturation appears as a cumulative
continuum, not necessarily ending at some finite point, and not in a state of equilibrium or stasis.

Other scholars have also defined acculturation as a harmonic and egalitarian process, in opposition to the engulfing nature of assimilation. Keesing notes that:

Acculturation is a highly selective process in which a group undergoing culture contact maintains its social identity and to a degree its cultural distinctiveness and integrity.

(Keesing 1958: 38).

The dynamics of acculturation are succinctly encapsulated by Bee in his overview of the SSRC 1954 memorandum on the subject. He distinguishes four ways in which traits or ideas are potentially integrated by a recipient cultural system; these being incorporation, replacement, syncretism or fusion and compartmentalization or isolation (Bee 1974: 105). These processes are not totally exclusive of one another and may be seen as representing facets of acculturation, with the exception of the first two processes which seem to directly oppose one another. Replacement implies a substitution and forced obsolescence whilst incorporation allows for the addition of new elements to the cultural inventory. Syncretism might conceivably result after initial incorporation of cultural elements, whereby a fusion of traits provides a new synthetic form. Isolation is tantamount to a rejection, in which traits are nominally accepted but divorced from the pre-existing system. Bee does not claim to exhaust the possible forms which acculturation may take, but focuses upon these processes as particularly germane to the dynamics of acculturation (Bee 1974: 107).
The acculturation process emerges from such observations as a highly variable one, involving a closely interwoven series of exchanges over a considerable period of time, and resulting in changes in the cultural configurations of both or all groups connected through such interchanges. The actual dynamics of change, however, are revealed in the modifications which occur as a result of contact between these cultural systems. The internal character of these systems, in turn, is instrumental in permitting or inhibiting acculturative processes. A cultural system which is effectively 'closed' will limit or impede interchange between itself and another group. One which is 'open' will enable and facilitate such interaction. 'Closed' or 'open' then, are terms used to conceptualize a cultural group's accessibility rather than its propensity for change, although the two characteristics are related. A 'closed' system displays tendencies to function as a relatively isolated unit into which other information is prohibited from entering. An 'open' system is one which is connected with other systems with a 'relatively free flow of information able to enter it. Although these bipolar designations, 'closed' and 'open', are convenient conceptual labels, cultural systems in an acculturative context cannot be truly 'closed' and are always 'open' to a greater or lesser degree.

An SSRC memorandum on acculturation pointed out that cultural systems are modulated internally, existing in a state of equilibrium to varying degrees (SSRC Seminar 1954: 977). The same memo hypothesized that a flexible or 'invertebrate' culture with fluid boundaries
and loose internal structure would respond more readily to acculturative pressure than a 'vertebrate' or rigid system with sharp boundaries and strict infrastructure. However, it was acknowledged that the greater the rigidity of a system, the larger the possibility of disintegration in the face of pressure, whilst a more flexible response might absorb external elements and enable retention of the salient cultural features of its own system (1954: 979). In terms of acculturation in the Keewatin, the malleability and capacity for adaptation which many writers (Balikci, Wilmot, Williamson, Pelto) have ascribed to the Inuit culture seems to substantiate the latter perspective. By virtue of this capacity for incorporation of certain material and sociocultural elements, the acculturative pressure brought to bear upon the Inuit was arguably rendered less debilitating.

Whilst acculturation is an acknowledged catalyst for cultural change, the form which such change takes may vary immensely. It is possible to view the processes at work, and clustered under the rubric of acculturation, through a number of different lenses. There is, as indicated above, a general consensus with regard to the several processes and qualities which constitute acculturation. Equally notable is the tendency to ascribe changed phenomena, or events of change historically documented, to one or another facet of acculturation. This is not
intended as an emphatic "pigeon-holing" of the various impacts of the process as a whole, for it seems to be widely recognized that cultural life intertwines a magnitude of different, yet related aspects in a relatively cohesive and intricate manner. To intervene at any point in this system is to create reverberations which will be felt throughout the entire cultural entity. Nonetheless, in attempting to understand and explain acculturation, scholars have invariably attempted to ascribe causal significance and, hence, trace process to certain distinct areas. Linton, for example, approached the phenomenon of acculturation from a discernable psychological route. The roots of culture change for him were the mental processes by which behaviour, attitude and values were altered. In this respect, he acted consistently with the thrust of U.S. anthropology of the 1940's, which sought to explicate culture through an understanding of the way in which it was inculcated, acquired, maintained and changed. Such a perspective was avowedly idealistic, yet represents an attempt to reach the fundamentals of culture change. At the other polar extreme stands a materialistic view of culture change as rooted in the technological, environmental and economic world. To ignore either viewpoint is needlessly limiting, to embrace the polemic of one is to likewise reject a full grasp of acculturation as a force for change. It is a truism that acculturative forces permeate both mental and material realms and that these are sufficiently closely linked to act upon each other.

2.3 Psychological Approaches to Acculturation

A number of formative acculturation studies undertaken from
view and behavioural attitudes as constraints or impeti for change. Considerable emphasis was placed upon form, meaning and function of potential cultural additions. Those items bereft of mental significance or meaning arguably could be more easily incorporated into the cultural matrix than elements charged with meaning or value-laden. The recognition of form and meaning as critical factors in innovation extended to individual perception of items according to their ability to meet social, biological or psychological needs.

In an Arctic acculturation context, a number of writers have substantiated this perspective, noting that functionally consistent innovations with practical application to traditional activities are cognitively incorporated by internal decision-making into existing cultural patterns of thought and behaviour without any great disjunction. The adoption of firearms in hunting is a case in point (McConnell 1978). However, the acculturation of sociocultural elements highly valued and internalized, particularly value traits such as sharing and cooperation, tend to resist opposing values which are directed from the intrusive culture. Later discussion of the role of the Missions in acculturation also seems to indicate that functional and cognitive parallels existing between indigenous religious systems and the intrusive Christianity facilitated the acceptance of the latter. Linton's viewpoint suggests that psychological susceptibility to acculturative change is variable, and that key innovators evaluate the appropriateness of new cultural elements prior to wider acceptance by the group.

In ascribing the onus of change to the individual innovator and
satisfactory basis for personal adjustment

Hallowell's findings emphasized a tendency for psychological
degeneration and loss of 'traditional' personality under the
impact of acculturation. His perspective is based upon a view of
acculturation as a directed pressure, under which a recipient group
bucks psychologically, failing to make the required psychological
adjustments. Once again this assumes a directed stream of acculturative
pressure from external to indigenous group and implies that certain
expectations are embodied in such exchange as takes place. These
expectations and the inability of the group receiving them to incorporate
them into their own cultural patterns without traumatization leads to
the ultimate destruction of indigenous cultural personality. However,
Hallowell's failure to adequately identify non-psychological aspects of
change and his use of projective tests as indices of deterioration cast
major doubts upon the ultimate worth of such observations.

Less technically dependent upon psychoanalytic techniques, but
nonetheless focused upon the realm of mind, were the contributions of
Linton himself. He recognized a well-defined phasic process of acculturation
which hinged upon the cognitive response of individuals to potentially
new cultural items (Linton 1940: 470). This process entailed initial
recognition and acceptance of new items by internal innovators, dis-
semination to other members of society and finally, modifications leading
to adjustment within a pre-existing cultural lexicon (ibid.: 470).
Linton further acknowledged the crucial importance of values, world
1940 onwards shared Linton's predisposition toward psychological facets of change. The realm of the mind was seen not only as the formative template upon which a changing inventory of cultural items was predicated, but also as the stuff of change itself. Hallowell in 1946 among the Ojibwa and Spindler somewhat later in dealing with another Woodlands cultural group, the Menomini, stand in substantial agreement regarding the psychological parameters of acculturation (Cohen 1961: 421). Both scholars used projective psychological techniques to establish degree of acculturative impact. Hallowell assumed initially that variable or differentiated impact had occurred commensurate with the magnitude of contact experienced by four groups of Ojibwa. He proceeded upon the assumption that "personality structure, once established, is highly resistant to change" and expected the modal personality of a society to persist "until conditions arose that enforced some change" (Cohen 1961: 424). Significantly, Hallowell's conception of the nature of acculturation was that of a graduated scale of inevitable change. Bearing in mind earlier comments upon the supposed inevitability of acculturation-induced change, such a perspective must be seen to contain an inherent bias, for it assumes a final acculturated end state. The tendency for such bias to colour Hallowell's findings is apparent in his concluding remarks upon Ojibwa acculturation:

Their advanced stage of acculturation as externally viewed is thus deceptive. From a psychological point of view they are not yet acculturated enough,... while contact with the version of western civilization available has enabled them to acquire innumerable cultural traits,...it has not provided the psychological means that might implement a
for such change, which is seen to operate in the germinal domain of cognition. This necessarily implies some scrutiny of values. Kluckhohn defines values thus:

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.

(Kluckhohn 1951: 395).

Perhaps more emphatically, a value is the product of constellation of attitudes learned and inculcated as a function of a given cultural orientation. It represents a blueprint for behaviour and perception. It also acts as a filter through which action is accredited positively or negatively and provides a cognitive map which guides behaviour and mental life. Returning to Barnett, one becomes aware that values themselves are products of ways of seeing one's milieu. Barnett proffers the concept of "frame of reference", an idea which parallels Redfield's "world view":

A frame of reference is an area of orientation with its own particular values. A great variety of particular thought configurations may be organized within it, but it gives colour or quality to them. It sets up the various premises about values that give meaning and order to the various configurations.

(Barnett 1953: 206).

The conceptualization of values and the way in which they operate in contact situations lends a further important dimension of meaning to acculturation studies. The acculturation process becomes identifiable as not only concrete exchanges of cultural items such as material strategies or technological devices. Clearly it is also a mutual
rooting empirical change at the formative level of cognition and innovation, Linton echoes much of the substance of Barnett's theoretical rationale, in which he saw the individual as underpinning and engendering material change (Barnett 1953). In his focus upon the individual as a potential innovator inducing changes, Barnett grapples with similar arguments to those of Linton. There was the same avowed emphasis upon individuals and mental processes as points of contact in acculturation, in contrast to a more abstract assignation of change to groups and "comprehensive interchange" (Herskovits 1958). While Barnett did not oppose the possibility of group participation in acculturation, he heavily underscored the role of the individual:

All cultural changes are initiated by individuals. The stimulus for new ideas or a new behaviour is consequently always specific to a given individual. Sometimes, however, it is generalized...or affects some individuals more acutely than it does others. In any event, conditions external to the individual have a marked effect upon his innovative potential.

(Barnett 1953: 39).

Barnett thus takes stock of external cultural or material conditions, but primarily as these pertain to an individual's capacity for innovation. Effectively, the propensity for innovation is guided by the individual's milieu and specifically, by his cognitive response to his situation. Cultural interchanges are seen to rest upon perception, receptivity and the framing of awareness by individuals. Rather than dwelling upon the results of change as evinced by behaviour or material change, Barnett seeks to apprehend the underlying motivation
insinuation of disparate cognitive modes, and a filtering of mental images through a culturally contrived individual screen. The relative resilience and longevity of cognitive modes, be they core values or simply accretions of attitude expressed as a coherent belief system, acquires an enduring significance for acculturation studies. The tendency for retention and maintenance of core values has particular relevance for the Keewatin situation, the observed perpetuity of belief systems and value complexes being noted by a variety of Arctic scholars. This propensity for consistent adherence to a traditional value system in the face of prolonged acculturative contact will be examined in more detail as it pertains to the Keewatin. It is noted here as a fundamental aspect of the growing awareness of cognitive factors in the development of the understanding of acculturation. The cohesion and maintenance of cultural integrity which value persistence contributes to, reiterate Keesing's observation of acculturation as a selective process, enabling continuity of social identity and cultural distinctiveness (Keesing 1958: 38).

4. Core values may be best defined as those values most intrinsic to the sociocultural perpetuity of a cultural group. Such values are internalized to the point of becoming deeply engrained in both thought and action over a considerable period of time. Williamson refers to values, in part, as "emotional responses either articulated or behaviouristically demonstrated" and draws attention to the importance of values such as thought, seniority, sharing, frankness and respect among the Keewatin Inuit (Williamson 1974: 28-34), (pg. 90-91 of this study).
2.4 Social-Structural Modes of Acculturation

Whilst American scholars examined acculturation within the context of broader culture and personality orientations, British scholars, attempting to challenge an entrenched structural-functional paradigm, focused upon acculturative change as manifested in the emergence of new social forms. There was, however, an awareness of the role of the innovator as a trigger for sociocultural metamorphosis. An increasing disaffection for status quo oriented studies, which rarely sought explanation of the genesis or evolution of institutions comprising that status quo, was detectable (Boissevain 1974: 17). Indeed from the early 1960's onward, there was a concerted effort to disencumber anthropological explanation from the structural-functional perspective which had dominated the previous two decades. There was a recognition that change, including acculturative change, could not be apprehended through structure, but through the dynamics of process which gave rise to institutional structures. Furthermore, the time-honoured assumption that systemic change was an inevitable gravitation toward an equilibrium state, and that as such, change was a function of homeostasis, was increasingly refuted, as a barrier to a clear understanding of the internal dynamics of conflict as a source of systemic change.

This new attention to dynamics and the rejection of the traditional precepts of functionalism has certain implications for acculturation studies. Whilst American scholars had attempted to pinpoint the psychological components of acculturation, the European approach was increasingly designed to explain the mechanics of the process by
reference to those groups and individuals who were juxtaposed and the relations which ensured from this contact. This orientation has been broadly labelled the processual and provides an important recognition of the individual in a change situation, not necessarily as a solely mental entity, but as a participant in exchanges which conceivably lead to socio-cultural and material changes. The units of acculturative interaction in this approach are not cultures or social groups in the traditional sense, but individuals who make up quasi-groups or act autonomously to achieve certain ends (Boissevain 1974b).

This processual viewpoint saw acculturation as the product of relatively ephemeral agglomerations of people, joined together to achieve some objective. Similarly, the goal-oriented decision making activities of certain individual entrepreneurs or brokers was also seen as a fundamental impetus for acculturative change. In some respects, such a development may be seen as a distillation of theoretical priorities from the general to the particular; from attention to the conjunction of highly abstracted 'cultures', to a focus upon the minutia of interchange occurring between individual representatives of larger cultural systems. Barth (1963), Paine (1971), Schwartz (1969) and Turner (1969) all attempt to explain change through reference to the activities of key individuals juxtaposed in relatively circumscribed sociocultural environments. While not strictly bound to explanation in terms of recipient cultures responding to the overtures of external agencies, such situations are readily seen within a processual framework, which provides a convenient theoretical tool for the analysis of small
groups and individuals juxtaposed in this way.

Barth's endeavours emphasize the study of transaction as a force for change, and both he and Paine scrutinize the mechanics of process at the level of group or individual interchange. At this formative interface, persons emerge who direct and manipulate contact which leads to subsequent changes in the distribution of resources, human and material. By focusing on these key persons and their strategies, the intricacies of process are rendered accessible and the boundaries of interaction may be usefully circumscribed.

Such a theoretical orientation provides an illuminating route towards an understanding of the fundamental mechanics of process which operate in an acculturative context. Paine's interest in Patron-Broker-Client interaction indicates a heightened awareness of the mental and behavioural concomitants of contact between intrusive agencies and indigenous recipient or client populations. Implicit in this breakdown of roles is an understanding that acculturative change may be directed and manipulated by individuals occupying certain key roles. This reflects somewhat earlier considerations raised in defining areas of study in acculturation, whereby the need to evaluate significant contact roles established in acculturation contexts was recognized (SSRC memorandum 1954).

Barth, while concentrating similarly upon the transactional components of interchange, also allowed for the impact of related forces upon process, recognizing the significance of ecological relationships and the way in which these might change as a result of differential allocation.
of time and resources. Barth's study of the Fur of Darfur is an apt example, dovetailing considerations of ecological fact and sociocultural organization, whilst illustrating the importance of decision-making processes as influences on investment of time and energy (Barth 1965). It might be observed that as a transactional phenomenon, acculturation consists of the juxtaposition of strategies and their subsequent reconciliation through a decision-making process. In the Keewatin where two broad cultural groups met, decision-making with regard to the allocation of time and energy, emerged from consideration not only of those two groups but from the several objectives of different intrusive interest groups and the indigenous people of the region.

The processual approach as a means of apprehending change reveals certain limitations, however. These arise from difficulties in establishing the key 'protagonists' in a complex social situation and the relatively short time duration during which event sequences are examined. Ervin notes a synchronic bias in the processual preoccupation with short-term events and a potential for error inherent in the reliance upon western economic ideas of optimization and rational intention (Ervin 1980: 52). Moreover, the theoretical thrust of processual studies has been largely derived from its immediacy of observation of sociocultural scenarios in the field and the encapsulation of short-term events, rather than an integrated awareness of long-term change. Nonetheless, the application of the major theoretical principles of processual models may prove fruitful in explaining acculturation sequences and yield insight into past processes of interaction. The strength of
such models rests in their capacity to focus upon and delimit the salient features of acculturative contact. They provide a frame for a number of variables and a way of observing and analyzing the actions and effects of individual behaviour.

The utility of processual models, particularly in contributions of Barth and Paine, will be explored more fully beyond this brief evaluation of their applicability in acculturation studies. Further perspectives on acculturation must first be considered.

2.5 Features of Change in Acculturation Studies

So far, acculturation literature has been seen to reflect certain directions and preoccupations. Notably, the psychological orientation spearheaded by the cultural and personality scholars reveals a concern with the cognitive aspects of acculturation. The processual school of thought concentrates upon the dynamics of change as the primary locus of change and has provided a significant new direction for cultural explanation generally, as well as possessing certain conceptual tools which might be efficacious in circumstances of acculturation.

Thus far, the features of change revealed and the underlying stimuli for such change have been largely cast in psychological and processual relief. This glosses over a perennial concern of acculturation, namely what features of cultural existence are perceptibly changed subsequent to and concurrent with acculturative contact? Certainly material aspects of culture present the most overt elements in which change manifests itself. As asserted previously, to ignore the material elements of change in deference to cognitive and psychological modes, is to risk losing
a holistic perspective of acculturation as an integrated phenomenon. Indeed, many scholars have singled out the material realm as the pre-eminent landscape of change, arguing for the primacy of material components of change as causal factors in observable sociocultural change. For instance, Edward Spicer's collection of case studies indicate technological innovation to be the leading edge of cultural change (Spicer 1952). This compendium of case studies grounds the issues of acculturation firmly in the ecological, technological and economic realm. Material change is viewed as an acculturative trigger prompting material response and sociocultural reverberations. The problems posed revolve around the juxtaposition of disparate economic or ecological systems, innovation in these realms acting as a causal mechanism compelling subsequent sociocultural modifications.

Such a perspective is embodied in the well-known schemata contrived by Murphy and Steward, which endeavours to create a staged continuum of acculturation in two separate cultural contexts of contact (Murphy and Steward 1956). Consistent with the overall efforts of Steward in the field of cultural ecology, the two authors postulate a situation in which parallel processes of dependence and convergence ensue from initial contact between external resource-seeking agencies and subsistence oriented cultural groups. The model proffered distinguishes the following phases on a developmental continuum: Prefur-Marginal Involvement-Transition-Convergence and Culmination, and refers to Montagnais trappers and Mundurucu rubber tappers. The Montagnais example presents the closest parallel to Inuit fur trapping development. In the Keewatin,
a similar culmination of interaction between trader and trapper is detectable. Initial autonomy and traditional subsistence resource focus presages the inception of embryonic trade pathways, which in turn lead to increasing polarization toward the Fur Trade as a means of material sustenance and resource focus. Traditional activities become enmeshed with the directives of the Fur Trade in the transitional phase, and trapping grows in importance. Ultimately, ecological and economic patterns come to reflect the pre-eminence of trapping, this pursuit welded tightly to the total seasonal subsistence strategy.

Murphy and Steward's developmental scheme is highly generalized and perfunctory, but serves as a useful heuristic device, which links the acculturative influence of an intrusive force with commensurate alterations in indigenous sociocultural and material lifeways. It sketches the emergence of dependence and the gradual fostering of economic ties. Furthermore, the model identifies the features of change as the salient ecological and economic repercussions generated by the culmulative juxtaposition of initially unconnected cultural systems.

2.6 Acculturation as a Theoretical Canvas

Murphy and Steward's perspective upon acculturation leans markedly toward materialism, and is consistent with Steward's pioneering in the advancement of such a viewpoint. It also provides a graphic illustration within the scope of acculturation studies of the multifaceted theoretical character of such studies. Within this preliminary evaluation of acculturation models and orientations, and emerging from the discussion of the theoretical principles which have been shaped in the application of a number
of different paradigms to acculturation problems, one becomes conscious
of the elasticity of acculturation study. The theory building objectives
display a consistency, to identify and articulate cultural change in
terms of form, process and implication.

Rather than examining acculturation in the Keewatin from one of the
preceding perspectives, it is intended that the articulation of the
process be achieved through the fusion of three main theoretical paradigms.
Acculturation is a transcendent phenomenon which provides for this fusion
a continuous working tableau or backdrop, against which a variety of
processes and cultural elements may be rendered meaningful. It is,
after all, clear from the foregoing discussion of acculturation studies
that the process is not, in the strictest scientific sense, a paradigm.
It possesses no specific hypothetical postulates and cannot be tested
as a generative or predictive tool. The qualities it does possess are
derived from the inductive rather than the deductive. As a pervasive
and immanent process it has stimulated the development of theory under
its auspices, effectively acting as a kind of theoretical proving ground
for the development and testing of paradigms which seek to address its
several facets.

The Keewatin context offers no simple means for the conveyance of
any one specific paradigm. On the contrary, it provides, in the broadest
sense, a spectrum of change, discrete areas of which would be fruitfully
approached by individual theoretical models. For instance, the processual
model might be applied to the actual transactions which characterize
interchange. A cultural-ecological or cultural-material approach might
yield a valid explanation of changed states brought about through transaction, in resource exploitation, demographic patterns, seasonal strategies of subsistence and changed sociocultural patterns engendered by such formative material transactions. (The causal primacy of basic or infrastructural factors suggested here, and fundamental to Harris's view of cultural materialism, will be addressed later). Thirdly, acculturation might be approached through scrutiny of the cognitive, non-material aspects of transaction, where change results from the psychological facets of interchange.

However, these discrete theoretical areas are not mutually exclusive. As already observed, the processual model possesses a latitude of application. In the Barthian sense, it deals primarily with transaction but also with decision making, and upon the material issues embraced by such initiatives, upon resource management, energy expenditure and subsistence strategies. Paine, however, stresses the cognitive usefulness of observing transaction, and has distinguished elements of power, brokerage, mediation, privatization and two discrete varieties of exchange which he asserts are not adequately addressed by Barth; incorporation and transaction (Paine 1976: 63). Paine's deliberation of the value-laden aspects of process annex him from a veritable Barthian stance. Indeed, Paine's emphasis upon the importance of cognitive and behavioural exchanges place him closer to Anthony Wallace who likewise underlines the significance of cognitive factors as potential pathways to a full understanding of acculturation and cultural facts in general. The development of theory rooted in
mental concerns has led away from the early strivings of the culture and personality school for cross-cultural regularities, and from attempts to define personality for cultural groups. Wallace expresses this view of more contemporary directions in his field:

The magnitude of individual psychological differences within cultural boundaries is... so large that the analytical problem would appear to be the elucidation of the processes of the organization of diversity rather than the mechanisms of inducing a supposed uniformity

(Wallace 1962: 7).

With regard to its relevance to the cultural context of change in Keewatin, a cognitive mode of understanding acculturation is quite indispensable. Considering the emphasis placed upon values in certain processual studies, it is true to say that the cognitive realm of human existence demands attention in a situation of prolonged, contact-induced change. The values adhered to and expressed by the Inuit of Keewatin provide an elaborate clue to the entire cultural system and its perceptible changes in the course of acculturation. As such they are as much the province of this study as the more tangible features of the material world. The following reference to values underlines the need to regard them as an integral and thorough-going part of a cultural society, an ingrained cognitive reinforcement to existence:

I would refer to values as emotional responses either articulated or behaviouristically demonstrated, which reflect the world view, religion, and socio-economic necessities of a society in such a way as to predicate perceptions of reality, socialization, social interaction, subjective evaluation of
behaviour, and artistic modes of cultural expression.

(Williamson 1974: 28).

The importance of values is unassailable, and every endeavour will be made to incorporate fully, into the theoretical and substantive components of this study, the significance of value systems. For the present, examination of the other two primary theoretical orientations which are to be brought to bear upon the problem will be undertaken.

2.7 Cultural Material and Cultural Ecological Strategies

The founding father of the cultural ecological approach and the scholar who pioneered this theory of cultural explanation is Julian Steward. In an Arctic context, cultural ecological models have been usefully applied by a number of researchers as a tool for illuminating acculturative change and for rendering explanations of cultural dynamics. Steward's seminal work on cultural change is concerned with the evolution of cultural systems, attempting to apprehend the numerous parallelisms and convergences of change through a multilinear perspective of evolution (Steward 1955).

The fundamental principles of Steward's research strategy may be rendered as follows:

First, the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed...Second, the behaviour patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed...the third procedure is to ascertain the extent to which the behaviour patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture.

(Steward 1955: 40-41).

5. More detailed analysis of values is provided at the end of this theoretical section (pg. 141-171).
Traditionally, the application of such principles in cultural ecological studies has revealed a concern with the exploitative strategies of human groups. Specifically, they address themselves to that spectrum of activities which arises from the juxtaposition of the two broad constructs; environment and technology. White (1959) took an even more extreme posture, averring the determinacy of the technological matrix, which he saw as causally predisposing sociological forms upon which ideological factors were predicated. The economic or technological supraordinancy which White envisaged is less explicit in Steward's theoretical strategy, but nonetheless embedded within it. The ascription of causal power to the realm of the material is also trumpeted loudly in more recent manifestations of the cultural-ecological approach, enshrined as cultural materialism by Harris (1979). Damas, in reference to Whitean determinism, points out that the galaxy of features which cultural ecology seeks to explain must embrace the relationships between cultures, "the superorganic setting":

With the introduction of the concept of the "superorganic environment", ecological studies become an over arching category of studies which must encompass historical, cultural, social and economic factors.

(Damas 1969: 4).

Damas, in his own Arctic application of cultural ecology, found sufficient anomalies in ecological and sociocultural patterns of correlation to refer to history as a possible explanation. "The study of cultural ecology became...a search for the origins of social features, a search which had to be implemented by historical considerations" (ibid.: 5).

Returning to Steward's contribution, it is notable that a dissatisfaction
with historical particularist explanations of cultural change at least partly prompted Steward's search for understanding in the cultural ecological realm. Steward proposed a "cultural core" or nexus of features which arose from consideration of resource strategies in the environment (Steward 1955: 37). However, unlike White, and more recently Harris, the core was a device to facilitate focus upon the salient elements of resource activities, a way of screening out features which were perceived as not being germane to subsistence strategies, rather than "a part of the socio-cultural systems which in the long run determines all the other parts" (Harris 1968: 660). For Steward, the core consisted of:

The constellation of features which are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements. The core includes such social, political, and religious patterns as are empirically determined to be closely connected with these arrangements...

Cultural ecology pays primary attention to these features which empirical analysis shows to be most closely involved in the utilization of the environment in culturally prescribed ways. (Stewart 1955: 37).

However, peripheral features of cultures which Steward sees as having no perceived relevance to the subsistence quest may possess considerable importance. For instance, the religious sentiment of the Inuit toward the land and the spiritual manner in which traditional hunting was pursued must be considered as highly germane to the resource quest. Consultation with the Shaman or angaqq regarding new hunting locales places the resource quest alongside fundamental

6. Indeed hunting was far more than a secular activity validated through religious sentiment, it was in itself a sacred pursuit (Williamson, 1982, personal communication).
elements of belief, although the cultural core might not acknowledge this connection. The problem of the core is one of defining which elements actually warrant inclusion in it. As Harris has pointed out, this is very much at the discretion of the researcher and his particular priorities (Harris 1968: 661). Indeed, Harris rebukes Steward for his reference to non-material causes as determinants of group size and nature and exploitative strategy utilized (ibid.: 667). The cut and thrust of Harris’s appraisal of Steward does not, however, detract from the intellectual prowess of Steward’s theory of culture change. Nor does it hide the fact that both scholars are similarly disposed towards explanation of cultural features and cultural change by reference to ecological and material conditions. Harris, while criticizing Steward’s core concept for not functioning as a causal entity, still espouses priorities originally advanced by that scholar:

The essence of cultural materialism is that it directs attention to the interaction between behaviour and environment as mediated by the human cultural apparatus.

(Harris 1968: 659).

Steward’s original focus is commensurable, attempting to demonstrate the way in which sociocultural entities reflect environmental strategies, treating environment as a restraining rather than a deterministic force. The levels of sociocultural integration which Steward conceptualized are a reflection of technological and ecological behaviour, but unlike Harris, Steward did not, in pursuit of his nomothetic objective, see fit to ascribe underlying causal determinacy to techno-environmental facts. Exploitative material strategies were considered the primary
unit of study, but sociocultural explanations did not necessarily always emerge from them.

The relevance of the cultural-ecological model as a means of framing the changing character of relationships in the Keewatin is seen to be most significant. A situation existed prior to the arrival of qallunaat agencies where life depended directly upon the subsistence quest. A resource quest governed by the ecological rhythms of a regular seasonal cycle was notable, as was a sociocultural adaptation towards cooperation and survival borne out of respect for and knowledge of the land itself. The dispersal of people upon that land was finely tuned to the ecological rhythms which prevailed, the build up and break up of ice, the movement of migrating caribou, the relative abundance of sea mammals and all the various parts of the total environment. Behaviour was thus shaped by an awareness of the land and how to successfully tap its resources. Subsistence strategies were not always totally successful, even the most intimate understanding of the environment and skillful material adaptations could not preclude the possibility of periodic scarcity or localized famine. Nonetheless, although Bandi has spoken of the "struggle for survival", the ecological facts reflect a cyclic fluctuation of resource availability, and times of abundance as well as deprivation characterized the subsistence quest (Bandi 1964: 36).

Into this aboriginal arena came successive and greater numbers of qallunaat. The brief history of whaling rendered earlier indicates some of the implications of this contact, culturally and ecologically. In
the wake of the whalers, further changes were implemented and stimulated by the organized Fur Trade. The application of cultural ecological theory to this influx can conceivably render a vivid picture of the nature of change. How indeed did strategies become changed as a result of interplay between the indigenous populace and organized intrusive agencies? Changes at the most fundamental level manifested themselves in demographic patterns, the restructuring of the resource quest and the application of new material technology to the pursuit of subsistence and the new directive of trapping. The Fur Trade, from its inception, flourished and created unprecedented widespread economic interaction. The repercussions of this growing bond cannot be easily placed into a developmental scheme such as that proposed by Murphy and Steward (1976). The objective must be to articulate and refine the broad continuum suggested, by illustrating the actual dynamics of the processes at work, and by showing the way in which aboriginal cultural-ecological patterns were changed by the Trade. To achieve this end, the theoretical postulates which Steward and Harris have provided must be analyzed and applied to the historical data obtained.

As intimated earlier, the stated focus of cultural-ecological and cultural materialist studies is as Helm has indicated "not the gross categories, 'environment' and technology per se, but rather the significant reticulation composed from them - the exploitative pattern" (Helm 1962: 633 in Damas 1969: 40). Similarly, the 'cultural core' of Steward's is an attempt to circumscribe this pattern as a way of explaining the cultural system as a whole. Harris's cultural materialism echoes
these concerns, but steps materialistically and often polemically towards explanation based upon a more extreme and deterministic premise.

In Harris's view, the technoenvironmental realm is the foundation for cultural fact. It represents an infrastructure which causally predicates the nature and form of the structure of cultural societies. This structure, in turn, shapes the superstructure which Harris sees as representing the behavioural and mental elements of cultural life. Harris proposes that Modes of Production (technology of subsistence, techno-environmental relationships, Ecosystems and work patterns) and Modes of Reproduction (demography, mating patterns, fertility, natality mortality, nurturance of infants, medical control of demographic patterns, contraception, abortion, infanticide) together comprise the infrastructure, as a distinct etic behavioural entity.

Applied to the Keewatin, Harris's principles of infrastructure, structure and superstructure are depicted in the traditional elements of Inuit culture. Sociocultural life was predicated upon the more fundamental aspects of the subsistence quest which equates to infrastructure. Thus, the organization of domestic and political economies, which Harris calls the structure, arose from the more basic material patterns of existence. Family size, extended family groups and larger aggregations thereof were predisposed by the availability of resources, effectively by the carrying capacity of the local and regional environment. These social structural groups, in turn, held common values and non-material cultural traits consistent with the existence of such structural characteristics. The importance of seniority, of family
solidarity and perpetuity, of cooperation and sharing, noted by Williamson are the cognitive and behavioural outgrowth of infrastructural and structural conditions, if we are to agree with Harris's tripartite causal model (Williamson 1974: 28-35).

The causal primary of the infrastructure is seen as reflected in observable and mutually verifiable activity, e.g., arising from observation of directorietic material behaviour. This stands distinct as direct or etic material behaviour and mental reality, emic operations having their hallmark "the elevation of the native informant to the status of the ultimate judge of the adequacy of the observer's description and analyses" (Harris 1979: 32).

Leaving aside momentarily the dichotomy of emic and etic which Harris strives so energetically to elucidate, a number of questions arise from this infrastructural, structural and superstructural model. Initially, this breakdown substantially mirrors the epistemology of Marx, who stated that "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of social, political and spiritual processes of life" (Marx 1970 (1859): 21). Harris acknowledges this to be the "kernel of the principles that guide...the strategy of cultural materialism" (Harris 1979: 55). The cultural core of Steward and the technological determinacy of White both resemble Harris's infrastructure. Harris's point of departure, if indeed it may be seen as such, is his stated interest in the etic behavioural domain. The alchemy of his definition of cultural materialism from Marx is stated thus:
The etic behavioural modes of production and reproduction probabilistically determine the etic behavioural domestic and political economy, which in turn probabilistically determine the behavioural and mental emic superstructures. For brevity's sake, this principle can be referred to as the principle of infrastructural determinism.

(Harris 1979: 56).

This principle should guide the priorities of the researcher, as far as Harris is concerned, providing an arena for the testing of theories in which "infrastructural variables are the primary causal factors" (ibid.). While this represents a strategic priority for cultural materialism, the resulting relegation of mental and emic factors does not preclude their attaining a degree of autonomy from the causal rails which are laid down by Harris. Nonetheless, the realm of the infrastructural may be seen as the locus of the fundamental aspects of cultural reality, for Harris "the principle interface between culture and nature, the boundary across which ecological, chemical and physical restraints to which human interaction is subject interact with the principle sociocultural practices aimed at overcoming or modifying these restraints" (ibid.: 57). In other words, Harris sees the infrastructure as comprising the fundamentals of cultural existence which human beings modify or come to terms with through certain sociocultural strategies. However, certain important questions raised by the etic infrastructural bias of the materialist paradigm must be addressed if its principles are to be fruitfully employed in this study.

Firstly, in an acculturative situation, is it admissible to refer to the causal primacy of an infrastructure? The Keewatin situation
entails the consideration of core features (Steward) and ergonomics (White) and infrastructural variables, but not as one unified series of relationships. By virtue of the continuous and comprehensive interchanges which took place there, one might argue that there was a juxtaposition of disparate infrastructures, which ultimately gave rise to a new synthetic infrastructural entity. As Barnett has observed, in a context of innovation "there is an intimate linkage or fusion of two or more elements that have not been previously joined,...so that the result is a qualitatively distinct whole" (Barnett 1953: 181). The most immediate innovations of a material and sociocultural nature infringed directly upon the manner in which culture and nature interacted, as indicated in the changes stimulated by the whalers' innovations. By easing certain constraints with the provision of new technology, and by creating new resource goals, the intrusive agencies implanted in the Keewatin arguably reshaped the infrastructure in an etic behavioural manner. In Harris's terms, both the Modes of Production and the Modes of Reproduction were altered. Basic patterns of demography and mobility became changed and the direction of energy to the resource quest expanded to include the new priorities of the Fur Trade. Material technology changed, populations of humans and resources underwent shifts so that effectively the infrastructure was reshaped by acculturative contact. Also, the relationships which governed the exploitation of resources underwent important changes, effectively producing a new configuration of infrastructural concerns.

However, the acculturative pressure brought to bear in the Keewatin
did not solely affect the infrastructure, but intruded into the structural aspects of existence providing new goals and directions which, in turn affected the fundamental infrastructure. With the intrusion of the fur traders, missionaries and police into the Keewatin as the whaling enterprise withdrew, a perceptible and hitherto unprecedented insurgence of non-infrastructural elements enters the domain of interaction. The trader not only engendered change in the basic patterns of subsistence technology, ecosystems, technoenvironmental relationships and work patterns, but also introduced an alien political economy and a new model of and for domestic economy. This caused changes in the basic patterns of production, consumption, exchange, all areas which Harris calls structure.

Thus, major upheavals accompany the growth of the Fur Trade, at the structural level with the intrusion and proliferation of new relationships of exchange, production and consumption being fostered by all intrusive agencies, but particularly the Fur Trade. The aboriginal 'core' of subsistence, the existing infrastructure, in Harris's terms, was already metamorphosed by whaling contact. The insinuation of yet more changes, actively manipulated by the traders, missionaries and police, occurs as a wave of different structural modes, each directing energy toward certain areas of the infrastructure. Clearly, the organizational features of this influx and the implanting of new patterns could not be said to causally arise from the infrastructure, as it existed prior to the advent of these agencies. It is therefore necessary to consider these structural factors as determinants of infrastructural variables,
in contradistinction to the causal determinacy of Harris. This can be demonstrated in the etic behavioural realm as a result of acculturative contact. The unassailable primary of the infrastructure wilts somewhat under the weight of fifty years of historical etic facts. In the course of acculturation, the organizational features of structure become so closely intertwined with infrastructural variables, that the neat tripartite causal framework advanced by Harris cannot be empirically verified. Rather, the resource priorities of the Fur Trade become integrated within the resource quest as a whole, and the prosecution of new structural directives, guided by an external political economy and coexistent new domestic economic patterns, increasingly shaped the form of the infrastructure.

2.7.1 Consideration of Emic and Superstructural Features

Even given the possibility of structural causality, the utility of the cultural materialist paradigm is not totally undermined. The focus upon subsistence arrangements, energy relationships and technoenvironmental factors remains useful as a means for explaining the material and sociocultural changes stimulated by acculturation. However, a more severe challenge to the materialist perspective is presented by the Keewatin situation. The acculturative context under study has already been mentioned as a locus for not merely behavioural and etic change, but as a potential arena for emic change, manifest through new behaviour and implicit in the meeting of disparate cognitive modes. As well as possessing overt infrastructural and structural components, any acculturative contact possesses a powerful
cognitive aspect, less tangible, but nonetheless charged with significance, as argued earlier. For instance, the three intrusive agencies in the Keewatin, particularly the Missions, but also the Fur Trade, which influenced many aspects of indigenous life besides economic and ecological relationships, all provided a non-material acculturative pressure by directly or indirectly addressing their activities to indigenous beliefs and sociocultural behaviour.

This superstructural acculturation was also by no means uniform, for each separate agent of change operated within the confines of a definite cognitive mode. The trader, missionary and policeman, while sharing a broadly similar cultural base, all maintained either subtly or glaringly different frames of reference, objectives material and mental, values and belief systems. These superstructural characteristics played a fundamental role in acculturation. Thus, once more, the question of ascription of causal primacy arises. The superstructural nature of both Inuit and White cultural societies must be accurately explained. Moreover, although the elements of spiritual, social and political consciousness are treated as secondary by the materialist paradigm, the significance of superstructural features as causal factors is undeniable, and emerges from the data present. The intrinsic components of superstructure should not be relegated to a position whereby they provide a pale reflection of infrastructure and structural factors. Instead, the possibility of superstructure as a shaping or framing process for infrastructural and structural characteristics should be considered.
This is not to suggest that superstructural elements are prime movers in acculturation. Quite rightly, in the view of this writer, cultural materialism focuses on the interface of culture and nature. It seeks behaviour and cultural patterns which permit scientific corroboration. It attempts etic analysis as a path toward explication. However, and this is a major shortcoming, there is a tendency for cultural-materialist explanation such as Harris's to avoid non-material, emic facts and a preference for reliance upon only the immediately evident realm of observable behaviour, the etic. The less tangible and often ambiguous areas of thought, values and cognitive process are treated cursorily by the cultural materialist paradigm. Given that acculturation in the Keewatin entails both material and non-material change elements, a solely material perspective upon the process will invariably fail to provide a complete understanding of it.

2.7.2 Superstructural Elements

Whilst maintaining an awareness of the cultural-ecological and material character of acculturation in the Keewatin, it is also necessary then, to realize that all the agents of change who became established there, effected superstructural change through their communication of ideas and attitudes. For the Missions, this was a primary concern, material change acting only as an accompaniment to stated change goals of conversion to Christianity. Furthermore, the Fur Trade, while it ostensibly addressed the material realm, simultaneously affected structure and superstructure. The separation of these three elements
according to the scheme of causal determinacy, with infrastructural change predisposing social structural and cognitive change, as postulated in the cultural materialist paradigm, is certainly open to question. It is suggested that whilst evidence of material change at an infrastructural level may emerge from consideration of the data, that cognitive change and structural change are most closely interwoven with such change. This articulation between the cultural and material will become apparent upon examination of the data. Certainly, the possibility of superstructural and structural causality cannot be dismissed.

2.7.3 Cultural Material Change

The nature of changes stimulated by acculturative contact are most readily apparent in their material character, but as suggested above, this should not lead to a disregard for the less accessible processes which such contact includes. Material and ecological aspects of change thus provide a useful starting point for apprehending change. This material change will be apparent in changing subsistence strategies, resource priorities, economic impacts of the Fur Trade and the movement and location of the indigenous people of the Keewatin. Sociocultural adaptations ensuing from acculturation will also emerge along with these material trends.

Secondly, it is important to grasp the processes by which such changes occurred. This concern is one which demands attention to the relationships of exchange, consumption, interaction, both economic and sociocultural, and the manner in which such patterns emerged and were built upon. Thus, the emphasis shifts from a documentation of features
of change, in a material and sociocultural sense, to an examination of the processes which stimulated such change and their complex operation. This involves consideration of the transactions which characterized acculturation in the Keewatin, the evaluation of key figures, the understanding of roles played and the quality and motive of the transactions themselves. Essentially, this theoretical area provides a thread, linking changed cultural states. Through this understanding of process, the visible impact of acculturation upon the material and sociocultural features of existence is revealed. In terms of the cultural materialist paradigm, this represents a focus on structure, but on structure as process and upon the juxtaposition of different structural elements in a dynamic mode.7

Finally, having illustrated cultural ecological change through analysis of process, it is necessary to illustrate the important mental and behavioural implications of such change and to assess the significance of this facet of cultural change, both as a causal factor and as a reflection of fundamental material change.

All these areas of concern interdigitate, and the problem of elucidating acculturative change becomes one of not merely ascribing causal significance, but one of weighing influences and understanding processes. It would be, perhaps, valuable to merely document changing resource patterns geographically and demographically. It is far more valuable to link such changing patterns to the interrelationships of the Inuit, with those intrusive agencies concerned, and to analyze the motives, objectives and strategies which stimulated such changes.

7. Hence the need to assess material change in sociocultural terms as well as infrastructural, elucidating process through scrutiny of the transactions which characterized acculturation.
2.7.4 The Problem of Boundaries

As a necessary addendum to the foregoing examination of cultural ecological and cultural material strategies, the problem of operationalizing these research tools should be considered. The general goals of cultural ecological and cultural material orientations have been stated and reference made to the problem of defining and focussing upon the significant elements of cultural ecological relationships. The Keewatin, as indicated by the geographic analysis, is not easily treated as a homogenous bounded ecological unit. It is evidently a composite entity in which a number of overlapping ecological concerns coexist. Robert Spencer, in his ecological study of the North Alaskan Eskimo (1955), illustrated the importance of the way in which two distinct ecological foci are dovetailed in that region. There are both maritime and terrestrial subsistence strategies, possessing essentially distinct elements, yet interacting with one another. Similarly, the Keewatin possesses a divergent character and one in which, for some groups, these two adaptations are juxtaposed in terms of a dual resource focus. At the most fundamental ecological level, and in the sociocultural responses and adaptations arising from them, there are both divergencies and parallelisms. In Stewardian parlance, the "cultural core" is not standardized throughout the Keewatin, nor are the same emic priorities shared, a fact reflected in the different spiritual and intellectual commitments of the dialectal subgroups who inhabit the region. Rasmussen
astutely observed as much as early as 1922. Add to this lattice of cultural ecological strategies the direct and indirect influence of acculturative forces, and the problem of boundaries is even less easily pinned down. In order to circumvent this perennial cultural ecological problem, it is proposed that the several elements which comprise the cultural ecological patterns and their metamorphosis be examined (See Chart I). Basically, this entails an awareness of the pluralistic nature of the resource quest and the influence of the intrusive agencies upon it. The increasingly powerful impact of the Fur Trade and the manner in which trapping further accentuated the elements of the resource quest will be examined. It is intended, through a study of processes of interaction and thorough analysis of the changing character of subsistence strategies, to illustrate both the manner in which change was effected and to provide some indication of the relative influence of the Fur Trade in this change. The following is an attempt to frame the ecological implications of the Fur Trade and to provide a number of questions which will be addressed to the ethnohistorical data gathered. These questions act as a series of hypotheses to be challenged, and as a generalized perspective upon some of the more readily apparent aspects of the Fur Trade influence.

2.7.5 Ecological Concommitants of the Fur Trade Enterprise

The relatively swift establishment of some eight Fur Trade posts

A Schematic Representation of the Acculturation Process

Chart I

Material Technological Innovation
External Agents of Change

Ecological Change
Increased Hunting Pressure + Resource Pluralism

Innovations in Inuit Location = Mobility

Growing Contact with H.B.C. Missions & R.C.M.P.

Sociocultural Change through Increasing Transactions & Directed Acculturation

Increased Association with Intrusive Agencies: Growth of Trapping and Christianity

Medical Problems arising from Settlement Life & Changing Patterns of Nutrition

Periodic Resource Scarcity, Increase in Trapping.
and further subsidiary outposts in the Keewatin brought the majority of
the Inuit population into some degree of contact with this enterprise.
The diffusion of the directives of the Fur Trade within the region
had the effect of further pluralizing the resource strategies already
extant. For those inhabitants of the littoral, this meant the grafting
of yet another strategy upon an already diversified resource quest.
This has been viewed in a number of ways. It has been seen as the
supplanting of aboriginal priorities, a usurping of former strategies.
It may also be viewed as the integration of a new direction into an
established pattern of resource activities. As such, in a cultural
ecological sense, it becomes necessary to ascertain the degree of
symbiosis with which such integration was achieved. It is suggested,
rather than assume that the Fur Trade was necessarily conducive to a
harmonious equilibrium of resource strategies or that it was essentially
parasitic or detrimental, detracting from formerly successful subsistence
patterns, that the enterprise be regarded as a catalyst for systemic
change. Such change might manifest itself in the downplaying of
traditional subsistence goals and the progressively narrow focus of
trapping, or in other locations provide an important adjunct to an
essentially unaltered pattern of subsistence. Furthermore, the degree
to which the implanting of Fur Trade goals might disrupt former
ecological patterns would depend upon the avenues of possibility open
for subsistence in different locations. Thus, the littoral environment,
with a greater variety and number of resource options, might prove more
resilient in the face of Fur Trade priorities than landlocked locations.
where caribou was the primary traditional subsistence recourse.

Inherent in such considerations are questions of carrying capacity. A littoral niche provides sustenance in a spectrum of activities, and supports, or is capable of supporting, greater agglomerations of people on a yearly basis than inland locations. What should be sought is evidence of the resilience of this broad-based resource system in terms of subsistence alternatives as demonstrated by the activities of inhabitants of the coastal margin. The presence of the Fur Trade, possibly acting as a magnet for demographic polarization, might be considered as a factor which artificially raises carrying capacity beyond levels delimited by natural resources. In a littoral environment, this artificial increase might not prove as deleterious as an increase in inland locations.

Another significant question arises from the burgeoning influence of the Trade. It has been argued, convincingly, in the view of this writer, that the Fur Trade could not wilfully undermine the resource priorities of true subsistence, for it was by virtue of the existence of country food that the trade itself could efficiently operate. A scarcity of country food, marine or terrestrial, (according to location and orientation of client population) was arguably disastrous for the success of a Fur Trade Outfit. Thus, the tendency is for the Fur Trade not to usurp the subsistence regimen, but to graft trapping onto this existing pattern, and in so doing, protect its own investment. In theory, this seems equitable and workable. In practice, the drive to constantly improve on Outfit fur yields must at some point exert an

9. The 'Outfit' was the H.B.C. Financial and trapping year, November to March.
untoward strain upon the whole subsistence system. Notwithstanding the powerful sentiment attached to traditional activities, the material demands of the hunt must need, at some time, to confront the commercial directives of the trade. In this hypothetical face-off, what mechanisms are adopted to bring the system back into balance? If foxtrapping places an undue stress upon the carrying capacity of an area, the repercussions are felt throughout the system. The very nature of the symbiosis which trapping entails is extremely fragile. Further, the more closely integrated into resource activities that trapping becomes, the greater the potential for ecological imbalance. This is not to suggest that equilibrium is the norm, for as numerous scholars have pointed out, such a concept is fraught with contradiction (Brush 1975: 804). It has even been demonstrated that extremes rather than norms tend to be the final demarcators of carrying capacity, and the cyclic fluctuations of fox populations in the Keewatin and the vagaries of game abundance on land and sea, would seem to substantiate such a perspective (ibid.).

It becomes apparent that the introduction of the Fur Trade to the Keewatin demands not only changes in the basic ecological conditions of existence, but also more or less elaborate devices for redressing the potentially debilitating repercussions it creates. (See Chart II): The Trade necessitated a new and more complex kind of decision-making process with regard to the environment. It involves a new strategy and an expanded pooling of environmental knowledge. By drawing together persons whose lives are progressively more tightly intertwined in an economic sense, it also
CULTURAL-ECOLOGICAL INNOVATION AND RESPONSES. CHART II

TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS:
RESOURCE PLURALISM IN SEASONAL FRAMEWORK.

MATERIAL CHANGES IN STRATEGIES:
SUPERIMPOSITION OF TRAPPING DIRECTIVE
SECULARIZATION OF RESOURCE QUEST

ACCENTUATED HUNTING PRESSURE TO
SUPPORT TRAPPING: LOCALIZED SCARCITY
OF GAME, OVER HUNTING IN VICINITY OF
FUR TRADE POSTS

INCREASED ORIENTATION TO POSTS AS RESPONSE
TO PRIVATIONS ON LAND. DECISION-MAKING
INVOLVING DIRECTED OR MEDIATED ACTIVITY
OF INUIT GROUPS ON LAND E.G. RELOCATION

PARALLEL GROWTH OF OTHER INTRUSIVE
AGENCIES N.B. R.C.M.P. ALSO INVOLVED IN
MONITORING & SUGGESTING HUMAN MOVEMENT
& ECOLOGICAL STRATEGIES

POWERFUL MATERIAL, SOCIOCULTURAL &
COGNITIVE RESPONSE TO FUR TRADE AND OTHER
SETTLEMENT AGENCIES CONTRIBUTED TO BY
COUNTRY RESOURCE SCARCITY, PERIODIC FAMINES
& ASSOCIATED HEALTH PROBLEMS
produces a more pressing need for absolute cooperation. Failure to cooperate in the Inuit society was always to court disaster. The growth of the new commercial enterprise served to heavily underline this need for interdependence, calling for a most serious and pragmatic symbiosis. Some of the implications of this mutual dependence and the nature of subsistence and trapping activities as a pluralized strategy, emerge from a consideration of the Post itself. Beyond its immediate function as a base of operations from which trapping endeavours were conducted and trade transactions carried out, the Post possesses other important ecological characteristics.

2.7.6 Further Ecological Implications of the Trapping Enterprise

The intensification of Fur Trade activity within the Keewatin possessed far-reaching implications for the subsistence patterns which operated there. Initially, the drive to 'sell' trapping to the Inuit of Keewatin, as a viable adjunct to traditional pursuits, was orchestrated through several Posts and outposts established. Leaving aside momentarily the actual mechanisms of exchange and brokerage which were employed to bring the native populace into a trade orbit, and focussing upon the ecological impacts of the growing trade, a number of fundamental theoretical precepts emerge.

Regarding the idea of niche, habitat and ecosystem, several changes are wrought by the Fur Trade presence. The prerogative of trapping, even as an integrated part of the total subsistence quest, places behavioural constraints upon resource activity. The former hunter, and possibly whaling employee at littoral locations, still ranges within
the same habitat. However, the perceptual landscape within which he operates is changed, while the biophysical quality of the habitat remains relatively unaltered. In effect, the niche which the hunter occupies within it is altered. Odum (1953: 15) and Clark (1954: 468) have referred to the niche, not as synonymous with habitat, but as a functional entity, essentially as the occupation of the organism within the habitat. Habitat emerges as a location or specifically, a part of the more generalized ecosystem. This clarification is significant, particularly in view of the problem of ascribing boundaries in cultural-ecological studies, alluded to earlier. Savage (1958: 111) indicates that the niche operates as a number of activities broadly concerned with energy relations:

Any activity of an organism which modifies the substratum or medium of its environment by removal, addition or modification or affects other organisms through symbiotic or antibiotic factors constitutes a characteristic of the species ecological niche.

(Savage 1958: 111).

Applied to the hunter as an incipient trapper in the burgeoning fur trade or to the hunter as 'an organism' possessing the dual orientation of hunting and trapping, this effectively means that the former aboriginal niche of the traditional hunter is expanded to accommodate a new ecological activity. Not only does this niche expansion possess immediate ecological ramifications, by imbuing a hitherto ignored species, the White Fox, with commercial significance, but it also behoves changes in cultural adaptation to a familiar environment. If, as Hardesty has suggested, man-environment relationships should be evaluated in
terms of niche occupation rather than habitat occupation (Hardesty 1972: 460), the cultural repercussions of this new broadening of resource forms are considerable. Not only does the hunter-trapper/trapper-hunter niche necessitate internal variation or weighting of resource priorities, but it also demands a cognitive leap; the application of resource skills to a new realm, and the development of an additional lexicon of knowledge regarding the behaviour and character of a previously insignificant animal resource. This perceptual or cognitive aspect of the human population's cultural adaptation has been pointed out by Usher whose Banksland informants stressed the need to "know foxes" and "to study foxes" (Usher 1970). Certainly, as a cultural ecological process, the inception and growth of the White Fox trade is predicated upon both actual behavioural adjustments to an expanded niche and extrasomatic adaptation to the new resource in a cognitive mode. Essentially, the success of the organized trapping enterprise rested upon the culturally-conditioned adaptation of human skills as well as the more strictly ecological patterns of the resource population.

Usher (1970) offers a tentative set of criteria upon which the energy efficiency of trapping depends. These ecological determinants emerge from both cultural adaptation and biophysical considerations and may be listed briefly as follows: 1. Geographic and physical aspects of terrain; 2. Biological factors which determine the cyclic abundance of fox populations (factors occupying a primary role in MacPherson's Keewatin Arctic Fox Study, 1969); 3. The human element or the trapper's individual knowledge, skills and experience. (Collective knowledge should
be recognized as significant also, and will be examined later); 4. Extraneous factors such as legislative procedures, length of season, weather conditions, sea ice conditions and social or cultural commitments.

Regarding Usher's (1970) final point, such factors are arguably not extraneous, but highly germane to the trapping enterprise and emerge as significant constraints upon and impeti for its successful operation (Williamson 1981). Nonetheless, Usher's criteria, couched as part of a predictive model for trapping success, seems to encompass the classic considerations of the cultural ecological paradigm, the fundamentals of which concern the energy relationships of human and non-human populations, accessible through scrutiny of carrying capacity, range, mobility, niche and habitat. Equally well, an awareness of the cultural elements of the ecological relationship is essential although, as Rappaport and Vayda (1968: 494) indicate, the non-cultural aspects of ecology are those which can be most readily identified, qualified, and scientifically corroborated. This point reiterates comments made on the emphasis on the 'etic' in the cultural materialist paradigm. The cultural or non-cultural debate raised by the latter scholars should not be seen as a reification of cultural ecological problems to a mechanical-material or purely ecological level. Fox trapping, just like any other ecological enterprise, reveals environmental utilization

9. The growing network of sociocultural obligations created by the total White presence, particularly the emphasis on religious duties, tended to increasingly influence both hunting and trapping activities. The sense of ambiguity this series of sometimes conflicting loyalties produced will be addressed in detail at a later juncture.
in culturally prescribed ways. It may be that "cultures, unlike human populations, are not fed upon by predators, limited by food supplies, or debilitated by diseases" (ibid.), but nonetheless cultural aspects of ecological adaptation and historical momentum cannot be ignored merely because of their resistance to quantification.

2.7.7 The Cultural Ecology of the Trading Post

Given the characteristic niche expansion created by the Fur Trade, some thought must be devoted to the way in which the Post itself, as the focus of the trapping enterprise, functions as an ecological and cultural entity. The various Posts established through the Keewatin during the inception of the White Fox trade displayed considerable differences as cultural ecological units whilst being broadly similar in operation and organization. Local variation in resource focus and in populations of trappers and hunters utilizing a Post might be expected, reflecting microenvironmental nuances of game abundance and fox populations. However, despite possible differences in the environs of the Post, a sufficient number of universal ecological, economic and cultural characteristics emerge.

Initially, it is apparent that, consistent with the niche expansion of the human population, the Post itself assumes multiple ecological and cultural functions. Significantly, the consistent flow of hunters and trappers into the Post accents the centripetal qualities of the organized Trade. Visiting trappers and hunters provided a steady stream of ecological information to be drawn upon, both as a collective resource and as an information source for those residing at the Post. Periodic agglomerations of trappers and hunters with distinct local affinities
provided a convenient vehicle for the collection and dissemination of ecological and cultural information. Individual knowledge of game and fox conditions, the presence of predators, the state of the trail and relevant meteorological conditions could thus be compiled and drawn upon by others moving in and out of the Post. The Post functioned as an efficient repository of current ecological knowledge, constantly supplemented by individual observation and comment and accessible to a wide-range population of trappers and hunters. Given the adaptive and flexible nature of resource patterns associated with the expanded hunter-trapper niche, a valuable opportunity to maximize resource potential areally was available. A relatively composite resource picture could be assembled to the mutual advantage of local groups, and one which was also dynamic and relatively up-to-date, enabling accurate monitoring of game and fox movements. In many respects, the Trading Post, according to the frequency and volume of its human traffic, becomes an important ecological nexus and reference point, a positive function of the increasing numbers of movements generated by the Post for those persons on the land.

Certain facets of this utilization of the Post as a public repository of ecological knowledge warrant closer attention. Thus far, a somewhat stylized image of the Post as a repository of information providing universal and total access has been hypothesized. This represents an ideal state or model. In reality, recognition of certain constraints is necessary. Given that the Post information draws attention to resource abundance, scarcity and human locations, it also serves to highlight
inconsistencies in resource potential, illustrating perceived regional and sub-regional abundance or scarcity. However, certain mechanisms prevent widespread and continuous movements to areas of abundance, and indeed, prevent universal access to information at a given Post. Response to information available at the Post is governed by a number of constraints, ecological and cultural. The following points are suggested as factors conditioning response to the information encountered at the Post.

1. Perception - individual notions of abundance or scarcity of game and foxes.

2. Incomplete or limited information - whilst possessing considerable skill, awareness and good fortune, the hunter/trapper will still only possess an imperfect knowledge of ecological conditions at one or several locations.

3. The degree of completeness of any information obtained will be a function of frequency of access to the Post in so far as ecological conditions will change swiftly, e.g., daily movements of caribou.

4. Limited mobility may prohibit response to abundance or reports thereof in contiguous locales. Considerations of immediate availability of dog food and human food may hinder or promote movement to areas of abundance.

5. Mobility may also be controlled by:
   A. traditional information regarding local seasonal resources.
   B. weather - day to day climatic variation.
C. the condition of the trail (contingent on weather).
D. sociocultural obligations within and amongst local family groups.
E. possible obligations to the Post itself, if the hunter is largely oriented to Post residence.
F. a possible perceived dependence upon the Post and the desire to remain in close proximity to it.

6. The capacity of the Post Servant or manager to convey honestly and accurately the information received from other trapper-hunters, as well as the latter’s perception of facts and willingness to communicate them.

This final point underlines the significance of cultural factors, particularly the nature of the brokerage relationship extant between trader, Post Servant and trappers as powerful constraints upon the access to and interpretation of ecological facts, hence the need to carefully examine such relations.

The foregoing constraints upon response to resource potential apply to country food resources and White Fox. It is important to regard these dual orientations of the hunter-trapper niche as inextricably linked and interdependent. This symbiosis was fostered by the trader who sought to maximize fur yields, an objective which depended heavily upon the successful pursuit of traditional resources. Furthermore, with the intensification of the trapping enterprise, the symbiosis became increasingly crucial as subsequent analysis of data will reveal. The significance of the Post as an information source for the trader is evidently great.

Particularly in a situation where the trader and his clerk (if present)
were largely sedentary and Post-oriented, their knowledge of the realities of the game and fox situation might be quite limited. In such instances, the Post-oriented trappers and those trading in from more remote locations would provide the trader's primary source of ecological information. These trappers became the ears and eyes of the trader in some cases. The trader would rarely contradict or neglect information received from his mobile outlanders. Combined with his own knowledge of cyclic fluctuations in fox populations, which provided a rough yardstick of Outfit yields, the information obtained from those trafficking at the Post provided a further indication of expected fur harvests. The movements of missionaries and policemen and their observations and prognoses would also be incorporated into any model of expectation. R.C.M.P. patrols attempted to monitor carefully the relative abundance of game and fox populations, being acutely aware of the calamitous results of local and regional scarcity. The increasing awareness of the importance of trapping by R.C.M.P. personnel, not merely as an adjunct to traditional subsistence, but as an integral part of the resource quest, underlines the development of the burgeoning Fur Trade.

The three preceding theoretical sections have attempted to delimit more precisely the ecological aspects of the Fur Trade presence. To recapitulate briefly, it seems that a full study of the necessitates the adoption of expanded theoretical and empirical ecological devices. It implies the assumption of new ways of viewing energy relationships. By courting the custom of the Keewatin Inuit, the Fur Trade pluralized and
increasingly directed the resource strategies already existing, to accommodate their drive for White Fox fur. The actual mechanics of this pluralism were briefly addressed in terms of the ecological functions of the Post. The empirical facts have yet to be examined, but as indicated before, the theoretical issues provide a means of framing and evaluating such data.

A key consideration also presents itself in the foregoing attempt to clarify the cultural ecological aspects of the theory building. Initial discussion of the prevailing theoretical themes to be used mentioned the importance of transaction and brokerage as theoretical instruments with which to examine the acculturative changes stimulated by the Trade. The foregoing analysis of ecological adaptations created by the enterprise also stressed the importance of the nature and quality of the human interchanges, social, cultural and economic, as factors influencing ecological strategies. It remains to illustrate the importance of transaction and brokerage and the nuances of communication between and amongst the various individuals and groups juxtaposed in the Fur Trade acculturative context.

2.8 The Utility of Transactional Models

The notion of transaction as a theoretical basis for organizing the process of communication is by no means innovatory. Leach points out its antecedents in the early paradigms of the structural-functionalists (Leach 1971), and prior to the turn of the century, the genealogy of transaction studies identifies Mauss and Durkheim as exponents of formative transactional perspectives. The profound influence of Mauss
and Jakobson is stamped upon French structuralist thought, wherein scholars such as Levi-Strauss devote particular attention to both physical and symbolic transaction in rendering a view of the integrated nature of human cultural existence.

Scholars of more recent vintage, the intellectual offspring of traditional structuralism and structural-functionalism, incline towards a less philosophical and emic view of structure than that of Levi-Strauss, and also eschew the immobility of classical British Structuralism. As viewed by Barth, Boissevain, Swartz, Paine and Kapferer, the salient elements of structure and the redeeming intellectual residue of structuralism lie in the dynamics of social structural organization. Swartz has gone so far as to deny the empirical and theoretical utility of structure, arguing that the immanent change and constant flux which characterize sociocultural activity belie the verity of structures as concrete and immutable entities (Swartz 1969).

Barth, Paine and Boissevain have all, to some degree, assented to a perspective which, if not a denial of structure, asserts the dynamic or processual character of sociocultural organization. Moreover, these latter three scholars have explored the importance of transaction, not merely as an exchange of material commodities, but in terms of the decision-making behaviour (Barth), cognitive codes (Paine and also Kapferer) and the qualities of groups and individuals associated with transactions (Boissevain). A key emphasis in the process of transaction is placed upon those who mediate, control and partake in it. A more detailed examination of transaction should serve to illustrate its theoretical appropriateness and utility in attempting to explain the
processes which characterize the Fur Trade and other institutions in the Keewatin.

Barth (1966) has stressed the importance of generative models of process derived from transaction, as devices which "mirror actual empirical processes which can be identified in the reality which is being analyzed" (1966: v). In an analytical sense, Barth has also perceived the importance of choice and has emphasized the constraints and incentives which direct choice. The hub of this analytical focus rests not in the observable patterns of social form which emerge, but in the "interdependencies which govern the course of events" (Barth 1966: 2). Shaped by these concerns, transaction can be conceived of as a system of interactions ruled by incentive and constraint, within a specific ecological and sociocultural environment. Ward envisages Barth's transaction as a distillation from more rudimentary notions of reciprocal exchange:

Here generalized (In Barth's Models of Social Organization) to refer to any reciprocal relationship between actors such that each in the course of the interactions between them, tries to ensure that the value gained for himself is greater than or at least equal to the value lost.


However, certain weaknesses have been noted in Barth's formative theoretical work on transaction. The contention that "transactional behaviour takes place with reference to...a pre-established matrix of statuses" (Barth 1966: 3) must be challenged, particularly in evaluating the Fur Trade enterprise. Paine has also indicated weaknesses in Barth's treatment of key elements of transaction: power, values, integration and
brokerage (Paine 1974). All these elements are critical to a full understanding of trapper-trader relationships and the network of relationships which characterize the contacts of the Fur Trade era. Paine, in a more recent Arctic acculturative context, has stressed the importance of the process by which one arrives at status distinctions. The essential asymmetry of qallunaat/Inuit relationships suggests that there is a non-complementarity of power and values (Paine 1971). The reality of trapper/trader relations in this study also suggests that parity of expectation and orientation is not a given. Neither do the exchanges between the two groups occur in a "pre-established matrix of statuses" (Barth 1966: 3). Characteristically, the attainment of status is an accretive process arising from the interchanges between groups over a period of time. Particular attention must be paid to the values of the respective groups involved in transaction for these values predicate, to some extent, the nature of the exchanges which occur. Barth has assumed a commensurability of values underlying transaction, (Barth 1966: 15) a consensus of objective worth as to the value of what is exchanged, a premise which presumes a common value orientation. In terms of trapper-trader relations, values were not equated, nor were ambiguities removed, during the transactions engaged in. The economic value of the fox and the cultural worth ascribed it by the Inuit stand distinctly apart. Monetary worth and cultural value are clearly not commensurable. Although the two parties involved attempt to render their resources or services commensurable, with economics as a lingua franca, exchanges are not necessarily balanced.
Returning to Barth, another significant theoretical problem is encountered. Viewing transaction as a sequential development of exchange, as an extended process, a principle of optimization is involved. In a sequential game such as chess, sacrifice or loss may be incurred in order to later win. Barth suggests that, in essence, the principles of game theory apply to transaction. However, this analogy fits only in so far as both parties desire the same ultimate goal of total victory. In a trapper-trader relationship, the intention is to perpetuate the game, and for the trader to maximize returns. The notion of value insinuates itself into such a consideration. The economic principle of maximization is more likely the value orientation of the trader than the Inuk trapper. The idea of "economic man" from a substantive economic perspective has, after all, been squarely challenged (Dalton 1969). Given this situation, it becomes apparent that the value loading of resources is a crucial task. Paine has suggested that the patron, by virtue of influence and authority, is in a position to ascribe value to commodities. Resources alone are inadequate, they must be somehow turned into influential resources (Paine 1971). The trader entering the Keewatin was in a rather more fortunate position. He possessed and extended those commodities for which need had already been generated. It remained for him to intensify such needs. As Paine has indicated, such a situation provides a patron with the necessary means to assign value. The patron is rendered distinct from his clients by virtue of the fact that his values dominate transactions. The reciprocity of the exchange is no longer generalized but specific, for the patron selects the commodity
which he requires in return for the resources he offers. Although, as Sahlins has pointed out in the context of exchange systems, "receiving goods lays on a diffuse obligation to reciprocate", the obligation between patron and client is no longer diffuse but rather restricted (Sahlins 1965: 3).

2.8.1 The Issue of Power

The element of power in transaction and specifically in the Fur Trade context should not be neglected. As indicated above, it has the capacity to direct and weight exchanges. Befu has considered Emerson's definition of power of greatest utility for exchange theorists. Power, Emerson asserts, is not a unilateral preserve, but emerges as a dual force from an "exchange relationship...predicated upon dependence of two parties upon each other's resources". It assumes that two parties are equally able to use resources as levers "to force, coerce, or induce compliance" (Befu 1977: 273). However, Befu also admits that such power may be either personal or vested in an office. The trader's power thus outweighs that of the trapper, the trader's ability to withhold credit being a function of both his employment role and his personal discretion. Befu is prepared to accept that "when there is a clear differential between the degree of dependence of one party over the other, then one may say that there is a power advantage of one over the other" (1977: 274). Somewhat more useful, to the exchange theorist or to those seeking to explain sociocultural systems and transactions, is Blau's statement that "exchange processes, then, give rise to differentiation of power" (Blau 1964: 22). This notion stands
in contradistinction to Barth's conceptualization of transaction which, as noted, presumes that transactions are ruled by reciprocity (Barth 1966: 4). What seems to emerge is an awareness of the fact that power provides a means to direct transaction. The unilateral character of the trader's propensity to govern both the activities and the recompense of the trapper reflects this imbalance. (An examination of empirical data should permit a more substantial awareness of the variable of power and its significance in transaction). Paine provides the following analysis of the kind of reciprocal transaction which Barth's Models seems to purport:

The most that can be claimed for this class of relationship, as exchange, is: where the parties to an exchange are of different statuses which are mutually accepted, respected and acted upon, one may say, in a restricted sense, that the parties make a good bargain inasmuch as each fulfills the prescribed roles of his relationship with the others...The prestations of these exchanges - indeed, the exchanges themselves - are likely to symbolize the assymmetrical, complementary relationship between the parties.


What Paine is essentially saying is that transaction does not invariably function as a mutually satisfactory bargaining relationship, but that there is a degree of unconformity in commodities and their value. Furthermore, the objects of exchange or prestations are likely to reflect a degree of disjunction. This is particularly pertinent to a Fur Trade context where the trader seeks to maximize value by obtaining a valued (by him) commodity. The other party may not attach value to this object, but only to the resources which it can provide access to. Returning to
the issue of power, the power of the trader in one respect lies in the undervaluation of the thing he seeks and the high value which he assigns to the commodities he exchanges for that thing. Moreover, the trader is able to direct this weighting of economic value using the cognitive differences between himself and the trapper as a fulcrum.

2.8.2 Modes of Transaction

For further clarification of this issue, it is again necessary to step beyond Barth's original formulation of transaction. Paine once more addresses the transaction of Barth by pointing out the distinction between incorporation and transaction, referring to power and problems of coding in messages transacted. In differentiating between the incorporative and transactional mode, Paine refines many of the assumptions of exchange theory. He illustrates the importance of brokerage as displacing the traditional notion of dyadic exchange and asserts the significance of coding and the attribution of meaning to messages sent and received in transaction. In distinguishing between the incorporation (I) mode of exchange and the transactional (T), Paine raises distinctions which are highly germane to the relationship between trapper and trader.

The transactional mode, unlike the I mode, is not a closed system of mutually held and inseparable interests. Whereas, in the I mode, congruence is sought between external events (etic facts) and internal cognitive perspective (emic) by altering external objects and events, the T mode uses information-seeking behaviour to achieve congruence by altering internal perception (Paine 1976: 76).

The whole process of encoding meaning, regarding exchange, fund-
amentally affects the nature of that exchange. Codification does not always express mutual intelligibility, often it expresses "systemic disjunctions in social life" (ibid.: 76). Paine draws on the notion of privatization of meaning, as conceived by Hannah Arendt. This concept reflects the kind of boundary-maintaining mechanisms of Fur Trade acculturation, whereby discrete groups erect identity reinforcing barriers which, at times, truncate exchange and communication. Paine indicates that the boundaries may be set up in the form of a group-specific or a restricted code, maintaining an "internally legitimated value system". He equates this with withdrawal or rejection of codes other than those belonging to that group (ibid.). Paine infers a kind of social dissonance, but in the contact situation of the Keewatin, this attains a cultural dimension, finding its expression in the failure of discrete groups to wholly understand one another's clues or restricted codes. In another sense, the lack of meaning received in communication of such restricted codes may induce one or both parties to resort to inference or implanting of their own understandings, as a way of articulating and making sense of the incomplete message received. This kind of cognitive patching would perhaps be expected as both a natural consequence and cause of the ambiguity of acculturative contact, and has been addressed by a number of Arctic scholars (Paine et. al. 1976).

Closely connected with this concept of privatization of meaning and the separateness and disjunction which it implies, is the idea of the broker. Brokerage roles in the Keewatin during and prior to the Fur Trade 10. Williamson has referred to such boundary-maintaining behaviour in the Keewatin as the "Social Protection Response" (Williamson 1974: 166).
years shed some light upon the transaction process. The emergence of key figures who mediate and direct exchange is of central importance to the acculturation process at work and to an understanding of the exchanges which characterized Fur Trade and other qallunaat institutional contact.

2.8.3 Brokerage

Boissevain has distinguished between brokers and entrepreneurs, pointing out the entrepreneur's capacity for control and management of a profit-making enterprise involving risk. Boissevain sees the entrepreneur as the controller of first order resources, and also as the possessor of strategic contacts with others who control resources, or have access to those who do. This latter category of resources he terms second order. Those with power over second order resources are brokers; according to Boissevain, special types of entrepreneur (Boissevain 1974: 148). The effectiveness of the broker is contingent upon the structure and content of his social network, his manipulative ability and his willingness to use his position for personal gain (ibid.). Whilst the last factor may or may not be relevant to the cultural broker as a native of Keewatin, certainly the first two criteria are valuable in defining the efficacy of the broker. What then is a broker? More specifically, what kind of brokers did acculturative contact create in

11. The notion of personal advantage which may ensue from a brokerage role tends to overlook the fact that the indigenous broker in the Keewatin might also have attempted to gain advantage for his cultural group as a whole, consistent with a high value placed upon sharing in Inuit society.
the Keewatin, and how did their activities shape the constellation of relationships, ecological and sociocultural, which emerged from acculturative contact?

Briefly, a broker is a bridge between other persons or groups, either as a direct vehicle or channel for the communication of some commodity or commodities, or as an indirect link in a network of interchange. A broker may be specialized and professional, or deal with a spectrum of transmission. He or she may have a manifest or latent profit seeking motive (Boissevain, ibid.).

A number of factors constrain the ultimate efficacy of the broker. Primarily, he must be in the correct place at the appropriate time (Boissevain refers to this quality of timeliness as centrality, 1974: 155). The broker must also possess access to resources and the means to actualize and activate them. This demands a propensity for tapping into a web of transactions, either directly, or through others with this facility. The environment of transaction further constrains or heightens the effectiveness of the broker. In a cross-cultural situation, the broker operates in a particularly precarious sociocultural landscape, one in which ambiguity and dissonance are normal rather than exceptional.

Drawing on Barth's conception of the entrepreneur, both the indigenous cultural broker and his intrusive, institutionalized qallunaat counterpart, demonstrate the risk element which identifies the entrepreneur (Barth 1963: 3). Boissevain's succinct definition of the social broker also assists in shaping a conceptual image of the broker:

A social broker places people in touch with each
other directly or indirectly for profit. He bridges gaps in communication between persons, groups, structures and even cultures... a professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for profit. He thus occupies a strategic place in a network of social relations viewed as a communication network.

(Boissevain 1974: 148).

The preceding definition provides a useful conceptual basis for analysis of the brokers of Keewatin, albeit with certain reservations. First and foremost, the niche occupied by the indigenous cultural broker, either as Post Servant, Missionary Catechist or R.C.M.P. Special Constable, was one in which profit was arguably a dubious prime mover. The cultural broker was not an unmitigated economic being, the motive of personal profit as material or cultural value must, therefore, be treated with caution, not as the *sine qua non* of brokerage. Furthermore, the cultural broker was not a professional manipulator in the strict sense.

However, certain brokers in the employ of the whalers and later the Fur Trade were already professional communicators and intermediaries in a traditional religious sense as noted in discussion of employment patterns created by the whalers (pg. 57 ). This traditional status was then enhanced by a position of brokerage in the service of the qallunaat. It might also be observed that as acculturative pressure, particularly from the missions, progressively eroded the power of the Shaman, that brokerage in a sociocultural sense provided an avenue for continuing maintenance of status by those individuals employed by the intrusive agencies.
2.8.4 Characteristics of the Indigenous Cultural Broker

The indigenous broker occupies a particular and sometimes enigmatic role in the acculturative process in the Keewatin. Having discussed the more universal aspects of brokerage, it is now pertinent to turn to the native broker, bearing in mind the fact that a spectrum of broker figures existed here too, depending on the institution the individual was allied to and his own cognitive response to his position. In the interests of brevity, the following conceptual checklist will provide some general clarification of the indigenous broker's role and character.

2.8.5 Elements of Brokerage

1. Pivotal position in establishing and maintaining a rapport between institution (e.g. Hudson's Bay Company) and a community(ies) of trappers and hunters.
2. Power aspect manifest in ability to manipulate a stream of information between two cultural groups.
3. Material recompense, ostensibly for task(s) not directly related to brokerage role, e.g. rations for broker and family for trade-related tasks.
4. Relatively continuous contact (for varying duration) with qallunaat enterprise.
5. Marginal position between two essentially disparate groups. Precarious because of patron's power in selection and direction of broker's activities.
6. Degree of socialization to employment role, possibly arising from proximity to preceding generation in similar employment role.
7. Possessing traditionally valued skills, internally legitimated, and valued by intrusive institution.

8. Language knowledge, partial or total bilingual ability. Relates to (2).

9. Notions of loyalty and work ethic internalized to some degree, fostered by employer. Relates to (5) and (6).

10. Ability to reflect and communicate the value symbols of the agency. The ensuing discussion will elucidate the points raised above and also will attempt to explicate the specifics of the indigenous broker's role, regarding the particular agency served by him. Whatever his official capacity as understood by those employing him, the broker's more latent function hinges on the quality of centrality and access with which his position provides him. The Post Servant's location within a web of decision-making and communication, rather than as a simple link in a chain of command, is the key to this centrality. He may provide a link in terms of receiving and relaying information of some kind, but he is capable of amplifying it and directing it in a discrete manner. His capacity to make decisions regarding the quality of

12. The masculine gender is used for the purposes of syntactic fluidity. It does not presume to relegate the role of the women in brokerage. As will become apparent, although the brokers themselves were male, the significant, although not overt, influence of women asserts itself in matters of brokerage. Invariably, Post Servants, Missionary Catechists and R.C.M.P. Special Constables had families, consistent with the normative aspect of Inuit values regarding the family and its indispensability. The brokerage roles of those serving in these capacities might, therefore, be expected to reflect this family consciousness.
and audience of his message renders him a true broker rather than a middleman. This quality of centrality is further enhanced by the fact that the broker is not disseminating information in a single direction, but is equally responsive to his employer in passing along information from his own community of peers. This watershed location between two initially quite distinct cultural groups was often provocatively powerful, providing the broker with the means to manipulate the range of situations governed by the information stream transmitted, be it material and ecological, or sociocultural and 'superstructural'.

The occupational category Post Servant thus entails far more than the simple undertaking of the directives of the Post Manager. Beyond the rudimentary concerns of the daily round, such as hauling ice for water or ensuring a supply of country meat for the Post, the indigenous employee embodies at an individual level, the juxtaposition of two broad and essentially incompatible cultural systems. He provides both sounding board and listening post for each system (see 2, pg. 134). Moreover, despite or because of the powerful niche he occupies, his status carries with it an inherent and somewhat paradoxical weakness. A facet of brokerage consistently noted (Paine 1977; Boissevain 1974) is the tendency for the broker to erode his own status and endanger his position as a cultural fulcrum by the very fulfilling of the requirements of brokerage. In essence, by providing a bridge between two bodies of culture, he hastens a process which will ultimately erode his own position as broker. Sensing this, the broker strives to juggle the relationship between two 'camps', in order to preclude his own expendability.
Clearly, the broker occupies a niche with both onerous and stressful dual obligations of loyalty and expediency, and one of significant advantage in a material and economic sense. The management of the role by the individual will be variable, emerging as a result of his manipulation of the two cultural groups he represents. The degree of success in management of meaning and impression will presumably be reflected in his prosecution of services for both cultural groups. Thus, coincidentally, the pivotal and marginal aspects of the broker's role ensue from his position of proximity to, and distance from, the two cultural groups he connects.

This raises some significant questions. Initially, does the broker become progressively institutionalized in the service of his employer with the passage of time? The substantive information available would seem to indicate this shift in some cases. Secondly, is it possible to avoid this enculturation, to remain in possession of an essentially internal or Inuit perspective? Certainly, a degree of oscillation would appear to be possible, perhaps represented in periodic segments of Post or other employment, punctuated by a traditional land-oriented existence. From the perspective of the intrusive agencies, notions of loyalty and commitment were positively reinforced. In the light of such acculturative pressure, the broker's response might be acquiescence, perhaps resulting in increasing detachment from his own cultural matrix, or rejection, manifest in increasing disaffection with the intrusive enterprise and revitalization of traditional goals. A number of factors govern the direction of the broker's response. Considerations of the familial
obligations of the employee are necessary. His own notions of status and prestige and his traditional skills and abilities as a provider must be taken into account; as must the character of the employer-employee rapport. The Fur Trade courted the attentions of its indigenous employees by active fostering of positive value orientation towards its activities. Values inconsistent with such an orientation were thus arguably played down. Employees were an important economic raw material whose worth was measured in pragmatic terms by their degree of contribution to the trade. District Reports of the H.B.C. reflect this corporate attitude quite uncompromisingly, not only to indigenous employees, but within the company proper.

2.8.6 Marginality and Protection

Some consideration of modes of protection against this incorporative influence is necessary, in terms of the need to retain the original cultural elements whilst occupying the marginal and sometimes stressful position as qallunaat employees. This will assist in rendering an image of the broker as an integral figure within his own community of orientation, despite the fostering of positive reference toward the intrusive agency. The tendency for Post-oriented service to be interspersed with periods of relinquishment of service obligations might occur as a logical consequence of the resistance to total commitment to the trade, for instance. But what of protection whilst undertaking a brokerage role? Here, the positive reinforcement and affirmation of the aboriginal value system provides a shield against the marginality of the broker's status. It becomes possible to cultivate a working relationship within the confines of service
by continuous orientation to an internal cognitive and behavioural mode. This serves to offset the value dependency which employment tends to create by matching it with a commensurate corpus of traditional ideas and actions. Evidently, the role of family and the affirmation of traditional skills and qualities play an important role here, particularly where employment is of considerable duration. By the same token, familial reinforcement of traditional goals may be relatively weak. It might be expected that the inculcation of positive sentiment toward employment be differentially responded to, not only by the broker, but by his family. If the family response to material and behavioural elements of employment is powerful and positive, this will serve to de-emphasize rather than reinforce traditional goals. The broker, in such cases, will become an increasingly marginal figure, with respect to his own cultural matrix of origin.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the social proximity to the intrusive enterprise not only facilitates the transactions which the broker manages, but also renders him the perfect vehicle or receptacle for role behaviour valued by that institution. He and his family may embody, or have thrust upon them, qualities and behaviour deemed desirable by the trader or missionary. Substantial evidence of this kind of social tutelage exists, whereby families and individuals become convenient repositories for acculturative habits and attitudes, the effective protégés of a given benefactor, and as such, a possible role model for others in the orbit of the Post or Mission. It is in such instances of social tutelage that behavioural and cognitive barriers erected acquire significant
proportions, perhaps not least because the observable outcome of these close encounters reflects, to a greater or lesser degree, the course of acculturative events for the cultural groups as a whole. Where a tacit rejection of this tutelage exists, it acts as a means of retaining aboriginal integrity and is consistent with the presiding and normative Inuit value system. That is to say, rejection is not couched as open defiance or hostility to the encroaching value complex, conflict is minimized and strategic withdrawal is normative (Williamson 1974: 33). The social protection responses involved are quite complex, but may be said to comprise a lexicon of behavioural and cognitive patterns which forestall the acculturative pressure being applied. A filtering process is at work which permits the acceptance of certain material and behavioural innovations whilst screening out others. As indicated, this screening is rarely overtly aggressive or so inflammatory as to jeopardize the careful rapport on which the relationships rests. Nowhere is the essential manipulation of transaction so acutely necessary as in this fragile interpersonal domain, where the minutia of daily social exchanges become the real elements of transaction. The management of impression is quite critical to the retention of cultural integrity and to a continuing dialogue between the various parties.

2.8.7 The Selection of Personnel

Brief mention has already been made of the qualities sought in the potential employee. Further examination will serve to illustrate the character of the indigenous broker, particularly in the service of the Fur Trade, but also in terms of Mission and R.C.M.P. employment. The Trade,
to some degree, built upon the historical employment trends initiated in the whaling era, crystallizing and cementing employment patterns begun at that time. A certain temporal continuity is notable in personnel selection with a marked tendency toward drawing into service those individuals who had already displayed an ability for cooperation with qallunaat enterprises. However, this should not connote a uniformity of goals and methods with regard to whaling and trapping, although elemental country skills contribute in both instances. The Trade was characterized to a greater degree by the assignment of formal work-a-day duties, contractual obligations and the active fostering of loyalties toward its goals and operation.

Unlike the whaling servant, the Post servant was a formal employee. Selection by a Post Manager involved recognition of skills as a provider in a traditional sense, and skills as a broker who might communicate and amplify the motives and activities of the Trade. The substantive data, in due course, should reveal this dual priority governing selection.

Other criteria for selection hinge upon a relatively comprehensive knowledge of both human and faunal resources and significantly on the visible profile of the employee among his own community peers. In other words, a pre-existing network of persons useful to the trade and accessible through the chosen employee provided an important approach for the Trade. This centrality, referred to earlier, is a prime consideration, and emphasizes the tendency of the trade to solidify and build upon already well-rooted systems.
It is worth restating the fact that the ultimate worth of the individual employee tended to be based upon his utility for the Post, Mission or barracks. The substantive data should reflect this priority governing selection, and it may be hypothesized that where the employee's marginality threatened to confront and thwart the goals of the agency, some kind of redressive mechanism might intervene. This would be reflected in dispensing with the services of the uncommitted or potentially disruptive broker figure in favour of some more manageable employee. To reiterate an earlier comment on the value and power aspects of acculturative transaction, such a decision-making process would be at the discretion of the intrusive agency, and would be predicated upon the external institution's perception of usefulness. The empirical evidence should reflect this element of power.

2.8.8 Role Models of the Native Broker

It is fruitful to attempt some kind of conceptual sketching of potential broker figures, based on the criteria examined thus far, and foreshadowing actual analysis of the brokers who emerged. Broadly, the latitude of response and the situational constraints which govern reaction to the brokerage role seem to presuppose a wide spectrum of broker figures. Three archetypes present themselves, but not necessarily as completely discrete entities, nor as fixed roles, for development of role is to be expected:

1. The autonomous broker, characterized by staunch adherence to traditional values and behaviour with little attempt to conceal such adherence, and considerable power (e.g., former or practising angaquq, or respected
thinker and decision-maker (isumataq) in community of origin).

2. The binary broker, demonstrating a capacity for oscillation of cultural position according to circumstance, or in terms of vacillating reference group orientation. Possibly reflected in episodic employment record.

3. The acquiescent broker, notable for progressive positive reference towards external group or agency, some assimilation of values and behavioural modes, shown in loyalty, commitment, and continuing service. Possibly a second generation employee, he amplifies the goals and directives of the intrusive agency.

This rudimentary model provides a useful theoretical toehold on the emergent broker 'types'. A certain amount of 'smudging' or overlap of characteristics may become apparent along with a tendency for changing cognitive and behavioural elements through time. Significantly, it should be observed that such changes will not necessarily be unidirectional, but might be expected to reflect reversing polarities depending upon situational constraints and incentives. Nonetheless, the model provides a much-needed, although embryonic, clarification of broker 'types'. The acuity of this scheme will be validated or refuted by the empirical evidence. Finally, it is pertinent to remember that the character of transactions and of the acculturation process as a whole, will be, to some extent, shaped by the individual broker.

2.8.9 Brokers in a Sociocultural Network

Some useful points regarding brokers, both indigenous and intrusive, remain to be examined. Initially, one must remain aware of the fact that the dyadic bonding of broker to agency represents an essentially atomistic
view of the sociocultural landscape. In truth, the various agencies were situationally intertwined, despite the discrete motives and goals held. The individual employment patterns of the Trade, Missions and R.C.M.P. must therefore be seen as elements of a more complex organizational situation. Viewed in this way, the behaviour of individuals and agencies creates reverberations which are perceptible throughout the network of relationships. The commitments of individuals within this network necessarily affect one another, insofar as the several goals or aspirations of the institutions do not always neatly interlock.

Drawing on Boissevain's work on groups and quasi-groups, the various intrusive enterprises in the Keewatin can be seen as functional units designed for the achievement of certain goals, material, social and spiritual. The attainment of these presiding goals both welds together and divides the enterprises, creating a series of action sets (Boissevain 1974) or even factions (Bailey 1969) oriented to particular needs and desires. Inevitably, incongruities and conflicts will pervade this network and these unconformities may also be manifest within the discrete hierarchical organizations themselves. Such conflicts between trader, missionary and policeman, also involve the indigenous employees connected with the *qallunaat* enterprises. The obligations incumbent upon the employee are rendered more complex and arguably more stressful by the possible factional nature of the organizational encounters. Loyalties and maintenance of protective cognitive mechanisms become further harried when one considers that they must be balanced, not only on a precarious cultural opposition, but also maintained in the context of institutional
differences.

Such institutional disparities might conceivably lead to the manipulation of employees by the various agencies they represented. Thus, Post Servants might be placed in the unenviable position of playing out the emnities of the trader toward the missionary or Constable. A certain amount of difficulty is to be expected in evaluating such behaviour from historical sources, but nonetheless, the available data will be examined with a view to understanding the nature of such inter-institutional conflicts when and where they emerge.

The preceding attempt to provide a workable body of theoretical and analytical material has focused to a greater extent on the Fur Trade than upon the other agencies present in the Keewatin. This is, in part, a recognition of the primacy of the Fur Trade in acculturation, as a vehicle for reshaping material and sociocultural relationships. However, the previous examination of transaction and the key role of broker figures also pertains to the whole network of institutional exchanges which characterized the years of Fur Trade expansion.

Whilst certain cognitive elements of acculturation have been addressed, the material thus far reflects a preoccupation with articulating the ecological and cultural changes in a transactional mode. The final area of analysis, from a conceptual perspective, will turn to the less tangible, but no less vital domain of values, the acculturation thereof, and the significant role of the Missions in this area of change. Furthermore, by adhering to the theoretical guidelines of transaction and brokerage, the influence of the Missions will perhaps be more clearly
comprehended as one aspect of the compound changes which took place in the Keewatin.

2.9 Religion and Values

Throughout the greater part of mankind's existence, in all ages and states of society, religion has been the great central unifying force in culture. It has been the guardian of tradition, the preserver of the moral law, the educator and the teacher of wisdom.

(Dawson 1948: 50).

Dawson's statement provides a partial step towards an understanding of the nature of religion and goes some way toward a realization that all religious systems affect this conservative aspect as well as a "creative, cognative, dynamic function, as energizer and life giver" (ibid.). The religious life of the Inuit of the Keewatin prior to the advent of the missionaries reflects this dual function, validating a model of the cosmos and simultaneously providing a pattern for such a cosmology. In essence, Inuit religious sentiment possessed both meaning and power, encapsulating the values held and ramifying them with a supernatural or sacred power (Lessa and Vogt 1972: 1). Moreover, Inuit religious belief validated and perpetuated not only the cognitive or ideational aspect of existence, but also the intimate rapport which existed between its practitioners and the land upon which their continued existence depended. Inuit religion, therefore, demands attention, not merely as a cognitive framework of mutually held ideas, but as an inextricable and integral part of what Steward termed "the cultural core", by virtue of its being anchored firmly in the ecological realities of the quest for sustenance. To paraphrase Geertz, the
religious system of the Inuit provided a model of and a model for reality (Geertz 1966: 8). The subsistence activities of the Keewatin people were tied to a larger scheme of sentiment and belief. This system, in turn, was patterned after and supportive of a particular strategy for survival. Such a perspective is consistent with a view of religion as an integrative and functional force in a given cultural locus. Before pursuing an analysis of Inuit religious beliefs, some preliminary definitions and clarifications must be provided.

2.9.1 Religion - First Principles

Religion has been identified as a validating force or as a protective one, or both. An initial paradigm which frames religion in these terms is postulated by Van Baaren:

> Religion is a complex of notions, which as a rule form a more or less connected system, concerning man and the world, in which an important function is given to one or more beings and/or powers, more or less different from human beings, as a rule of superior quality, and which are generally referred to in explanations concerning the existence of the work and mankind, and those concerning life and death when this belief exists. The belief in the existence of these beings and/or powers influence those who believe in their existence.

(Van Baaren 1973: 38).

Proceeding from this premise, the writer points out that such influence is expressed in both ritual action and social and ethical notions, observing that "behaviour, effort and action together constitute religious action" (ibid.: 39). Such behaviour, it is argued, may be appropriate only within the context of the religion or may befit the function of the culture elsewhere (ibid.). Van Baaren posits
three basic segments of religion, which provide a further honing of
his systemization of the science of religion: Religion as an individual
and intuitive way of apprehending reality, if integrated with a whole
called religion - Religion as an intellectual system of ideas concerning
man and the world, and finally, Religion as a social and cultural
phenomenon if such social and cultural aspects are connected with
a whole called religion. Such distinctions may seem to border on pedantry,
but what Van Baaren seems to be striving for and approaching in his
attempt to define religion, is an integration of religion with the total
cultural world in which it exists. There is no recourse to theology
as such, nor any attempt to validate religion in terms of some specific
sacred model. This is a useful approach, particularly in terms of
this study, which witnesses the juxtaposition of two separate religious
systems, one validated in terms of the cultural and material realities
of its practitioners, and the other, a Christian rubric, justified in
terms of its truth unto itself. Expressed another way, the Inuit
religion was an internally validated and relatively self-contained
cosmology, whereas the encroaching religion which confronted and
challenged it relied heavily upon dogmatic theology. Van Baaren states
simply, "the truth or untruth of a religion can never be proven by
accepting one religion as the standard of truth. The only thing which
can sometimes be stated is that in a certain historical situation or
social context, one religion functions better than another one"
(Van Baaren 1974: 43).
A central question which arises here is how Inuit cosmology came to lose this functional capacity and be overtly supplanted by another, essentially different religious system? The answer would seem to reside in the changing 'historical situation or social context'. To be more exact, it lay in those new sets of material and sociocultural conditions which the presence of intrusive agencies in the Keewatin brought about. The awareness that material accomplishment could be achieved without recourse to traditional religious pathways, with the growth of the Fur Trade enterprise, has been cited as a key factor in the devaluation of the aboriginal religious system (Williamson 1974: 72).

Prior to a more detailed analysis of this juxtaposition of two religious systems, certain other theoretical aspects of the anthropological study of religion bear consideration. Thus far, Inuit religion has been observed as an integrative belief system which interlocked the conceptual universe or the realm of 'notions' (Van Baaren) with the immediate material demands of the subsistence system.

Geertz has argued skillfully for an understanding of religion as a symbolic system which establishes "powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men, by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence, and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz 1966: 4). Geertz's protracted analytical validation of this paradigm makes for enlightening reading and provides some useful theoretical principles. What Geertz does not seem to accomplish
is that leap of awareness required to link such an ideational perspective of religion to its immediate corollary in the realm of action and behaviour. One must grant that the symbolic system suggested does predispose mankind towards a real sense of the veracity of a specific "order of existence" but unless this order of existence is encountered in the realities of everyday life and dealt with according to the air of factuality with which religion cloaks it, a religious system remains, at best, an inaccessible mental entity. It is the demonstration of the connection that such a system makes with the realm of things that constitutes religion, in the view of this writer. Geertz argues conversely that the religious perspective transcends the common-sensical through its ability to embrace realities wider than those of everyday life (Geertz 1966: 27). Nonetheless, religious systems in general, and that of the Inuit in particular, are characterized by a capacity to explain those recurrent elements of existence consistently encountered, such as the movement of animals, the inevitability of physical death, the privations of illness and the vagaries of climate.

Pursuing this current of thought further, it seems axiomatic that, through religion, validation of events in the universe is achieved, not only by reference to a consistent symbolic system which possesses a supernormal authority or power, as Geertz suggests, but through the observable abilities of human beings to exercise control over their environment. Recourse to a sacred system is tantamount to an admission of impotence, but is also a shield against such powerlessness. In this
way, religion acts as a reminder of the imperfect control which man possesses over his universe, but provides solace by removing the ultimate onus of such control to one or more non-human beings or powers. Parsons has called this transference "transcendental reference", but hastens to add that although religious ideas concern the "supernatural", this does not imply that 'the locus of values is put primarily in the 'other' world. Indeed 'naturalism' in the sense of sanctioning in the interests of this life in health, wealth, happiness and long life is more common than not in religious traditions' (Parsons 1964: 167). Indeed, for the Inuit, the locus of values seems to have been anchored in the daily realities of existence, and traditional religious beliefs served to support this system rather than overshadow it. Parsons also espouses a perspective which argues that religion is far more than a cognitive orientation. According to Parsons:

They (Religious ideas) become religious only so far as a commitment in emotion and action to their implications becomes involved, as, in that sense, to quote Durkheim, they are "taken seriously".

(Parsons 1964: 167).

To retrace Geertz's paradigm, the 'moods and motivations' which are instilled and made authoritative must be seen to have an etic behavioural manifestation in terms of activity and expressive behaviour. This may be manifest in terms of strictly religious action, or as behaviour fitting a broader sociocultural function, as Van Baaren has intimated (1974: 40). Religion then, would seem to have to be goal-oriented and expressed in affective behaviour either in the confines of
ritual or in broader sociocultural patterns. This emphasis on pattern-
ing and action is notable in Spiro's definition of religion:

I shall define "religion" as an institution
consisting of culturally patterned interaction
with culturally postulated superhuman beings".

(Spiro 1966: 97).

Spiro emphasizes two kinds of activities: those consistent with the
will or desire of superhuman beings or powers which reflect the super-
human value system and part of the actor's value system; and those
activities believed to influence these beings or powers. Such
activities, both symbolic and instrumental, are seen as constituting
a ritual, "or symbolic action system" (ibid.). What distinguishes
religion from other cultural institutions for Spiro is the fact that
the value, action and belief systems which connote institutionalization
have, in religion, a reference to superhuman forces (Op. Cit. 98).
Furthermore, Spiro's operational definition encompasses the expressive,
active connotations of religion by emphasizing the culturally prescribed
interchanges between humans and superhumans. Nonetheless, the utility
of Geertz's, Van Baaren's and Spiro's contributions to the conceptual
compendium of systematic notions of religion provide, beyond succinct
definition, only partial explanation for religion. The recognition
of religion as a symbolic system or active interplay between man and
'superman' or even as a complex of notions does not, in itself,
constitute explanation for the diversity of religious systems which
observably exist or did exist.

This conundrum of the 'why' of religion has preoccupied a great
many minds, not least the luminaries of the French sociological school, who attempted to grapple with the genesis of religious forms and the social-functional significance of religion, most notably in the early writings of Emile Durkheim (1954, orig. 1915). Somewhat later, Max Weber worked over similar terrain, attempting to explain religion in terms of the articulation of religious belief and economic systems. This central concern of Weber reverberates throughout the writings of innumerable scholars of anthropology and religion. Durkheim's efforts in "Formes Elementaires" disposed him to a view of religion as an integrative force binding society to the supernatural through totemic symbolism. Speaking of aboriginal totemism, he points out the symbolic function of the clan totem in bridging the social-secular and supernatural worlds:

So if it (the totem) is at once the symbol of the god and of the society, is that not because the god and the society are only one? ...Since religious force is nothing other than the collective and anonymous force of the clan, and since this can be represented in the mind only in the form of the totem, the totemic emblem is like the visible body of the god.

(Durkheim 1974: 35).

The legacy of this formative sociological perspective on religious forms persists. Religion continues to be equated with the "ascendancy of society over its members" (ibid.: 36), and the ambiguity of religious forces as both "material and moral, physical and human" (ibid) remains to be accepted if not resolved.

From the plethora of anthropological and sociological attempts to explain religion, certain axioms may be drawn. It is intended that
such axioms be examined, along with the foregoing theoretical discussion, in the context of traditional Keewatin Inuit beliefs and the encroaching belief system of Christianity. This theoretical component is later encountered in consideration of the acculturative impact of the Missions in Keewatin. Briefly, religion performs an integrative and validating function (Geertz, Van Baaren). It resolves inconsistencies and reversals in the real world by reference to a supranormal, presiding reality peopled by non-human beings, powers, forces or gods. It frames cognitive values, at least partially, (Spiro 1966) and significantly predicates material and behavioural action. In turn, mundane reality is reinforced by the symbolic supernatural reality. Furthermore, religion provides a cognitive shield against the debilitating reversals of the natural environment, either by facilitating acceptance of such reversals, or by providing for ritual action, which is intended to prevent or shape certain events in the natural universe. In this way, religion is both protective and supportive and lays open the possibility for human participation in cosmic events. Significantly, religious systems predispose a specific view of the universe, a world view in this religious sense which acts as an explanatory plan of the real world and the perceived super-real world with which it co-exists.

2.9.2 Traditional Inuit Belief System and Cosmology

It is intended here that elements of traditional religion be evaluated in the light of the preceding discussion, emphasizing the way in which the religious patterns observed arise out of and complement the material environment and the normative sociocultural value system.
of the Keewatin Inuit. Further reference to values, and the impact of acculturation upon them will be made elsewhere in this section. It is understood that even using the excellent primary sources on traditional religion and intellectual culture, only a general comprehension of these areas can be attained. Notably, Rasmussen (1930), Birket-Smith (1929) and Boas (1907) provide fine documentation of the aboriginal belief system. More recently, Williamson has provided an empathetic reconstruction of the indigenous belief system of the Keewatin Inuit (Williamson 1974).

Dealing with religious ideas, Williamson indicates disparities between inland and coastal groups with regard to deities (1974: 22). Two powerful supernatural beings, Sila and Nuliajuk, predominate. Sila connotes life, and was conceived of as the creator of all and the bestower of breath or air, that most fundamental of life-giving elements. The inland Inuit referred to Sila as Pinga, attentive to man whilst he possessed breath, synonomous with the soul, but failing to acknowledge him once this life force was departed (Rasmussen 1930: 49). Sila was conceived of as a disinterested deity that took no active part in the movements of animals, whereas Nuliajuk was envisaged as a controller of both bounty in the form of marine mammal abundance, and retribution or privation, by guiding the natural elements or wind, sea, and ice which were so crucial to marine subsistence. Nuliajuk was both feared and revered by coastal peoples for her tremendous power. Significantly, this power was manifest in the ability to control the essential elements of daily reality, whereas Sila or Pinga occupied a
symbolic or spiritual role, returning souls to earth with the assistance of the moon. In this instance, Rasmussen notes the comparative lack of significance attached to the moon by inland dwellers, a fact he connects with the unimportance of tides for these people (ibid.: 50).

Certain inconsistencies emerge in Rasmussen's attempt to ascertain the qualities and influences of the inland and coastal dieties. Questioning an authoritative Shaman, Igjugarjuk, Rasmussen learned that Pinga had special care of the caribou, whereas Hila "as among the coast dwellers, represented everything one feared in the air" (ibid.: 51). It should be noted here that the belief system provided means to mediate the power of Hila through shamanistic intervention and communication. This capacity of the Shaman to link the sacred and mundane is a distinctive feature of the Keewatin aboriginal system and it should be noted that, in addition to providing this 'cosmic brokerage', Igjugarjuk possessed considerable power and prestige in the secular aspects of traditional life. It seems reasonable to suggest that these twin aspects reinforced one another and it is notable that in describing his shamanistic status, Igjugarjuk stressed the practical healing aspects of his craft, displaying skepticism for the more flambouyant "salt-water" Shaman of the coast. The astute Rasmussen observes he was "wise, independent, intelligent and exercised great authority over his fellow-villagers" (ibid.: 33). The tendency to delegate responsibility for the critical movements of seals

13. Igjugarjuk was also an authorized R.C.M.P. Special Constable, a third avenue of power and consistent from an R.C.M.P. viewpoint with his knowledge, intelligence and influence.
or caribou to the gods is notably lacking, as is any notion of a Shaman being able to influence such movements. Intervention in the universe is more detached, involving mediation with Hila, for instance, rather than ascription of total power to dieties as manipulators of living things. Similarly, Shaman were not credited with powers of direct manipulation either.

However, a major thrust of the Shaman's craft was directed to the fundamental needs of the subsistence quest, but as divining rather than manipulative skills, e.g., the seeking of trails, the awareness of hazards, the location of game, etc. Williamson emphasizes the pervasive religiosity of the hunt for all involved in it, as well as the more specialized soul-travelling abilities of the Shaman (Williamson 1974: 28). This tends to support a view of Inuit religion as integrative, binding cognitive concerns with affective behaviour and material reality.

2.9.3 Erosion of Traditional Religious Sentiment

The investment of religious sentiment and seasoned skills in the hunt is highly significant, in view of the metamorphosis of the subsistence quest which acculturative forces achieved. The tendency for progressive diminution of religious sanctity, or in Geertz's terms, the deflation of the aura of factuality which religious moods and motivations gave rise to, is notable. It is paralleled by an increase in emphasis upon secular, economic and trade aspects of traditional country skills. To return to an earlier assertion by Van Baaren (1973: 43), the indigenous religious support system was increasingly rendered redundant by the
cultural context of technological influx and observable power wielded by persons who seemed to need no recourse to the indigenous beliefs. As if to underscore this, the intrusive group brought with them their own religious system and value orientation. The Shaman, Igjugaruk vocalizes this process in conversation with Rasmussen:

Having told me about all the old methods of hunting the caribou, Igjugaruk proceeded to praise the White man and his brains. It was particularly such a wonderful invention as the gun that occupied his thoughts.

(Rasmussen 1930: 41).

Further evidence of this trend will unfold upon evaluation of the documentary evidence. It should perhaps be affirmed that such a change does not imply a waning of value sentiment toward traditional pursuits, but an attrition of the religious validation which such activities formerly possessed. It might also be observed that a considerable lever of the missionaries in their proselytizing was the vacuum left by this undermining of the relationships between religion and subsistence, to which the Fur Trade contributed. Moreover, the Missions were able to provide succour in the face of the encroaching material changes, both in form of a spiritual or religious placebo for the dysfunctionalized religion of the Inuit and by providing medical services and other material support. The process by which Christian beliefs insinuated themselves into the cultural fabric of Keewatin will receive thorough attention in the analysis of data.

The process of syncretism, that fusion of discrete religious elements to form some new whole, has been well attended to in ethno-
historical accounts of revitalization movements. Recently, Wallace has added a considerably body of theoretical material in his analysis of a variety of religious upsurgences which he groups under the rubric 'revitalization'. This contribution to the anthropology of religion merits recognition and has a direct bearing upon the acculturation process in the Keewatin, where within the space of some thirty years aboriginal beliefs were overtly supplanted by the Christian religion.

2.9.4 The Process of Revitalization

Using a methodology involving event-analysis, Wallace postulates an episodic model of religious systemic change, arguing for a distinct uniform pattern of events in revitalization (Wallace 1972: 506). Revitalization, while referring to a broad class of phenomena, hinges upon an organismic analogy, one in which the individual's cognitive apparatus and its relationship to external reality is revitalized. This draws upon Wallace's notion of the mazeway, a mental map which includes the self and its relation to the totality of social, cultural and natural reality (ibid.: 505). Wallace goes on to argue that intolerable levels of stress demand mazeway resynthesis for the individual and therefore the cognitive template which structures reality must be reconstituted. Wallace does not articulate the existential questions raised by this resynthesis, but intimates that the process is one of both internal cognitive change and behaviour directed towards reshaping external reality. The ensuing revitalization is observed to proceed as follows, in five overlapping stages: 1. Steady State 2. Period
of Increased Individual Stress  3. Period of Cultural Distortion
4. Period of Revitalization involving, a) Mazeway Reformulation;
b) Communication; c) Organization; d) Adaptation; e) Cultural Transformation; and f) Routinization  5. The New Steady State. Wallace notes, regarding the second stage, that:

The agencies responsible for interference with the cultural system are various; climatic, floral and faunal change; military defeat; political subordination; extreme pressure toward acculturation resulting in internal cultural conflict; economic distress; epidemics and so on. The situation is often, but not necessarily, one of acculturation.

(Wallace 1972: 507).

A cursory review of this checklist of criteria reveals certain characteristics of acculturation in the Keewatin. Not only were elements of the infrastructure, the basic material realm, subjected to change particularly the subsistence quest and demographic patterns, but sociocultural patterns arising out of this material base were altered. Two factors, economic distress and epidemics are notable, and in terms of the Fur Trade are causally related, poor nutritional habits deriving from the influence of the Trade having a perceptible impact upon the health status of the Inuit. Freeman argues this increased morbidity was instrumental in the decision to renounce a semi-nomadic seasonal camp existence in favour of a sedentary settlement life (Freeman 1971). What becomes apparent is the fact that stressful factors span a range of not merely cognitive elements, but powerful material or infrastructural ones. This kind of change in 'Gestalt' which Wallace links to cultural distortion involves psychodynamic regression and
ultimate dissolution, if not forestalled by revitalization of some kind. This regression stems from the inability to withstand the stress overload which acculturative contact sometimes engenders. It is important then, to recognize that the mazeway reformulation, which attempts to defeat the pervasive stress experienced, is the cognitive aspect of a much more complex series of system changes. In the Keewatin, Christianity acts as a significant trigger for such mazeway metamorphosis. The tendency for the mazeway to be reconstituted in an "abrupt and dramatic" manner in moments of "inspiration or revelation" is noted (Wallace 1972: 507). However, it should be possible to identify in the substantive data, a number of types of revitalization; for example, that initiated by individuals as charismatic guides; that occurring as a pragmatic strategy for handling acculturative change; that stimulated by appeals to common sense and reason and that which is a response to certain ritual and symbolic overtures. This latter category of response has been noted by a number of observers (W. Buhr, H. Voisey, former H.B.C. personnel).

Nonetheless, Christianity, as a force for change or an impetus for revitalization, must itself be recognized as a stress-reducing mechanism, an adaptive cultural strategy in the face of privations and sometimes bewildering change. Where the revitalization process seems to fit poorly in the Keewatin, from Wallace's perspective at least, is in its being overtly non-radical or revolutionary, but rather being associated closely with the new religious establishment. It seems that the Inuit, rather than using the upwelling of Christian sentiment as a more or less
concerted rejection of acculturative influence, utilized it as a buffer against the harmful effects of this influence. In a similar manner to traditional ideas concerning religion noted previously, the Christian faith became an integrative, protective cocoon. Christianity seems to have fulfilled a supportive role in terms of validating events and providing meaning through faith, where traditional notions were being challenged by acculturative forces, both material and sociocultural, which lay beyond the immediate control of the indigenous people.

This notion is largely consistent with certain other analyses of revitalization movements as responses to conditions of extreme deprivation and cognitive onslaught, where Christianity, or ethical principles and guiding rationales thereof, are incorporated with nativistic feelings, as a means of weathering acculturative pressure (Mooney 1896, Barber 1972 and Aberle 1972). Aberle notes that revitalization is a response to relative deprivation and not objective deprivation, arising from the disparity between expectation and actuality (Aberle 1972: 528). Barber indicates that this deprivation may not only arise from the destruction of material elements of culture, but also of "sociocultural activities" (Barber 1972: 528). Dealing with the Ghost Dance of the 1880's, he is swift to acknowledge that messianic revitalization is merely one of a number of adaptive responses to privation (Barber 1972: 515). This reiterates an earlier point about the lexicon of responses which might characterize revitalization in the Keewatin, from vociferous acceptance of Christianity to a cautious practical respect for the power and wealth of the respective churches.
The nascence of an evangelistic movement in the immediate post war years, for instance, conforms to a revivalist mode of religious revitalization. This development was regarded with thinly-veiled contempt by the established Missions and governmental observers. As will be shown, the Missions attempted to cultivate a dependent symbiosis with their new parishioners, a kind of revitalization which was sometimes seen in individual charismatic figures of influence, but was designed to create a collective diligent response from their adherents.

2.9.5 Missionary Brokers

This mention of influential individuals does possess some relevance in terms of the earlier-possited brokerage models. Once more, the tendency for the Missions, like the Trade, to groom brokers for their respective enterprises is notable. Furthermore, the missionaries themselves, like the traders, were beholden to a more extensive hierarchy which directed their activities from outside of the actual locus of events. This many-tiered system of brokers and patrons in extended relationships of transaction comprises the empirical universe of acculturation in the Keewatin, as well as having a direct theoretical usefulness for evaluating the information. Its existence is quite graphically documented in the annual summer influx of District Managers, high ecclesiasts and Superintendents to the Keewatin. These brief incursions by superiors reflect the attenuated web of enterprise which led to Post counter, the Mission church or the R.C.M.P. barracks.

As noted previously, between these institutions and the host
population, the indigenous broker was the vital lubricant of the transactional machinery. The missionary catechists (and catechumens for the Roman Catholic Missions) however, occupy a somewhat different niche from their Fur Trade counterparts, for they were actively urged to proselytize among their own people with a missionary zeal akin to that of their employers. In this sense, revitalization is achieved through selection of catechists who are directed by the Mission rather than being recruited through visions, dreams or some extra-human spiritual calling as traditional Shaman were, although this latter process may be a component of some self-styled religious leaders, as Wallace has suggested (Wallace 1972: 508). This distinction should be carefully made in the Keewatin as it pertains to the acceptance of the Anglican or Roman Catholic versions of Christianity. Again, the individual character of the rapport between catechist and missionary is crucial to his degree of usefulness to the missionary cause. Unlike the Post Servant who might temporarily relinquish his job, the catechist, though not formally contracted, was spiritually entwined to the Mission by his vocation. His importance then was also manifest in this need to be a divine mediator as well as a purely secular sociocultural broker.

The implications of the missionary broker's role are immense, for he was not only a spiritual and religious intermediary, but also a pedagogue involved in reshaping the value system in terms of both thought and behaviour. Furthermore, his realm of tutelage might conceivably extend beyond strictly religious acts and attitudes to the broader patterns of his society and culture. His responsibility was to interpret the
gospel, but in a manner intelligible to neophytes of his own cultural background. This would necessarily entail reference to the whole original culture matrix, to ethics, morality and behaviour, not simply to attendance at matins, mass or vespers. The notion of the powerful man as mediator of spiritual forces is not foreign to the Inuit belief system, as has been shown. However, the catechist was not merely intercessor between man and nature or even supernature. He was a mediator between the religious establishment, the priests and ultimately God. The fact that the shamanistic tradition stressed a mediating role for 'holy men' arguably strengthened the credibility of the missionaries who attended to the same functionally consistent communication. The capacity for communication in the Inuit language also buttresses the position of Roman Catholic missionaries (Williamson 1974). It is not inconceivable that some of the IJira or awe inspired by the Shaman, and particularly the White priests, might be vicariously transferred to the catechist. At any rate, the missionary broker provides a key to the effectuation of the superstructural goals of the Missions. These theoretical postulations will be duly pursued in the course of evaluation of the substantive data.

Furthermore, such goals had an impact at infrastructural and structural levels through their attention to the details of social and domestic life, marriage, birth, death and to patterns of work and movements in and out of the settlements. The pervasive nature of religion has been referred to, and the encroaching Christian system was no exception, in that it insinuated itself into the spectrum of
Inuit existence, while creating a new and rigorous cognitive mould. In its remaking of certain individual's mazeways and in its instilment of relatively uniform collective sentiment, the new religion possessed formidable power. The full extent of this power, supplemented by control of physical resources such as medicine and sometimes sustenance will become apparent in due course. Here it seems appropriate to indicate that Wallace's phasic scheme does not provide a perfect fit for religious impact as an impetus for and response to change in the Keewatin. Nonetheless, some indication of gathering acculturative momentum may be reflected in the growing "adaptation" and "routinization" (Wallace 1972: 507) of the Christian revitalization. The increasing success of the Missions in directing and controlling a population of parishoners who were also trappers and hunters would attest to such an accomplishment. However, it is understood that the often self-laudatory tone of the Missions in documenting its successes in conversions and baptisms may conceal the true emic response of the Inuit to Christianity. Care will be taken in attempting to elicit an accurate perspective on the Missions, using Mission and other data.

2.9.6 The Integration of Religion and Values

Thus far, some operational definitions of religion have been advanced. The relevance of such models to the Keewatin has been examined, as have the theoretical mechanisms by which religious orientation is suggested to have been achieved, with reference to missionary brokers and some, admittedly cursory, reconstruction of aboriginal beliefs. The possibility of superstructural causality has been noted somewhat
earlier (pg. 104), given the capacity of the Missions to induce
cognitive and behavioural changes which reverberate through the
material (infrastructural) and structural domains. In conjunction
with such a possibility, some attention will now be addressed to values,
both as an integral aspect of the old and new religions and in a
more general sociocultural sense.

2.9.7 Compatibility of Ethics and Core Values

The degree of congruence between the ethical guidelines of the
Christian faith and the aboriginal ethics as embodied in core values
is worthy of note. Far from being antithetical to the message of
the gospel (the New Testament particularly), the Inuit value system
displayed a considerable compatibility with the ethics of Christianity.
Arctic ethnographers such as Damas, Vallee, Williamson and Wilmott
have illustrated the tenacity of certain values as being truly deep-
rooted in both consciousness and behaviour. The high value invested
in family, cooperation and sharing meshes well with Christian ethics
of honour due to parents, generosity and selflessness. Even given
the difficulties noted by Firth in weighting of values and ascertaining
standard value orientation through response to certain situational
criteria (Firth 1964: 221), an evident congruence exists between
certain Christian values and indigenous ones. Given that values, being
emotionally-charged, tend to "promote and guide conduct" (ibid.), it
becomes apparent that the successful acceptance of a new religious
whole is predicated to some degree upon core values already learned,
internalized and acted out. Clearly too, there were areas of dissonance
and incongruity in the two value systems. Beyond the notions of ethics mentioned, there were problems in transmitting the meaning and implication of respective cultural values. Because values are used as a key to the comprehension of social acts, and indeed are largely inferred from observation of behaviour (ibid.: 209), the possibility for cognitive disjunction exists. The bitter rivalry between the denominations in the Keewatin stands opposed to the Christian value of love and tolerance. Jenness and Williamson both note the confusion on behalf of the Inuit as they witnessed the contradictions of message and deed. If "values are ideas formulating action commitment" as Kluckholm once suggested (1951: 396), then the potential for confusion inherent in the inconsistencies of thought as expressed, and visible action commitment, must have been immense. This disjunction will be carefully explored whenever it manifests itself in the data.

2.9.8 Missionary Response to Indigenous Values

It is largely true that where values were deemed expressive of Christian sentiment they were allowed to remain. Conversely, where indigenous values opposed Christian dogma, active destructuring of such values was attempted with varying degrees of success. That the Inuit of Keewatin retained a tenacious grip on core values bespeaks well of the resilience of the value complex, but also of the tolerance toward such core values shown by some missionaries. Significantly, the Missions attempted to erase the familiar reference points of former religious beliefs, assisted by the visible technological power which the qallunaat possessed over their environment. Whether the result
was to create a kind of covert traditionalism behind a mask of seeming acceptance of Christianity remains to be seen. Certainly, even the attempts to erode traditional religious sentiment did not detract from the highly positive feelings held by the Inuit towards the land, even though the traditional validation of the resource quest was challenged. Many authors have noted this flexibility in Inuit culture, manifest in social organization, language and material culture as well as in the realm of values. Thus, even in the drive to eradicate 'pagan' sentiment, the intrusive religion did not endanger the secular values which complemented former religious beliefs.

Finally, perhaps it might be expected that the values most successfully inculcated by the missionaries, traders and R.C.M.P. were mutually held among the qallunaat. Honesty, trust, loyalty, obedience, and the work ethic were highly regarded by all these agencies and were actively reinforced in transactions of whatever nature, through brokers and directly where possible. Graphic examples exist in the documentary evidence. The filtering down of such values to a material level, as action, should become apparent. This feedback between ideas and actions is indicative of the essentially integrative character of acculturation in the Keewatin.

2.10 Summary of Theoretical Objectives

The preceding theoretical material represents an attempt to provide a conceptual framework capable of dealing with the phenomenon of acculturation in the Keewatin. Three primary areas of theoretical interest emerge. Initially, some discussion of the multi-faceted
nature of acculturation served to demonstrate the holistic character of the process, as a material and ecological one, as well as one involving cognitive aspects. Whilst cultural-materialism, derived from cultural-ecological studies before it, provides a partial lens through which to observe the acculturation process, its lack of attention to non-material change and its attribution of causal primacy to infrastructural factors prove to be major drawbacks to its utility for acculturation study. The stated emphasis of cultural-materialism being a focus upon etic behavioural facts and its consequent lack of attention to emic mental, or cognitive aspects of cultural existence, render a materialist bias which is thought to be ill-equipped to assess the totality of changes under study here. Nonetheless, the appropriateness of the cultural-material and cultural-ecological models to certain elements of acculturation in the Keewatin is acceded to.

As a means of approaching the processes which are seen as shaping acculturative change, attention was directed to transactional models which, once again, with certain reservations, are capable of giving insights into encounters between the Inuit and the intrusive agencies. Transactional models, with some refinements and with due attention to the importance of key individuals who mediate sociocultural and other exchanges, provide another theoretical thread for this study. It has been observed though, that transactional analysis still encounters problems in terms of the often ambiguous context of intercultural exchanges, although it reveals something of the cognitive undercurrent of these exchanges. Here, as elsewhere, theoretical usefulness is
ultimately constrained by the quality of the data available.

The final area of theoretical interest centres upon values and value acculturation as an element of the whole spectrum of that broad process. By appreciating the significance of this cognitive or emic realm, an awareness of acculturation as a multilaminar phenomenon is approached, without diminishing the importance of cognitive aspects of change. Whilst this area of cultural change is perhaps the most difficult to monitor through historical documents, the emphasis placed upon values will emerge in consideration of all the parties involved in acculturation.

Briefly, the theoretical isolates offered make it possible to comprehend the material elements of change, the actual processes which stimulated such change, and the significance of all the various aspects of acculturation, including those facets which a cultural-material perspective alone tends to relegate. The tentative synthesis of these theoretical tools should prove useful in understanding acculturation in the Keewatin as a complex and holistic phenomenon arising from the interaction of several different interest groups and the indigenous people of the region.
CHAPTER 3: AGENTS OF ACCULTURATION: HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, MISSIONS AND R.C.M.P.

3.1 Methodology and Ethnohistorical Sources

The term 'ethnohistory' suggests the pursuit of history with a particular sensitivity towards cultural factors involved in its making. Trigger has spoken of the need for the historian "to transcend the prejudices and limitations of his sources" (Trigger 1976: 6). In situations of cultural encounters between literate and non-literate peoples, events are recorded in terms of the goals and dominant values of the literate. In the context of this study the task is to extract, from such documentary sources as exist, the salient facts of culture change. There is no clearly definable methodology beyond a judicious and rigorous treatment of information rendered.

The evaluation which follows draws upon at least four separate bodies of documents pertaining to the era in question, but lacks the perspective of the Inuit of the Keewatin with regard to events and processes. Their responses to the presence of traders, missionaries, police officers and later government personnel are therefore evaluated from the viewpoint of these latter agencies. Nonetheless, by utilizing the separate comments and observations of the intrusive institutions in the region, a multi-faceted perspective is provided. While this cannot be said to be free from cultural bias, it is suggested that events and processes are able to be quite accurately rendered. An internal view of acculturation is presented, as well as an external one, in so far as the encounter of the Keewatin Inuit with the intrusive groups was both internally directed and also guided by events and strategies removed
from the immediate locus of change.

Data is presented from H.B.C., missionary, and R.C.M.P. sources, with a view to corroborating information as well as to give some indication of the character of interaction between these agencies. A perspective is thus offered which provides insight into the individual and collective impact of the three groups upon the Inuit of Keewatin. For the later years of the period under study, government documents are used in addition to the three primary sources.

3.2 The Hudson's Bay Company

3.2.1 The End of the Whaling Era

The impact of the whalers upon the indigenous people of the Keewatin has already been briefly addressed. The propensity for the whaling enterprise to foster changes in the demography and mobility of the Inuit, as well as the tendency for innovation in the material and sociocultural realms has been noted. Not only did the whalers create formative employment bonds and introduce a compendium of material items, but they also directed the mass movement of a number of distinct dialectal subgroups. To recapitulate, the whalers' presence proved to be a spatial magnet, drawing large numbers of people into direct or indirect contact with their endeavours at specific coastal locations on the Bay's northwest coast, and stimulating a flow of goods into the hinterland beyond this littoral zone of contact. The existence of, and desire for, a spectrum of trade items has been viewed as a prime mover during the whaling era, sparking as it did the first organized employment relationships and laying the foundations for the extensive trade patterns which observably characterize the Fur Trade period. A Royal North

1. A list of items for use in native trade is recorded by R.N.W.M. Police in 1906 on board the whaler "Ernest William" and gives a useful indication of the nature and scope of trade goods. See Appendix II.
West Mounted Police report from 1905 viewed the Inuit response to such circumstances thus:

As long as whaling and trading stations are here, the natives will look upon those in charge there as the chiefs, and from them they get food during the winter.

(Moodie 1905: 10).

That officer's view of the situation and his disparaging observations of the nature of trade practices between the Inuit and whalers should be taken in the context of his more sweeping recommendations for the extension of police detachments in the Keewatin, and the involvement of detachments in trade. It is significant that definite economic bonds existed between whalers and Inuit, although Moodie laments the unscrupulous and exploitative nature of exchanges between U.S. whalers and their Inuit retinues (ibid.: 11). Such criticism of both trading practices and employment links should be considered in terms of Moodie's aspirations for increased police and government involvement in the region, an involvement which envisaged police control of and participation in trade, albeit for the most altruistic of motives (ibid.). Moodie's report is notable in several other aspects too, but particularly as an illustration of the 'catch-all' strategy of activities which the whalers were employing during the last years of the whaling enterprise.

It is apparent that a spectrum of economic possibilities existed and was being exploited by the whalers. Notes to the effect that "Furs were brought in fair numbers" and that "Arctic foxes were numerous" indicate the considerable potential for this resource, for if the relative abundance of fur-bearing animals did not escape the whalers' attention, then neither did the ominous economic implications of the declining number of whales in the Bay (ibid.). In 1906, it is observed that:
These (whales) are getting scarce in Hudson's Bay and neighbouring waters. The United States whaler "Era" went out in the spring of 1903 and up to the time when the "Arctic" left in July, 1905, she had only procured about 2,400 pounds of bone. This was the product of three whales.

(Moodie 1906: 14).

This meagre kill contrasts markedly with Ross's estimates for the last decade of the 19th century, with an estimated 44 whales taken. Ross points out that the whalers "maintained sufficient pressure in succeeding decades (subsequent to 1870) to bring the whale to the verge of extinction in 1915" (Ross 1974: 97). In addition, the effect of declining whale populations had by 1904 served to focus attention on another marine species, the walrus, presumably as a means of offsetting losses resulting from limited whaling opportunities. The widespread slaughter of walrus in Repulse Bay and the area north of the Wager River brought relatively poor returns in hides and ivory, mainly because legislation regarding harpooning was not applicable to walrus. Consequently, walruses sank upon being shot if not first harpooned. It is notable that at least one whaling outfit, a Scottish firm in Repulse Bay, had to come to focus almost exclusively upon walrus by 1906, a fact which reflects the increasingly bleak prospects for whaling.

Faced with this general decline in whaling activities, the various Scottish and American vessels were obliged to adopt rather more diverse tactics. Trade for bear skins, ivory and fox furs supplemented whaling kills, and the Scottish steamer "Active" mined mica at Ash Inlet on Big Island (Sellers 1907: 123). The "Era", an American vessel under the command of the whaling master George Comer, was notably more successful in whaling than her Scottish counterparts, taking 11 whales near the mouth of Lyon's Inlet in 1905-06, while the "Active" managed only three, supplementing this catch with walrus hides and quantities
of fur (ibid.: 124). The "Ernest William", icebound near Cape Edwards, took 150 White Fox, 13 bearskins and 100 pounds of walrus ivory. The three vessels employed a total of seven boat crews during whaling season, employing 40 natives and their families (ibid.). An approximate census report on the Netsilik and "Ivilick" sub-groups at Repulse Bay and Lyon's Inlet is provided in the course of a police patrol to investigate the two Scottish vessels "Active" and "Ernest William", also in 1906. Interestingly, the constable describes the groups in terms of their affinities with the visiting whalers:

The Ivilicks may be divided into two tribes, the Scotch and the American. The Scotch natives were living nearer the ship, with the exception of some out hunting. The Americans had their camp near the Winter Island at the mouth of Lyon's Inlet...All the Ivilick natives with the 20 on Vansitland and nine at Fullerton...total 271.

(Sellers 1907: 123).

The demographic 'magnetism' of the whaling vessels, noted earlier, is attested to in such a statement, as is the tendency for Netsilik and Ivilick groups to be fairly closely juxtaposed as a consequence of the whalers' presence. Sellers also witnessed the arrival of some Iglulik natives, some 125 persons who previously traded at Pond's Inlet (ibid.). This would seem to validate the notion that trade relations with the whalers were quite well-established in the final years of whaling in this northwest coast region. It is notable also that the Iglulik arrivals came principally to trade furs. One year later, some sixty natives were encamped at Fullerton, mainly originating from the Chesterfield Inlet region, but also as far west as Baker Lake. Again the emphasis
is principally upon fur trading: 'Nearly every native brought in more or less fur and took back ammunition' (Donaldson 1909: 262). Captain Comer in the "A.T. Gifford" returned to the Bay in 1907 and moved the Ivilick from Repulse Bay to Fullerton and Southampton Island for wintering in 1908. This pattern of placing small groups of Repulse Bay and Wager Bay Ivilick upon Southampton Island for winter trapping had proved successful for Comer, yielding substantial fur returns in the winter of 1907 (ibid.).

Also notable in these final years of whaling, and far more grave in its consequences, was the apparent paucity of game, in 1907 resulting in "great destitution amongst the natives from Baker Lake north to Repulse Bay, and aid had to be given on several occasions to prevent starvation" (Moodie 1909: 271). This situation of scarcity, particularly with regard to caribou, stands in marked contrast to the abundance of southward-moving caribou herds in September 1906. Furthermore, it appears that the trapping of foxes in no way interferes with the country food quest at this time, for Joyce observes for 1908 - June 1909, that "fur bearing animals are reported as being plentiful at Southampton Island and Baker Lake, but the natives do not seem to hunt them very much". That same winter, traps at Fullerton yielded only six pelts (Joyce 1910: 262). Nonetheless, a considerable volume of furs to the Scottish whalers in Repulse Bay and the "A.T. Gifford" at Fullerton continued to provide an important adjunct to declining whaling results. By November 1909, it is observed that, "the bowhead whale appears to be now almost extinct in Hudson's Bay" (Starnes 1911:
Indeed, the whaling enterprise by the close of the first decade of this century reveals itself to be almost defunct, creating a potential trade vacuum for those linked to it:

It is doubtful if the United States whalers will return to the bay another year and the Scotch station near Lyon's Inlet is likely to be abandoned next summer (1910), in which case the natives will be entirely dependent upon the police for obtaining ammunition, in exchange for the product of the hunt.

(L.C. Starnes 1911: 251).

By the spring of 1910, the lack of trade possibilities north of Churchill is indicated by the arrival of some 20 natives from around Baker Lake at the Churchill Hudson's Bay Company Post, bringing "a considerable amount of furs" and stating that "they had not seen any white men in the north during the last couple of years" (ibid.: 257). Another party of eight men traded in from points north that same spring. To further limit opportunities for more northerly trade which existed in 1910, the Cape Fullerton R.N.W.M. Police report recommends that police discontinue purchasing furs. This recommendation stems from a desire to clarify to the Inuit the reasons for the police presence in the Keewatin, e.g., as agents of the law as distinct from the whalers or other traders. The Scottish schooner "Era" departed from the Bay in 1910 leaving only the "A.T. Gifford" the U.S. schooner by the winter of 1911. Attached to the "A.T. Gifford" during wintering at Fullerton were "a large number of Aivilingmiuts (sic) ... they assist in the whaling operations during the
summer and in winter hunt deer, walrus and seal on the floe" (Starnes 1912: 268). Notably, fox fur pelts have become the common coin of transactions, a number of Baker Lake natives pooling their resources to obtain a whale boat (ibid.). In the spring of 1911, some 230 White Fox are recorded in trade between northern natives and the schooner, the accumulation of two years trapping (Hayter 1912: 265). The latter officer notes an influx of "Kinepetus" (these being Qaernermiut), to Cape Fullerton, busy procuring dog food for the detachment there.

In conjunction with the observable decline of whaling and the disengagement of the R.N.W.M.P. from any trading activities, the Hudson's Bay Company made the first steps toward establishing a Trading Post north of Churchill, at Chesterfield some 20 miles up the south coast of the inlet in the summer of 1911. Father Turquetiel of the O.M.I. missionary order sounded out the possibility of establishing a Mission in the same vicinity that summer, and a Mission building was constructed the following year. This early juxtaposition of Mission and trade activities presaged the growing influence of both concerns at Chesterfield Inlet in the years that followed.

However, the "A.T. Gifford" continued to employ several camps of 'Aivillic' natives through the winter of 1911 and the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Chesterfield was far from being an instant success, as Starnes observes in the winter of 1912:

It appears that the company's new post at Chesterfield has not been very successful in trade so far, they have seen few natives except about forty, men, women and children, who are camped around them and not doing anything. Deer there have also been very scarce.

(Starnes 1913: 269).
However, the presence of the Company Post was sufficient in itself to draw into its environs all the natives formerly at Cape Fullerton (Demers 1913: 313). The winter of 1913 proved more successful in terms of fur yields for the Chesterfield Post with a volume of some 3,000 White Foxes traded. The microecological variation of country resources between that Post and the Baker Lake region is notable, Edgerton observing some cases of starvation at Baker and a general scarcity of caribou, despite an abundance of seal and walrus along the floe edge near Cape Fullerton. In this period of transition from whalers to traders, the importance of the whalers as a source of sustenance despite the lack of whaling success is noteworthy, the schooner "Albert" at Repulse Bay providing for "the whole band in that district" (Edgerton 1914: 324). Significantly, the previous winter (1912) in the absence of the "Albert", the same officer notes:

> A few families are at Repulse Bay, the remainder are all south, owing to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Chesterfield Inlet; this has now become the central place for all.

(Edgerton 1914: 327).

The presence of camps at Baker Foreland, Rankin Inlet and Marble Island is also noted as is the apparent success of the newly formed R.C. mission at Chesterfield. The polarizing influences of the Chesterfield Post and Mission are already observable, even at this early juncture. Ross comments on the major setback suffered by the Post in 1913, when annual supplies failed to arrive, an incident which "put them at a considerable disadvantage and embarrassed their efforts to establish good relations with the Eskimos" (Ross 1975: 73). Nonetheless, despite
the establishment of a trading base at Cape Fullerton by the "A.T. Gifford" and her winter presence at Marble Island, the vessel's trade returns were meagre (150 foxes up to January, 1914), and whaling efforts drew a complete blank (Edgerton 1915: 265).

The summer of 1915 saw the cessation of whaling activities and with exception of minor trade from the Fullerton based Post\(^2\), the whalers ceased to exercise any kind of influence upon trade, their departure being compensated for by the growing influence of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Chesterfield and two native traders acting on its behalf at Schultz Lake and Baker Lake. Inspector Beyts, reporting from the newly relocated detachment headquarters at Chesterfield, designated as Baker Lake Detachment, indicates a profusion of trapping and trading activities at the new Company's Post, with representatives of Padlimiut, Netchilliks (sic), Kinipity (Qaernermiut) and Aivillik (sic) trading in furs, albeit at greatly reduced rates in comparison to prices paid by the whalers, much to the chagrin of the natives (Beyts 1916: 267).

The transferral of fur trading activities from the whalers to the Hudson's Bay Company appears to have been carried out relatively smoothly, both Scottish and American enterprises confronting the realities of

2. During 1912, a free trader, Mr. F. Monjo opened a trading post at Fullerton, but this seems to have had a negligible effect upon the overall trade activity.
declining whaling opportunities and leaving the region by 1915. Given the periodic destitution in the inland region, and the fact that the increased human activity in the Chesterfield area seemed to disrupt the normal migration of caribou in this region, the Company Post fulfilled, at least, the important function of relieving destitution in the area. The transition to organized fur trading from whaling trade seems to have been a logical one, given the fur resources available and the vacuum which would arguably have resulted upon the departure of the whalers had the Company not entered the region. Ross, however, avers that the contact-traditional era which this move ushered in, (Damas' designation of the Fur Trade years) (Damas 1969), was a retrograde step in terms of the acculturative momentum set in motion by the whalers. Ross provides this useful postscript to the whaling era, observing that the population polarization and employment proved to be a most powerful acculturative thrust:

Because it created frequent face-to-face, personal, instructive, idea-exchanging meetings between Eskimos and non-Eskimos, employment had been a most important aspect of the acculturation process.

(Ross 1975: 137).

Ross further argues that the subsequent development of the Fur Trade with its accent upon trapping tended to reverse the population centralization of the whaling years with its "back-to-the-land" policy, a reversal which interrupted the acculturative influence of the whalers (ibid.). He concedes that the effect of this "interrupted acculturation will only be clearly understood through scrutiny of records of trading,
missionary, and police activities" and notes that, "this appears to be a useful line of future inquiry" (ibid.: 138).

3.2.2 The Inception and Goals of the White Fox Trade

The preceding section indicates the manner in which the Hudson's Bay Company seized the opportunity to expand their fur trading efforts into the Keewatin with the decline and cessation of whaling in the Northwest Coast region. For the final three years of the whaling presence, the H.B.C. found itself in competition with the few remaining vessels engaged in trade. The unceremonious departure of the whalers in 1915 left a clear field for trade in fur, with the exception of F.N. Monjo's Fullerton Trading Post, which was hampered by its location on the rocky cape and in a poor locale for fox trapping. The establishment of the Chesterfield Post, as noted previously, was marked by failure in supplies in the summer of 1913, but if R.N.W.M. Police reports are any indication, the impact of the Post along with the two-storey R.C. mission building was considerable, drawing away those people formerly camped at Fullerton sixty miles away, and attracting large numbers to within a 20 mile radius of the new Post (Edgerton 1914: 327).

3.2.3 Native Traders

Initially, the Company seems to have been reluctant to probe possibilities for trade in the interior around Baker Lake, preferring to hold back on the establishment of a further Post in favour of using two native traders, Ellenack and Kaumack at Baker and Schultz Lakes respectively. The latter-named trader is alluded to in reports of the
unfortunate demise of two White trappers, Radford and Street, in 1912, and is said to have died in January, 1914, at Schultz Lake. His powerful commitment to his employer seems to be reflected in this extract:

This man only accompanied Radford and Street from Chesterfield Inlet to Schultz Lake, but was at this time in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and I am informed, used his influence with the natives, endeavouring to stop them accompanying the white men, on their expedition, his intention being to have them remain in their respective hunting grounds, and obtain as many furs as possible, which it was his duty to collect as a native trader to the Hudson's Bay Company.

(Beyts 1971: 348).

Ellennack (also referred to as Eladenack) seems to have had a longer and more prosperous career trading on behalf of the Company. He traded initially from Chesterfield, then from Wager Inlet, receiving considerable advances (or debt in H.B.C. parlance) from the Company Post at Wager to establish a trade rapport with the Backs River natives. His sphere of activities also included the Baker Lake region in 1925. His method of trading might be described as "laissez-faire", operating with no set rates and gaining returns well above Post prices. Of the Backs River natives, the following is observed: "some of the men had made very rare trips to Baker Lake, but they generally obtained the few goods they needed from the trader Ellennack, getting well robbed in the process" (Petty 1926: 68). Petty enlarges on the activities of the native trader:

These native traders have no set rate. For instance they might trade a small trunk worth one fox (company price) for four. On the other hand, they might give a rifle from their trade
goods for a dog... The native trader loses credit as the other natives get in contact with the posts, for although the companies certainly do not overpay, a whiteman is, as a rule, an incomparably more generous man to deal with than a native trader. It must not be thought that the native trader...is altogether without good points. In bad years he will give away all his trade goods to the destitute, and although he is generally a bolder and more determined man than the rest, I believe he seldom tries to compel them to trade with him.

(Petty 1926: 68).

This policy of advancing large debts to mobile native traders marks the early years of the Fur Trade and continues into the 1920's. Ellennack seems to have been more than a match for his employers, absconding with a twelve hundred dollar debt in 1927, advanced by Mr. Brown, then manager of the Wager Inlet Post. Instead of returning that year, upon encountering the Backs River natives with whom he was to trade, he accompanied them to King William Island and returned the following year with only two pelts. Ellennack died in November of 1930, leaving an outstanding debt of $1,300.00. It should be added that this managerial strategy for capturing trade from the Backs River region was undertaken on the advice of the District Manager as a way of extending the trade north and west of Wager Inlet. If nothing else, it provides a graphic illustration of the difficulties of extending the trade without incurring the expense of greater numbers of Posts.

3.2.4 Extension of Trade

A number of years elapsed following the establishment of Chesterfield before the Hudson's Bay Company moved to extend its territory by placing new posts in the Keewatin. Instead, the Company
chose to operate extended trade through the use of outposts, satellites of the more established concerns at Churchill and Chesterfield. The outpost at Eskimo Point was slated for opening in 1919, an intention thwarted by the late delivery of goods by the steamer "Nascopie". The Post was erected and coal shipped in the following spring prior to the steamer's arrival.

Another outpost at Wager Inlet, a satellite of the Chesterfield Post, was in operation by the summer of 1920 (H.B.C. Annual Report, 1920: 76). A Post at Baker Lake situated at the mouth of the Kazan River on Big Hips Island showed its first returns for Outfit 1918 (1918-1919 fur season), with 112.88% of gross profit. At this time, these more northerly posts remained linked to York Factory, Severn, Trout Lake, Churchill and Weenusk under the heading "Nelson River District". The Post at Fullerton was acquired from F.N. Monjo of New York, along with the capable services of C.O. Cleveland, a former whaler and veteran of the region. Cleveland's knowledge of the Repulse area, gained while stationed with Scottish whalers there, came to be instrumental in the inception of the Company's Post there. On Cleveland's recommendation, the Repulse area gained an outpost in 1920, overseen from Chesterfield and located at Beach Point on the south side of Repulse Bay, some 300 miles by coast boat from its parent Post. Once again, a delay of one year was experienced as a direct result of late goods arrival at Chesterfield. Mitchell, the District Manager, explained the circumstances in the Annual Report of Outfit 1919:
The venture at Repulse Bay emanated (sic) from the purchase of Monjo's outfit and trading post at Fullerton. The first years trade conducted by Mr. Cleveland proved a failure and the inadvisability (sic; advisability?) of proceeding north was apparent and came into force in the Fall of 1919, but owing to the late delivery of goods at Chesterfield, and having to convey buildings north, Wager Inlet was only reached and a temporary Trading Post erected.


The District Reports from Outfit 1918 illustrate more comprehensively the reasons for the shift from Fullerton to Repulse: "Fullerton has not done so very well. The sales were only $1,723.00 and the net apparent gain $4,045.00" (DFTR/9 1919: 69). Information from S.R. Ford, then Manager of Chesterfield Post and from George Cleveland, served to depict the shortcomings of the Fullerton Post:

Cape Fullerton as an outpost from Chesterfield is an unprofitable and worthless proposition and is in no way extending the trade among the natives of the far north...the outlying Districts around Fullerton, owing to the rocky nature of the country, is entirely unsuitable for fur trapping, as it affords no breeding places for foxes.

(DFTR/9, 1919: 70).

Significantly, the Fullerton Post on the evidence of its own poor returns is actually recommended for closure because of the drain it represents on Chesterfield. Even at this embryonic stage of trade development, the integrated character of the network of Posts, and the need to maintain profitably an interlocked system of trade, is evident. Furthermore, the Company was acutely aware that, beyond mere casual fur returns, there was a pressing need to induce the indigenous people of the region to adopt a trapping livelihood. The possibility of large
profit was directly equated with the presence of potential trappers.

Such a perspective was instrumental in the decision to found the Repulse Outpost:

I am led to believe by Mr. Cleveland and various other persons...in the vicinity of Repulse Bay that large bands of Eskimos stretching from the Coppermine River to Repulse Bay have never yet come in contact with a Trading Post; so if those people can be induced to hunt and trade furs to the Company, which they assuredly will after they see all the goods we have to sell them, I think good large profits could be made, instead of the miserable show made at Fullerton last year.

(D.F.T.F./9, 1919: 71, my emphasis).

The writer goes on to dismiss the problems of transport across Rae Isthmus from Committee Bay with an ingenuous assurance of the inevitability of attracting such trade:

Anyway, if the natives hear that a Trading Post is in the vicinity of Repulse Bay, they would not mind travelling there to do their trading.

(ibid.: 72).

The commitment and enthusiasm of the writer does not conceal the underlying sentiment embodied in such a proposal; that the expansion and ultimate success of the Fur Trade enterprise is assured and that the inhabitants of the Keewatin will quite inevitably comply with such designs. Indeed, the following extract already assumes the inhabitants to be trappers:

Repulse Bay...is perfection in every way for the breeding of foxes, and what is more a practically virgin and untapped country owing to the natives...
having no market for their furs; so if those natives can only be induced to start in and trap, a large and successful business ought to open up in the near future.

(ibid.).

Almost as an afterthought, the writer mentions the problems of transport and supply to the outpost, which would rely on sail boats. Given the notorious ice conditions in the Repulse area, and the immense transport deficits incurred by the Nelson River District, it seems as if the glowing prospects of the new outposts have somewhat eclipsed the practical logistics of the fox trade in this early period. Transport losses for four districts indicate the immense difficulties of supplying the west and northwest of Hudson's Bay.

Transport Losses for Outfit 1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Losses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nelson River</td>
<td>$4,020.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Bay</td>
<td>$3,623.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labrador</td>
<td>$2,656.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>$1,345.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


District reports also note that cost of coal alone for Churchill and Chesterfield in 1918 amounts to $10,434., more than 12½ percent of the entire expenses for the District (D.F.T.R./9/1919: 67).

However, the drawbacks of transportation and fuel costs in these early years of expansion, when weighed against the considerable profits reaped at Baker Lake, Chesterfield and Churchill, seem almost trifling. The Baker Lake Post realized a 70 percent gross profit figure from Outfit 1919, a decline from 112 percent from the previous Outfit, but nevertheless, a substantial profit (D.F.T.R./11/1920): The Chesterfield
Post showed steadily increasing percentages of gross profit from 1917 to 1920. A brief perusal of Table I will attest to the growing potential of the White Fox trade and serves to show the chronology of northern post establishment. The steady increase in returns is achieved despite the presence of competitors, the principal of whom, the Lamson Hubbard Canadian Company, survived only two years 1921-1922, before folding.

To this roster of fledgling Posts can be added Coats Island, officially included in the Labrador District and supplied from Lake Harbour or Wolstenholme. Perhaps given the uncertainty of beginning yet another Post, it was decided to include Coats Island in a better established, lower-risk District, so that if it should fail to show good profits, its losses would be comfortably absorbed by its sister Posts and more easily accepted by those reading the District Reports. At any rate, the Coats Island Post was established in September, 1918, the beginning of Outfit 1918 (1918-1919), with a small portable house and store tent and four families, a total of six males including Manager Stewart and Clerk Edmunds. The following year, three additional families, induced to relocate from Lake Harbour, swelled the ranks. Initial returns of 306 White Fox were considered "a very good hunt" given the task of setting up the Post and exploring the Island (D.F.T.R./9/1919: 151). Scrutiny of the daily Post journals reveals these latter activities to have had little bearing on the

3. The presence of competitors, strategies adopted by the H.B.C. for dealing with them, and the impact of these events upon the Inuit will be dealt with in the following section.
continued attempts to trap foxes. Nonetheless, the District Report is highly favourable regarding the future of the Post, omitting to mention the problems of negotiating a featureless flat terrain in thick weather or the fact that "the island from end to end is like a Scotch peat bog" (B.404/1: 23). The abundance of bears on the island and their habit of robbing the traps is also overlooked. Instead, the game resources are emphasized, but with the proviso that only sufficient caribou for winter clothes be taken (D.F.T.R./9/1919: 154). Seal are said to be plentiful and walrus scarce. All in all, "the resources of the Island, however, are such as to make it an Eskimo 'paradise', and will no doubt prove a most profitable enterprise for the company" (ibid.: 155).

The above details and those which follow are given to balance the overwhelming impression of headlong progress into abundance and profit. Initially, it might be observed that, such an "Eskimo Paradise" is Coats Island, that it was uninhabited by the Inuit until the Company's 'induced migration'. A scrutiny of the journals from the Post from its inception in 1918 to its removal to Southampton Island in 1924, reveal the tendency for its fox populations to regularly perform a seasonal exodus over the ice to the mainland, and also indicate the extremely precarious carrying capacity of the island's country food resources. In the second year of trade at Coats Island, Outfit 1919 (1919-1920), the District Manager points out the disappointing returns in foxes, given the returns anticipated. Fox migration seemed to be

4. The presence of graves and houses attests to some former inhabitants but no estimation of the age of these remains can be attempted here.
the key to this failure:

The transient foxes, which come from the drift ice, seemed to have missed the island altogether this year, and only the "Native" foxes were obtained. This is very difficult to account for, and it will probably be several years before we are able to make a reliable forecast, as to the prospective season's hunt.


Heavy debts seem to have been incurred and the quality of foxes trapped left much to be desired in pelt quality. Annual fox yields rarely broke the 320 mark, and attempts to capitalize on the presence of whales around break-up time were marked by frustration and disappointment.

One comment by S.G. Ford, the Post Manager, in 1921, perhaps embodied the general sentiment felt towards the bleak little island by its new population: "None of the natives got any love for Coats Island. I expect it must be quite different from Baffin Island" (B.404/a/3/1921).

Quite different indeed, it turned out to be something of a white elephant for the Fur Trade, despite the enthusiastic projections which greeted its inception. In more detailed consideration of the ecological constraints of fur trapping, the reasons for the overall lack of success on Coats Island will be discussed. It remains here to point out that the early years of expansion did not always meet with unconditional success.

At Repulse Bay, Outfit 251 was also dogged by problems. The coast boat from Chesterfield was lost with all its cargo, giving the Repulse Post the dubious distinction of being the first outpost to go into operation with no buildings and little stock-in-trade. George Cleveland, a former whaler employed as Post Manager, wintered in the Fullerton
Police Barracks and traded some 320 fox furs. It is noted that "considerable starvation was experienced among the natives and in every instance relief was given to them by Mr. Cleveland but no deaths from starvation were reported" (D.F.T.R./13/1921: 108). This was hardly an auspicious beginning for the outpost which had come so highly recommended by Mr. Cleveland himself two years previously.

Furthermore, the extension of the trade in the Keewatin must be considered in the light of the more widespread expansion of the White Fox trade in the Hudson's Straits, Ungava and Labrador regions. Indeed, the gathering momentum of the enterprise is only intelligible when viewed as a facet of a larger, well-orchestrated Arctic campaign covering territory from Baffin Island to the east coast of Hudson's Bay and in the Keewatin from Churchill to Repulse and Chesterfield to the Central Arctic. The key role of the Keewatin Posts in this overall scheme of expansion should not be underestimated. As early as 1918, these posts promised consistent and increasing returns:

On the whole, including the outposts, Chesterfield did very well with regard to furs, it being the second best year on record. Baker Lake, since its establishment in 1916, has pushed ahead by leaps and bounds...she stands as one of the best paying posts in this District. Mr. H.T. Ford at Baker Lake is now getting in touch with natives from the Arctic coast, and I am led to believe that the country between Baker Lake and the Arctic Coast is an ideal country for furs, practically untrapped, so if those natives can be induced to trap furs, and trade them at Baker Lake, this northern post of the District ought to do well in the future.

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CHART III: NELSON RIVER DISTRICT: % of Gross Profit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>OT.1917</th>
<th>OT.1918</th>
<th>OT.1919</th>
<th>OT.251</th>
<th>OT.252</th>
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</thead>
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<td>39.96</td>
<td>57.77</td>
<td>35.55</td>
<td>72.34</td>
<td>91.64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Severn</td>
<td>135.06</td>
<td>245.62</td>
<td>320.04</td>
<td>149.43</td>
<td>152.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trout Lake</td>
<td>55.02</td>
<td>69.62</td>
<td>91.96</td>
<td>113.60</td>
<td>120.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchill</td>
<td>81.00</td>
<td>100.78</td>
<td>131.02</td>
<td>137.67</td>
<td>137.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterfield</td>
<td>114.01</td>
<td>116.73</td>
<td>95.70</td>
<td>92.57</td>
<td>147.70</td>
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<td>59.82</td>
<td>8.21</td>
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<td>40.19</td>
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*Figures from the White Fox Posts (underlined) reflect the cyclic abundance and scarcity of the Arctic Fox with peak populations occurring every three or four years. Factors governing this cycle will be examined elsewhere.

Such inspiring prognoses, combined with the growing returns of the other Districts were powerful indications of the immense possibilities of White Fox trade. This potential reservoir of wealth was realistically measured against the costs involved in expanding the White Fox trade, given the knowledge of the periodicity of large Arctic Fox fur harvests:

In white fox the record catch established in Outfit 1917 has been surpassed (by that of OT. 1918) but in the usual course of the cycle, it may be anticipated that a great decrease will be apparent in the present and next few seasons, which it is unlikely can be offset to any great extent by the returns from the new posts recently established in the western Arctic and being established in the Straits and Repulse Bay.


But, as will be seen in treatment of data dealing with competition, the H.B.C. possessed the formidable advantage of being able to withstand periodic lows in the fur cycle largely because of its activities on several fronts. The likelihood of failure in all regions for two or three consecutive years was practically nil, one District's failure easily
being weathered by the successes of others. It is to Ralph Parsons, the Labrador District Manager in the early years of the 1920's, that much credit is due for apprehending this situation and skillfully manipulating it to the long term advantage of the burgeoning Arctic trade the H.B.C. was engaged in.

Parsons' insistence upon continued expansion, his attention to, and breadth of knowledge of, the minutia of local factors influencing a number of different areas, and his eloquence in communicating his designs to his distant superiors render him, more than any other single figure, the grand-master of the Arctic Fur Trade. It was to Parsons' awareness of the integrated nature of the total Arctic Fox enterprise, the understanding that developments in Ungava or Hudson's Straits had a direct bearing upon the Keewatin, that much of the success of the White Fox quest is attributable.

Prior to any evaluation of competition at regional and local levels, some brief summation of the initial decade of trade is appropriate. Expansion of the White Fox Posts, although relatively rapid, was far from perfunctory. Transport and communication problems proved debilitating, but perhaps more acute from both the trader's and trapper's perspective was the apparent incongruity of trapping and simultaneously procuring adequate supplies of country food for both humans and dogs. Where country food failed to materialize, trapping could not be undertaken with anything like the commitment which the trader expected. The critical juxtaposition of trapping with traditional marine and terrestrial resource strategies was arguably the key to the ultimate viability of the White Fox enterprise. Even in those early years of the Fur Trade growth, it could be seen to
exert a powerful influence upon the returns of the trade. S.R. Ford, in charge of the Chesterfield Post during Outfit 1918, justifies a glut of stock thus:

My explanation for this increase of stock is that the natives around Chesterfield were in a starving condition all winter, and instead of trapping furs, they were hunting for country food, which, of course, we do not trade, and accordingly, as they were bringing very small quantities of fur, our sales were a way below that of the previous outfit's mark.

Baker Lake outpost...they had lots of country food and the natives were able to make a good hunt (of fur).


Considerable extension of debt and the generally poor fur returns are linked directly to the scarcity of caribou around Chesterfield, underlining the vital balance between hunting and trapping which is needed for successful fur harvests. This situation was exacerbated during Outfit 1918 by an epidemic of rabies among the Chesterfield foxes, a hitherto unforeseen (or, at any rate unmentioned) ecological constraint. Further incidents arising from this precarious balance between trapping and hunting will be explored later. The preceding information serves to illustrate how this dual resource strategy could have disastrous results for the indigenous people of the Keewatin, even at this early stage of Fur Trade development.

By 1924, the efforts and energies of the White Fox Posts had begun to bear fruit, albeit with tragic results in the Chesterfield District. For Outfit 254, (1923-1924), Eskimo Point remained under the category of 'Nelson River District", while the more northerly Posts were
grouped under the rubric 'Chesterfield Sub-District'. Eskimo Point, where a 50 percent decline in White Fox was anticipated, only showed a 29 percent decline, showing an average of 2,283 pelts per year, in the three years since its inception \(^5\) (A.R. 1924: 226). The possibilities of extending trade inland from this Post seem somewhat incongruous with the Chesterfield sub-districts' mass inland privations, noted thus: A serious crisis of starvation principally amongst the inland native tribes, indicated that the apparent tendencies of the business was towards a decline. Once again, the failure of country food resources militated against the trapping enterprise, this time with grave consequences:

The annual migration of deer which the native hunters are so dependent on for their winter's food supply and clothing, was an utter failure, and...practically the whole of the natives residing in inland districts were left in an extreme state of starvation throughout the winter and unable to hunt furs.


Ever-mindful of the economic goals of the White Fox trade; these being the extension and consolidation of the trapping enterprise, the same report points out the long-term consequences of the death toll, attributable directly and indirectly to starvation:

You will readily see from this, that if we are

---

5. Police reports note "Foxes are very numerous in the vicinity of Eskimo Point (in 1925) with only some 30-40 families trading into this place, over two thousand pelts have been secured" (1925 Patrol Report).
to safe-guard our future interests in the country, all possible care must be taken of our few remaining hunters, or else we will be faced with the problem in the near future of having no natives to trade with.


The implications of such a statement, even when couched in terms of the economic viability of a trade enterprise, bring home the onerous obligations of the White Fox enterprise for those embarked upon it, as well as the sometimes catastrophic consequences of resource failure. It should be noted that relief work by the different Posts probably averted further deaths amongst the inland natives, even if partly prompted by a need to protect an investment. White Fox collections, as compared to the bumper Outfit 253, reflect the events of the winter of 1924 quite clearly:

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<th>OT. 253</th>
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<td>2110</td>
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<td>1320</td>
<td>1167</td>
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It is all too evident that the ultimate success of the trade hinged upon the natural resources of the country, for even given an abundance of foxes, the returns from trapping and the wherewithal to engage in it, were critically linked to the availability of game. For the interior dwellers, the caribou comprised this fundamental resource base. Those people inhabiting the littoral were able to draw on seasonal marine resources, walrus in summer, seals in spring and summer and beluga also in summer. The maintenance of dog teams relied heavily upon fish and walrus. The requirements of some thirty-eight dogs by the
Police detachment at Churchill in 1914 totalled 2,000 pounds of raw dog food, representing a spring and summer of intensive commitment to the hunting of beluga, seal and walrus, by at least five, and as many as ten people. At the most basic level, the maintenance of dog teams was vital to the mobility of human populations and to trapping endeavours carried out from the various hunting camps. The whole intricate balance of human and faunal populations was evidently changed by the drive toward fur trapping. Although periodic famines punctuated the aboriginal hunting quest prior to the advent of the organized Fur Trade in the Keewatin, the implanting of the trapping enterprise upon the already fragile ecological relationships existing there, served to underline the delicate balance of the resource quest, arguably increasing the indigenous people's perception of dependence upon the intrusive institutions, particularly the Fur Trade.

The repercussions of the 1924 destitutions and the apparent incongruity of trapping and hunting are noted by R.C.M.P. observers in August of 1924:

The natives who live around the various trading posts will always be hard up; as they are employed to hunt fur and consequently do not get the opportunity to obtain a proper supply of their natural food and clothing.

I think that in the event of destitution amongst these "Post natives" that the Trading Company responsible for keeping these people from their hunting grounds for commercial purposes, should in future be asked to provide them with food and other necessities, instead of allowing them to become a charge on the government.

I mention this as I understand considerable supplies were given to destitute Eskimos at
Baker Lake, for which the Company expects the Government to pay.

(R.C.M.P. Report, August, 1924).

This whole issue is a key one in terms of the overall acculturative impact of the trade, for it links the most fundamental elements of subsistence with the changing sociocultural patterns of the Fur Trade years. The significant articulations of man to land, the investment of time and energy in the various aspects of subsistence (including the Fur Trade which clearly became an important subsistence strategy in its own right) and the cultural patterns which emerge from these areas, all represent important facets of the wider acculturation process. Moreover, the early years of the trade reveal, as indicated here, that this central relationship of ecology and sociocultural process was pivotal for both the traders and the Inuit.

3.2.5 Conflict and Competition

The drive toward extension of the White Fox trade was carried out on a number of regional or District fronts. The significant part played by key individuals, notably Ralph Parsons, has already been alluded to, and Parsons' contribution to the development of the trade will be examined here. Specifically, strategies for expanding and increasing trade in the face of opposition will be covered here, as well as information regarding the interconnectedness of the various District activities. The implications of the competitive nature of the trading companies should be considered not only as the internal politics and economics of those bodies, but in terms of their critical impact upon those people being encouraged and induced to become trappers,
the Inuit. The Fur Trade is notable for its willingness to treat not only pelts as resources, but trappers and hunters too, as human resources to be manipulated for the benefit of the trade and controlled with regard to their trapping activities and the subsequent transactions which these activities necessarily lead to. For the Hudson's Bay Company, it was imperative not only to inculcate the trapping mode of life, but also to ensure that the Company reaped the rewards of this new orientation. This, in part, explains the energy and commitment with which the H.B.C. pursued strategies designed to totally remove its opposition, or back it into a corner by permitting only a minimal portion of the trade to flow to competitors.

3.2.6 Competition

The Lamson Hubbard Canadian Company and Revillons Freres, Ltd., comprised the two organized trade rivals of the H.B.C. in the White Fox country. Lamson Hubbard made initial inroads into the Ungava region in 1920, chartering the steamer "Thetis" from Job Brothers of Newfoundland at considerable expense. From the outset, it appeared that any concerted opposition to the activities of L.H.C.C. would be immeasurably assisted by the remote locations and costly transportation logistics of supplying northern posts. Significantly, the H.B.C. attitude toward Revillons Freres, its other major opponent tended to be less overtly aggressive than the one adopted toward L.H.C.C. The logic behind these two tactically distinct policies is explained succinctly by Ralph Parsons, with regard to the Labrador District in 1920:
At Stupart's Bay and Fort Chimo, where Revillon Freres are our competitors, conditions are about the same as last season, the Company obtaining on an average, about 65% of the entire trade. As this concern has been established at these two posts for a number of years, our object is not to drive them out of business altogether, but to maintain the trade on its present basis, for with these only to contend with, we can, to a certain extent, regulate the trade, but if they were to quit, other concerns, whose methods of trade would not be so easy to overcome, would be sure to take it up.


Parsons is not, however, prepared to divide up the Fur Trade spoils in more than two directions, and while the policy of containment with which Revillons are held in check benefits the Company by blocking other less "gentlemanly" enterprises from moving in, a somewhat more aggressive tactic is suggested for the L.H.C.C. Parsons notes the establishment of an L.H.C.C. Post at Wolstenholme and the implications thereof for the Company's interests not only at the spot, but throughout the Keewatin:

It appears to me that there is every probability of this concern making good at Churchill, Chesterfield Inlet and Baker Lake, in which case as Wolstenholme is an open roadstead en route to these Posts, our fight there may be a very prolonged one.

(ibid.: 137).

Parsons proceeds to unfold his own strategy for countering and destroying this opposition:

If, therefore, Lamson Hubbard is allowed to have an acknowledged portion of the trade of the Nelson River District, and every effort at any cost, is not made by us to stamp them out there, our labours at Wolstenholme and other Posts in the Straits
will have cost its (sic) effect, as, were it not our objective to kill this opposition here, our tactics in dealing with them would be altogether different, and not so expensive. I would, therefore, urge upon the Company the absolute necessity of united efforts, with the same objective at all Posts where these people have established - Let us get them out of the North Country - the task is easy - and not be prepared to acknowledge that even a small portion of the trade belongs to them as it would seem at present.

(ibid.: 138).

Parsons' seeming vehemence is tempered by a calculating appraisal of the cyclic fluctuations of the Fur Trade, the broad-based corporate werewithal of the H.B.C., and the abundance of opportunity which he observes on the northern threshold. He notes the lean years for foxes expected in 1920 and 1921, observing the capital outlay on transport alone by L.H.C.C., an expense ill-affordable unless good fur returns are forthcoming, as firmly in favour of the Company (H.B.C.). The following extract captures well the aggressive posture which Parsons advocated if the Arctic trade was to succeed:

You need to get busy and hustle - Build subposts to cut off the Northern and Inland trade - Send the goods, and above everything, send real live men. By utilizing the means which the Company has at its disposal, you can not only kill competition in the North Country, but at the same time, in doing so, your trade in the vast country will be increased instead of decreased. ...The North Country is large and the opportunities are great. If we do not take advantage of them soon, someone else will. Then we must either follow at a disadvantage, or allow ourselves to be surrounded. We need to hustle and get busy and not take so long to make up our minds about it either.

(ibid.: 138).

Such urgent missives seem to possess something of the character of front-line military dispatches from an ambitious field general,
surveying the field of combat and rousing his more sedentary superiors with the vistas of possibility which exist if the campaign is undertaken as urged. Indeed, Parsons reminds his distant superiors that competition can only be successfully dealt with by allowing a degree of autonomy to those on the 'front-line':

We consider that in order to deal successfully with competition at these isolated posts, the Post Manager must be given as free a hand as possible, and not be tied down with so many restrictions from Head Office that he is unable to use his discretion and act on his own initiative. If a Post Manager cannot be trusted with such authority, he is not capable of managing his Post, and should be removed at once.

(ibid.: 149).

Parsons' grasp of the mechanics of the Fur Trade was perhaps unparalleled in the early Arctic endeavours of the Company. His understanding of strategy and his eye for an untapped resource was readily understood by his superiors in London and Winnipeg, if only in the immense profits realized during Outfit 1919 in the Labrador District which Parsons managed. With a profit of $345,555 (57 percent on the gross capital invested), Parsons concludes his report thus: "With this record, surely it is sufficient encouragement for the Company to develop any new territory offering any possibilities" (ibid.: 152).

The implications of Parsons' recommendations for scuttling the opposition were far-reaching. Lamson Hubbard Canadian Company were forced out of business by 1922 after a costly price war which saw an incredible escalation in pelt prices as the two rival companies vied for the catches of the Inuit trappers. It is evident from the District
and Annual Reports that the Company ruled its trappers most rigidly, to the extent that defection by trappers to rival enterprises was almost unheard of. More will be said of this control when examining policies dealing with employees. In this context, it is sufficient to observe that the tactics adopted by the H.B.C. for dealing with Lamson Hubbard proved most effective, for in 1921 the latter company folded, being unable to withstand the price war which the H.B.C. waged at all its Posts. Although the L.H.C.C. had taken the initiative in offering better prices for pelts as a way of luring away the trade from its rival, it soon became obvious that this strategy would cripple the newly-established (in the Arctic) enterprise. The Commissioner's Annual Report of 1921 indicates the L.H.C.C.'s inability to sustain the kind of buffeting the trade war entailed:

The Lamson Hubbard Company since the "Debacle" are operating on a very conservative basis indeed. Their Post Managers have now strict instructions to discontinue advances...They have been given a low purchasing tariff, with positive orders not to exceed the prices quoted. Naturally this great change in their method has disgusted the Indians and wholesale desertion of their customers is reported. I understand it is their intention to close their posts in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and to confine their operations to Peace River, Athabasca, McKenzie River and the Bay.


Information from the Arctic Districts indicates that the cost of preventing H.B.C. trappers from "defecting" was very great during Outfit 1920 (D.F.T.R./13/1921: 226). Considerable gratuities were lavished upon the trappers to "hold them from Lamson Hubbard" (ibid.), and at Supart's Bay in Labrador, some $5,900 was used for this purpose.
These consist of merchandise given to Eskimos to hold them, rather than let them go over to Lamson Hubbard at Wolstenholme. It is regrettable... for I fully believe that had a firmer stand been taken with the natives, they could have been held at much less cost, and although Revillons Freres were put to very much more expense than we were, to hold their natives, it is of very little consolation.


It is evident that the native trappers caught in this bewilderling economic cross-fire were at least temporarily able to reverse their customary situation of being beholden to the trader and his tariff. This situation is wryly observed as follows:

It cannot rightly be said that there was much competition for trade during the outfit, as there were very few furs caught, but, competition for native hunters was most active. Lamson Hubbard... offered all sorts of fancy and extravagant inducements to both Revillons Frere's hunters and our own... The natives certainly reaped a harvest the past winter from all traders, but, Lamson Hubbard suffered most...

( ibid.: 230).

The writer laments this period of extravagence primarily for its untoward impact upon the trapper:

The result of this sort of competition, viz., 'hold the natives at any cost' has had very deteriorating effects on the hunters, and it will take probably two years or more before they can be brought back to their pre-Lamson Hubbard condition.

( ibid.).

The plan of campaign, originally suggested by Parsons was a resounding success for the Company even given the expenses incurred. The overall cost of the Labrador trade amounted to $6,500 (D.F.T.R./
Without the presence of Revillons Freres this figure would have been greatly increased. The logic of Parsons' posture of containment of the French company is, in light of these events, quite sound. When considered in conjunction with the activities of the Keewatin Posts, the Labrador events attain an even greater significance, illustrating once again the integrated character of the White Fox trade, which Parsons had emphasized:

Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Company who established at all the northern Posts of the (Nelson River) District, have not been so successful in their first year's operations.

This is attributed to two causes, firstly and very fortunately, the scarcity of White Foxes and consequently no trade...and secondly their Post Managers being too eager and lavishing large debts among the natives, which mostly remain unpaid. Added to this, the non-appearance of their supply ship this year (1921) gives them a setback which...would deter them...therefore their venture so far has proved a colossal failure.

(A.R. 1921: 95).

Throughout the Nelson River District's Northern Posts, the rival company had slim pickings, the fortunate downtrend in fox populations heavily favouring the H.B.C. whose more solidly established and widespread empire was far better equipped to weather such lean years.

For the native trappers this was undoubtedly a period of confusion as well as temporary abundance, their services being sought with a vigour hitherto unknown. In the wake of this conflict, prices returned to normal levels with the H.B.C. and Revillons once again able to establish low tariffs, reduce advances or debt to the trappers and control and direct activities and recompense. The following extract
indicates the gentlemanly agreement existing between Revillons Freres and the H.B.C. as well as the self-assurance of the trader, once more firmly in command of business:

As was expected, great difficulty was experienced in getting the natives into anything like good working order, after last years extravagant dealings with them by our opponents and ourselves. They are now, however, content to think of last year as a pleasant dream, and when they fully realized that they had to pay for what goods they required, they settled down to hunt, and in most cases, did fairly well. The cooperation of our opponents, Revillons Freres, to attain this object made the task very much easier.


The foregoing illustrates the importance of Revillons Freres, nominally a rival concern, as economic allies of the H.B.C. It was in the best interests of the H.B.C. to allow Revillons an acknowledged portion of the trade, by reaching a consensus regarding prices to be payed and operating strictly by this tariff. This meant that sharp practices were eliminated and both concerns were not obliged to pay exorbitant prices in efforts to win over the clientele of the opponents. The same District Report cited above succinctly expresses the rationale behind this agreement:

We, having the majority of the natives, and both concerns seeing nothing to gain and everything to lose by fighting each other, tacitly agreed on the prices to pay for furs and the selling price of merchandise...This was the only reasonable course to adopt...it would be useless to attempt to drive Revillons from the country and make way for less scrupulous traders...We should acknowledge them as being entitled to a portion of the trade, and then come to terms as to prices, instead of both concerns continuing to throw away money, without
attaining any object.

(ibid.: 232).

Nonetheless, the H.B.C. capacity to supply certain merchandise which Revillons Freres could not, meant that there was a steady flow of Revillons' trappers coming over to the H.B.C. Much sought-after decked-in boats were traded to the trappers, but with the binding agreement that should the buyer go over to the opposition, he must give back the boat to the H.B.C. "irrespective of his having paid for it in full" (D.F.T.R./15/1922: 227). This binding rule meant the H.B.C. received the foxes in payment and secured the life-long services of the trapper buying the vessel. This leverage could have been used to remove Revillons from the Ungava District altogether, but this would have once again provided an opening for less honourable opponents.

In the Keewatin, a similar balance of trade prevailed, notwithstanding the H.B.C.'s attempts to gradually erode the trade of its opponent. When Revillons Freres established a Post on the west end of Baker Lake in 1924, the Company responded by shifting its Post to that locale from its original site on Big Hips Island, as Revillons were securing a lion's share of the trade from the Backs River natives who passed the west end of the lake before reaching the H.B.C. Post. R.C.M.P. reports from 1925 note the opening of an outpost on the Kazan River by the H.B.C. as an attempt "to cut off the trade south from Revillons" (1925 Diary: Chesterfield). At this point in time, Revillons operated only two Posts in the Keewatin, one at Baker Lake
and the other at Repulse Bay. Throughout the White Fox country, the H.B.C. pursued a policy of attrition towards its opponent, unwittingly or deliberately. Wherever Revillons were established, the H.B.C. Post maintained a consistent trade presence, securing at least half of the trade and usually considerably more. The reasons for this were, as far as the H.B.C. was concerned, its own superior organizational structure and its "straight business methods" (D.F.T.R./9/1919: 161). There is no concrete evidence to suggest that the H.B.C. dealings were any more or less straight than its competitor's, but a decisive factor must have been the element of control which the Company possessed over its trappers, particularly in Baffin Land where a binding contract existed for H.B.C. trappers. This issue of control of human resources will be returned to, for it seems to have been this element of power which ensured that transactions were consistent with the Company's interests throughout the White Fox country. At Repulse Bay in 1924, the prospect of Revillons securing a portion of the Trade generated by the annual trade visit to Repulse by Igloolik natives seems to have posed little threat to the Company's enterprise:

There is some possibility that news of their (Revillons Freres) having established at Repulse Bay will reach the Igloolik Eskimos, some of whom occasionally trade part of their furs at Repulse Bay Post, but having taken every precaution possible that these Eskimos do not come into contact with the Repulse Bay natives, I do not anticipate any interference with our Pond's Inlet trade from this source.

(A.R. 254: 373).
To counteract the possibility of the Revillon's Repulse Post attracting Igloolik natives who would usually trade into the H.B.C. Ponds Inlet Post, it was recommended that a Post be established at Admiralty Inlet, preventing any possible threat to trade in this area. This strategy is revealing in a number of ways. Firstly, it shows the importance of operating at least one or two steps ahead of the competition, the H.B.C. displaying an ability to predict possibilities and out-think its opponent prior to any actual trade contact. Secondly, it indicates the tendency for the Trade to spatially and regionally compartmentalize the human groups on whom it relied for furs, effectively circumscribing movement and directing local strategies by its deployment of Posts and the local directives and incentives of these Posts. If any possibility existed for contact between groups which might damage the well-being of the Trade, then one way or another, the groups would be relocated either by induced migration or by the Post Manager's recommendation of other trapping grounds in the area. The Coats Island venture, mentioned earlier, bears out the notion that where there are furs or prospects of furs and no trappers, then trappers will be imported. The extension of the trade thus hinged upon several interconnected factors: the availability of game resources, the presence of foxes, the activities of trappers, and in this context, the existence of competing trade agencies.

It should be noted that the methods of dealing with Revillons Freres in the Keewatin reflect careful tactical manoeuvering by the Company. The establishment of the Wager Inlet Post in 1924 was, in part, a direct response to the possibility of the Revillons' Baker
Lake Post gaining trade from the Backs River region. The Wager Post
to the north and the relocation of the Baker Lake Post to the Thelon
River mouth at the west end of the lake was intended to cut off
Reville's northern routes, the outpost on the Kazan River, meanwhile,
might annex the southern trade. Even given these measures, prompted
by Revillard's securing 50 percent of the trade at their two locations
during Outfit 255, the struggle to extend the Company's share of the
trade was a protracted one. By 1934, the Nelson River District
Report was able to note:

> We are steadily securing an increasing proportion
> of the fur trapped by natives who formerly traded
> entirely with Revillard.


One may note that increasingly the Revillard's enterprise came to
resemble its competitor, purchasing almost all of its dry goods from
the H.B.C. supply depot in Winnipeg by 1935. Unlike the H.B.C.
though, it carried a much greater stock-in-trade. This is reflected
in the White Fox returns secured by the rival enterprises during
Outfit 264 (1934-1935).

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<tr>
<td>Repulse Bay</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>1695 actual</td>
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Two years later, in 1937, Revillard Freres went into voluntary liquidation
and its assets, stock-in-trade and buildings were absorbed by the H.B.C.
Information regarding this event is conspicuous by its absence, records
and accounts reputedly lost by fire, and no further references to the
rival company after 1935 could be found in District or Local reports. The demise of Revillons Frere, who still possessed an acknowledged portion of the trade in the White Fox country, is as enigmatic as it is unexpected. The fact that the H.B.C. supply schooner was bringing in Revillons' supplies in the Keewatin in 1934 and that the major portion of the dry goods sold by that company came from the H.B.C. depot, hints at the possibility of a merger some time prior to the liquidation of the company. Certainly the Revillons enterprise was paradoxically responsible for the successful expansion of the H.B.C. in the north, for reasons outlined earlier. Arguably, the H.B.C. drive to extend their White Fox enterprise was partly stimulated by the rival concern's presence, and in the only concerted trade conflict the H.B.C. engaged in, Revillons emerged as unwitting allies.

3.2.7 The Character of Employees: Loyalty and Brokerage

Thus far, the inception and growth of the White Fox trade has been examined, with emphasis placed upon the integrated character of the total enterprise and the various implications of the regional interdependencies of the Trade. The processes and outcomes of competitive strategies have also been evaluated and some mention made of the intricate balance of factors upon which the Trade depended. At this point, it seems appropriate to examine the more elemental aspects of the Trade, to briefly depict the human dealings which characterized the Trade, the personalities and cultural contrasts of which the Fur Trade was comprised. These aspects of Fur Trade acculturation are just as vital as the broader macroscopic processes of Trade extension and competition.
Indeed, the daily face-to-face exchanges of individuals, their behaviour and attitudes (where these can be ascertained) represent at the most basic level, the realities of the acculturative contact in the Keewatin. Any attempt to render a comprehensive picture of this contact must examine the nature of the traders; their origins and perspectives, their motives for being in their chosen employment and the daily conditions of their lives in the north.

3.2.8 Hudson's Bay Company Staff

The successful undertaking of the northern trade required, at the local level, efficient and empathetic traders and clerks capable of working in an atmosphere of relative isolation, removed from the amenities of civilization. The demands of the Trade extended well beyond the carrying-out of trading duties, involving efforts above and beyond the 'call of duty'. Employment in the White Fox trade entailed a commitment not merely to an employment role, but to a manifold variety of tasks and roles. In many senses, to be a trader was to fulfill a vocation, devoting sometimes a lifetime to the service of the Company. It was this kind of sentiment and loyalty which was inculcated and most traders, in reflection upon their chosen career, still maintain a stoic loyalty to the company which hired them, and to the years spent in its service. The notion of pride in and loyalty to a company does not confine itself merely to the Fur Trade of course, but it may be observed that, as a manifestation of wider cultural attitudes, it springs from a particular circumscribed cultural milieu. The trader's image of himself may have varied greatly from person to person, but nonetheless,
it emerged from a set of cultural conditions and expectations.

Many of the young men recruited to service in the Arctic hailed from the lowland countries of Scotland and were initially responding to advertisements placed in newspapers such as the Aberdeen Evening Express. The H.B.C. quite deliberately sought to engage the services of young men from predominantly rural backgrounds, robust and earnest people, well acquainted with the spirit of the protestant work ethic, and often drawn by the romantic allure of service as a fur trader for such a reputable institution as the Company. The Annual Report of 1931 notes, with regard to the recruitment of new clerks:

We advocate the selection of young Scotch (sic) lads of 18 or 19 years, not older, of rugged constitution, from country sections, with a fair schooling, instead of the type of more highly educated lad of careful upbringing who was supplied during the past three or four years, and who is not so well fitted for the all-round work and conditions applying at most of our posts.


Evidently, the kind of lads the writer had in mind would be prepared to endure the privations and isolation of the traders' situation, and be bright enough to grasp the principles of accounting and invoicing required to run a trading Post. A period of apprenticeship lasting five years was mandatory, after which time the individual would be expected to demonstrate his ability to work on his own initiative and successfully act as a full-fledged trader or Post Manager. Financial renumeration was hardly an attraction, wages being low, a drawback explained to new apprentices as follows:
1. A bonus system was in operation whereby in good fur years staff were able to share in profits.
2. A pension scheme allowed for in the salary permitted retirement at sixty years old on half pay for life.
3. Board and lodging, travel expenses were at the Company's expense.
4. Personal supplies might be purchased at reduced rates.
5. As apprentices, a trade was being taught for five years and salaried too (Milne 1975: 9).

The employment contract might be described as watertight, and was tough to the point of being indigestible to all but the most committed potential apprentices (See Appendix 2). A former trader communicated the following recollection of his own apprenticeship, emphasizing the importance of learning not only the mechanisms of the Trade, but the building of a rapport with the trader's counterpart, the Inuk trapper:

I was apprentice clerk for five years during my initial service with the H.B.C. and during that five years was transferred to four different locations to widen my experience. This was a training period in which all clerks were expected to learn the Eskimo language and to spend time at their camps to benefit by such experience and to prepare us as future traders with responsibilities to the Eskimo as well as to the H.B.C.

(Nichols 1980: 2).

The fostering of positive sentiment towards the indigenous people of the Keewatin (and elsewhere in the Arctic) was as much a priority as the need for employees to identify strongly with the goals and character of the Company. Former Arctic traders consistently and volubly express the
warmth and admiration with which they regarded the Inuit. If the term 'paternalism' has come to possess certain perjorative connotations in Arctic acculturation literature, it should be balanced by the genuine sincerity of affection which often existed between trapper and trader, manifest as a kind of symbiotic paternalism and expressed in terms of the protective and guiding behaviour shown by trader to trapper and no less by trapper to trader. The empathetic responses of one to the other emerged from the very real concern for the continued survival and well-being of both parties in a material sense, in instances of deprivation and famine, and in a social and cultural sense to some extent, whereby the cultural traits of the Inuit were viewed as profoundly rational and quite perfectly attuned to the necessities of existence. Some sense of the abiding reciprocity which governed relationships between the trader and the trapper is communicated by Nichols:

What was the relationship between the Eskimo and the Trader? - There was mutual respect and understanding. The Eskimo felt responsible to some extent for the Trader in an environment over which he, the Eskimo, was supreme. He helped the Trader learn his language and made every effort to instruct him in hunting, fishing and trapping and in the other skills of living in an environment foreign to Southern standards.

(Nichols 1980: 5).

Other traders reiterate this essential tutelage flowing from the Inuit to their 'visitors'. W.A. Buhr recalled, with some amusement, the care and protection afforded to a rather incompetent member of the clergy in the Ungava District:
There was one old boy up there, really he must have been brilliant, he had a Ph.D., but he was still stupid. He really was, but he had a heart of gold. He would do the darndest things. If there was a wrong way of doing it he would do it. It was a treat to watch the natives look after him and they looked after him just like a kid. They really did keep a sharp eye on him because they liked him and he liked them.

(Buhr 1980).

The essential point here is that the survival of trappers and traders not to mention the survival of missionaries and police depended upon the protective attitudes of the Inuit. The trader's relationship was enhanced by his capacity to also function as a protector of the trapper. Nichols indicates that the rudimentary medicinal and surgical supplies of the trader saw regular use by a grateful native clientele in the treatment of serious gunshot wounds, broken bones, lacerations and a multitude of minor ailments. The culturally valued respect ascribed by the Inuit to those who possessed the power to cure and heal cemented a very fundamental bond between Inuk and trader, especially those places where organized medical services were non-existent. This aspect of the acculturation process is highly central to the course of events as a whole, the influence of medical care delivery being a critical factor in Arctic acculturation.

The foregoing discussion of the observable rapport between trapper and trader foreshadows more detailed analysis of their relationship materially and socioculturally. It serves here to illustrate the gravity of the task undertaken by the trader and the breadth of activities which circumstance and necessity thrust upon him.
3.2.9 The Image and Reality of the Traders

The Hudson's Bay Company trader was thus ideally a 'jack-of-all-trades'. In addition to the valuable medical services rendered, his activities were expected to cover a spectrum of other needs arising from his relationship with the Inuit. The following sketch of the trader emphasizes his overall importance, not merely his interest in the trade:

Our interest in the welfare of the native takes the practical form of attending to his material needs and endeavouring to keep him in his natural state of honesty. The Post Manager is the guide, philosopher, and friend of the entire community; he is not merely a trader, solely bent on making a profit; he is also dentist, doctor, lawyer, counsellor and minister. He is the last court of appeal in all matters and his decision is the law. The progress made by the native depends on the intelligent interest in his welfare taken by our staff. An active, alert Post Manager who studies his natives and is conscientiously interested in their daily life...can accomplish more real good than any other agency. Most of our men realize their responsibility toward the native and are whole-heartedly doing their best to help the native in every possible way.


For every individual trader to shoulder a task of such Herculean proportions, and to perform consistently in all of these various roles would have been almost impossible. The preceding statement should, therefore, connote the ideal image of the trader rather than the universal reality, taking into consideration the need for the H.B.C. to actively propogate this universal and benign image of the Post Manager.
The passage also provides an interesting glimpse of the H.B.C.'s own perspective upon acculturation, whereby the directives of the Trade are equated with the "progress made by the native" and ensue from the endeavours of the trader rather than from a veritable interchange of viewpoints and activities. Previous theoretical material focused upon the acculturation process as ensuing from transactions between interest groups, but notably between key individuals with decision-making power. The image fostered by the H.B.C. of the trader as the 'stage manager' of change also emphasizes the entrepreneurial qualities of the trader, his capacity to direct change or 'progress', and reflects the core cultural values, integrity, judiciousness, and altruism which the trader possesses.

The stylized character rendered by the H.B.C. also augments a view of the trader as the undisputed leader in matters of Inuit welfare, conveying an impression of omnipotence whilst throwing into low relief the activities of all other agencies present in the Arctic. This is not to suggest that the H.B.C. personnel were not, for the most part, earnest and energetic in attending to the best interests of the Inuit, but these 'best interests' certainly emerge as the considered interests of the Company, not the purely philanthropic desire to enhance 'the progress made by the native'. Guided rigidly by the economic imperatives of the Trade, which were his raison d'être in the Arctic, the trader could not indulge in idle altruism. However, by projecting such a posture, some of the harsh criticism directed at the Company by the public and the Missions in the light of the so-called North West Territories
controversy of 1925, might be deflected.

The essence of the controversy was that the H.B.C. was exercising an altogether too powerful control over the inhabitants of the Northwest Territories and encouraging the indigenous people to adopt a lifestyle inconsistent with their natural modes of living and hunting, accusations which the Company vehemently repudiated, but which came from the higher echelons of the N.W.T. governing body, and were fuelled by the observations of the Anglican Missions on the east coast of the Bay. This episode will be attended to in due course, in consideration of the decision-making process and policy formation of the various agencies and the government. In this context, it indicates the need for the Hudson's Bay Company to vindicate its activities and strategies, through emphasis upon the trader as a figure of integrity and multiple responsibility, and upon the Trade as a vital factor in the overall well-being of the Inuit.

Certain other aspects of the trader's position remain to be clarified. As indicated in earlier theoretical discussion of brokerage, the trader possessed aspects of the role of both patron and broker. His remoteness from the seat of policy formation rendered to him a considerable degree of autonomy in terms of his ability to direct the activities and recompense of a population of trappers. The perception of the indigenous trapper was coloured by the seemingly vast material repertoire at the disposal of the trader, his unquestionable authority over his subordinate, an apprentice clerk, and his capacity to advance debt or withhold it. It was tempered by the observable reality of the
trader's own subservience to his superiors, whose annual visits coincided with the presence of large numbers of Inuit at the Post awaiting the arrival of the supply ship. Furthermore, when fur tariffs rose or fell, the Post Manager might communicate such fluctuations in terms of his brokerage role pointing out that such were the expediencies of the Trade and were not his own decisions: "Well, we just told them that the Big Boss said that the price has to go down or up. That's it" (H. Voisey 1980).

Far from weakening the position of the trader, this juxtaposition of patron and broker roles arguably reinforced the trader's power. His abilities in the material realm, to advance debt and provide merchandise, to supply medicine and sustenance, were undisputable, yet he could not be called into question for his activities because of his subordinate position in a larger, externally controlled organization. Counter-balancing this element of power though, was the fact that the Post Manager's own security of tenure and economic livelihood was intricately tied to the success of his own Post and the state of the trade generally. The buffetings of the Depression years and the down-trend in the fortunes of the White Fox trade, although geographically distant from the trader, were immediately felt by him. All salaries were cut by 10 percent in 1931 (Milne 1975: 188). The anxiety which is seen to accompany poor fur years in the Post journals and the relief and exuberance which greet bumper fur yields are intelligible, not only as the demonstration of loyalty toward the Company, but as the personal responses of employees. The obvious consequence of this
personal involvement in the well-being of the Trade is the thorough and total commitment of the Post Manager to the successful operation of his Post, a commitment which, in turn, invariably guided the trapper's activities and the deployment of his energies in pursuit of the White Fox. Essentially, this affected the stream of information passing from the trader to the trapper, making it quite imperative for the Post Manager to imbue his customers with an increasingly positive attitude towards trapping and some sense of the urgency of the need to increase returns. Social and cultural patterns which did not mesh well with the Trade, or in some way hindered its progress, had to be addressed by the trader. The influence of the trader thus pervaded not only the material, infrastructural realm, but the totality of the Inuit culture. Furthermore, where the influence of other agencies present threatened to undermine the trader's priority, this too had to be countered, and this sometimes uneasy juxtaposition of goals and motives will be examined in due course.

3.2.10 Relations with the Inuit

The preceding discussion of the character and roles of the trader provides some insight into the cultural and economic position of the trader as well as his motives and priorities. The extent of his involvement in many aspects of Inuit life is apparent, and consequently, his potential as an agent of widespread change. It is not intended though, that the trader should be considered in isolation, and efforts have been made to articulate the nature of the economic and other bonds which developed between trapper and trader. Drawing on substantive documentation
from Post journals, District Annual Reports and R.C.M.P. observations, the complex ties between the two groups will be explored here.

3.2.11 Indigenous Employees and Brokers

It will be recalled that theoretical material introduced earlier (pg. 133) identified the existence of indigenous brokers employed by the intrusive agencies in the Keewatin and postulated a significant role played by these individuals in the transactional process which characterized contact. Initially, it should be observed that documentary evidence tends to substantiate the key role which indigenous brokers occupied. Although a spectrum of interpersonal relationships obtained to the individual brokers, employees and traders, the composite picture which emerges from this web of relationships supports a view of the indigenous broker as a critical element in transaction, in the realm of sociocultural change, and tangibly in the observable receptiveness of the Inuit towards a more attenuated resource strategy in which trapping came to occupy a pre-eminent position. Moreover, the model 'types' purported in theory are readily identifiable amongst the brokers who emerge in consideration of the data, although it is understood that the tripartite framework advanced (pg.100) cannot purport to cover the lexicon of behaviour and exchanges which brokers spanned.

Mention has been made of the mutual need to build a *modus vivendi*, an initiative readily taken up by the trader, but necessitating cooperation and communication on behalf of trappers. Information from the Wager Inlet Post reflects the significance of native Post employees in establishing this rapport. The intention of the Wager Post was to
secure the trade of the Backs River people working from the head of the Inlet over the height of land to the Backs and Hayes River District. Post Manager Thom at the newly established Post is most ably assisted in this undertaking by Wager Dick and Samson, two Post natives. Wager Dick, it should be noted, was for some time prior to the inception of the Fur Trade in Keewatin, a key employee of the whalers. Like John Ell, an Aivilick referred to by Ross (1975), Dick had acquired a considerably fluency in the English language, and through extensive employment and contact with the whalers had become familiar with the directives of trade in such an employment role. Wager Dick's linguistic abilities and his familiarity with employment and trade relationships earmarked him as a considerable asset to the Fur Trade enterprise. Given the considerable population of Inuit trading at Wager Inlet from the time of its establishment in 1925, Wager Dick's presence, with the skills he possessed which the Fur Trade valued, and the esteem of his peers for his traditional skills as hunter and Shaman, provided a very essential bridge between the Post Manager (who was not initially accompanied by an apprentice) and the Inuit. An initial head count in 1925 reveals at least eleven families on the Post or nearby at Kauminallo Lake or stretched along the Inlet within 20 miles 6 (B.492/a/2/1925).

Dick's continued presence as interpreter during trading, and during the engagement and severance of temporary employees during unloading of supplies, is notable. More significant is the observable helplessness

6. Samson, Sik-Sak, Dick, Tommy, At-tuk, Sitox, Pupic, Pa-Pa, Keeluk, Kaffee, Koming, and families, some 50 people at a conservative estimate.
of the Post Manager in such situations as a result of his limited,
or possibly non-existent knowledge of Inuktitut:

Natives Sik-Sak and Keemalliarjook with Dick as interpreter had their accounts explained to them as they are no longer needed at Post.

(By.492/a/2/1926: 16).

By the second year of trading at Repulse, Dick is the de facto "boss" of the local natives with a multitude of responsibilities at the Post. McHardy, the Post Manager, consistently calls upon his services to explain the nature of trading accounts to the growing population of trappers. It is significant too, that Samson and Tommy (two names that hint strongly at some contact and familiarity with the whalers) also occupy important positions with regard to the business of the store. Dick distinguishes himself with excellent marksmanship as the single largest provider of caribou and seal at the Post and turns his hand to an unending variety of Post chores, including the building of kitchen cabinets, the making of trade counters and the repair of the stove. Dick, Samson and Tommy, along with Dick's adopted son Sutoxi, form the nucleus of the Post-oriented natives and are engaged in a gamut of chores and activities, as well as acquitting themselves admirably in the provision of country food. Also notable is the fact that Dick's two wives are also a most useful asset to the running of the Post, preparing game and sewing deerskin clothes for Clerk Brown in the autumn of 1926. The interdigitation of traditional tasks and Fur Trade ones is affected without any noticeable conflict or disjunction.

In the course of mechanical repairs and maintenance on the Post's snow
tractor, it appears that an increasing range of technical skills are also acquired by the Post natives, notably Dick and Samson. Also notable is the growing rapport which develops between Dick and the Post Clerk Brown, who often hunt and trap together and usually take charge of trading, Dick acting as interpreter and invariably being the first to engage in trade and social exchanges with any strangers trading into the Post. This pairing of Clerk with the Post Broker seems to be consistent with the Company's policy of fostering an understanding of the Inuit by the prospective Post Manager, and is a good illustration of the dual flow of acculturation which Nichols pointed out earlier (Nichols 1980, see page 215) as being so fundamental to trade relationships.

Wager Dick, from this evidence, provides a vital link in communication. Not only was he initially responsible for attracting the Backs and Hayes River people to the Post in the winter of 1926, but upon the non-arrival of these people the following year, it is Dick, along with Samson and the Clerk, who is dispatched to seek them and succeeds in bringing them to trade.

The Post journal from Wager Inlet reveals but one perspective of Dick's position there. An R.C.M.P. patrol report from 1931 provides another glimpse of Dick, identified by his "real" name:

At Wager Inlet Post I found conditions a little different to what I have been used to seeing as far as their personal liberty is concerned. Native "Kumukshalik" rules the rest with an iron hand. He is Post Servant for the H.B.Co. and has two wives, by virtue of which he is looked upon by
the rest of the natives as being a big man. To illustrate his dominance, I mention the following incident.

(R.C.M.P. 1931: 6).

Constable McCormick goes on to indicate how his sewing gets re-routed to one of Dick's wives, and how Dick takes fox carcasses (for dog feed) skinned by the Constable's employee, for his own use. He notes how visiting natives "always put up there" at Dick's snow dug-out, which by 1931 has become a wooden and tar paper construction. Such observations suggest that Dick, in his capacity as Post Servant, has consolidated his own position at Wager, exerting influence among Post natives and visitors alike. It is notable that Dick's two wives not only bring him esteem among his fellows, as McCormick notes, but provide valuable services for the trade, cleaning foxes and acting as seamstresses and, in general, contributing to the overall needs of the Trade. This tends to enhance Dick's value as Post Servant and reinforces the autonomy of his brokerage role by rendering his services more indispensable to trade operations.

Not all the H.B.C. Post Servants were able to manipulate their circumstances with the aplomb of Wager Dick, consolidating their position and extending the need for their services over such a long period. The comparative isolation at Wager Inlet and the relative lack of influence of other qallunaat agencies may have contributed to the degree of autonomy he possessed there, for it seems that at Chesterfield, Padley and Eskimo Point, although the service of a core group of Post natives was employed, no figure of similar stature emerged. At Repulse Bay, Johnny, Mad-Eye
and Poojoot remained in the orbit of the Post, carrying out the same kind of hunting and odd-jobbing roles as Dick, Samson and Tommy at Wager over an extended period. However, at Chesterfield Inlet and Baker Lake, there seems to have been a rather higher turnover of native personnel. Destitutions in the Baker Lake and Chesterfield regions often had the affect of throwing formerly land-oriented families onto the Post, at least temporarily, and these individuals, although they functioned as Post personnel, should be clearly distinguished from those who chose to adopt the role of Post native, such as Wager Dick at Wager Inlet and Mad-Eye at Repulse Bay.

3.2.12 Contracts of Employment

As mentioned earlier, in the context of Fur Trade development and competition, it was imperative for the H.B.C. to establish increasingly binding relationships with populations of potential trappers in the range of their several Posts. Native brokers on the Post served to facilitate, from a sociocultural perspective, these growing liaisons, by demonstrating the advantages of close association with the Trade in terms of material well-being and prestige. These more acculturated figures, who also preserved the integrity of their traditional cultural origins through skills in hunting, trapping and generally providing, arguably served the interests of the trapper and trader in their brokerage capacity, but served also in a 'public relations' capacity for the Trade by their continued service to the Post. Nonetheless, the Trade had certain other more formal mechanisms of ensuring continued commitment to the Trade on behalf of its trappers. Formal contracts which existed were not highly profiled, but veiled and direct reference to such contracts
throughout the documentation, reinforce the notion of the control which the H.B.C. was able to exert over its trappers, even those not formally employed at the Post. The contracts referred to here in Baffins Land became common in the Keewatin also, fortifying the H.B.C.'s position of strength in dealing with trappers and competitors alike:

Our chief protection in Baffins Land is that all our natives are under contract to work for the Company only, and for this we pay them a nominal figure of six dollars to each hunter, and of course, allow him to trade his hunt. While this may not be considered legal, the Eskimos being wards of the Government, it is binding to the Eskimo as he considers he is morally bound to fulfill the obligations as stated in the contract.


This contract ploy seems to have solidified bonds with trappers and prevented any opposition from gaining a large portion of the Trade. Despite the dubious legality of this situation, it is noted that "no amount of persuasion would convince our natives that they are not morally bound to fulfill the obligations" of this life-time agreement (ibid.: 145). When R.C.M.P. reports note the existence of such a contract in 1925 at Southampton Island, the official government response is that the Eskimo is a free man and entitled to enter into such contracts as please him (R.G.85: 1925). The utility for the H.B.C. of a binding contract securing the lifetime services of a trapper is plain, and indicates the element of power possessed by the trader in his economic transactions with the Inuit. This is reflected in the distinction made by an R.C.M.P. officer in 1926:
Few natives are living in this locality (Rankin Inlet, four of them are in H.B.C. employ and on rations. The remainder are free natives, who only visit the trading post twice a year and live entirely in the country.

(R.C.M.P. Patrol 1926).

The H.B.C. policy of contracts, and the formal employment and rationing of certain families, foreshadows a situation of somewhat greater dependency, material and psychological, upon the Trade. Through trapping contracts and employment of key individuals at Posts, as well as the provision of weekly rations to several Post-oriented families, the H.B.C. was able to closely guide the activities of an increasing proportion of the population and direct their energies toward the pursuit of furs. A further element of control characterizing trapper-trader relationships, and especially apparent in the early years of the White Fox trade, was the H.B.C.'s widely-held assumption, often acted upon, that induced migration to areas of fur abundance was in the best interests of the Trade and the Inuit.

3.2.13 Migrations

The Coats Island episode has already been mentioned and reflects a more widespread tendency to ship families and groups of families to quite unfamiliar locations for extended periods of time. Such moves were rarely the product of a dialogue between trapper and trader and were usually moves undertaken unilaterally without too much thought for the potential trapper or his regional and extended family commitments. The interests of the Trade were paramount, yet the people upon whom its success depended so much were invariably viewed as human resources whose
humanity was scarcely considered, at least at the District level of policy formation. In the context of Trade conflict with the L.H.C.C. outlined earlier, this attitude of rigid control was particularly apparent:

If by any change there should be an unfaithful few natives, or any of which we are not absolutely sure of (sic), these will be transported to good hunting grounds where they will be inaccessible to our opponents. Added to this, with our new Post at Frobisher Bay...we will have all our natives under our direct supervision, so that they cannot go astray even if they were (sic) inclined to do so.


In the Keewatin, a similar pattern of control and induced migration prevailed in 1924 when Southampton Island's population of trappers was drastically increased. This was in response to mainland privations during Outfit 254 and points to a basic misunderstanding of the carrying-capacity of the Island given the failure of resources on the Island in 1926, a failure which forced an emergency supply trip to Repulse Bay that year:

From five families living on Southampton Island last winter, I obtained over 300 White Foxes.... in regard to food resources the Island was considered ideal and starvation conditions unknown. In view of the hard period of starvation...on the mainshore, and the depressive effect these conditions have on the Fur Trade, I have induced about twenty families belonging to Chesterfield and Repulse Bay Posts to take up residence on the Island...I feel assured that these twenty families which comprise more or less the best hunters of Chesterfield and Repulse, will show a good return for our investment in this new venture.

"Transhipping Natives to Southampton Island, S.S. Bayeskimo", Hudson's Bay Company Archives - DFTR/19 fo. 430.
"Baffins Land Men", Hudson's Bay Company Archives - DFTR/19, fo. 428.
"Lake Harbour Eskimos", Hudson's Bay Company Archives - DFTR/19 fo. 428.
"Skinning White Whales", Hudson's Bay Company Archives - DFTR/19 fo. 432a.
Effectively, this represents a real increase in population of some 80-100 people. Ford, the Post Manager, notes in April 1925, "we reckon we have 135 people to feed" (B.404/a/3/1925: 239). Even given the abundance of game and fur, (a point substantiated by employed police natives as being true at least in the 1900's, prior to the epidemic which decimated the Sadimiut inhabitants of the Island), this must have placed a good deal of stress upon the resources of the Island.

Given the fact that at least some of the new residents on Southampton Island had endured the Coats Island situation, an undue dependence upon the Post is perhaps understandable. The Post Manager attributes it to poor discipline, however:

This continual run to the post is an entirely new departure to us. It would appear that some of the natives have been pampered or mishandled at some time or another.

(B.404/a/1925: 226).

April of 1925 revealed further drawbacks to the migration strategy when some 135 people descended upon the Post to trade, all of whom needed feeding. A further unforeseen consequence of the ad hoc populating of Southampton Island was its unfortunate juxtaposition of two distinct dialectal sub-groups, the Aivilick as well as the Lake Harbour natives formerly on Coats Island. A feast was held: "We thought it would bring together the two tribes, as there was sort of a bad feeling among them". The winter of 1926 provided indications that resources in the south of the Island around Cape Low were far from abundant, the idiosyncracies of the ice conditions resulting in a 15 day enforced fast for one family.
and widespread deprivation at three other camps (ibid.: 255). Families at Cape Kendall and Native Point continued to suffer from lack of seal, walrus and caribou well into the spring of 1926 when it became clear that an errand of mercy to Repulse Bay was needed.

As in the case of Coats Island, considerable privations arose from the decision to relocate groups of individuals. The lack of country food resulted in heavy dependence on store-bought goods and despite the relatively good fox harvests, there were continuing incidences of starvation at East Bay, Cape Kendall, Munn Bay, Native Point and Cape Low. Those people in the vicinity of Duke of York Bay were more fortunate and took advantage of the opportunity to cross to Repulse Bay and obtain debt at the Revillons Post there. The privations experienced at Southampton Island demonstrate the folly of regional policy when implemented at the local level without adequate information at the outset.

To expect that on the basis of 25 year old recollections of abundance on the Island, it could comfortably support an 80 percent increase in population without serious repercussions, suggests either extreme optimism or carelessness in policy formation. Notwithstanding the ecological consequences of this induced migration, its effect was to increase both material and cognitive dependency upon the Post and the Trade in general. Quite naturally, in times of country resource failure, the population of trappers linked to the Post saw it as their sole recourse for sustenance. The Post Manager thus found himself in the position of having to give out foodstuffs without making major trade gains. Such debts resulted in the long-term dependency of the trapper.

7. Fox yields were also supplemented by other tradeable items such as walrus hide, inuit, and sealskins and jar seal skins (December, 1925, NUNAVUT INDIAN DEPARTMENT, 1927, P. 51).
upon the Post. According to the individual Post Manager and his willingness to advance debt, it might have been relatively simple to obtain necessities or it may have presented a major obstacle. In the Southampton Island case, the failure of country resources was evident and debts were extended swiftly wherever required, in the mutual interest of trapper and trader.

The individual Post Manager was not always as flexible as this, however, particularly in situations where conditions of deprivation were not immediately visible. This necessarily affected the relationship between trapper and trader, which might easily be changed by the unwillingness of the Post Manager to advance debt perceived as essential by the trapper. In such circumstances, it is evident once more that the reciprocal nature of transactions between Inuit and the H.B.C. is unequally weighted, firmly favouring the trader. At best, the exchange is one of directed reciprocity with the advantage falling squarely on the trader's side of the ledger. More than directed, it is dependency-oriented in both good and bad fur years. In good years, the trapper is encouraged to take out merchandise equal to the value of his pelts. In poor fur years, he is obliged to seek debt to kit himself out for the following season. This imbalance of power between trapper and trader is used in the best interests of the trade, whose strict organization and accounting rarely allowed debts to remain unpaid.

That the trader possessed the power to dictate terms and direct activity is clearly indicated in an incident occurring at the Padlei...
Post in the interior of Keewatin during the summer of 1937. A number of hunters who trade at Padlei came in during August for their autumn outfit advance. However, the Post Manager who was due to be reassigned refused to advance any debt until the arrival of the new Manager. Instead, he advanced small quantities of tobacco and ammunition, arguing that the presence of some 600 caribou in the vicinity warranted no other debt. Rather than deviate from "the book", he resolutely resisted the requests of the trappers for their fall advances. A further sixteen natives from camps west of Padlei meant a population of some twenty-five trappers around the Post. Although their presence was irksome to the Manager, he held out, yielding only the authorized minor advance "for reliable hunters", until the new Manager arrived on September 1st.

The episode attests to the rigidity of Company policy regarding debt and reveals the Manager's own power as a broker. This capacity to withhold debt or make discrete advances to certain favoured individuals also characterizes other Posts. The Southampton Island Manager displayed a similar resoluteness in refusing debt to those individuals he felt undeserving of it. Confronted with a message that a trapper was starving, he responded:

As for the hunger he has no one to blame but himself, as he has ammunition, a rifle and the seals were up on the ice every day. He will have to "paddle his own canoe" now, because we have nothing to give him.

The significance of such encounters for Inuit and trader relations in general is that the quality and nature of transactions was predicated to a very great extent upon the individual judgement of the trader and his interpretation of the intractable polices of his company. If this suggests that traders were arbitrary or despotic, it should also be borne in mind that whilst he possessed the power to extend or withhold such debts, his own interests and those of H.B.C. were best served by a healthy and happy trapper. The problems of increasing trade returns but not creating a total dependence and orientation to the Post had to be reconciled. All things considered, the trader could not but help to increasingly orient the trapper to the Post, particularly in times of scarcity. To refuse debt or relief was to alienate a carefully cultivated clientele.

3.2.14 Relations With Other Institutions

Whilst the preceding information has been examined largely in terms of trapper and trader relationships, the influence of other intrusive agencies must also be considered, for the burgeoning ties and the growing control which the trader's relations reflect were no less evident in the activities of other institutions, notably the Missions. For the Missions, the indigenous people of the Keewatin were prospective Christians of one denomination or another, rather than trappers. For the R.C.M.P., the Inuit might be trappers or Christians, or both, provided they obeyed the laws of the land. Yet, given the fact that both the H.B.C. and the Missions envisaged the Inuit as human resources but had their essentially separate goals and strategies, there
was inevitably friction between these agencies, with certain consequences for the Inuit of Keewatin.

3.2.15 The Missions and the H.B.C.

The possibility of a conflict of interest between the H.B.C. and the first Roman Catholic Missions of the Oblate order, which were established on the heels of the Fur Trade Posts at Chesterfield and Eskimo Point, was acknowledged as early as 1925. The Anglican Missions, although present on the Bay's East coast and at James Bay (where the Reverend Walton had urged government rather than Fur Trade interest in native well-being), seemed largely supportive of the Company's goals. It is noted by the Company that they "have readily supported us in our endeavours to improve our trade, and thereby incidentally, to improve the condition of the natives" (D.F.T.R./21/1925: 38).

On the other hand, the influence of the R.C. Missions was envisaged as potentially dangerous to the Hudson's Bay Company in the long term:

While doubtless, the missionaries influence on the present generation is negligible, it would in time become a very important factor. Little time is being wasted on the adult population, it is on the children that the missionaries are concentrating all their efforts, and there is little doubt that the coming generation, upon whom we will be dependent for our trade twenty years hence, will be almost entirely Roman Catholic, and subservient to the missionaries.

(ibid.: 39).

The same report notes not only the local missionary influences, but the attempts of Monseigneur Turquetil, the senior ecclesiast of the Oblate order, in the region, to wield influence with government, attempting to relocate Churchill natives so that they would be removed from the
influence of the Anglican Mission there (ibid.). As though to signal
the onset of what was to become a protracted interdenominational
struggle, Bishop Dewdney expressed resentment of Roman Catholic
intrusion in the Bay. Customarily, this was Anglican territory
and Dewdney voiced the intention of combatting R.C. influence among the
Inuit (ibid.). This also marked a change in H.B.C. policy which
hitherto opposed the establishment of two Missions at one location on
the grounds that it would "lead to confusion and disagreement among
the natives". From hereon in, the H.B.C. would provide identical
transport and supply facilities for the Anglican Missions as for
Roman Catholic Missions, placing "no obstacle in the way of the Anglican
Mission in its desire to extend its territory".

The impact of this antagonism between the two Missions at a local
level meant that where two Missions were represented, social activities
amongst the traders, missionaries and R.C.M.P. were often charged
with tension. Nichols puts it this way:

At Eskimo Point where both missions were
represented as well as the R.C.M.P. and
the trader, social activities were not common
to all. The R.C. missions considered the
trader, usually a Protestant, as opposed to
them, even though H.B.C. policy was to treat
both missions equally in all respects.

(Nichols 1980: 3).

Visiting patterns noted in Post Journals tend to substantiate Nichols'
recollection of this uneasy social situation. The fact that the first
language of the R.C. missionaries was usually French contributed to the
kind of social and cultural detachment which characterized R.C. missionary
and trade interchanges. Despite their skill in learning Inuktitut, it seemed somewhat strange to the traders that the missionaries who spoke very limited English should exert such a profound influence upon the Inuit. Needless to say, the implications of such a situation were not lost on the local inhabitants, "a sensitive people and fully aware of the relationships of the white people in each community" (ibid.). Invariably, the violent opposition of two faiths both claiming to be Christianity, caused bewilderment and discord among the Inuit.

For the H.B.C., the Missions were a source of consternation primarily because the growing Christian religious sentiment among the Inuit often clashed directly with the directives of the Fur Trade. Whereas the trader required the trapper to be on the land except when trading furs, the Missions encouraged observance of religious services and festivals. The conflict of interest foreseen by the 1925 report became a reality. According to one former trader:

"Well, just the way they worked it, they had to come in on their feast days, whereas we would like to see them out trapping. But the feast day would come and the natives would just flock in."

(Voisey 1980).

However much interests might have clashed with regard to the scheduling of time and activities of the Inuit, as trappers or parishioners, it is pertinent to note that the H.B.C. and the Missions both seem to have achieved their goals with regard to the trade and the dissemination of organized Christianity. The activities and influence of the Missions
will be examined more closely in the following chapter.

3.2.16 The H.B.C. and the Mounties: The Nature of the Rapport

There is an old Fur Trade epigram intended to convey the status quo of all three gallunaat institutions in the Arctic. First the trader, then the missionary and then the police. The essence of this maxim is that the mountie was obliged to keep the peace between the first two interest groups. The data suggests at least a grain of truth in this, to the extent that the R.C.M.P., and before them the R.N.W.M.P. often functioned in a conciliatory role. The genuine conflict of interests existing between trader and missionary did not tend to mark the trader's relationship with the police. However, in the initial years of the Trade, there was a suggestion, borne out by facts, that the large supplies of the police detachments were being used to engage in surreptitious fur trading. Such activities were largely confined to Pangnirtung, Pond's Inlet and Lake Harbour and commented upon by the ever-circumspect H.B.C.

Regulations forbid any government employee acquiring more than six pelts in any one season, but this privilege has been flagrantly abused. Large quantities of trade supplies were shipped to northern detachments year after year nominally as rations...but actually to purchase furs for the private gain of the personnel.


This unofficial competition was finally scotched in 1932 by the new inspector of the R.C.M.P. who seized some 566 White Fox, which were bid for and purchased by the H.B.C. for a "satisfactory profit" (ibid.: 23).
A further bone of contention for H.B.C. was the comparatively lavish treatment received by police-employed natives, who obtained supplies at wholesale prices through police stores and were given large rations and high wages, as distinct from the more spartan renumeration given to Post natives. This practice of high police salaries, it was argued, threatened to bring into being a "preferred class of native" (ibid.: 18). In 1932, wages for police servants were lowered to standard rates and payed through the Trading Post at usual trade prices. An R.C.M.P. Patrol Report from the Eskimo Point area in 1925 had its own comment upon such prices:

The natives here appear to be industrious but like all other Eskimo in this district, on account of the ridiculously low prices paid for pelts secured by them and the excessive prices they have to pay for whitemen's food and clothing, they can but remain poor.

(R.C.M.P. May, 1925).

While not always as overtly critical of the H.B.C. and its activities, the R.C.M.P. observations provided a consistent monitoring of the trader's doings, a watchdog role which was not always favoured by the H.B.C. Nonetheless, the R.C.M.P., in the pursuit of the best interests of the natives while being comparatively un-selfinterested, performed a valuable range of tasks including the monitoring of movements and locations of the Inuit, checking game and fur conditions, relaying information on destitutions to the trader, taking the census and carrying mail packages. Later they were charged with the authorization of relief payments which the trader would verify or draw their attention to in cases of justifiable need (Voisey 1980). The H.B.C., for its part, was ever
watchful of the activities of the R.C.M.P., as the preceding examples illustrate.

Perhaps the single most critical issue and the one paid most attention to by the H.B.C., was the appropriate utilization and distribution of country food resources by the R.C.M.P. The R.C.M.P., in turn, took pains to ensure that both trading companies and the Missions not only exercised deliberation in the management of resources, but did so in a manner consistent with the N.W.T. Game Regulations. Given the vital role of country resources for dog and human food, considerable anxiety hinged not only upon its successful procurement, but equally upon its equitable distribution, so that no one institution was being favoured above others. This whole issue of country resources often became a most acrimonious one, with certain agencies vociferously challenging the management and distribution of resources. The government physician at Chesterfield in 1930, Dr. L.D. Livingstone, wired his superiors to the effect that:

A serious situation existed among the white and native population along the Hudsons Bay Coast (west) as a result of shortage of dog feed and destitution amongst the natives; that many walruses were wrotting (sic) away and only police and Roman Catholic Mission Dogs were allowed to feed upon them.


This telegram follows police seizure of walrus carcasses and an H.B.C. boat used in the walrus hunt at Mistake Bay. The H.B.C. responded by

8. Relevant sections of the N.W.T. Game Act, the Fur Export Ordinance and regulations for the protection of game are included as Appendix 4.
informing those natives involved in the walrus hunt to avoid Chesterfield Inlet at ship time (annual supply visits) and to ignore "whatever action the police took" (R.C.M.P. 1930). The Chesterfield Post Manager, S.J. Stewart also instructed the boat used, although officially under seizure, to be destroyed by the Mistake Bay outpost Manager.

This sequence of incidents emerged directly from police action in enforcing game regulations, but the inflammatory point seems to have been the subsequent confiscation of the walrus and the fact that local hunters and trappers were denied access to them. R.C.M.P. reports refute this suggestion categorically, indicating that although the officer in charge was given instructions to give the meat away to those in "sufficient need", few natives came to Walrus Island looking for it. This is not entirely surprising given the obvious ill-feeling generated amongst the members of the White community by the walrus hunt and the chain of events emerging from it. Those people trapping on Walrus Island reportedly pointedly avoided using the fifty or so carcasses strewn within 1½ miles of the island proper, trapping around them until the close of the season. In defence of their actions, the R.C.M.P. argued that no cases of destitution had been observed, but then neither had loss or wastage of valuable resources been prevented. The whole incident created an incredible furore, the H.B.C. maintaining that police action was unwarranted and pointless, and the police arguing that the incident was being inflated by the H.B.C., certain of whose personnel used it to deliberately besmirch the police reputation for personal reasons (R.C.M.P. Report, 1930).
The seriousness of the episode as an indication of the factional quality of institutional interchanges is notable. More significant is the confusing impact which such squabbles must have had upon the indigenous inhabitants. The annual walrus hunt, coordinated by Missions, traders and police, was one of the more critical events of the overall resource quest. The hides were tradeable, but the meat provided essential dog food which was vital for mobility in the summer and fall caribou hunt, as well as in trapping. That the incident was possibly used as a vehicle for settling old grievances against the R.C.M.P. is quite lamentable, but no less regrettable is the more obvious squandering of valuable country resources, ironic in the extreme if one considers that the N.W.T. Game Act was ostensibly to protect such resources.

Hudsons Bay Company interchanges with the police were not always characterized by such incidents, and for the most part efforts were made to maintain good working relationships and an atmosphere of mutual trust between the two agencies. The walrus incident does reflect though, the powerful sentiments which marked the resource quest not only for the Inuit, but for those qallunaat institutions with a vested interest in its effective management.

3.2.17 Alternative Resource Strategies: Trade Diversifications

The Hudsons Bay Company, while attempting to expand and develop the White Fox Trade in the Keewatin, was also fully aware of the limitations of focusing solely upon this precarious and fluctuating resource to the exclusion of other resource possibilities. A range of other fruits of country resource quests was available and presented the H.B.C. with
with the potential for other marketing enterprises. Significantly, many of these alternatives might be used to mobilize those indigenous people unable to trap or otherwise support themselves. The energies of these individuals could be usefully diverted to other profitable activities without interfering with the Fur Trade. Moreover, such persons who would normally necessitate the issuance of relief rations might become self-supporting. District Reports from Outfit 255 (1924-1925) provide a comprehensive outline of this resource plan and its advantages and drawbacks:

At all our Northern Posts there is a number of natives, who, for one reason or another, are unable to provide for themselves, and who are dependent upon either their relatives, or the Company, for part or all of their support. Among these are the old and feeble, cripples unable to hunt, and widows and children. During seasons when the hunting is good, these people are cared for by their relatives and friends, but, for a considerable portion of each year, they have to be assisted either by being given work, or, being gratuitously relieved by the Company. To meet the requirements of these people, and to avoid, as far as possible the necessity for issuing relief without exacting some return for it...the beginning of our minor industries sprang. The greatest handicap in developing these industries, however, has been in finding markets for the products. It is only now, after years of soliciting that we have found a profitable market for Eskimo Sealskin Boots...Now we have a demand of about three thousand pairs, at prices that yield substantial profit, and I have every confidence of this market extending steadily for a number of years yet.

While this industry, in itself will provide work for the dependent women at a number of our Posts, there are other Posts where the lack of material prevents its development and we are
forced to find other means of employing them. Among the articles which can be made at our Posts by men and women are:

- Sealskin Boots, Sealskin and Deerskin Mitts,
- Dressed Sealskin or Deerskin Clothing in Eskimo Fashion, or made to special order, Ivory carvings, Snowshoes, Woven Grass Baskets, or Table Mats, etc., Native hunting implements, full size or miniature, various varieties of Skin Floor Mats, or Automobile Rugs.


The direction of such local activities, the potential for which was observed by District Managers, once sanctioned by Company policy makers outside of the Keewatin who assessed the marketable potential of such suggestions, often became the prerogative of external management. The direction and management of the "Industries for Permanently Destitute Natives" (ibid.), whilst having important ramifications at the local level, was thus the product of both local and external decision-making. The acculturative influence of this localized mobilization of resources derives, at least in part, from exterior approval of such schemes.

Local suggestions, routed to higher management, result in regional policy decisions with repercussions back at the local or Post level of activity. It is significant to note that those individuals involved in the schemes have been effectively excluded, for various reasons, from the pursuit of trapping and, although the report refers to traditional sociocultural strategies for supporting these people, the implication is clearly that new H.B.C. resource strategies will undoubtedly change such traditional patterns.

The capacity of the H.B.C. trade to direct and guide resource and other subsistence activities is most evident. The implications of regional
and overall market trends for the activities undertaken at local levels is notable. The relationship between trapping and hunting becomes a carefully guided one, directed by external market strategies, as well as by the expediencies of local resource populations of fur and other resources:

As is customary in a year when White Fox is plentiful, shipments of White Fox showed a decrease compared with Outfit 263, it being more profitable both for the Natives and the Company to handle White Fox skins than Seal skins. When the present season of plenty passes the natives must, however, look to the seal to provide their needs and the collection of ordinary Jar, Silvery and Whitecoat Seals will again turn upward. At market prices now obtaining in London, viz. 45¢ for Salted Sealskins, $1.31 for Whitecoats and $1.36 for Silvery Sealskins, a very large number of skins is required to provide a considerable volume of trade.


This information tends to reiterate tendencies shown in other material presented, for the H.B.C. to often structure local and even regional acculturation by reference to widespread economic imperatives and according to external market considerations and goals. The above extract indicates that London prices effectively direct Keewatin sealing emphasis if the Company is to achieve projected economic returns. Despite the comparative value of seal and fox skins, the Commission’s reply to District Reports urges that natives be encouraged to always return seal skins, although less remunerative than fox pelts, to the Post, as "they all add to the revenue of the Post and of the people" (F.T.C.R. 1935: 668).

The ability of the Trade to influence a complete range of local
activities is further attested to by attention payed even to the energies of individuals in "off-duty" hours:

The natives are being encouraged to work Walrus ivory into small articles which can be disposed of at a moderate price to tourists and others visiting the Fur Purchasing Agency and local Posts. Most of the efforts of the natives are as yet somewhat crude and unattractive, while their more ambitious attempts take a great deal of time in completing and it is difficult to realize prices which justify the labour and care involved.


The Company was invariably swift to recognize the commercial potential of a variety of activities. The above reference to 'scrimshaw' or ivory carving and the negligible value of more ambitious projects is an ironic foreshadowing of more recent acclamation of Inuit art. The Company's priority was commercial exploitation though, rather than aesthetic or artistic value.

On occasion, policy decisions made at local level and formally approved at higher levels, resulted in somewhat singular acculturative contact, as in 1925, when four Keewatin natives were taken to Outpost in Newfoundland as part of a crew complement of the H.B.C. supply steamer "M.S. Fort Chesterfield". Four natives were also relocated to Pagwa, Newfoundland, by the Revillon Freres trading concern, to continue work on a vessel badly ice-damaged in the spring of 1925. After much deliberation upon the implications of removing a further four from the Keewatin for almost a year, involving communication between the Commissioner of the R.C.M.P., the H.B.C. Chesterfield sub-district Manager and Deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs, the
request to take the crew to Newfoundland was approved. The H.B.C. reported regularly on the situation of the four men, who were obliged to leave their families behind them (R.G. 85 File 8670 Vol. 871). Reports suggest that pains were taken to prevent any untoward contact with White society:

We realized that the further away from civilization we could keep the natives for the winter, the better it would be for their health and we arranged to have them employed at Outpost in Newfoundland cutting core wood. They are isolated from white people and are working under one of our own employees Samuel Voisey who speaks their language fluently and who has lived among Eskimos all his life. Their work is not hard...their hours are not regular, and they can have whatever time they wish for hunting fresh meat for themselves.

As regards training the natives at something which is likely to be of value to them on their return...I do not think that such a thing is possible, but I shall be pleased to have any suggestions that you care to offer.

It appears that H.B.C. policy was to effectively exclude the transported Inuit from adverse contact with the outside world. Revillons Freres adopted a similar posture noting that, "it has been our constant endeavour to keep them from all influences which would tend to unsettle them in the life at the Post" (ibid.). However, the Revillons' employed natives were employed assisting in the building of scows and a small schooner at Pagwa, a fact which found favour with the Department of Indian Affairs officials:

Ships carpentry, or any other manual training should be of great value to these people, and we are glad to know they are acquiring even a slight knowledge of the English language. If they could be taught habits of personal cleanliness, and learn to recognize the value of sanitary modes of living
this would also be of benefit to them.

(ibid.).

The H.B.C., perhaps having some information regarding the favourable reaction given to Revillons, noted in its next monthly report that their natives "compare very favourably with the ordinary white man, in carpentering, boat building and repairing; they having learned this from our established Posts" (ibid.). The same report notes the English language skills of two of the four H.B.C. natives and stresses that every attempt will be made to teach the other two the English language. The impression rendered by the two separate sets of reports is that the competition between the two firms and the desire to ensure that official reaction is favourable makes the whole incident of transportation to Newfoundland one in which each company strives to achieve successful results for its "laboratory" acculturation experiment. Reports follow the progress of the venture from initial requests for permission, to R.C.M.P. reports on the well-being of the seven natives who returned to the Keewatin after their sojourn on the outside (one of the H.B.C. crew, native Mike, died in St. Johns of tuberculosis following an influenza attack) (ibid.). The Revillons natives were reported in good health, following their years' absence from their homeland. The H.B.C. natives, and the widow of the deceased Mike, were also reported to be doing well, trapping in the Chesterfield vicinity following their return.

The temporary relocation of the boat crews was a singular example of subjection to external acculturative contact. It stands as one of
the only available examples of such translocation during the Fur Trade, although groups were shifted within the Eastern Arctic, notably from Baffins Land and the Ungava to the Keewatin, to undertake trapping. Reports from both companies emphasize the fact that the transition back to a traditional environment was achieved without undue stress.

The relocation experiment and the diversification strategies employed at local and regional levels both serve to illustrate the breadth of acculturative influence which the Trade stimulated in the Keewatin, even apart from the inculcation of a trapping mode of existence. The more direct local implications of acculturative contact with the Fur Trade will now be examined.

3.2.18 Ecological and Spatial Impacts of the Fur Trade

Prior to the inception and development of the Fur Trade, the resource quest of the Keewatin Inuit was patterned by the seasonal availability of a variety of country resources, with an emphasis upon caribou hunting and fishing in the interior and a more broad-based marine mammal hunting and caribou focus in the littoral area. Welland notes a seasonal oscillation of human groups from inland lakes in Southern Coastal Keewatin to the coastal margin in spring and summer (Welland 1977: 85). Human movement was closely attuned to the migration of the caribou in spring and fall in the interior, while coastal peoples focused on seal hunting and fishing in spring and summer. The littoral region provided a much greater scope, for caribou caches provided a degree of insurance against the failure of other enterprises in this area. Ice break-up brought renewed hunting of ringed seal and walrus in the
southern coastal region and whales were pursued along the entire coast.

The development of trapping brought a number of changes in the resource strategy undertaken, which will be more extensively examined in the course of reviewing more widespread changes which accompanied the presence of traders, missionaries and police. Initially, it may be stated that the directive of trapping, which gained increasing momentum throughout the 1920's, served a two-fold purpose in the Keewatin. Superimposed upon the annual seasonal subsistence quest, trapping served to deflect attention from the former primacy of hunting. Simultaneously, it rendered the need for hunting much more critical, but focused attention upon its various elements, caribou and walrus particularly, in a far more compressed seasonal framework. Because the successful quest for White Fox hinged so acutely upon the equally successful accomplishment of hunting endeavours, an immediate ecological result was the accentuation of hunting pressure within relatively restricted areas and shorter time constraints.

Despite the H.B.C. back-to-the-land emphasis, a notable spatial centrepetalism becomes apparent in those areas where Fur Trade Posts established. This may be intelligible as both a cause and consequence of pressure upon country food resources, particularly in the interior regions where fishing and caribou hunting were the basic elements of subsistence. Psychological and material dependency upon the Post as a source of sustenance, medical care and as a rendezvous for separated groups seems to have been, at least partly, a consequence of limited country resources and the fact that trapping consumed time in which energy would formerly have been more seriously committed to

9. In Chart III, Pg. 194, this kind of cultural-ecological process is hypothesized as representing certain aspects of acculturation.
the quest for food. Without this former focus of energies on country resources, survival became a much more precarious business altogether. Counterbalancing this situation was the knowledge that furs could become food, given a reasonable proximity to the Post.

Movements in the vicinity of Wager Inlet bear out these general observations. Those few Backs River natives who traded at the Post became briefly drawn into the spatial orbit of the Post. The majority continued to rely mainly on winter fishing on Hayes and Backs Rivers, supplementing this with caribou when available, and visiting the Post annually for trade. Those closer to the Post took up residence within 60 miles of it (an average trap-line length) and concentrated on the resources of the Inlet and trips to the floe-edge for sustenance.

Two possible spatial patterns thus emerge: a growing population of trappers in the immediate vicinity of the Post, and a less captive, more autonomous land-based population who, for reasons of distance and security of resources in their own area, make only one or at most two trips per annum to the Post. The Post Journal for 1926-27 notes, in March, 1927, that all natives trading into this post are camped at various places along the Inlet with the exception of two Backs River natives, three days north of the Inlet. By this year (1926-27), the total number of families trading into the Post has increased to around 18, and, in contrast to some 20 visits to the Post by 11 families in 1925-26, approximately 80 trips into the Post are made in 1926-27. The pattern of resource utilization reflects a marked pluralism: seals and caribou are pursued in June, seals and fish during the annual fish
run in July and August, caribou once more during the autumn with fishing as a supplement, and sealing down the Inlet. Winter reveals a catch-all strategy with sealing, caribou hunting (sporadic), and a predominant emphasis upon fur trapping. With the cessation of trapping, caribou hunting in the spring is undertaken with more concerted and serious energy. Notably, the intensive netting of fish in late summer is geared directly to the trapping enterprise as is seal netting through the summer, the products of both (fish and oil from sealing) being cached in barrels for winter bait and dog food. The lack of Trade from the Backs River area in 1927 and 1928 is explicable through a number of factors, primarily a scarcity of caribou in the region and the poor condition of dogs, as well as the relative newness of the Post at Wager. A concerted trade drive involving an overland journey by Post staff and servants is rewarded by the appearance of 17 Backs River people during 1929-30. The relative abundance and scarcity of country food seems to be mirrored in the frequency of trips made to the Post with only meagre fur catches, by those natives in the orbit of the Post and camped at various points down the Inlet and at Kaminalow and Tessyooyak Lakes. In 1926-27, a relatively high number of trips was made by those close by and no appearance by the more distant Backs River natives, a pattern consistent with the lack of abundance of resources, primarily caribou, in both regions. It is unfortunate that the Post Journals do not provide a more accurate picture of game resources at the more remote camps north of the Post, but nevertheless, a detailed picture of localized resources is provided through description of the
successes and failures of the Post hunters and those close by. Another aspect of the ecological balance in the Inlet is revealed in the consistent presence of wolves and wolverines along the Inlet traplines. In one instance, a bear is identified as a trap robber (some 120 miles up the Inlet). The scavenging of predators, particularly wolves, occupied a great deal of time and energy for the trappers and Post staff. The investment of such efforts is a direct product of the importance of the trade and during trapping season, most other subsistence activities are pursued as part of the larger directive of trapping. However, this may be only a reflection of the Post Manager's priorities rather than an accurate statement of the hunter/trapper's activity. In this regard, it is notable that whenever caribou are in the vicinity, trading is never lingered over, but is done swiftly to allow for an immediate pursuit of nearby game:

Kaffee and Sic-Sac's boy came in tonight, after they had a feed they traded right away and intend leaving tomorrow as deer are plentiful around their camp, only coming in for cartridges as they had run out of same.

(B.492/a/7, March, 1931: 60).

This would seem to suggest that for some individuals, at least, trapping is a secondary enterprise in terms of investment of time and energy.

Data from Repulse Bay tends to mesh well with the observations from Wager Inlet, and reflects a resource strategy consistent with traditional skills, with a preponderance of sealing undertaken. Caribou hunting throughout the year provided another prong of the resource
quest, but the extended coastal area which Repulse commands predisposed a marine-oriented strategy. The floe edge conditions so critical for good sealing seem to have been rather better than at Wager Inlet (B.472/a/1/1930: 23).

At Repulse, native camps were somewhat more dispersed with groups trading in from Lyons Inlet (80 miles), Committee Bay (50 miles north across the Rae Isthmus), Ross Bay (50 miles), Beachy Point (23 miles south), Gore Bay (50 miles), and Stinker Point (20 miles). Map No. (7), Chapter 4, page 383, gives an impression of a number of satellites grouped at varying distances around the Post. The spatial arrangement is notably non-linear, unlike that of the Wager Post. The annual arrival of Igloolik and Southampton Island natives serves to supplement this more local trade. In summer, white whales and more intensive sealing activities complement fishing and egging activities. Certain trappers, as might be expected, emerge as particularly skillful and in 1931, Koowick, "one of the star hunters" from the Lyons Inlet region, traded some 90 pelts (B472/a/2/1931: 37). That same season, Pelly Bay natives provided large catches, as did Igloolik natives.

Certain geographical factors merit mention in consideration of overall trade impact at the two Posts. The larger trapping and trading populations at Repulse result from relative ease of movement from the Committee, Pelly and Igloolik areas by sea and land. At Wager, trade is partly blocked to the northwest by the height of land and funnelled from the east along the inlet. The difficulty encountered in attracting and maintaining Backs River trade indicates the problem created by the
rugged highland to the northwest of the Post. The Uthuhikalingmiut opted to shift trade to King Willian Island in 1932, a greater distance but far more easily reached without the necessity of negotiating the steep terrain which divided the Backs River from the head of Wager Inlet. These factors of topography as well as the resource base which existed around the two locations and the problems of the two sets of tidal forces in Wager Inlet go some way to explaining the relative success of the two enterprises, as well as the spatial patterns which emerged in terms of native demography and mobility. The somewhat greater variety and carrying capacity of the coastally located Posts with their marine and terrestrial resource bases is evident. Ice position of the floe proves to have an important role in dictating hunting success at Wager, despite a relatively high proportion of game procured on the Inlet, for which the continued efforts of the Wager Post Servants and local trappers must be given credit.

The other two Posts in the northwest region, Coats Island and Southampton Island, upon the closure of Coats, reiterate these patterns of activity and location to some degree. The debilitating effects of declining country resources upon the inhabitants and the Trade has been noted previously. Coats Island, even given its sparse population, failed to sustain a continued trapping and hunting lifestyle. The four families of trappers at its outset were spared any great privation. The addition of three families was sufficient to illustrate quite clearly in 1919 the over-attenuation of the small island's resources. The following comment attests to the results of failure to articulate the quest for furs with
a sound resource base:

The native is doing very poorly with furs... simply because they got to hunt grub to keep themselves alive... They say Coats Island is a poor place in winter time and I believe it.

(B.404/a/1/1919).

Quite apart from the addition of humans to the Island, the native animal population reflects the paucity of resources elsewhere in the food chain:

We came across quite a number of starving deer, in fact more dies of starvation than what is killed by natives. The land is one solid mass of frozen ground... very difficult for the deer to obtain food.

(B.404/a/1/1919).

The effects of "contrary winds and ice conditions" (ibid.) also prevented the appearance of walrus, removing yet another strand from the possible range of resources. By 1923, after a year of poor management of the caribou, it became obvious that a move would be necessary and the Coats Island Post was duly shifted in August, 1924. By the winter of 1925 (December) similar problems were encountered upon Southampton Island. These have been dealt with elsewhere, (pg. 199) and underline the ecological repercussions of the new pluralism of subsistence which trapping demanded.

Posts in the Southern Coastal Keewatin area fared somewhat better and although punctuated by lean years for people and foxes, showed a better capacity to successfully interweave trapping with country food hunting. Here too though, this was achieved largely by artificially accentuating pressure upon caribou and walrus as well as seal and fish resources. It
was evidently impractical to assume that a resource quest which once filled a whole year could be compressed to accommodate five months of trapping, and periods of gainful employment for many, without some changes in the seasonal sequence. At the southern Posts, littoral strategies and inland caribou hunting patterns continued to be observed throughout the development of the Trade, but a growing dependency upon fall advances by those natives inland became evident. The incident cited at Padlei (pg.240) suggests that the fall caribou hunt had become, to some extent, contingent upon the advance of debt for the Outfit by the mid 1930's (B:445/a/1/1937: 9). Increasing numbers of trappers in the immediate vicinity of Eskimo Point and Padley and a consistently large population of trappers in and around Chesterfield illustrate the tendency for polarization upon the Post. The actual location of camps emerges as a function of customary camping habits, availability of caribou and at the coastal Posts, the provision of adequate caches of seal, walrus or caribou for winter trapping activities.

The overall effect of the trading Posts was to shape the patterns of mobility and location of human groups. The tendency towards polarization and movement into the orbit of the various Posts will be explored further. Also notable is the pressure exerted by the enterprise upon country resources and the problems arising from the integration of the two elements of subsistence, trapping and hunting. Detailed tabulation of Post visiting patterns is provided in Chapter 4, along with analysis of the cultural-ecological impact of the Fur Trade.
3.3 The Missions

While not ostensibly addressing their activities to the material realities of the lives of the Inuit in Keewatin, the Missions represent, along with the Fur Trade, a most profound influence upon the acculturation of the indigenous people there. Roman Catholic missionaries of the Oblate order, Anglicans, and somewhat later, a smaller evangelical Mission, were all represented in the region. Where the trader directed his efforts towards extending the Trade, the Missions actively sought conversion of the Inuit to Christianity in one form or another. The goal of conversion must be considered in terms of other far-reaching effects of the missionary presence. Just as the trader changed aspects of the Inuit sociocultural reality in encouraging an orientation to trapping, so too did the missionary in his efforts to remove those elements of Inuit existence that he deemed to be incompatible with organized Christianity. The increasing power of the Missions over health care, education and social welfare and the delegation of such responsibilities in the absence of formal government institutions is notable. The untoward effects of denominational rivalry have already been briefly touched upon. It is intended in the ensuing pages, to evaluate the impact of missionary activity, illustrating its pervasive nature and its significance for the Keewatin Inuit. The attitudes of the H.B.C. toward the missionary presence will also be examined, as will the policies and responses of the government.

3.3.1 The Goals of the Missions: Spiritual and Sociocultural Strategies

The intention of the Missions in the Keewatin seems to have been to
awaken the Inuit through the teachings of Christianity to the existence of God and Jesus Christ, according to the accepted notions of the Roman Catholic and Anglican teachings. This was also seen to entail the removal of so-called pagan religious sentiment along with those social and cultural practises which were identified as antithetical to Christian ethics and dogma. Effectively, this meant the making over of the Inuit, who were by no means irreligious, to a new and sometimes confusing set of ideas and attitudes about existence, morality and death. The supplanting of a long-held belief system and conveying of the salient features of Christianity are recorded by the Oblate missionaries as a titanic undertaking, fraught with reversals and oppositions. The first task in establishing communication was to achieve intelligibility and a degree of fluency in Inuktitut. The Oblate Fathers, having a tradition of scholarliness as well as a distinguished history of pioneering the Roman Catholic faith, turned to this task with characteristic vigour. Father Turquetil and Father Leblanc, the founders of the Chesterfield Mission in 1912, were not immediately rewarded in their efforts. Father Leblanc was replaced in 1915 by Father P. Girard, the former psychologically bruised by personal bereavement, and the ridicule to which he was subjected by the indigenous populace.

By all accounts, Turquetil was a formidable missionary, both as an administrator and as a promulgater of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1910, he was selected by Bishop Charlebois to prepare the foundations of an Eskimo Mission, following the formation of the Keewatin Vicariate that same year. When the Church of Rome established the Apostolic
MAP 6: Missionaries in the Keewatin.

(Eskimo, Vol. 16, 1949)
Prefecture of Hudson Bay in 1925, Arsène Turquetil became the first Apostolic Prefect, overseeing a Prefecture which covered a million and a half square miles with an estimated indigenous population of seven thousand, and directing the efforts of five missionaries. Following the initial founding of the Mission at Chesterfield Inlet, Missions followed at Eskimo Point in 1924, Repulse Bay in 1925, Baker Lake in 1928, Pelly Bay in 1934, and Garry Lake on the border of the Mackenzie District in 1949. The Mission hospital was founded at Chesterfield Inlet in 1931, bearing the name of St. Theresa, patron saint of missionary endeavours.

The immediate response of the Inuit to the Mission at Chesterfield was scarcely gratifying, but in July, 1917, Father Turquetil baptised seventeen people. By 1942, upon his retirement, there were some 1,000 Roman Catholic parishioners in the Prefecture, and a total of twelve Missions and thirty missionaries (see Map 6). Some glimpse of Turquetil's energy and cultural background is provided by this reflection upon his abilities:

We Normans, said Bishop Turquetil, speaking familiarly of her (St. Therese) understand one another and stick together. Norman he was in every fibre of his being, in his intelligence, his will, his audacity, in that diplomatic instinct which usually attained its end.

(Clabaut 1955: 5).

The Anglican Missions, for their part, were not so well represented or tenacious in their missionary expansion. Although the East Coast of the Bay, the Labrador and Ungava regions and parts of Baffins Land
had for some years been acknowledged Anglican 'territory', the Keewatin showed Missions at only Eskimo Point, Baker Lake and Churchill. The reasons for this disproportionate representation are numerous and stem from the relative lack of energy which the Anglican Church devoted to this region. Historically, it seems to have been a case of first come, first served, with a policy of extension by the Oblate Missions in the region being favoured by a relative vacuum of Christian religious response, a situation swiftly remedied by the efforts and organizational capacities of the R.C. Missions. Elsewhere, the Anglican Missions possessed the advantage of historical priority, a fact to which the third session of "semines d'Etudes Missionaires" attributed the slow progress of Roman Catholicism in the North as a whole (1949). In the Keewatin, however, an increasing proportion of the population came to accept the Roman Catholic faith, as the above-cited figures suggest.

As indicated, the main goals of the new Missions were to progressively remove the pagan elements from Inuit sociocultural life and instill in their place a belief in Christian religion. This central thrust of missionary activity was as profound an instrument of cultural change as the effort of the trader in his attempts to change material patterns of cultural life. Father Henry's early missionary endeavours at Repulse Bay, couched in the following terms, reflect the zealous sense of Mission which accompanied this goal of religious conversion:

Just as the Knights of Old on the first sight of the Holy Land they had come to deliver from the Infidels, the young missionary promises God to consecrate all his efforts, his life, to tear this country from Satan and his blind paganism. Tomorrow
the struggle will begin, the daily battle with the Devil. It will be long and hard, but some day, Christ will conquer and this pagan tribe will belong to him. 

(Phillipe 1946: 7).

In the early years of the Roman Catholic Missions, such righteous fervour was sometimes accompanied by a conspicuous lack of understanding of the culture of the Keewatin Inuit. Widespread denunciation of heathen practices was common without any real attempt to understand the cultural rationale which underpinned them. Notably, the practice of female infanticide and the abandonment of the old were cited as condemnations of the Inuit value system with scant effort being made to place them in cultural context. However, the Oblate missionaries swiftly developed a far more sensitive understanding of their Inuit parishoners, when obliged to confront the uncompromising material realities of Arctic existence. An underlying intolerance of indigenous beliefs and an initial ignorance thereof gave way to more empathetic prosecution of missionary goals, as well as an awareness of the powerful significance of the shamanistic tradition. Furthermore, the official unity of missionary goals was seldom mirrored in a uniformity of individual behaviour and method. Just as the trader, while ostensibly representing the broad goals of the Company, possessed a degree of autonomy and displayed a spectrum of responses and behaviour in his thoughts and actions, so too did the missionary. The successful missionary depended, to an even greater extent, than the trader, upon an ability to project a positive self-image to his flock, and upon his capacity for communication.
Also his domain of interest was that of the mind and spirit and any changes in sociocultural life which he intended to effect demanded a powerful cognitive response, not a solely material and behavioural one. In this regard, the Oblate missionaries were aware of the inestimable value of language as the appropriate vehicle with which to generate change, both as a medium of general day-to-day communication as well as for the transmission of the essential concepts of Christianity:

He (the missionary) must have more than a smattering of Eskimo language. Giving the Eskimo a more or less word for word translation of the Bible and let him get along as well as he can with it, leads to superficial religion, setbacks and sometimes tragedy, as certain cases of religious insanity and murders have shown.


That the dissemination of Bibles could result in unfortunate consequences, if not accompanied by careful religious guidance and linguistic communicative skills, was all too obvious in the occurrence of several Arctic homicides. A former trader made the following comment upon such incidents:

Long winter nights and they were just reading and reading until every spring, that was the time for the...religious hysteria or something. The fellow would come out and all of a sudden he was anybody: I am Jacob, I am Christ, I am God and if you don't obey me, why I'll... well, various penalties, but in many cases it was death. I was taught by J.B. that you don't treat that lightly at all.

(Buhr 1980).

The Oblates, and to some degree, the Anglicans, were fully aware that mastery of Inuktitut was essential as a key to an awareness of the
totality of the Inuit culture:

Because only the most detailed awareness of their traditions, their mental processes, their reactions, only quasi-identification, will enable him to present the Christian word.

(Eskimo 1956: 7).

This seems to suggest, as postulated in the theoretical material, that the superstructural goals of the Missions hinged upon careful attention to the rich cognitive world of the Inuit. In order to effect change, to successfully gain Christian converts, a respect for the mental life, the non-material culture of the Inuit was essential. The Inuit language was quite correctly seen as the necessary vehicle with which to achieve initial rapport, deeper understanding and successful proselytizing.

Certainly, linguistic fluency was a necessary prerequisite for any real communication. The Anglican Missions in Keewatin relied largely upon the services of indigenous catechists such as Yardley, a Baffinlander, at Tavane and Eskimo Point and Lafitie at Baker Lake. The implications of this brokerage role are many, as suggested earlier (pg.133), but significantly it should be noted that the limited success of the Anglican Mission in Keewatin was at least partly a function of the lack of direct verbal interchange between missionary proper and Inuk. Michea indicates the positive role of language for the missionary:

Mastering the Eskimo language is absolutely necessary for the missionary. It helps him overcome anxiety and indifference, and through it means he acquires prestige and the right to treat the native on equal terms. This
important mastery permits giving expression to spiritual things by drawing on root words and supplementary forms in the language10.

(Michea 1949: 98).

This language mastery, was for the Oblate Missions, the initial tool in communication and the means through which a continuing dialogue might be established between priest and parishoner. The personal character of this rapport was significantly enhanced by the extended nature of the individual priest's stay. In most cases, the Oblate missionaries remained with their parishoners for a lifetime.

Father Bazin, after eleven years in Igloolik, took a brief sojourn in Winnipeg in 1940 and confessed he was not "greatly attracted to civilization - I hope to be able to start back to the Arctic next July" (Bazin, in Press 1940). Such demonstrations of commitment were some indication to the Inuit of the sincerity of the missionaries, whilst language abilities reflected a genuine desire to understand traditional world view, as well as an avenue for affecting change through direct communication.

3.3.2 Missionary Roles and Conflicts

Nonetheless, the alacrity and zeal which the missionaries displayed for their vocation did not reap immediate rewards. The confrontation of Roman Catholic or Anglican beliefs with traditional concepts did not result in swift and pervasive replacement of traditional religious behaviour and beliefs. The Oblates, whose interpretation of the Bible

10. The word God was translated as nounsliorte and utilized the root nouna meaning the world, liortok (to create or make) and the suffix te meaning the instrument or tool used in the creative act, hence "that which makes the world" (Williamson 1982, personal communication).
in orthodox R.C. terms reflected an acknowledgement of evil, tended to see a dichotomy of good and evil expressed between themselves and the shamanistic tradition of the Inuit. Although this perception of the Shaman as evil was quite erroneous given his traditional functions (pg. 150), it was widely adhered to in the conventional wisdom of the missionary. Where conflict arose between the two belief systems, it necessarily involved the direct confrontation, not just of two bodies of spiritual thought or mental attitude but, of the two human arbiters of religious sentiment, the Shaman and the missionary. The essential confrontation of the separate systems was then behavioural as well as mental, for both systems manifested patterns of ritual behaviour whereby individuals directed the behaviour and thought of the larger group.

The following is a tabulation of the various aspects of the Shaman and the missionary which provides some insight into their relationship to one another, and also gives a glimpse of the reasons why the missionaries considered the so-called 'sorcerers' as their primary rivals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shaman</th>
<th>Oblate Missionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociocultural Function:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural Function:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Alleviates tension and distress through public ritual activity</td>
<td>Essentially the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is consulted with regard to marriage partnerships, the soul-naming of newborn children and sick people, and regarding death</td>
<td>Is consulted with regard to marriage, and baptism and naming of children and upon death or sickness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Distinguishing Behavioural Characteristics:**

1. The use of various 'props' | The use of robes, incense,
ritual gestures, amulets, charms, vocal signals and physical contact with the group

The use of robes, incense, crucifix, candles, holy wine and host, incantation and physical contact with the group.

Religious Function
A mediator between spiritual and physical realms

Religious Function
An intermediary with Christ, an 'alter Christus'

Encouraged penitence in a public forum in order to identify cause of crisis, alleviating individual and group tensions

Sacrament of penance involves confession as a dialogue between priest and sinner to alleviate individual stress

This brief if inexhaustive comparative analysis seems to illustrate the essential similarity of purpose and function showed by missionary and Shaman. The confessional aspect of missionary activity has no direct parallel in the Anglican faith, however, and the emphasis on rather more elaborate ritual behaviour which is characteristic of the Oblates is also missing in the Anglican case. Also, the above breakdown omits a primary function of the Shaman which had no equivalent in the missionary, a function combining both material concerns of the group as well as the act of spiritual intercession: The Shaman was consulted in times of acute stress or difficulty arising from scarcity of resources, particularly marine resources. By virtue of his soul-travelling abilities, the Shaman entered a trance-like state for the purpose of visiting the ocean, to inquire of those spiritual forces dwelling there the reason for the lack of success in marine hunting. The diminution of the significance of hunting as a sacred activity with the increasing development of trapping, tended to progressively undermine this sacred role of the Shaman. The
implications of the secularization of the resource quest are numerous, and will be addressed elsewhere in this chapter. At this point, it is necessary to indicate how the missionary might usefully have exploited this 'desanctification' of the resource quest, either consciously or otherwise, to dysfunctionalize the Shaman, given that the former could parallel many of the other functions of the Shaman's role.

The similarity of many functional and behavioural elements of Shaman and missionary roles was not unacknowledged by the Oblates. Franz Vandervelde, having spent 18 years with the Netsilingmiut at Pelly Bay did not hesitate to indicate the way in which elements of the aboriginal belief system, particularly the role of the Shaman, and the guiding moral or ethical principles of the Inuit, provided access for the missionary and the Roman Catholic faith. The compatibility of roles and the parallels between indigenous and missionary ethics observedly augmented the goals of the Oblates and Anglicans alike. More significantly for the Oblates, the sacramental elements of the Roman Catholic faith possessed fairly direct correlates in the Inuit religion. For the missionary, the observance of sacraments provided a sign or action of Christ which might be experienced during worship (J. Penney, Personal Communication, 1972). The ritual behaviour which was present already in the Inuit system could be used as a springboard for the implementation of missionary goals. In this way, the shamanistic tradition provided an inroad, rather than an insurmountable obstacle for the priest. Vandervelde explains it like this:
One day I was called to a camp where there had been a serious accident involving grave consequences. When I arrived at the camp an atmosphere of terrible anguish prevailed; anguish caused by the terror of the unknown which would probably manifest itself again. The priest was faced with a problem to resolve, just as the sorcerer had been in olden times when called upon in similar circumstances. That evening, I offered them all the opportunity of going to confession and all present took advantage of the occasion. Mass was celebrated at the home of the one who had been sorely tried. Everyone went to communion and offered it for the intentions presented by the occasion. After Mass, I addressed a few more words of encouragement to them and led them in several prayers. After this, they all appeared consoled and had regained their courage. The results of the misfortune were evident and they still suffered. But now their trial appeared much lighter than before.

The visit of the priest, aided by the sacraments had in this case, been the means of obtaining marvellous results. Had I not attained here, 'mutatis mutandis', that which the sorcerer of olden times strove to realize: public ceremonies of religious character destined to purify the atmosphere?

(Vandervelde 1956: 14).

The knowledge that the compatibility of ritual behaviour might provide an avenue of approach for Christianity was balanced with an awareness that certain parallels might conspire against acceptance of the faith. A decision to limit the use of certain sacraments (unfortunately not named in the data) and special devotions such as the first Friday of the month and the different apparitions of the Blessed Virgin reflected an awareness of the supernatural sensitivity of the Inuit. So as not to encourage the 'superstitious nature' of the Inuit, the Hudson Bay Vicariate carefully structured the introduction of sacramental elements in the region. In considering the longevity of taboos, the Oblates
assented to the view that religious change could not be effected immediately, despite the relatively swift and visible acceptance of certain components of Roman Catholicism.

The encounter between Shaman and priest, although characterized by an understanding of the functional and behavioural complementarity of the two roles, was also distinguished, in some cases, by a misunderstanding of the Shaman's position and motive. The term 'sorcerer' is widely used, connoting a view of the Shaman, a spiritual intermediary in the truest sense, as a malevolent power-wielding magician. The Shaman was invariably and erroneously categorized as an individual who used evil magic for personal control of others, or as the practitioner of hokum and sleight of hand:

Sorcery was widely practiced amongst the Eskimo in the past. In certain districts it still continues today. Some evidences of witchcraft would be difficult to explain without reference to diabolical intervention, but, in the great majority of cases, the sorcerer's tricks reveal merely that he ("angatkok") is an expert in prestidigitation, hypnotism, autosuggestion, ventriloquism or simple humbug.

(Ducharme 1954: 6, my emphasis).

Ducharme's statement is valuable for two reasons. Firstly, it shows clearly a dual perception of the Shaman, neither side of which reveals adequate understanding of his role and behaviour, and secondly, it reflects the dominant ethos of the Roman Catholic Church in its recourse to 'diabolical intervention'. That the latter writer should feel it necessary to explain away a cultural practice or some event by placing it either in the realm of vaudeville, or in the traditional
eschatology of his own faith, is notable. More revealing is Ducharme’s account of his defeat of a Shaman, Kappianar, at Chesterfield Mission before an assembled group, through the use of the same kind of parlour tricks of which Shaman were often accused. Father Ducharme, with the aid of a crude home-made bomb, temporarily blinds Kappianar in order that he may see the power of the missionary, but adds:

Of course the trick was thought up without malice and it would not have been prudent to humiliate the man too much by dwelling on it. If I tell it...it is for fun and not to suggest that this is a usual procedure in apostolic work.

(Ducharme 1954: 11).

Usual or otherwise, Ducharme’s strategy was effectively to publically demonstrate the superiority of his ‘magic’ over that of his chief rival. Kappianar subsequently embraced the Christian faith, and although his conversion was attributed by Ducharme to “charity, prayer and helpful grace” (ibid.), the parlour trick undoubtedly provided some initial leverage.

The alternative view of the Shaman as sorcerer, as a manipulator of evil forces, may be considered as a more or less direct product of the Roman Catholic conception of good and evil, in which evil is a palpable presence arising out of “an absence of what should be present in reality” (Penny, Personal Communication, 1982). Another Shaman, Pingasut, is reported by Father Danielo to have possessed extraordinary power derived from contact with an “inuuryar” (literally, a kind of human),
a spirit who informed Pingasut of the presence of game and the health of certain individuals through dreams. Those Inuit who knew Pingasut attested to his ability to also kill people:

Pingasut can take the spirit out of a man, put it in the palm of his hand and crush it like a fly; the man will die within a few days. Pingasut, in his ordinary behaviour, acts just like the old time shamans, looking into space, doing secretive things, humming and murmering secret magical formulae, unintelligible things, etc. Pingasut here, there and everywhere.

(Malrok, as reported by Danielo 1955: 5).

Danielo opines that indeed Pingasut possessed supernatural abilities and his powers of clairvoyance were widely believed in by all (ibid.: 6). Danielo cites Turquetil:

The considered opinion of Bishop Turquetil, a man who saw these people in their primitive state, was that some of their witchcraft could not be explained without the aid of the Devil.

(ibid.).

The above comment reflects a Roman Catholic cultural interpretation of certain indigenous religious beliefs. The use of the term "witchcraft" tends to suggest that Turquetil, unable to explain certain practices which he witnessed, was obliged to resort to "the Devil" as an explanation for the inexplicable. It would be erroneous and ethnocentric to foist such narrow eschatological interpretations upon the Shaman's craft. Essentially his was a mediating or bridging role between the material and the supernatural realms. To sacrifice a more detailed awareness of shamanism, to the reductionism of Roman Catholic dualism, regarding good and evil, is to greatly distort the
role of the traditional Shaman or angakok. It is significant that
the missionaries sought more usually to down-play shamanism by
relegating its practitioners to the level of conjurers, and consistently
emphasized the decline of the Shaman's influence:

Nowadays, the number and influence of the medicine
men is greatly diminished, but in spite of it, they are still religiously obeyed in places that
remain truly pagan.

(Phillipe 1948: 6).

The Anglican attitude towards shamanism was also somewhat circumspect.

In "Notes for New Workers", the then Archdeacon D.B. Marsh, advises
new missionaries as follows:

You will have conjurors, or Medicine Men opposed
to you and your work. By always courteous, but
speak plainly over those things which you know
to be wrong... but make sure of your information
first and do not do this until you have a command
of the language so that you will not be misunderstood.

(Marsh 1942).

This advice suggests that the missionary tread most carefully
in countering traditional religious beliefs, although the epithet
"conjuror" scarcely prepares the neophyte missionary for possible
encounters with his indigenous protagonist.

3.3.3 Traditional and Incursive Religious Parallels.

The potentially similar roles and functions of missionary and
Shaman, notwithstanding some misinformed attitudes toward the latter,

II. R.G. Williamson provides some useful clarification on the Shaman's
position in traditional Inuit society by emphasizing that the Shaman
was essentially a non-malevolent spiritual intercessor, not to
be confused with a practitioner of evil magic. The salient function
of shamanism was to render assistance and affect supernatural
communication, not to exert evil power or induce crisis, but to mediate
and avert disasters (Williamson, Personal Communication, 1982).
are supported by a somewhat broader complementarity which existed between Inuit and Christian religious beliefs. The acculturative influence of the Christian Missions was channeled and facilitated by the existing value system and moral code of the Inuit. Father Danielo saw the goals of the Oblate Missions as being to utilize the adaptability of Inuit culture as a basis from which to effect a variety of changes:

The White man's task with regard to the Eskimo requires therefore that adaptation be accentuated, in all orders, the material, intellectual, moral and religious.

(Danielo 1956: 8).

He also envisaged certain components of Inuit life as being lost, while others were preserved. Those which were to survive, he emphasized as the positive values of Inuit society; enumerating among these, calmness in trial, avoidance of violence, decency ("not that of the Christian, but real just the same"), a sense of propriety and reserve, love for family and children and a sense of common welfare. All this, he noted "offers fertile ground for missionary endeavours" (ibid.). His colleague, Franz Vandervelde also stressed the essential similarity of values shared by Christians and Inuit, particularly in the respect shown for parents (indeed all elders), and the central importance of children, noting in the latter instance how the practice of adoption provided a convenient "point of insertion for bringing them to accept the idea of the brotherhood of Christ" (Vandervelde 1956: 16).

Danielo's comments reflect some initial considerations of values and value acculturation. He was aware of the selective nature of the
acculturation process and equally cogent of the possible flexibility of Inuit cultural existence, both in terms of its deep internalization of core values and its capacity for adaptation. His comments come close to suggesting that acceptance of Christianity by the Inuit demanded only minor, even cosmetic, transformation of existing values and ethics. Furthermore, there is, in his observations, an implicit recognition of the fact that cognitive changes, not just material ones, could be achieved through skillful use of aboriginal cultural values. This bears out the notion that cognitive factors, not solely material ones are equally worthy of note in the total process of acculturation in the Keewatin.

A broad congruence existed also between the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church and the ritual and cognitive processes of the Inuit religion, as demonstrated in the meaning component of the sacraments and their equivalents in Inuit life. The tradition of soul-naming has its corollary in baptism, where instead of the Shaman being consulted, the priest suggested a suitable name, often drawn from the extensive hagiography of the Roman Catholic tradition. The significance of the soul-name and its intricate relationship to personal identity was most profound among the Keewatin Inuit. Danielo was astute enough to recognize this and suggested that the practice be allowed to continue:

*Primarily among pagan Eskimos the name has an outstanding importance, and in a way helps in creating the personality of the child... Sorcerers claimed they could see behind each human being an unending line of spirits who were*
guiding and protecting him, ancestors bearing an identical name. Some day, family names may become customary, however, it appears to me that this custom of naming a child after one of his ancestors could be kept, purified by the Church if need be.

(Danielo 1949: 14).

The notion of spiritual protectors has a direct corollary in the Roman Catholic concept of the guardian angel. Given the somewhat similar connotations of naming in Christian baptism (after a Saint) and in soul-naming (after a valued ancestor), it would seem that the two ritual processes and their cognitive components are quite similar. The sacraments of Holy Communion and Confirmation have no direct equivalent in Inuit society, spiritual preparedness not being marked and validated in any formal way, but emerging from a gradual socialization process which culminated in adult spiritual status. Matrimony effectively encompassed the same sociocultural functions in both systems, but in Inuit society had essential material rather than spiritual ramifications, in that without a wife, a man could not adequately meet the rigours of material existence. The sacrament of Reconciliation or penance, as noted earlier, has a direct shamanistic parallel. In approaching death or sickness, the Rites of Extreme Unction (now known as the Sacrament of the Sick) find a correlate in the Shaman's mediative and healing rituals.

Significantly, the Sacramental aspects of Roman Catholicism, as ritual activity possessing symbolic significance, find a locus in many aspects of Inuit religion, both in terms of action and cognitive content. The congruence in value systems noted provides
another common focus, embracing a marked similarity of ethical considerations. These facets of religious acculturation, in part, explain the accessibility of Christianity for the Inuit. The notion of a creator or supreme being, the essentially similar concept of the soul and the congruence of sacramental or ritual elements, along with the functional sociocultural similarity of Shaman and priest, all combined to facilitate the accommodation of Christianity by the Inuit. These superstructural elements of the two cultural systems, far from being antithetical to one another, were sufficiently compatible to encourage a ready acceptance of the intrusive religious system.

3.3.4 Control and Access to Resources

Quite apart from commensurability of belief systems, the Missions possessed another less intangible source of leverage in the Keewatin. From the outset, both Oblates and Anglicans had manifested a deep concern, not only for the spiritual well-being of the Inuit, but for their social and material livelihood too. The hospital at Chesterfield was the crowning achievement of the Roman Catholic Mission, as much for its public relations value outside of the Arctic as for the services it rendered. The same might be said of the Anglican Cottage Hospital at Pangnirtung. Although from 1934, a government appointed physician was attached to the Chesterfield hospital, the Grey Nuns of Montreal and the missionaries actually presided over its management. Bishop Turquetil, a redoubtable administrator, was still in charge of the fiscal concerns of the hospital in the late 1930's. A memo from O. S. Finnie, Director of the N.W.T. government indicates the delegation
of responsibility for health-care delivery to the Missions:

We support hospitals all over the territory and give the missionaries who operate them grants for that purpose, but we have not yet gone into the hospital business on our own account. I think it would be a good thing if we could keep away from it and let the Missionaries look after it and be responsible for their upkeep. We, of course, would give them the usual assistance in the way of drugs, etc., and perhaps in this case we might even give them a little grant to assist in the construction of the hospital (at Pangnirtung).

(Finnie 1930: April).

The government position is one of calculated avoidance of involvement, a situation which placed the effective onus of health-care delivery upon the Missions. Doctor Melling, who succeeded Dr. Livingstone at Chesterfield in 1937, was rightly critical of such a situation, pointing out that conflicting attitudes amongst the members of the White community impeded good medical care by causing confusion, dissent and lack of co-operation among the Inuit who were to benefit from the hospital. Problems arose in keeping patients hospitalized for the duration of their treatment, a difficulty which Melling viewed as resulting from management of the hospitals by the Missions:

Another matter of the greatest importance is that the hospital is governed by a religious body. The Eskimos are aware of this and since they naturally have no fear and are on the best of terms with this body, they take advantage of their kindness. This makes it very hard for a medical officer to exert full control over them.

(Melling 1938).

Melling objects to the fact that the Mission's influence over the
hospital interferes in the delivery of efficient medical services and
states that the laxity of visiting hours and general disorder in the
hospital stems from the Mission's poor approach to management.

3.3.5 **Inuit Perception of the Chesterfield Hospital**

Whilst the Inuit of Chesterfield and environs came to acknowledge
the important curative function of the hospital, evidence suggests that
it came to be perceived with a marked ambivalence, and by some, with
a fatalistic lack of conviction in terms of its power to heal. The
result of large agglomerations of people at Chesterfield, from an
epidemiological perspective, was to actually increase rather than
diminish the possibility of ill health, and the Inuit quite naturally
also made this causal link. Livingstone makes the following
observation, which tends to substantiate this untoward repercussion
of settlement and hospital:

> Invariably these people, while living their own life in small isolated communities, are quite healthy, and it is only when they congregate in large numbers here at Chesterfield that any serious sickness overtakes them. Also, of course, during the summer when ships arrive from Churchill infections are frequent.

*(Livingstone 1936: July)*

This situation of susceptibility to illness, as a result of residence in
the settlement, seems to fly in the face of the conventional
wisdom which indicates that the eventual movement into the settlement
was a response to illness on the land (Freeman 1971). However, it
is quite possible that both settlement and land factors played a role

12 This should not be seen as connoting a familiarity among the Inuit with epidemiological processes but rather assumes an awareness of the gravity of medical problems in the settlement as compared to on the land.
in the declining health of the Inuit. The prevalence of illness among families employed by the various agencies in Chesterfield is equated by Dr. Livingstone with the unsalubrious dwellings which Post employees inhabited. His reference to "the poor imitation of a White man's house" is poignant in the extreme when considered as an indication of the inculcation of White standards and practices, conveyed through acculturation.

Certain evidence exists which suggests that the Hospital at Chesterfield became not a sanctuary for the sick or a place of healing, but the source of the very problems it sought to combat. The Post Journal for Chesterfield in January, 1933, reflects such sentiments noting several children with "a rash very similar to, but not, smallpox" (8.401/a/8/1933: 37). The same journal observes:

> It is peculiar to note that these diseases, previously practically unknown in Chesterfield originated with patients in the "hospital" or with natives frequenting the building.

(ibid.: 39).

A recourse to government records indicates that the rash mentioned was indeed smallpox, the first of some fourteen different epidemics of various kinds which occurred between 1933 and 1955. The Post Manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store some five years later reiterates a widely-held opinion that the hospital is a principle disease vector:

> There has been quite a lot of sickness around camp again - colds and flu. There is more sickness among the natives in Chesterfield than there ever was before and it gets noticeably worse each year. The hospital here is a nest
of disease and germs; we do not think the place has been disinfected since it was built and it must be rotten. Something will have to be done about it.

(8.401/a/10/1938: 34).

Significantly, although he refers to "Mr. and Mrs. Apack taking up their summer residence on Poverty Row" (ibid.: 2), the journal keeper does not associate the prevalence of disease with the squalid shacks which local employees and summer visitors inhabit. The preceding statement may conceivably stem from other missionary/trader animosities, but the strong possibility that the hospital, by bringing together groups of people under its roof, was inadvertently contributing to poor local health, does exist.

The negative connotations of the hospital, in the minds of prospective patients who saw friends and relatives expire there, are to be expected. A comment from the Post Manager of the H.B.C. illustrates this, as well as conveying his own sentiments regarding the Mission's control over medical facilities:

The natives who have been camped here since Easter are getting very restless, as the few deaths which are occurring every so often, in the hospital, has got them guessing and in time, we are convinced, this section of the Church will "boomerang" right back and smack the Mission in the face.

(8.401/a/12/1940: 75).

Bearing in mind the predictions of the H.B.C. staff regarding the tendency for the missionary hospital to have untoward repercussions, it becomes increasingly evident throughout the 1930's, that the hospital and the periodic epidemics which came to be associated with
it by other members of the community at Chesterfield, had a serious psychological impact upon the Inuit who were supposed to benefit most from it. Indeed, there is a strong suggestion borne out by the unwillingness of patients to remain in the hospital, if they could possibly remove themselves or be removed by relatives, that the plethora of sickness and the deaths occurring within the hospital generated a very real fear of the institution in the Inuit. In July, 1936, thirty natives were hospitalized and/or treated during a septic sore throat epidemic, whilst a virulent influenza epidemic in April of 1937 afflicted all the natives in Chesterfield, Baker Lake, Wager Inlet and Repulse Bay, coinciding with the Easter congregation of people from outlying camps at the settlements. Dr. Melling recommended a firm lid being placed on publicity leaks regarding native health, after Canadian Press reports of a January 1938 epidemic, which began during the Christmas influx of natives to all settlements. His superiors in the N.W.T. government readily concurred (R.G. 85, Vol. 855/File/8012).

By 1940, the problems of tuberculosis and resulting deaths had gathered momentum. Six active and four suspected cases of T.B. and two deaths from the disease were noted in July and August 1940 (ibid.). An H.B.C. employed native, on May 23rd, 1940, chose to commit suicide when faced with the prospect of hospitalization. The tragic implications of this incident were not lost upon the H.B.C. staff who saw their predictions regarding the hospital fulfilled in this most unfortunate manner. Further documentation of health care delivery
services and medical problems is forthcoming. The preceding information serves to introduce the notion of both missionary control of resources and the extent of health problems.

The control of health services by the Mission fortified its overall position of local political strength in the Keewatin, despite the observable failure of the Chesterfield hospital on many occasions. It was, after all, the only available such facility in the region. The Mission was able to augment its goals of sociocultural change through the possession of such tangible physical resources. The declining health of the Inuit served to thrust them into a situation of greater dependence upon the resources of missionary and trader alike, for both were obliged to confront the realities of health problems in the settlement on a day-to-day basis. Paradoxically, the increasing orientation toward the settlements served to aggravate the susceptibility to disease which, in turn, generated an even greater demand for the medical services provided at Chesterfield. The conspicuous absence of government-directed programs of health care is notable and perhaps the limited budget provided for the Mission's needs could be considered a factor in the poor capability of the Chesterfield facility to counter the growing health problems of the region as a whole. Given the profound and abiding fear of sickness in traditional Inuit society, and the fact that the missionaries worked to render the Shaman's curative role obsolete, the indigenous people of the Keewatin were forced into a position of acute material and cognitive dependence upon the Mission, not merely as a spiritual
surrogate, but as the only organized system of medical care which existed in the Keewatin, apart from the much resorted-to H.B.C. medical cabinet. When it became obvious to the Inuit that the Mission hospital was failing to cure people, a pervasive attitude of resignation and extreme hopelessness ensued. Many Inuit viewed the hospital either with great skepticism, or as a place to go to die, the latter sentiment evidently substantiated by the loss of friends or relatives within it.

The various representatives of the White community were blatantly critical of the institution, its personnel and management. Although the efforts of the government doctor were commended, the acute lack of facilities and day-to-day administration of the hospital with its open door visiting policy consistently came under fire, often from the doctor himself. Despite these vocal public sentiments, the R.C. Mission retained its control and management over this crucial resource, while the government conveniently averted its gaze.

3.3.6 Denominationalism: Friction and the Response of the Inuit.

While the Chesterfield Mission hospital augmented the power of the R.C. Mission, it did little but exacerbate the feelings of mutual suspicion and open hostility between the Anglican and Catholic institutions. The hospital and its shortcomings, if anything, seemed to focus certain of the animosities held by Anglican clergymen toward their rivals. The Reverend Marsh, in 1939, lambasted the government doctor regarding admittance procedures for Anglican and Roman Catholic natives, strongly inferring discriminatory admitting procedures, a suggestion which Melling, in response, categorically refuted: "From
the standpoint of admission for hospitalization, religion definitely plays no part" (Melling 1939). This issue of control of resources clearly intruded into areas well beyond the goals of spiritual and religious proselytizing. As indicated earlier, the wranglings of the two denominations tended to often obscure the stated objectives of both Missions with regard to the spiritual and material well-being of people. Increasingly, the Inuit became resources to be haggled over by the two denominations. A statement tellingly entitled "Zones of Influence" reveals the Roman Catholic's disparaging perspective regarding their opponents:

We Catholic Missionaries have not established ourselves in Eskimo country to engage in philanthropic work alone, but because we firmly believe that the Catholic Church, even though we her members are not without failings, is divine in Christ, her Head and Founder. By definition, a missionary gives himself entirely to the task of converting souls, but he does so in the knowledge that the soul must not be coerced. He is aware that a conversion brought about by fraudulent means, fear, greed, lying, is but a passing fancy.

Yet in the Arctic he comes into contact frequently with Eskimos who call themselves Protestant but who give hardly any evidence of having received religious instruction. Their "protestantism" seems to consist in possession of a Bible - often interpreted in a most fantastic manner - and in a handful of prejudices against the Church of Rome. The morality taught by the gospels appears to have had little impact on their conscience. (We could recall several cases where Catholic Eskimo in order to justify the prostitution of their daughters to white men, declared themselves to be Protestants). Can so-called tolerance oblige a Missionary to leave such people
in their unhappy state?

(Eskimo Editorial 1953).

Herein lies not only an explicit derogation of the didactic power of Anglican Christianity, but a justification for the extension of Roman Catholicism on the grounds of the moral laxity fostered by the Anglican faith. For their part, the Anglican representatives adhered to their own ecclesiastical line, firing similar salvoes in the direction of the Roman Catholics. The above reference to "a handful of prejudices against the Church of Rome" is not altogether unexpected if attention is cast upon the Anglican "Notes for New Workers" compiled by the former Reverend Marsh in his role as Archdeacon:

Some missions have the misfortune to be in opposition to the Roman Church. I say opposition advisedly, since they claim we are in the wrong and they are right; therefore anything they can do to gain converts is perfectly valid...you will soon realize what "anything" can mean. Your converts may be persecuted if they are associated with Roman families, and offered bribes to become Romans, and so on. Personal attacks may be made on your character, not to your face but to the natives...

The Roman Church and conjurers are alike; both rule with fear and both give charms and amulets, in one case of skin and in the other, pieces of saint's clothes, medals, etc. Christ gives life. Any Roman native will tell you this. If you are at a Mission where the Roman Church has not yet come, then a little teaching along Biblical lines as to where the Roman Church is wrong would be of great value, for there is no doubt that the Roman Church intends to spread through the whole of the North.

(Marsh 1942: 8).
The tone and intent of the preceding "tract" would seem to be quite clear and the equating of the priest's role with that of the Shaman is calculated to ridicule rather than enlighten as to the position of both. Evidently, the writer is expressing a sincere if somewhat extreme xenophobia regarding the activities and extension of the Roman Catholic Missions. This kind of invective and the equal vehemence of the R.C. Missions in their scorn of the Anglicans did very little to convince the Inuit of the existence of the one God of love about whom both sets of missionaries discoursed. This interdenominational acrimony caused great confusion and anxiety for many of the Inuit of Keewatin. A relatively objective perspective upon the character of both Missions was provided by a former trader:

The Protestant Missionary was often a very narrow-minded, ill-trained and bigotry person and the R.C. no less intolerant of the others beliefs and efforts on conversion of the Eskimo.

(Nichols 1980b: 2).

The same individual recalls the efforts of the Inuit to please both groups of missionaries and the adoption of a strategy of agreement, in keeping with normative Inuit cultural behaviour, designed to reduce hostility or potential conflict:

At one trading post where I was alone with no other residents except the Eskimo, each year on the visit of the supply vessel there would be either a Protestant or R.C. Missionary, or both on board...All the Eskimo men, women and children would be gathered together, the babies baptized, the young men and women married, and the older folks converted, all in the Protestant faith.
The next year the same would take place again to the same people, but in the R.C. faith. It even happened to the same people on the same visit of the supply ship when both Missions were represented. The Eskimo were just trying to please everybody.

(Nichols 1980B: 5).

The missionaries themselves, juxtaposed in a situation of rivalry, characteristically employed a strategy of mutual avoidance in settlements where both were represented. Whilst social relations were necessarily maintained with other White agencies, the two groups of missionaries steered clear of one another. Such exchanges as took place were channeled through the Inuit adherents of the two Missions. In consequence, these parishioners often became the vehicles of an unsavoury exchange of dialogue, as artificial divisions were imposed on normal social interchange. Each Mission shed doubt upon the methods employed in gaining converts. Both Missions also supplemented their spiritual and religious communication with substantial material benefits. Father Buliard's comments upon encountering the Backs River natives in 1946 reflect the tendency for each Mission to denigrate the religious achievements of its counterparts:

What is the religious status of these people? They profess to be protestants but their contact with religion has been very casual and superficial. In fact, they are still pagans.

(Buliard 1947: 14).

The acrimony which marked missionary dealings was not confined to Anglican and Catholic exchanges alone. The establishment of the
Northern Canadian Evangelical Mission at Eskimo Point in the late 1940's met with fierce opposition from the Roman Catholic Mission. The new Mission, considered by the government to have "more or less taken the place of the Anglican Mission" at Eskimo Point, found itself fielding the same kind of criticism formerly directed at the Anglican Mission (Gibson 1950, memo). Complaints by the Roman Catholic Mission centred upon the rudimentary educational role of the N.C.E. Mission, a role which the former considered to be its own sole prerogative.

In summation, it may be observed that the denominational friction which characterized the Missionary presence in the Keewatin generated a good deal of doubt and bewilderment among the Inuit. The religious and sociocultural objectives of the Missions were not in any way assisted by this ecclesiastical feuding and the tensions which it created.

3.3.7 The Sociocultural Influence of the Missions: Health, Education and Social Welfare

The importance of the hospital operated by the R.C. Mission has already been mentioned. Some further examination of the acculturative impact of this institution is merited, as is some consideration of the broader objectives of the Missions in terms of education and social welfare. The inception of medical services prior to the building of the hospital seems to have elicited a highly positive response from the Inuit. An early R.C.M.P. report comments most favourably upon the medical work performed by missionaries at Chesterfield, but expresses concern over inadequate facilities (Joyce 1926). The same report suggests
that the response of the Inuit to even rudimentary medical facilities was most positive:

The fact that native Chester brought his sick child 500 miles to be treated at the Missions here shows the confidence which the natives have in the ability of the Reverend Fathers. Chester is not a Christian.

(ibid.).

This reflects a pragmatic reaction to the material resources of the Missions, if not to the religious aspects of its presence. The establishment of the Chesterfield hospital in 1931 served to underline the power of the Missions more concretely, in so far as the hospital served to visibly demonstrate the capacity of the Missions to materially fulfill the needs of the Inuit. Even given the debilitating impact of periodic epidemics and the anxiety created by the observed failure of the hospital system, there is a strong indication that, perhaps in the absence of any alternative, the missionary medical system continued to increase its influence (see Table I).

**TABLE I: Hospital Admissions and Residents, 1931-1955.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sick Admitted</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Days</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>1734</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>4422</td>
<td>6623</td>
<td>13624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures reflect the declining health status of the Inuit, but should be considered also as an index of the capacity of the hospital to provide health services. The inception of a flying doctor
service by the Missions served to increase the range of health care
delivery and provided the opportunity for contacting far greater numbers
of Inuit, inland and along the coast. Dr. Melling's 1937 recommendation
to the N.W.T. Council for the annual undertaking of this service,
using the missionary aircraft piloted by Father Schulte, as a way
of extending and improving the quality of health care delivery, was
taken up with the proviso that fuel requirements not exceed 100 gallons
per annum (Turner 1938).

The necessity for this kind of "flying doctor" service in response
to the increasing problem of tuberculosis was clearly evident. That
the government should not have undertaken such a service on its own
initiative, the problem of adequate health care delivery having been
brought to its attention repeatedly in communications from the physician,
is somewhat baffling. Nonetheless, the wherewithal of the R.C. Mission
to carry out medical duties is once more noticeable, the relative
efficiency of airborne patrol as opposed to dog team patrol being
stressed by Dr. Melling. Evidence suggests, however, that even this
extension of services failed to provide completely adequate health care
for the region as a whole and further failed to convince certain of
the Inuit of the value of hospitalization. The 1937 medical patrol
revealed one incident of advanced T.B. of the knee, yet the individual's
father refused hospitalization as he had seen no noticeable improvement
last time this was resorted to. The case clearly required surgery, but
the boy's father resolutely resisted the notion of hospitalization.
The fact that missionary control of medical resources failed to meet the growing needs of the Keewatin region was evidently not ignored by other members of the White agencies. Some concerted government response to medical needs was demanded and the urgency of the situation dictated that rapid response be forthcoming. 1944 saw a lobby of seven of the leading figures in the Chesterfield settlement, comprising missionary, military and H.B.C. personnel:

That in our opinion an aeroplane with pilot placed at the disposal of the medical officer at Chesterfield is the only means whereby an adequate medical service can be given to the people of the Keewatin District.


The use of relayed radio messages for diagnosis and treatment during a diphtheria epidemic in southern Keewatin the previous year had proved woefully inadequate with the result that 60 lives were lost. Furthermore, of 642 patients at Chesterfield from 1940-1943, only 73 came from outside Chesterfield, which would seem to reflect the paucity of service for outlying areas as well as perhaps the unwillingness of those people on the land to enter the hospital. The proliferation of health problems in the Keewatin, particularly tuberculosis, will be returned to. At this juncture, it is important to note that the health care facilities under the control of the R.C. Mission were quite inadequate for meeting the increasing volume of medical problems.

The impact of the Missions in the provision of medical services reflects an attempt to come to terms with both physical and
and cognitive problems. Indigenous attitudes to sickness and death played a large part in the failure of the Mission-run services, notwithstanding the actual weaknesses of the service itself and its ineffectuality in dealing with regional health concerns. The Chesterfield hospital had also come to be perceived by the Inuit as an untoward influence upon their lives. The hospital was seen as a place of sickness not of curing power, and refusal to enter the hospital also stemmed from an unwillingness to be separated from family groups customarily living at camps on the land. A cognitive barrier such as this presented a very real obstacle to efficient provision of medical services, militating against good health as much as the growing volume of physical medical problems in the region.

3.3.8 Education and Social Welfare

In the same manner that medical considerations were passed by government into the hands of the Missions, so too were the responsibilities for providing some form of education. Missionary activities in the field of education were governed chiefly by a desire to maintain the status quo, this being the continued orientation of the Inuit towards a hunting and trapping lifestyle. Education provided revealed a predominantly religious bias, involving catechisms and prayers and the inculcation of some basic awareness of the importance of hygiene. The government was making little attempt to improve the quality of education despite its dissatisfaction with the results of missionary endeavours in this area:
The school service...is practically all religious teachings and does not assist the children in any way to learn the English language. All writing is done in syllabics and from personal interviews and enquiries it would appear the Mission is definitely in favour of holding the Eskimo back, so to speak, as much as possible and not let (sic) him learn the English language or the white man's ways. Both the N.C.E. and R.C. Mission day schools have been visited... and the obvious results of the teachings of the Missionaries, over a period of years, to the Eskimo children is practically nil.

(Carey 1950).

Anglican endeavours in the field of education should not be overlooked and seem also to reflect a desire to maintain Inuit lifeways rather than foster great changes. Herein lies one of the paradoxes of acculturation in the Keewatin, for the Missions, while actively fostering change, professed the wish to maintain the essential identity of the Inuit culture. Perhaps more significantly, by providing only a rudimentary education, the Missions were able to maintain a positive orientation toward what they felt to be a traditional mode of life, which included the new material goals of the Fur Trade, whilst conveying a sense of educational progress. Fleming's comment seems to indicate as much:

One of our greatest problems is to keep the Eskimo from being civilized to a point where he loses his glorious primitive identity. Radios, movies, aeroplanes and white man's tools are all good in moderation. So is the use of money, which protects the Eskimo from crooked deals in barter, and of the English language...in educating the Eskimos to be true to their own civilization by the right use of ours.

(Fleming 1934).
There is an implicit suggestion that the direction and extent of acculturative change should be determined by the intrusive agencies, that in some way they knew what was best for the Inuit and should therefore provide exposure to aspects of 'civilization' without removing those qualities which they valued as Inuit. Fleming speaks of a dilemma in the whole question of education, for he envisages the Inuit existence as essentially bound to a traditional series of activities, even in the face of change:

Obviously to leave the Eskimo in a state of ignorance would be courting disaster and the extinction of the race. On the other hand, it is very difficult to know how far we are justified in educating a race of people whose livelihood must be obtained in the barren lands as hunters, where only the simplest culture is desirable.

(Fleming 1930).

Nonetheless, by 1934, the Anglican Mission was operating fifteen Missions, eleven day schools, two residential schools and two hospitals in the Arctic. Considerable concern was voiced by the Anglican Mission regarding the acculturative impact of widespread contact, particularly where it led to the use of non-traditional dwellings by those people employed in the settlements, echoing the concerns of the government physician at Chesterfield, who indicated the tendency for such dwellings to contribute to growing health problems in the settlements (Livingstone 1936). It is apparent that the Missions, whilst they generated certain changes, actively sought to prevent the adoption of certain other elements of the intrusive cultural presence. Both Anglican and Roman Catholic
Missions adopted a dual role of directing sociocultural change, but simultaneously filtering the impact of such change. In the field of education, activity was geared to fostering a detailed knowledge of Christianity and inculcating health and welfare standards as opposed to any kind of genuine intellectual enlightenment. Both organizations adopted roles as *de facto* guardians of the Inuit culture, attempting to preserve those elements of Inuit life which were deemed consistent with Christian goals and the material and social well-being of the indigenous people. The N.W.T. Council, while well aware of the paucity of medical and educational services, was content to see the onus of these fields shouldered by the Missions. Where the debilitating effects of contact (the shift to non-traditional residences with attendant medical repercussions is a case in point) were revealed, the attitude of government suggested that those agencies responsible for such situations should bear the cost of remedying them. As the cost of health care for those living in the settlement shacks escalated due to chronic ill-health, the government physician advocated the transfer of such costs to the appropriate agencies:

I would recommend...this expenditure be placed where it belongs. The R.C.M. Police, I am sure would be quite satisfied to pay for any expenses incurred by their employees. The Hudson's Bay Co. should fall in line with this idea and the Missions who also employ several families... All these people, were they out in their own camps living their own life would not be so apt to get infections as when they are employed around a post.

(Livingston 1936).
Missionary institutions also drew attention to the deleterious effects of acculturation. Bishop Fleming called into question the value of adoption of "white man's food and clothing and the wooden, sedentary dwellings which encourage inertia and detract from nomadic traditionalism", averring that "this social development brings with it grave dangers" (Fleming 1930: 4). Nonetheless, the Missions just as much as other agencies, as Livingstone suggested above, were responsible for the incipient sedentarism of the Inuit, by virtue of the patterns of employment in the settlements which they stimulated. The fact that material and substantial recompense ensued from the various agencies was clearly conveyed to the Inuit, and the Missions, despite their avowed concern that the Inuit continue to orient themselves to the land not the settlement, did little to dispell the growing cognitive and material orientation to the Posts. The Baker Lake H.B.C. Post Journal provides a glimpse of this increasing trend:

Shikshuk and all his crew arrived last night claiming they were starving but they certainly did not look it. I offered them help if they would return to their trapping grounds immediately, but this wily old bird had other ideas. He got the R.C. Mission to keep him on the post and feed him.

(B.384/a/1/1930: 28).

The readiness of both Missions to dispense material sustenance along with religious ideologies seems to contradict the stated concern for maintaining the independence and traditionalism of the Inuit. The whole process of acculturation as engendered by all three agencies is characterized by such contradictions. The above extract reflects the
H.B.C. imperative of trapping, emphasizing the importance of maintaining a camp-oriented existence so that trapping might be carried out. The Missions, as a function of their desire to inculcate religious beliefs, necessarily demanded some adherence to the church calendar in the settlement. This juxtaposition of two mutually incompatible goals was a source of conflict, but more significantly, both agencies deliberately or inadvertently fostered dependency upon the settlement.

3.3.9 The Secularization of the Resource Quest

The juxtaposition of missionary and trader raises other important questions apart from the clash of priorities regarding human resources. The growing influence of both agencies served to erode the traditional sacredness with which hunting had formerly been regarded. Trapping, rather than hunting, began to occupy an increasing amount of time. This is not to suggest that hunting was not as vital, for it arguably became more critical during the Trade years, but rather that it took on the character of a supplemental or supportive activity to the Trade. The investment of spiritual energy in the hunt was, at the same time, actively opposed by the missionaries who, in their drive to counter the influence of the Shaman, not only supplanted certain of his other religious functions, but simultaneously detracted from his capacity to direct religious sentiment in the hunt. Williamson has indicated the traditional ecological conscientiousness of the Inuit hunters in terms of "a natural or unarticulated conservation system" (Williamson 1974: 71). The directive of trapping destabilized this harmonic balance in a number of ways, as the Coats Island and Southampton
Island data, along with other instances, has shown. Significantly, the widespread overkill of first musk-oxen and whale, and later of caribou and walrus is erroneously viewed by R.C.M.P. observers as a kind of innate Eskimo desire to slaughter, rather than a Trade-directed and profit-oriented influence. Walrus hides and caribou hides were both tradeable items, so it was quite logical from the trader's viewpoint to urge the maximum returns of both. Thus, unwittingly, hunting as well as the trapping of furs became an activity whose end was associated with Trade, either because increased seasonal pressure on game was necessary for successful trapping, or because the products of the hunt themselves became saleable commodities and not direct subsistence resources for food and clothing.

Accompanying this derogation of the spiritual aspects of hunting by the trader, were the concerted efforts of the missionaries to eradicate shamanism, or at least to visibly supplant the traditional belief system from which it emerged. The power of the missionary to provide material comfort and succour, the elaborate sacramental role he played, and his intrusion into the spectrum of value elements already extant in the traditional culture, conspired to defuse the Shaman's former position of influence. It was no longer critical for the angaquq to locate caribou or cure the ailing when the intrusive cultural system provided destitution relief, rationed employment, firearms and medical care. Nevertheless, there appears to be a striking contrast in religious behaviour when in the presence of missionaries and when on the land in the hunting camps. This dichotomy of religious adherence
will be examined later in the context of Inuit response to Christianity. Whether or not the influence of the Christian missionaries served to dysfunctionalize indigenous beliefs completely is a contentious question, but the joint presence of missionary and trader certainly contrived to alter the perception of hunting as a religious activity, rendering it less a spiritual and more a material and economic quest.

The dual aspects of trader and missionary in the 'desanctification' of the traditional resource quest raises once more the questions which initially emerged in theoretical discussion of acculturation and cultural-materialist strategies. What emerges from the data is a more certain awareness of the integrated nature of the acculturation process in the Keewatin. The missionary overtly ushering in new 'superstructural' cultural framework, did not confine his activities to this realm of values and ideas alone. Rather, through his extensive control of resources, educational, medical and material, he worked equally to effect infrastructural and structural changes. It can be seen that, the missionary presence in combination with other agencies, generated infrastructural changes in economic patterns, demography, mobility and other fundamental cultural areas. The transmission of ideas regarding domestic economic facets of existence served to shape those 'structural' elements too, as seen in the attempts to discourage polygamy, female infanticide, and abandonment practices. Indeed, the artificial division of infrastructural, structural and superstructural components becomes less tenable for, as indicated, the relative causal primacy of the three elements is clearly not incontrovertible. In the case of the Missions,
the importation of a new belief system backed up by material power, created reverberations throughout the cultural system. In terms of the acculturation process, it transpires that this is best viewed as a multilaminar one, in which material and ideological elements of change cumulatively reinforce one another to effect change. Some insight into the observable changes resulting from the missionary presence has already been provided. Further scrutiny of Inuit response to the Missions will serve to elucidate the integrated character of the acculturation process mentioned earlier, and will illustrate the efficacy of superstructural change forces.

3.3.10 Inuit Response to Christianity

Accurately gauging the receptiveness of the Inuit to Christianity is a difficult task. The Mission's often self-laudatory tone in publications, intended to convey their progress to the general public and the government which provided support, cannot be treated as a completely accurate index of widespread acceptance of Christianity. Observers are often skeptical of the real acceptance of the new religion among the Inuit. R.C.M.P. observations during patrols made to camps on the land seem to contradict the notion that the indigenous belief system was at any time seriously compromised by the Christian religion. In the settlements adherence to the intrusive ideologies was more visible and widespread, yet even this overt acceptance does not convince this writer of the total success of the missionary enterprise. The following incident recalled by a former H.B.C. Manager conveys some sense of the tenacity of indigenous religious and
Their religion was quite a thing. They all professed Christianity...but every now and then something would come up to show that there were still some of the old beliefs there. For instance this Post Servant, he had eleven or twelve children. Only two were alive at the time we got there. One was a girl, about 12 and a little boy about 8. The little boy was Kakayuk and Anatuk always used to say that Kakayuk was his only son and a very expensive child. One night Anatuk came racing to the house that Kakayuk was dying...he was having convulsions. Anatuk was going through this box beside him...he went out of the tent he grabbed the rifle as well...all of a sudden there was an explosion outside the tent...Kakayuk gave a twitch and he came out of the convulsion. Anatuk came back into the tent again and I said well..."Kakayuk is out of it now and he'll be fine after he has a good sleep". Anatuk said "Oh I knew he'd be alright". I said to him, "How did you know that..."? "Well", he said, "the spirits were calling for a soul so I gave them another one". And then I said "Oh my God, who did you shoot?" He had shot a dog...with the relief in me I gave him hell. I said "Furthermore you call yourself a Christian". "Well," he said, "We know a lot of things we're not telling you folks".

(Buhr 1980).

This anecdote suggests that in response to a crisis situation, both practical (fetching the Post Manager, who incidentally gave a sedative too), and spiritual measures were taken. Moreover, in this instance the religious system resorted to was firmly traditional and non-Christian, even given the professed Christianity of the Post Servant Anatuk. Indigenous practices and beliefs were conceived to be appropriate for life-threatening circumstances. Anatuk's parting remark underscores the problems inherent in accurately ascertaining the actual adherence of the converted Inuit Christian follower.
to Christianity to the exclusion of traditional beliefs. The events of baptism and marriage which became directed by the Missions may reflect a nominal acceptance of faith, but cannot be said to demonstrate total commitment to Christianity, although baptism to the faith had that connotation for the missionaries. The sacrament of Baptism and also Confirmation and Holy Communion reassured the missionary that his Mission was being accomplished. Likewise, public adherence to other aspects of Christian worship was interpreted as an index of faith.

The emic or cognitive connotations of these Christian ceremonial observances for the Inuit remain tantalizingly inaccessible. It should be noted though, that for many new converts a whole-hearted and serious acceptance of the Christian religion was forthcoming. Papik, who died at the age of 75 in the Chesterfield hospital confided in the R.C. Missionary just prior to his death.

My wife, my old pagan life, my ancestors, everything was calling me back. I struggled with them as I did not want to listen... we fought...but my baptism saved me.

(Masse 1948: 10).

Two years prior to his death, Papik had been baptized, taking the name David. This is recounted by Masse as a triumph for the R.C. faith, a victory for Papik in "the struggle on the threshold of eternity" (ibid.).

In certain other cases, the Christian faith seems to have similarly fulfilled the adaptive and protective functions formerly provided by traditional beliefs. Nonetheless, the following R.C.M.P. observation would seem to indicate that acceptance of Christianity was initially
very limited.

Notwithstanding the fact that Missionaries have been, for some years now, established in the (Chesterfield) district, they have made few converts to Christianity, and the few who have been received into the Church still practice and believe in their old pagan ideas, embracing Shamanism, etc. Taboos adhered to by these people embrace all kinds of subjects and in this respect they are little more advanced than the primitive Eskimos of the western Arctic.

(Clay 1925: 45).

The R.C.M.P., by virtue of their extensive patrolling of remote areas, often gained insights into behaviour not available to those observers in the settlements. A 1932 patrol in the Kazan River District provides evidence not only of shamanistic traditions, but in the context of a ceremonial drum dance the important spiritual component of the hunt is emphasized. Corporal Nichols, himself a participant in drumming for a short time, reports that he heard some dozen songs, all of which dealt with hunting and were associated with a range of different animals. The practical healing skills of the Shaman are also noted:

Neuktuk informed me the lad had a swelling in the neck, so he (Neuktuk) jabbed his pocket knife into the swelling to let the air out. He pointed to his belt where hunt several items...a piece of caribou skin, several caribou teeth, the brass screw of a primus stove...These or one of these apparently possessed some power...the wound despite much dirt, had healed, and needed no further attention...Neuktuk's magic belt appears to be all sufficient and in this case proved efficient.

(Nichols 1932: 103).
Where missionaries encountered adherence to indigenous beliefs which ran counter to the teachings of the Church, they strove energetically to correct such behaviour. Father Henry, encountering Ka-Mo-Ka in the Backs River District in 1937, was visibly perturbed by the latter's two wives mentioning that despite Ka-Mo-Ka's favourable disposition toward Christianity, "his status is rather a difficult one as he has two wives, one...for 25 years, the other for 12 or 13 years". Father Henry noted with satisfaction that, upon learning that this was unacceptable to the Church, "he was firmly resolved to straighten things out" (Henry 1940: 8). It seems for the most part that at least in relinquishing the overt behavioural and social aspects of traditional practices, the Inuit were quite prepared to comply with the missionaries. This behavioural compliance does not necessarily imply a complete rejection of indigenous religious beliefs, however. Moreover, certain material advantages might be obtained from the Missions if a visible acceptance of Christianity was displayed. Consequently, from a practical point of view, an overt acceptance of one form of Christianity or another was quite desirable. By 1930, R.C.M.P. reports note that many formerly held taboos, notably regarding death and burials which demanded a three or five day observance of work avoidance, had been jettisoned.

The same report emphasizes the way in which such taboos had tended to interfere with the goals of the White agencies:

Their taboos and superstitions were adhered to to such an extent that it was almost impossible to have any Eskimo do any work at
the time one wanted it done. This was most annoying to, and a great loss of time to White men who were either living in or travelling through the country". (Joyce 1928: 89).

The work avoidance taboo was, however, quite readily accepted by the H.B.C. Post Manager at Wager Inlet, who after the wife of Samson, a Post Servant, died, matter-of-factly noted that it "necessitates the cessation of work of the community for three days and five for the husband" (8.492/a/1/1925: 5). In many respects the trader, by virtue of his more intimate working relationship with the Inuit seems to have been far more accepting of traditional beliefs than the other White agencies. The Anglican Missions seem to have been particularly intolerant of anything which suggested persistence of indigenous beliefs, unlike the Roman Catholic who tried to pursue a strategy of incorporation or substitution rather than the outright destruction of such beliefs wherever possible. Danielo's suggestion that an attempt to understand the positive elements of the belief system, wherever it did not directly oppose R.C. ideology, is a case in point.

Where Missions attempted to intervene in traditionally validated cultural practices without real understanding of their rationale, discord invariably resulted, particularly where such cultural practices were linked to the secular rather than the religious realm. The ill-advised attempt by an Anglican missionary at Eskimo Point to prevent what he considered cruel and improper confinement practices during childbirth was sharply rebuked by the government physician at Chesterfield. The use of an abdominal pressure binding technique
during birth was sufficient to incense the missionary. The physician's response was as follows:

The women are quite apt mid-wives and it is only in abnormal births that they have any trouble. In any confinement work... I allowed them their customary procedure and they invariably used the abdominal binder, which to me was quite a good idea. These police and missionaries are not trained in obstetrics, and therefore have no reason for their criticism...This criticism if continued will have a tendency to eliminate the native midwife who has been carrying on successfully for generations before White men came.

(Livingstone 1938, memo).

The case of missionary intervention reflects a tendency for Missions to sometimes actively attempt to eradicate time-honoured and useful elements of material culture without sufficient attention to their utility. It should be noted that the indigenous midwifery practice hardly constitutes a pagan custom, rather it seems to have been a useful obstetric technique. The conflict here is between two distinct cultural systems. While the Inuit may have been prepared to adopt behaviour and even beliefs consistent with Christian teachings, forgoing polygamy and burial avoidances, etc., a tenacious adherence to proven utilitarian cultural strategies was evident. Although the Missions may have superceded the traditional cognitive associations of birth by their introduction of Baptism, their control evidently did not extend to influence over its physical character. However, in some cases, the cognitive reshaping of religious sentiment, and its attendant behavioural consequences, was sufficient to create major disruptions.
within the indigenous society.

Where Inuit response to the gospel was positive in the extreme, problems ensued, often resulting in tragic consequences. Certain elements of the Christian faith, such as the notion of Original Sin, the Second Coming and the attention focused on the Messianic figure, had no concomitant reference points in the traditional system of belief.

Understanding of such elements was often imprecise, direct translations read from syllabic script failing to accurately convey the meaning intended. Furthermore, the tendency for certain individuals to set themselves up as scriptural experts, claiming to be God's instruments, invariably disrupted the traditionally-sought harmony of social interchanges. The tendency for self-appointed charismatic leaders claiming visionary and radical insight into Christian teachings has been noted elsewhere as a characteristic of many revitalization movements. Buhr's earlier comment upon the seriousness of a situation where individuals experienced and acted out identifications with Biblical roles and events attests to the presence of such charismatic leaders in the Arctic. Nichols recalled an incident where, in a hunting camp, a woman claiming to have knowledge of the imminent arrival of Christ had brought all activity in a hunting camp to a standstill, so that a real danger of mass starvation loomed as the assembled group patiently awaited Christ's coming. At Nichols' insistence, Innukpok, an old and respected hunter and thinker, addressed the group, ensuring them that although Christ would ultimately come, He had not specified when and that normal activity
must resume. Nichols pointed out the superb eloquence of the man's thirty minute speech as he commanded the complete attention of the whole camp, observing that such lengthy public exposition was quite uncharacteristic of the Inuit. The incident serves to illustrate the more untoward and bizarre repercussions of Inuit acceptance of Christian teachings, when communicated as in that instance by a young missionary without any degree of linguistic fluency in Inuktitut (Nichols 1980B: 12).

3.3.11 Missionary Brokerage

The increasing tendency towards Christianity and its acceptance also owed a great deal to the efforts of indigenous catechists and R.C. catechumens, who under the auspices of the Missions provided an internal impetus for conversion to the faith. The role of the missionary broker is an important one providing a valuable internal cultural model which prompted the acceptance of Christian religion. Father Henry of the R.C. Mission counted three indigenous catechumens among the Catholic natives of the Wager Inlet region in 1946. Even in the absence of the missionary this provided a continuing influence upon the acceptance of Christianity. At the Anglican Mission at Eskimo Point, the Reverend Marsh was immediately assisted by Joseph Yardley\(^\text{12}\), the Inuit catechist there. Yardley not only provided a means of conveying the Christian message, but also conveyed some sense of the value of being a Christian in terms of other aspects of his association with the Mission. Yardley was responsible for church services at Tavani and seems in every way to have rendered most valuable missionary services, including a number

\(^{12}\text{This spelling is the one employed by the Anglican Missionary at Eskimo Point, D.B. Marsh. Elsewhere, Yardley is referred to as Yardley by the H.B.C. sources.}\)
of conversions, notably, at a hunting camp north of Eskimo Point, a
former Shaman who had hitherto consistently refused to involve himself
in Christianity (Marsh 1944). Varley's numerous travels to the
Padlimiut hunting camps west of Tavani and his support of the Eskimo
Point Mission during the 1930's, reflect the energy and commitment with
which he carried out his duties as catechist (B.487/a/2/1937). The role
of Varley and of his counterparts, the R.C. catechumens on the land,
should not be underestimated with regards to its power to invest the
intrusive religious system with greater validity and credibility for
the Inuit, and in terms of the catechist's ability to convey idiomatically
in the language of the listener the nuances of the Christian message.
The institutionalized brokerage function of the catechists stands in
sharp contrast to the self-appointed charismatic interpreter of the
Bible. The latter figure might demand, and did so in many cases, a
complete obedience to his word as the only route to salvation. The
catechist as an extension of the cultural system which employed him,
was the initial vital link in a network of transmission which led
to the priest and then to the supernatural. Arguably the broker became
a convenient receptacle for, or model of, the moral, spiritual and
ethical goals enshrined in his vocation. Whereas the priest or pastor
was undeniably culturally distanced from his flock, the native catechist
was irrefutably part of that flock by virtue of his ethnic and cultural
characteristics. This quality of proximity or centrality worked to
enhance his position and empower his activity in much the same way as
for the Post Servant.
3.3.12 Limitations of the Data

A thorough analysis of the Inuit response to the missionary presence is precluded by the inavailability of Inuit data. The question of the acceptance of Christianity can only be approached through the weighing of data originating from the various intrusive agencies in the Keewatin. Nonetheless, the preceding chapter has attempted to articulate the missionary role in Keewatin, its spectrum of access and resource control and its goals and activities. The information used to present these aspects is intended to reflect the acculturative influences of the Missions and the behavioural response of the indigenous people of the Keewatin. The true cognitive reaction of the Inuit to the introduction of the Christian religious faith cannot be accurately ascertained, but the use of the continued observations and comments of the H.B.C., R.C.M.P. and the Missions themselves, arguably provides a multidimensional insight into the processes and responses which accompanied the development of the Missions.

3.4 The R.C.M.P.

The R.C.M.P. comprise the third major acculturative influence upon the Inuit of the Keewatin. Preceded from 1903 to 1920 by the R.N.W.M. Police, the R.C.M.P. represented the interests of government and the judicial system in the region. This police presence is characterized to a marked degree by the extensiveness of its continued contact with the inhabitants of the Keewatin. Perhaps more so than either Missions or traders, the police force, by virtue of the scope and objectives of its tasks, encountered on a frequent basis not only those groups of
people who progressively focused upon the settlements, but more significantly the dispersed and remotely situated groups who maintained a land-oriented existence.

This attenuated threshold of influence is noteworthy, for it represented the penetration of acculturative forces far beyond the more circumscribed sphere of contact which was the Trading Post or Mission. To some degree it was incumbent upon missionaries and traders alike to seek out their respective populations of trappers or converts, but it was the R.C.M.P. who responded most vigorously to the task of widespread communication with the Inuit on a continuing and far-ranging basis. Notwithstanding the formidable vastness of their territory of jurisdiction, the police undertook the task of contacting, monitoring and communicating with the native inhabitants of the Keewatin with a notably energy and alacrity. The inestimable value of the Inuit Special Constables cannot be understated, particularly in regards to this extensive police patrolling. The success of the patrols hinged not only upon the traditional country skills of the Special Constables, but also derived from the important interpretative and communicative role into which they were placed. This particular brokerage role parallels those of the Post Servant and missionary catechist and represents an equally vital aspect of the acculturation process as a whole.

The stated objectives of the Police in the region seem to pale beside the enormous gamut of tasks undertaken by the officers there. Ostensibly the R.C.M.P., and before them, the R.N.W.M.P., served to communicate the designs of the judicial system and ensure conformity with the law of the
land. Their official role as agents of government entrusted with the control of the North, also served to reiterate the territorial imperative of sovereignty. These twin functions concealed an immense range of other services. The officer was expected to not only enforce an essentially alien code of law and act as a visible symbol of Commonwealth sovereignty, he was also obliged to act as conservation officer, a census taker, an arbiter of disputes, a mobile dispenser of destitution relief and, in the absence of official courts, a Justice-of-the-Peace. Quite apart from the priorities of law enforcement, the R.C.M.P. officer was also necessarily involved in the mundane practicalities of Arctic existence, carrying mail, reporting upon movements of game and people, ensuring the material well-being of the Inuit through regular visits to hunting camps and communicating information not only between the intrusive agencies present, but also between individuals and groups of trappers and hunters. This lexicon of services is quite formidable and the various roles and activities entailed will be duly examined here. Furthermore, the character of relationships between R.C.M.P. and Inuit, as well as between the three primary intrusive groups will be explored, although it is appreciated that patterns of interchange between the groups and the individuals of which they were composed were highly variable. Initially, attention will be drawn to the stated concerns of the R.C.M.P. as articulated by the goals of government.

3.4.1 Goals and Activities

The first official police post in the Keewatin, a barracks of the R.N.W.M.P. at Cape Fullerton, erected in 1903, represented an attempt to
monitor the activities of American and Scottish whaling enterprises in the North West coastal region. Whilst the well-being of the indigenous people in contact with the whalers was a stated concern of the R.N.W.M.P., this northward extension of police supervision from Churchill to Cape Fullerton also arose from pragmatic economic considerations. Duties included the collection of revenue in the form of customs and excise duties from the whalers. Furthermore, the Fullerton detachment functioned as a trade store supplying Chesterfield and Baker Lake natives (Donaldson 1909: 261). Supplies for the Quartermaster's and Trade Stores, for the two were quite distinct in the first decade of the 20th Century, were delivered by the Schooner 'Neptune'. Employed native's salaries were evidently quite generous and were doubled in 1907, in addition to an increase in value of furs procured (ibid.: 262). Officers also monitored game availability and acting upon directives to ensure conservation of musk-oxen, conveyed to the Inuit, with the assistance of Special Constables, the necessity for conservation of this species. The whalers encouraged the hunting of musk-oxen for trade of valuable hides, and thus the conservation imperative emerges as an initial conflict of interest between economic concerns and the police force, despite the latter's involvement in renumerative fur trading. By 1910, the Trade activities of the detachment at Fullerton had eclipsed other aspects of the police presence, a state of affairs which did little to clarify to the Inuit the reasons for the stationing of police in the region:

13. In 1909 it was recommended by Corporal Joyce at Fullerton that duty be paid on all imported items, not merely those intended for trade with non-whaling Inuit.
The natives appear to have a very poor idea of the reason that the police are stationed here, there is little doubt that some of the American whalers who have wintered here have done considerable to confuse the natives in this respect, as a remedy for this I would suggest that when there is any place where the natives can trade their furs without having to travel too far to do so, that the Police discontinue buying furs.

(Joyce 1911: 265).

In the same report, Joyce laments the poor progress of police work in the region, where despite the services of three employed natives as guides, hunters, patrol assistants, and at other sundry activities, there is little dialogue between the Inuit and the police. The services of a good interpreter, Joyce argues, are absolutely necessary in order that "the business or duty of the Police be thoroughly explained to the natives" (ibid.). The prosecution of police duties is further hindered by the limited judicial authority of the non-commissioned officer. Joyce urges that officers be invested with the authority of a J.P. to try and punish minor offences in a summary manner, but indicates that he has not revealed his limited judicial powers to the offenders encountered, deeming it unwise to "let the natives know that I was powerless to take any action" (ibid.). Employment relationships seem to have been somewhat less than satisfactory at Fullerton, despite mention scarcely five years before of the mutually satisfying character of these relations. Native Scottie who was employed for some six years by Moodie (1906-1911) was succeeded by Dooley and 'Bye and Bye' whose services met with the disapproval of Joyce. Both men were dismissed for disobedience of orders and carelessness regarding the beaching of
the police whaleboat. Joyce refers to the "careless and indolent disposition" of Dooley. Native 'Can-jag' (also rendered elsewhere as Coudjac) is hired in 1911 to replace these two recalcitrant employees. The tone of the report strongly suggests that not only are the police having difficulty in communicating their reasons for being in the region to the Inuit, but are also hindered by the lack of real authority they possess. Communication of motives and prosecution of the law are both severely detracted from by the lack of competent interpreters, a situation which undoubtedly makes police relationships between employed and non-employed natives ambiguous and uncertain. The key importance of the broker as interpreter, as well as an employee familiar with the requirements of service becomes evident even, or perhaps especially, at this early stage of police and Inuit contact.

The problem of obtaining suitable native employees emerges as a major one. At the headquarters in Churchill, Superintendent Starnes comments on the rapid turnover of employed natives, but notes also the desirability of retaining certain specific employees:

I have ordered native 'Joe' down from Fullerton and 'Pook' I am glad to say will remain with us and take his place at Fullerton...'Donal' and 'Goose' who had been employed off and on, had become unsatisfactory so that I sent them away and retained Willybuck (a.k.a. Ollybuck).

(Starnes 1912: 258).

Despite these problems, steps were taken to extend the range of influence by 1912, notwithstanding the loss of the schooner 'Jeanie' in that year. Three coastal supply stations were established with provisions, fuel, light and dog feed at Rankin Inlet, Eskimo Point and Wager Inlet.
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(ibid.: 259). Patrols to Baker Lake and Wager Bay were initiated from the Fullerton Detachment with the competent assistance of natives 'Joe' (still at Fullerton in the winter of 1911) and 'Oog-jug' about whom Sergeant Hayter comments 'Both are excellent workers and good men on a trip. They are good dog drivers and handy men around the detachment' (Hayter 1912: 268). During the winter of 1911 the first census was taken and contact was made with the Quanermiut of the Baker Lake region. Hayter mistakenly refers to these people as the Kenipitumiut, using the name bestowed upon them by the whalers somewhat earlier. Contact with the Padlimiut of the southern coastal and interior regions was made by Borden on a patrol from Churchill to Rankin Inlet. Borden, like his fellow officers, draws attention to the country skills of his Special Constables Pook and Willybuck, who drove the ten dog team and built some 26 igloos on the 750 mile patrol. Borden's patrol linked up with the Fullerton patrol at Rankin Inlet, an indication of the emphasis placed upon patrols as a means of internal communication in those pre-wireless days, as well as of the initial significance of familiarizing officers with the country and its inhabitants. The role of the employed natives in this effort is worthy of note as are the increasing abilities of 'Joe' and 'Oogjuk' at Fullerton in performing detachment work. Hayter is full of admiration for their traditional skills as well as their growing familiarity with tools and equipment (Hayter 1912: 266). The tendency to send native employees with mail packages unaccompanied by officers is also notable. In 1931 'Tupick' and 'Bye-and-Bye' were entrusted to bring mail, reports and returns from
Fullerton to Churchill, returning with the northward package, obviating the need for a police patrol to Rankin to connect with the Fullerton patrol, the pattern adopted the previous year (Demers 1914: 311). Demers notes as early as 1913 the debilitating effects of tuberculosis upon the Inuit, as well as the disjunction between trapping and hunting activities:

They wintered near Cape Eskimo; they had a hard time for food, but were very successful trapping. I regret to report eight deaths in this band during the winter, viz. five men and three women. There is much tubercular disease amongst the Eskimos, and a hard winter like the past has been, plays havoc with them.

(Demers 1914: 315).

By 1914 a considerable number of families were employed by the detachments at Churchill and Fullerton, at least four at Churchill alone. Temporary summer and spring employment was provided for seal hunting in order to provide dog feed requirements for the Churchill headquarters. Destitution relief was also provided in the winter of 1913 to a further two families from Egg Island. An absence of caribou in the winter of 1913 despite a large volume of furs traded at Chesterfield H.B.C. Post resulted in the deaths mentioned, as well as incidences of starvation around Baker Lake. An intended patrol to Baker Lake was prevented by lack of dog feed. Such details reflect quite accurately the condition of human and faunal populations and police documents provide an indication of material conditions at this time rather than concerns with the fostering of law and order. Once again, the necessity for a good interpreter at Fullerton is mentioned on the grounds that "any information is hard to get from the native direct" (Edgerton 1914:}
The highly individualistic character of the rapport between employed natives and officers seems to be illustrated by personnel changes in the Fullerton detachment. Native Sullivan is dismissed at his own request by Edgerton in 1914, and in his place 'Dooley' is hired. This same 'Dooley' whose indolence and carelessness were commented upon by Joyce in 1911, is considered by Edgerton to be "a good man and quick to comprehend" (Edgerton 1915: 262). What emerges during these early years is a pattern whereby certain individuals are employed sporadically whilst others are taken into regular long service, (notably Ougjuck at Fullerton). It also becomes apparent that employment relationships are shaped, to some degree, by indigenous sociocultural values and behaviour. Moodie, as early as 1905, indicates that employment obligations must encompass not only employees but the immediate and extended family commitments of the employee:

I intended originally to employ only one native permanently, together with his family. I find that to employ one, necessitates the feeding, but not paying, of a considerable number of his relations. In the case of 'Scottie', I shall have to feed to a certain extent besides himself and wife, his sister-in-law (a widow), his sister, his late brother's married daughter and her husband.

(Moodie 1905: 8).

Given that meat for feeding these people is acquired through purchase from the Inuit, this illustrates the way in which food-sharing patterns indigenous to Keewatin were taken into account by the intrusive cultural group. Clearly, there was no attempt to immediately change such patterns, but instead there was awareness that the new directives of the police

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must respond to existing values and behaviour rather than supplant such traditional imperatives as reciprocity and cooperation among extended families. Although Moodie elsewhere suggests the inevitability of change in aspects of the indigenous culture, there is also an understanding of the deep-rooted nature of traditional values and beliefs. Regarding the communication of legal and moral notions, Moodie notes:

> All superstitions must be handled gently, and it is worse than useless to attempt to upset old customs in a day. It is a matter of time to change these, and it can only be done by first obtaining the goodwill and confidence of the natives.

(Moodie 1905: 8).

Thus, the early priorities of police work in the region were to communicate effectively the reasons for the police activities, and to establish a presence and project a desired image of the police to the prospective citizens it encountered. The accomplishment of such a goal and the difficulties which accompanied it provide a microcosm of the acculturation process as a whole, for it became necessary to explain, communicate and then enforce the acceptance of unfamiliar cultural elements among the Inuit. The ambiguity and dissonance which arise from acculturative contact, particularly where the transmission of ideas and attitudes are concerned, was brought home quite graphically to the police, where traditional practices and modes of conflict resolution jarred with the legal imperatives of the police and judicial directives. A seeming plethora of homicide and violent crime, brought to the attention of police as they became increasingly familiar with the region and its inhabitants, underscored the irony of communicating the alien legal
imperatives of the Crown in the remote environment of Keewatin. Whilst the first years of police activity encountered no serious breaches of law and order, as patrols extended further and communication between police and Inuit improved, it became apparent that customary modes of redressing conflict in Inuit society clashed clamorously with the prerogatives of British justice.

3.4.2 The Ironies of Law and Order

By 1916, the establishment of a detachment on Chesterfield Inlet near to Baker Lake and the increasing patrols being made into the interior, had brought far greater numbers of Inuit into contact with the police. The facts surrounding the 1912 murder of two trappers, H.V. Radford and T.G. Street by 'killen-e-miuts' from the Schultz Lake region did not fully emerge until 1915. Statements from Akulak, Tulortok and Tavik, the men responsible, were obtained with the assistance of S.A. Ford, later to work for the Hudson's Bay Company at Coats and Southampton Islands. This incident, involving as it did, the murder of two qallunaat, and occurring so soon after the double homicide of two Roman Catholic priests in the Central Arctic, was sufficient to call into question the capacity of the police to protect the White population. Meanwhile, a series of murders involving the indigenous people of the Arctic, in the Keewatin, on Baffin Island, on the Belcher Islands and elsewhere, served to alert the R.N.W.M.P. and their successors, to the growing problem. By and large the internal homicides, with the exception of certain which emerged from religious fanaticism, seem to have been committed after serious deliberation,
the act of murder usually being the final solution to the life-threatening activities of the victim. In this respect, the homicides represent the following through of Inuit customary law, where the aggressions or menaces of an individual are not permitted to endanger the well-being of the group as a whole. Capital punishment, when resorted to, was the ultimate means of maintaining peace and was undertaken with much trepidation and resignation when all other culturally prescribed measures taken to ensure conformity had failed. The R.C.M.P. perspective maintained that such an act still, according to the law, constituted one of murder, and should be dealt with accordingly. At least one incidence is recorded in which the activities of a murderer aroused such great fear among the local population that customary punishment had not been carried out, and the law-breaker, still at large, was tracked down by the officers from Fullerton. This incident involved the murder of two brothers, Angalook-uou-ak and Alecummick, and the subsequent abduction of the former's wife by Ou-ang-wak, and took place at Shekoliguak Lake in the autumn of 1919 (1921: 15). Even locating the offender proved immensely difficult, for "other Eskimo were so afraid of Ou-ang-wak that they were keeping away from the Baker Lake Post" (Douglas 1921: 14). Mobility problems ensued from lack of dog feed and Douglas' initial attempts to organize the patrol met with a far from enthusiastic reception from the employed natives:

I experienced great difficulty in getting anyone to make the trip. At last I managed to get a native who assured me he knew the country, but refused to pull out with less than three sleds and four or five men. He said that he had heard that this native had said that he would never
be taken alive by the Police. This he gave as a reason for wanting such a large outfit.

(Douglas 1921: 14).

Ou-ang-wak was reputedly in a state of extreme anxiety, aware that some kind of retribution was imminent. Douglas continued to press his reluctant and similarly anxious employees to within a few miles of Ou-ang-wak's camp where negotiations ensured with the *de facto* leader of the local group, Edjogajuch. Edjogajuch did little to alleviate the fears of Douglas' retinue:

He also warned me that if a white man went there and tried to bring away Ou-ang-wak there would be shooting. This put the finishing touch to my natives and they refused point blank to go ahead another step.

(Douglas 1921: 16).

Finally, using Native Joe as an interpreter, Douglas succeeded in having Edjogajuch bring in Ou-ang-wak. The formalities of the arrest were clearly lost on Ou-ang-wak:

I send for all the natives to come to my igloo where, through the interpreter, I gave Ou-ang-wak the usual warning in such cases before arrest. But I felt perfectly sure that this had no meaning whatever to him, as he was very frightened at the time, taking no notice of the interpreter, and never taking his eyes off me.

(ibid.).

Ou-ang-wak's initial refusal to place himself in the officer's custody elicited a somewhat unusual but effective strategy by Douglas, who reminded all present of their dependency upon the Post for material goods and services:
He at first did not wish to come, but I had another talk with the rest of the tribe, and explained to them that they were dependent entirely on the White man for all they got from the trade stores, and that if they did not obey the laws of the White man, they would not be allowed to trade at the stores and in consequence would be in a very bad way. This had the desired effect, and the Chief informed me that Ou-ang-wak was ready to start any time I wanted him.

(ibid.).

This application of unorthodox pressure by Douglas reveals certain important facets of the Inuit perception of the police and the qallunaat as a whole. Evidently, membership of any of the intrusive groups was viewed as representing access to and control over the goods at the trader's disposal. The "law of the White man" and the goods of the White man were thus inextricably bound together as far as the Inuit were concerned. Doubtless, Douglas' tactic in the accomplishment of this, the last stage of his mission, served to reinforce this notion. Rasmussen later met Edjogajuch (Igjugarjuk) and this man, a Padlermiut Shaman, proudly displayed a document indicating powers vested in him as a Special Constable for the key role he played in bringing Ou-ang-wak to justice. Without the assistance of Edjogajuch in Padlermiut territory, Douglas might not have met with such cooperation in the arrest. Ironically, Edjogajuch himself had committed, in even more bold a fashion, the self-same crime of multiple murder and abduction to acquire his first wife, Kibgarjuk (Rasmussen 1930: 32).

Upon arresting Ou-ang-wak, the paradoxes of meting out justice had only begun. As Douglas points out:
Bringing Ou-ang-wak to civilization did not solve all the difficulties of the case, and a trial in civilization presented grave difficulties.

(Douglas 1921: 20).

Following a preliminary hearing at La Pas, Manitoba, the offender was returned to Baker Lake on a recommendation approved by the Department of Justice, and was tried by a court sent to Chesterfield in 1921 on board the "Nascopie", the annual supply vessel. The rationale behind this somewhat unusual course of action was as follows:

a) That murders in the Northwest Territories amongst the natives are becoming alarmingly prevalent.

b) That members of the tribes to which the murdered men belonged informed Sergeant Douglas that it was against their law for one Eskimo to kill another; that they had intended killing the accused for his crime, but finally decided to leave him in the hands of the white men.

c) It is therefore considered that the holding of a court and the disposing of this case at Chesterfield Inlet will have a beneficial and moral effect upon the natives.

d) That from a point of view of economy, it would in all probability, be less expensive to have a court proceed to Chesterfield Inlet... than to have all witnesses brought to Civilization and held until the 'Nascopie' made her annual trip in 1922.

(ibid. 1921: 23).

Another incident of homicide serves to reiterate the perplexing elements of importing justice to a widely different cultural environment. Ketaushak, a Belcher Islander, had forcibly abducted a young woman Ningeeoo, in the autumn of 1918. Following an altercation with Mukpooloo,
Ningeeoo's husband, Ketaushak withdrew, living apart from the band after making several threats to those who might oppose him. Ketaushak's brooding and introverted behaviour, although put aside as superstition by Inspector Phillips investigating, were seen, along with his withdrawal from the group, as incontrovertible evidence of an unbalanced mental state by the remainder of the band. Fearing what Ketaushak might do, the band were effectively prevented from living a normal hunting existence, with the result that starvation was imminent. A caucus held between the family heads decided that Ketaushak, by virtue of his insanity, was unfit to be allowed to live. Ketaushak was duly ambushed and killed. Phillips notes that:

The entire community (67 adults) including Ketaushak's nearest relations were in full accord with the deed, which seemed to them a proper and necessary step. During the period preceding his death, the whole community was in sore straits for food.

(Phillips 1921: 26).

The deed was carried out then in strict accordance with indigenous values, the behaviour of Ketaushak prompting a recognition of his unbalanced mental state which was consistent with traditional values and wisdom. The act was carried out only after the well-being of the group became endangered, and with the consensus of the community. The coroner's verdict as returned indicates a degree of understanding of customary law and the expediencies of culture and ecology, hitherto unseen:

After careful consideration of the statements submitted, we have agreed that the deceased, Ketaushak, although wilfully murdered by his fellow tribesmen, was killed for the common good and safety of the band, consisting of 50 or more souls.
The act, although deliberately committed, was done erroneously at the insistence of a council composed of the entire male population (grown), and entirely without malice or intrigue on the part of the councillors for the following reasons:

1) immediate starvation of at least the women and children.

2) being in actual fear of being killed, justified by constant threats from said Kataushak, considered by the band to be 'non compos mentis'.

We, therefore, strongly recommend, owing to the primitive existence and the total absence of all knowledge of law on the part of the natives of these islands, that no criminal charges be laid against any party to the act, nor any individual to be held responsible.

(Commissioners Report 1921).

The coroner's verdict handed down reveals a certain depth of understanding of indigenous customary law. Whilst the verdict does not condone the murder, it places the events in an appropriate cultural context and accepts the fact that British justice is an unknown quantity to the Belcher Islanders, recognizing that the consensual agreement reached by the community was not an ad hoc or simple one, and the circumstances of deprivation, hence the verdict of justifiable or excusable homicide.

The investigation of another homicide in the spring of 1919, also on the Belcher Islands, shows a less complete understanding of Inuit values. The victim of the homicide in this instance also abducted a woman, his wife's sister. After two warnings, the band seized Ko-okyauk, bound him with sealskin and allowed death by strangulation to occur. Ko-okyauk was also adjudged to be insane:

The first incident which made her regard her husband as insane was that he told her on
several occasions not to give food to other poor people in the camp.

(ibid.: 20).

Inspector Phillips, however, felt that outrage over adultery, the result of Christian teachings, had resulted in adultery coming to be regarded as "so heinous an offence as to constitute insanity". Phillips overlooks the comments of the victim's wife regarding food-sharing as "a curious detail" (Phillips 1921: 21). Given the penurious condition of the band, totalling 34 women, 33 men and 68 children, a number of men being crippled by gun accidents, it is evident that refusal to share food would certainly constitute evidence of a deranged state of mind. To refuse to conform to this normative value in such an impoverished situation would cause grave doubts regarding an individual's sanity. However, even given the fact that Phillips finds no justification for the murder, a trial was out of the question, once again, for perfectly practical material reasons. To remove the four perpetrators would have been to effectively sentence their dependents (some 26 people) to death by starvation, by leaving only two crippled men in the camp as providers. Phillips himself is astonished by the privations he observes:

Their condition is inconceivable to one who has not seen...These people are the most destitute natives I have ever seen, not for want of trying, I believe, but through the scarcity of food and their limited means of procuring same.

(Phillips 1921: 21).

Once again, the expediencies of material existence prevent the direct transplanting of an alien system of law and conformity into an Arctic context. The Belcher case is somewhat singular and occurs
outside the geographical confines of the Keewatin. Nonetheless, it provides a graphic example of the paradoxes of foisting an external code of social law onto a culturally different group. Whilst the first verdict displays some understanding of Inuit values, the second relegates a vital aspect of core values, that of sharing, presumably through ignorance. In both cases, the indigenous recourse is attuned to the material and cultural expediency of life, the customary action emerging as a product of consideration of wider aspects of existence, notably the prime directives of group harmony and survival.

The spate of homicides noted by police observers strikes a note of incongruity, occurring in a society where traditional mores emphasize peacefulness and cooperation. The Commissioner's Report of 1923 notes:

It unfortunately is necessary to record a terribly large number of crimes of violence among the Eskimos... This epidemic of murderous violence is surprising as the Eskimos in general are a kindly and docile people... Apart from the deaths of white men, the deaths of ten Eskimos amount to a serious proportion in so scanty a population.

(Commissioner's Report 1923: 22).

Those homicides involving Whites seem to have arisen from the dissonance of thought and behaviour between Inuit and qallunaat. In almost all cases, the homicides were sparked by fear of violence or death at the hands of the qallunaat. The murder of a free trader, Robert S. Janes, at Cape Crawford in Baffins Land, arose from a series of disputes which gathered momentum, and from Janes' violent overtures towards the murder's father:
For some time, Janes had got on badly with a number of Eskimos, particularly with Noo-kud-lah, disputes having occurred over claims by Janes upon the Eskimos for goods which he had given them. It was charged that Janes had threatened violence, and at one time had assaulted Noo-kud-lah's father, and further that he had taken some fur from Ah-tee-tah against his will...during his stay at Cape Crawford, Janes had had a dispute with the natives, had been very angry, and had threatened to shoot their dogs and to shoot some of them.

(Joy 1923: 34).

Janes' eagerness to obtain furs and his aggressive and belligerent behaviour in pursuing this goal seem to have been decisive factors leading to his death. His very presence, his violent actions and words ultimately resulted in the traditional treatment of one displaying such disruptive and potentially dangerous behaviour. The confinement of the perpetrators at Ponds Inlet detachment presented familiar problems, the vicinity of the detachment being unable to support the men and their families. It is noted that, "the confinement to one locality and the anxiety have told severely upon the prisoners" (ibid.). Invariably, detention proved psychologically damaging as well as serving to reflect the material problems of such confinement, circumstances which necessarily had far-reaching effects upon the detainee's families too.

Noo-kud-lah was tried and found guilty of murder at Ponds Inlet and was escorted directly to Stony Mountain penitentiary in Manitoba in the autumn of 1923. The intention of the police was to visibly impress upon the assembled group, among whom Noo-kud-lah possessed considerable prestige, the folly of encountering the forces of law and order as an offender. The public humiliation of Noo-kud-lah was carefully executed
and following sentencing, an appropriate speech from the judge impressed upon those present the treatment they might expect from "the representatives of the government, that they could expect kindness and protection from the police if they behaved well, but if they committed any crime they could expect to be punished" (Commissioner's Report 1924: 32).

The murder of Janes, although carried out in accordance with customary law and the subsequent detention and incarceration of Noo-kud-lah in a remote place, not to mention the actual trial, must have impressed upon the Inuit the enormous power of the police, as well as directly challenging traditional patterns of conflict resolution and consensual community decision-making. Police attention to other aspects of traditional behaviour was no less exacting and similarly profound in its impact. Jennings, in 1922, explained the practice of female infanticide to his superiors as follows; linking infanticide to the tendency for homicides to arise from disputes over wives or abduction thereof:

The reason for this scarcity of women is due to the fact that it has been the custom of the natives to put away their children for various reasons. First, in the case of female children, it is considered that they will never be of any service in the household, or if so, many years must elapse before that time; secondly the male child is usually kept, as...he can even at an early age assist in providing... Thirdly, a child of either sex, if born when the family is on the trail, and particularly in winter, is allowed to die as it is only a hinderance to the movements of the family.

This wanton destruction of children has gone on to such an extent, that it is only a matter of time when this race will, by natural process, become extinct.

(Jennings 1922: 45).
Jenning's perspective on infanticide is at best a partial one. Firstly, it is selective and hardly 'wanton destruction'. Although the practice was viewed as demographically maladaptive, the longevity of the Inuit people would seem to contradict the extinction which Jennings foresees. The population imbalance does not seem to be directly causally related to the incidence of homicide, despite the impression which Jennings seeks to convey. The integral and vital role of women would also seem to contradict Jennings' idea of the uselessness of females in the society. Nonetheless, the police, like the Missions, sought to eradicate the practice of female infanticide, whilst the availability of relief and sustenance from non-traditional sources, e.g., the Post, made it far less onerous to refrain from infanticide. Here again, it is worth noting that the totality of changes arising from acculturative contact was a product of material restructuring which made it possible for certain changes in behaviour to occur, as well as enabling consequent value elements to change to a lesser degree. In other words, the tendency to accept or reject behavioural and cognitive changes was bound up with the acceptance of proffered material changes.

3.4.3 Inuit Response to the Police Presence

As indicated in Chart II which shows a steady increase in numbers of detachments throughout the N.W.T., the police extended their threshold of influence well into the mid 1930's. The successful extension of activity hinged upon a number of factors. At a fundamental level, the geographic range of influence in terms of greater numbers of stations
and more widespread and vigorous patrolling enabled far greater contact to take place. In the Keewatin, the shifting of operational headquarters from Churchill to Chesterfield Inlet in 1924, represented an attempt to consolidate the police presence and extend the opportunity for regional patrolling from the new, more centrally located detachment. From Chesterfield, more extensive and frequent dog-sled patrols might be made, particularly to those interior regions such as Backs and Hayes Rivers where prior police contact had been quite limited. Furthermore, by the mid-twenties, a greater familiarity with the police presence was notable, and where such familiarity did not exist the continuing efforts of the police, and particularly their Special Constables, served to acquaint the indigenous peoples with the nature of police work, the reasons for the police presence, and their objectives. The overall growth of all three qallunaat institutions also accelerated the acceptance of the police presence. The importance of the Special Constables was paramount, and it is to this brokerage role that much of the success of police endeavours is attributable.

3.4.4 Police Brokers

Whilst the initial years of the R.N.W.M.P. in the Keewatin revealed problems with the employment of indigenous assistants, reflected in the sporadic and discontinuous nature of employment liaisons, the increasing influence of the police was later characterized by much firmer employment relationships. The early years revealed a tendency to value those stalwart native employees who could adapt their skills to the business

14. In the year ended September 1930, 4,362 miles of patrolling was carried out from Chesterfield almost all by dog sled. This compares with only 1,600 miles of patrolling, much of it coastal by boat in 1920 (C.R. 1920 and 1931).
of the detachment's daily round, as well as provide for patrols by hunting and by acting as guides and sled-drivers. Somewhat later, in the early 1920's, these police employees expanded their duties, or were urged to do so, to incorporate some of the functional capacities of the trader's brokers and missionary catechists. Essentially, their value came to be viewed not only in their abilities to carry out the more mundane chores which police service involved, but in the important communicative role which they might play in transmitting to other Inuit the desires and goals of their employers. This interpretative role was important, and the following extract indicates the way in which the police natives might break new ground by fostering an awareness and good disposition toward the police:

Natives who had never been visited by Police or in fact very few white men, were spoken to. News of the visit and its object will, I believe, soon travel to the tribes north...I am sure the primitive people visited regard the police in a very friendly spirit...I believe Native Nooviar did good work on his own account among these people, explaining what the police were for. How they would punish the bad but help the sick and needy.

(Petty 1925: 2).

Some additional comments upon Nooviar are in order given the position of trust and authority which he came to command. The inculcation of qualities of loyalty and fortitude over a decade or more of service led Petty to make the following observation about his employee:

The man is very loyal to the Police, considering their interests second only to his own. He belongs to no tribe here, for he is a Baffin Land man.

Although he is a Christian, he does not let his
religion monopolize his mind to the extent of neglecting his business, which I am afraid many natives are liable to do. I take this opportunity of mentioning the man as I consider he is very valuable to us.

At the same time, he possesses many of those irritating faults common to all Eskimo who have been in white employ for a length of time, and which perhaps sometimes makes him appear in a very bad light.

(Petty 1926).

Nooviar appears to have been an almost model employee, both as a skilled countryman and as a loyal servant of the R.C.M.P. It is enlightening and not a little ironic that Petty should call attention to his sterling qualities and still find space to refer to the irksome characteristics which emerged as a result of his being in the employ of the police. Despite Petty's dissatisfaction with those aspects of Nooviar which stem from his continued association with his employers, the highly favourable tone of the report attests to the abilities and qualities of Special Constable Nooviar.

Nooviar's efforts in communicating the business of the police seem to have been both energetic and successful. It is notable that of three employed natives at Chesterfield in 1925, Parker, Nookudluk and Nooviar, only the latter is entrusted with this brokerage role proper. Native Parker does not act as interpreter, and in 1931 census, information was obtained through Hudson's Bay Company interpreters. The officer notes that "without an interpreter, it is almost hopeless to do much

15. Nooviar was a long service trusted special-constable who, by 1928, had served in this capacity for ten or twelve years. By 1928, Nooviar was being sent out independently to attend to certain matters, notably Game Act infractions (1928: 88).
conversation and impossible to get information from those natives who live inland from the coast" (Petty 1931: 2).

The importance of the detachment natives in revealing the positive aspects of the police activities as opposed to certain negative connotations created by posters circulated by the D.I.A., is illustrated by the following comments:

A recent poster circulated by the Indian Dept. would, by the time the contents reach such people as these, to my mind give them the idea that the police were here just to "take", "bind" and "hang".

The Post Natives know different, (sic) and I relied on them, (during the Backs and Hayes Rivers Patrol) especially Native Nooviar to remove any such impression. Once the natives realize we are here chiefly to help them and for the administration of impartial justice, and free from Religious or Business Prejudices, good will, I am sure, be done. They will never, of course, be willing to bring their private troubles to a white man to decide, though one can easily get the impression they are doing so.

(Robinson 1926: 4).

Robinson's statement reveals the significance of the employed natives, especially Nooviar, as amplifiers of the police goals and designs. Furthermore, it shows the self-perception of the officers, who envisaged themselves as essentially value-free in their dealings with the natives, and as such, quite distinct from the trader and missionary. Robinson's concluding remark indicates an awareness of the ambiguity of acculturative contact, the perennial difficulty in establishing what is appearance or impression and what is reality. Robinson astutely notes that it is often possible to feel that a very close rapport exists between Inuit and police, but that this surficial
intimacy conceals a wide gulf of thought and meaning.

A degree of understanding of police business, or at any rate, a respectful and cordial response to the officers seems to have been the general motif of the Inuit reaction. The same officer, Robinson, notes a warm reception among the Padlimiut group headed by Edjughadjug (previously rendered as Edjogajuch):

I was invited to an old Angakok's igloo, immediately after my arrival, and a meal prepared for me, and when I left for my igloo, half of a large fish was given to me. This was the party to which the murderer Ou-ang-wak belonged, so no ill-feeling is held toward the police for his death. His sister, a woman of about 45, stated he was a bad man and deserved to die.

(Robinson 1926: 69).

Here again it is notable that the community's response to the official presence is directed by the influential Edjughadjug, who sets the tone of the welcome and is already assured of prestige by his position as 'honourary policeman' or Special Constable. Although the meeting of two bodies of tradition ultimately is reducible to an encounter of individuals, the significance of certain key figures who act as barometers of sentiment, guiding group response to the intrusive presence, is quite evident. The successful transmission of police designs regarding law and order, conservation of game, the desirability or undesirability of certain indigenous cultural practices, depended, to a very great extent upon positive reaction from respected and prestigious individuals in the host population, as well as the communicative skills of those actually

16. Ouangwak after his arrest, succeeded in escaping police custody during a terrific blizzard, a manoeuvre which proved to be his undoing for he died as a result of this escape bid.
employed in the service of the intrusive groups.

The police, for their part, strove to project to the Inuit a highly positive image both in terms of action and appearance. The successful communication of police goals and their acceptance by the Inuit depended upon the overt and positive presence which could be created when patrolling. Joyce, reporting on a patrol to Baker Lake in 1927, places considerable emphasis upon the image the police communicated:

Our new police launch looked very smart, and is most suitable for this class of work... both Constable McGregor and I wore uniform on the trip, and the whole outfit presented a very police-like appearance.

(Joyce 1928: 87).

In reference to patrolling, Joyce avers that only the consistent attempt to meet the Inuit on their own terms will ultimately be of value in communicating the role and significance of the police to the indigenous people.

I attach the greatest possible importance to a patrol of any kind which brings a member of the force in contact with a native in his home. When a native comes to the settlement where there is a detachment, he has friends to visit, trading to do, etc., which takes up his time, but when he is visited at his home camp he excels himself in trying to make things pleasant for his visitors. It is then that we can get his best attention, become thoroughly acquainted and get an opportunity to explain many things to him which it is most desirable that he should know.

(ibid.: 89).

Joyce's comments illustrate the pragmatism of R.C.M.P. attitudes toward their allotted tasks. He places much in store by the efforts of the
missionaries as a 'civilizing' influence, noting that early R.C.M.P. efforts to communicate with the Inuit were hampered by a shortage of competent interpreters, for few officers remained long enough in the country to attain the necessary linguistic fluency. The missionaries, being somewhat less transient in the pursuit of their vocation, gained the essential expertise in Inuktitut, and for this reason, according to Joyce, were able to make a profound contribution to 'establishing law and order in the district' (Joyce 1928: 90). Joyce himself was a twenty year veteran of Arctic service by 1928, and, perhaps justifiably, something of a self-styled expert upon the country and its inhabitants. His laudatory observations on the supportive character of missionary endeavours suggest a degree of solidarity of action and intent between the two agencies:

They (the missionaries) work early and late trying to instill into the minds of the natives the vast differences between right and wrong. In this respect they are almost constantly and in a most efficient way, doing the very work which we are trying to accomplish. They are the greatest support we could wish for, and whether they be Catholic or Protestant, the greater the cooperation between the missionaries and the police, as well as that of the other white men in the country, the greater shall be the advantage to the Eskimos and our Government.

(Joyce 1928: 90).

3.4.5 R.C.M.P. and Missionary Rapports

Evidently, in Joyce's view at least, a considerable commonness of goals bound together the two agencies. Such statements found a ready ear among the missionaries and the hierarchy which they represented, helping to cultivate a beneficial entente cordiale between the two
institutions, and facilitating the acceptance of both missionary and police directives by the Inuit. Before examining other aspects of the R.C.M.P.'s institutional interchanges, it should be noted that this kind of complementarity of goals greatly strengthened the acculturative force they were able to collectively exert. While the missionaries vociferously denounced pagan practices on Christian religious and ethical grounds, the R.C.M.P. likewise counselled the Inuit on the legality of cultural practices and more significantly, through their widespread patrolling, were able to monitor Inuit behaviour regarding such things as bigamy, infanticide, abandonment of the elderly and wife-exchanging. It should be appreciated though, that not all the officers of the R.C.M.P. shared Joyce's sense of common mission and were content to merely observe situations where pagan activities persisted, so long as such practices did not contravene the law. Others, such as Beyts, as early as 1916, seem in tacit agreement with the missionaries' attempt to remove traditional beliefs and behaviour:

The efforts of the Reverend Father Turquetil of the R.C. Mission established here...have succeeded in affecting many cures among the natives and their children in spite (sic) of the many obstacles which have constantly arisen. In some cases, they have succeeded in over-ruling some of the superstitions practiced amongst the natives, but this is a very hard matter to cope with and it is my opinion that it will be a considerable time before anything noticeable will be accomplished in eradicating the strange superstitions and conjurings practiced amongst them.

(Beyts 1916: 265).

Observations from almost a decade later provide an unintentionally revealing glimpse of missionary progress, or lack of it, but connote
neither a support for or a criticism of the missionary presence:

Most natives met with although generally not yet accepted into the Church are well on the way to become (sic) Christians. They are all proud possessors of crucifixes, which if reports are true, they only taken them off when about to witness or perform their native conjuring.

(Petty 1924: 4).

Inherent in the general posture adopted toward the Missions by the police is an implicit neutrality with the exception of Joyce's sentiments of praise and mutual solidarity. However, it is worth reiterating the essential symbiosis between Missions and police, whereby the latter actively reinforced through arrests and trials and by general verbal reiteration of moral principles, the concerns and directives of the former. This coincidence of motive and action served to powerfully assist the overall thrust of institutionalized acculturation.

3.4.6. **Trader and Police Interaction**

Relations between the organized Fur Trade enterprise and the R.C.M.P. have already been briefly referred to in regards to the management of the country resources (pg. 24). The possibility for friction between traders and policemen certainly existed and was in some cases exacerbated by police attitudes toward the exploitative power of the trade. Certain individuals openly frowned upon what they considered the manipulative character of the relationship between trader and trapper, others were content to couch their criticism in the form of observations on the paucity of game in times of abundant fur, and the attendant consequences of destitution. In 1926, Corporal Petty notes
the ambiguity of traders who profess altruism yet seek profit:

Both companies are, to my mind, buying too many deer skins and some measure should be taken to restrict them. It is all very well for company officials to talk of poor Eskimo in other parts needing deer skin, but we can be very sure that the same poor natives will pay heavily in foxes for the skins. If distribution of the skins is thought necessary, I am of the opinion that it should be as far as possible in Government hands.

(Petty 1926, diary).

Petty's criticism of the practise of Keewatin H.B.C. and Revillon's Posts purchasing hides to ship to the East Coast of the Bay for sale there, not only reflects his own perspective upon the mercantile transactions of the companies, it also raises the issue of resource management again. Whilst officers attempted to inculcate some notions of conservation, the trader sometimes encouraged widespread hunting for caribou hides. This conflict of interest echoes initial problems of enforcing musk-ox preservation while the whalers urged their Inuit hunters to procure more skins for musk-ox robes. The police conservation role brought them into bitter dispute with traders on more than one occasion, as the incident regarding excessive slaughter of walrus in 1930 revealed (pg. 247). It will be recalled that the attention of the N.W.T. administration was called to incidences of destitution and of partiality in distribution of the fruits of the annual walrus hunt, by the government physician, L.D. Livingstone.

The issue seemed to arise out of more than simply resource mismanagement, Livingstone acting on the information of the H.B.C. Manager, T.C. Car-
michael, an individual who seemed unduly critical of the police presence in the Keewatin for personal reasons which included his own altercations with the forces of law and order. Another Company man, S.J. Stewart at Chesterfield, simply frowned upon police activities. He is described in an R.C.M.P. report on the walrus incident as having "no earthly use for the Police and makes no attempt to conceal his feelings. It would not be out of place to designate him the "Chief Mouthorgan" (sic) of all propaganda recently started against the Police in this district" (McCormick 1930: 3). Notwithstanding these personal clashes between police and trader, it is evident that relations between the two bodies were sometimes fractious. There are a number of reasons for this.

Primarily, the police monitoring of game hunting and fur trapping activities sought to identify and prevent infringements of the N.W.T. Game Act (See Appendix 4). In so doing, police were obliged to ensure that the trapping season was strictly adhered to by Inuit and qallunaat alike. Secondly, the zeal with which this task was undertaken was often irksome economically and interpersonally. Furthermore, the police concern with the well-being of the native necessarily included Inuit relations with traders, who cast themselves as best equipped to communicate with and attend to the needs of the Inuit. Finally, disparities in the treatment of employed natives were viewed as potentially harmful, for if police natives were on the whole better salaried and rationed than Post natives, this might erode the power of employment which the Company possessed. This final point, briefly
addressed on page 246, was a contentious one as far as the Company was concerned. Not only, it argued, were there far too many families employed by police to trap police furs, but the highly favourable terms of employment made police service most attractive:

Natives employed by the Police are paid high wages and obtain supplies through the police trade stores at wholesale prices. In addition, they are given unnecessarily large rations and thus a preferred class of native is gradually coming into being. We understand that the Police intend to reduce the number of families employed to pay them at the standard rate of wages in the country by orders on the trading post as usual trade prices.


For their part, the police were fully cogent of the fact that the traders usually acted in their own self-interest, possibly omitting to mention to police some matters which might well have been police business. McCormick notes with considerable good grace:

While I do not wish to speak in a loose manner about Traders whom I have every respect for in their own calling, I must say that it is not in their interest to report anything to the Police from a business point of view.

(McCormick 1930: 311).

This economic conflict of interest was a significant one for the H.B.C., whose own commercial activities were to some extent endangered by police trapping and employment trends. Whilst in the interests of conservation, the R.C.M.P. were obliged to monitor all institutions and the Inuit, the Company preferred a free hand, unfettered by the constraints of the police presence. Thus, when Constable McGregor
drew attention to the traffic in caribou hides in 1927, eliciting a memo from the N.W.T. administration which pointed out the illegality of such trade, he was hardly endearing himself to the Company. Likewise, when Staff-Sargeant Joyce endeavoured to determine the legality of the Hudson's Bay Company employment contract with trappers in 1927, although his concern may have been in the best interests of the Inuit, they did not coincide with those of the Company. Thus, the conservation imperative, while ostensibly a neutral one, intruded into the domain of Company activities, and although trappers and traders alike benefited from the information passed on by officers regarding the whereabouts of caribou or seals, the fact that such information was being collected with a view to management of resources rather than extension of trade, often created friction between trader and police officer. The fact that police might direct not only native but gallunaat country activities (hunting, trapping, etc.) emerges in a patrol report in 1930, when it has become apparent that caribou populations have dwindled from their former plentitude:

I may have been a little premature, but I have told the white people at Baker Lake to prepare for a change from the killing of caribou by their employed natives for the dogs, and to put up fish during the summer and substitute other articles for feed. I consider it a matter of not many years when the caribou will be very scarce inland west from Chesterfield. During our patrol to Baker Lake, we saw a band of five in the distance of 200 miles, in a country that ten years ago contained thousands.

(Wright 1930: 2).

Wright's observations and his strategy for conserving caribou in the region reiterate the police concern with monitoring country resource
potential through frequent patrolling, as well as underlining the police role as guardians of the faunal resources of the area. That police were acutely cogent of the status of resources and the impact of scarcity or abundance on the Inuit, as a function of their regular contact on patrols, is illustrated by Nichol's comment two years later:

During my patrol through this part of the country (west of the Kazan River) last year, these same people had experienced a bad winter, owing to the scarcity of caribou and were then in poor circumstances, seeming lifeless and intensely miserable, a marked contrast to that of this year, which all are in good spirits, happy, cheerful and well, with seemingly not a worry in the world. Much of the meat obtained last fall has been sun-dried and cached for use this spring and summer, a very unusual act, as a rule these people very seldom think anything about the future.

(Nichols 1932: 103).

Not only does this suggest the fundamental connection between resource availability and psychological well-being, but it gives an indication of the fact that conservation measures and sensible resource utilization, e.g., caching for spring use, possibly as a result of the police endeavours, are being adopted. In former years of abundance, caching would not have been so critical. With the decline in caribou herds it becomes imperative. However, Nichols does not link this change in resource utilization to the growing importance of fur trapping, which as noted elsewhere, detracted from the former primacy of the country food quest.

3.4.7 Ecological Monitoring

Partly as a function of acting as conservation officers, but also as a result of an active concern for the well-being of the indigenous
population, the R.C.M.P. maintained an abiding interest in regional and local ecological conditions. Invariably, all patrol reports contain at least some details on predators, game and foxes. The police, like the traders, were fully aware of the extent to which the livelihood of the local inhabitants was intertwined with the ecological facts of the environment. The stated concern was the health and well-being of the Inuit and quite naturally this entailed successful utilization of a variety of country food resources, particularly as trapping activities came to deflect much of the energy formerly directed at hunting and fishing enterprises. The observable decline in caribou populations, noted earlier by Wright, was far from subjective impression, for all patrol reports point to a general decline in caribou numbers from 1927 onward. Police and police natives sometimes strove to offset this decline by encouraging widespread caching and by placing their own caches at the disposal of destitute natives:

Patrol camped at Manni-Mannik (Baker Lake region) for the purpose of locating caches of caribou meat constructed by Police Employed Native Parker in September, with the object of placing these caches at the disposal of Mr. W.C. Douglas (H.B.C.) for distribution among the destitute native families.

(MacGregor 1927: 1).

In such instances of deprivation, it becomes clear that, whatever personal conflicts may have marred the exchanges of police and traders, their collective consideration was the continued livelihood of the indigenous people. Resources turned over to the trader for the destitute represent the common fund of resources available for times of hardship, and in such cases, there is a purposeful attempt to integrate the activities of
the two institutions to serve the common good. It is worth noting again that the police, by virtue of their mobility in the region were in a good position to evaluate needs and conditions and act upon this information directly or relay it to the trader. McCormick, in 1930, provides a copious report of a Wager Inlet patrol containing much pertinent ecological data. McCormick's comments indicate that the police role as conservation officers and as communicators of environmental information sprang from pragmatic concerns for the Inuit of the region, not merely from the legal directive of upholding game regulations. Furthermore, McCormick laments the dubious benefits of trade supplies as a potential supplementary resource strategy:

It is true that from their fox hunts they are able to buy white man's food and they do, but they are so improvident they waste and give it away and nearly always get left in a serious predicament. From most every family with whom I came in contact, I learned of much hardships (sic) that could have been averted by a little good management.

(McCormick 1930: 5).

It seems that McCormick is suggesting that at least part of the police role in the Keewatin should be to point out to the Inuit the new conditions of ecology and resource use which the Fur Trade was creating, by placing at the disposal of the Inuit pertinent ecological information, and advice on the management of resources in the increasing pluralized subsistence quest. This represents an active inculcation of innovatory strategies designed to counter the more debilitating repercussions of the diversification of the food quest, even if only by recommending a
commensurate increase in aboriginal strategies such as heavy caching or fishing for dog food, rather than using caribou meat for that purpose. McCormick's mention of a "little good management" is replete with meaning, for it is an implicit recognition of changing conditions and a recommendation for different or accentuated cultural-ecological strategies to be used as a means of coping with these changing conditions.

Thus in their capacity as game officers or conservation personnel, the police undertook considerably more than the perfunctory business of preventing legal infractions of close season roles. Certainly this was the visible result in some cases, and both White trappers, among them Brother Volant of the O.M.I. Mission in 1925, and Inuit were reprimanded or counselled for such breaches of the Game Act. Such incidents of enforcement of the Act as are documented reveal the R.C.M.P. to be both legal and ecological arbiters. Investigating a claim by Police Native Nooviar that Sahmooktook and Kemookseralik had for four consecutive years trapped on his acknowledged territory, Robinson met with pleas of ignorance from the two offenders. The pair had violated not a written statute, but an acknowledged code of trapping ethics by infringing upon Nooviar's trapping grounds, and agreed to move elsewhere as soon as Robinson pointed out their culpability (Robinson 1925: 4). The incident suggests another dimension of the R.C.M.P. role as ecological watchdogs, for it presents the officer as an arbiter of disputes as well as an information source and a mobile relief dispenser.

As intimated previously, the prosecution of the law in matters of
conservation necessarily intruded into practical material elements of existence as well as taking on social and inter-institutional political ramifications. The careful monitoring of resource patterns, human well-being and the influence of trapping activities upon the latter, bound together a number of strands of sociocultural and ecological or material existence. The significant characteristic of police action is that of decision-making, both in response to acculturative changes and as an impetus for such change. In certain respects, the R.C.M.P. as conservation-conscious agents, and in fulfillment of their sundry other tasks, acted as a mediating and constraining force upon the directed changes stimulated by the trader. The widespread dissemination of firearms, and the accentuated seasonal pressure which trapping exerted upon country resources, threatened to dangerously erode the traditional subsistence patterns by literally devastating marine mammal and caribou populations. In 1928, Petty observes:

Caribou this season in the vicinity of Baker Lake are scarcer than during the two previous seasons and the hunting was of individual animals only, no large herds being seen. The natives attribute the fact of caribou being so scarce in the vicinity of the shoreline to the noise and odour of motorboats travelling on the inlet and Baker Lake.

(Petty 1928: 91).

The R.C.M.P., whilst they could not reverse the technological and ecological metamorphosis which the Trade engendered, could, through arbitration, careful monitoring and widespread patrolling, act as a check upon decimation and offset privations, by recommending certain resource strategies such as increased caching, careful use of all parts
of animals hunted and thrifty trade strategies. On a number of occasions, patrols were initiated following information received regarding caribou overkill or some other ecologically disruptive activity (Robinson 1926: 2).

Effectively, by functioning in the capacity of resource managers, the R.C.M.P. communicated new cultural-ecological adaptations necessary in the face of markedly changed conditions. The fact that natural environmental equilibrium had been disrupted, by new technology and resource utilization patterns, demanded innovatory feedback mechanisms to prevent system degeneration. By acting as ecological watchdogs, the police filled the gaps made in the system by the acculturative changes of the Trade. The foreseeably untoward consequences of the proliferation of firearms and the growth of the trapping mode of life necessitated innovatory measures to offset these acculturative trends, for natural patterns of resource management had been rendered obsolete by acculturative developments.

3.4.8 The Sovereignty Issue

Having assessed the roles of the R.C.M.P. and its predecessor as conservationists, law enforcers and in a spectrum of other duties in the Keewatin, one other aspect of the police presence remains to be noted. This concerns the territorial claim upon Northern Arctic islands by the government of the Dominion of Canada. The awesome size of the Northwest Territories and the physical difficulties of visibly peopling it, to validate its status as a bonafide part of the Dominion, meant that the task of asserting its sovereign nature fell to those
direct representatives of government, the police force. The issue of "Control of the North", as it was referred to by the R.C.M.P., was a contentious one, given increasing U.S. and Norwegian interests in some of the more remote Arctic islands during the early 1920's. The MacMillan expeditions from the U.S. and the tendency for that explorer to ignore regulations regarding mandatory licensing of all scientific exploration, led the Government of Canada to issue a supplementary draft despatch in 1926, firmly outlining Canada's sovereignty over certain Arctic islands, including Ellesmere Island, lying north of her mainland territory. 1926 saw the extension of the R.C.M.P. activities to Baffin Land (two detachments) and Ellesmere Island (also two detachments) as a visible vindication of Canada's territorial claim. The supplementary despatch, which in part impelled this extension of the police presence, is included for interest's sake as an appendix (Appendix 5).

The growth of police activity in the North as a whole reflects not only the stated objectives of law enforcement and native well-being mentioned earlier, but also this important territorial imperative. This explains the emphasis upon widespread patrolling and the strivings to create a "police-like presence" as a way of advertising to the world and to would-be "claim-jumpers" the integrity and purposefulness of Canada's northern intentions. The steady increase in R.C.M.P. detachments in the Arctic from 1924 to 1930, reflects this state of affairs equally as much as it indicates a response to growing needs for law enforcement or customs and excise duties, as R.C.M.P. reports suggest. It might also
be stated that the expanding empire of the H.B.C. in the north served to bolster Canada's sovereign claims over her Arctic islands. At any rate, Axel Heiberg and Ellesmere Islands, which were the focus of some potential territorial quibbling, were duly staffed with the official government representatives, the R.C.M.P., by 1927, in order that the grounds on which sovereignty be rightfully claimed (Discovery, Contiguity, Occupation and Control), be fulfilled to the letter.

3.4.9 Growth of Influence

The continued and increasingly widespread presence of the R.C.M.P. in the Keewatin served in two capacities. Firstly, by its adherence to and communication of an external system of criminal justice, it gradually inculcated an awareness of and obedience to this system. Notions of law and order, crime and punishment and the ethical inappropriateness of certain indigenous cultural practices were communicated by the police. As Joyce noted, in this realm of values, the missionaries were powerful allies. The police provided the element of authority and power, the ilima17 or sense of respect with which the gallunaat in general came to be viewed. In this way, the police substantiated the ethical and moral directives of the missionaries, having the observed ability to back up the missionary word with direct action, be it detention, arrests or simply tenacious penetration of remoter regions to deliver admonishments about game overkill or squandering of resources. Briefly stated,

17. Williamson has indicated the manifold connotations of this concept which conveys a sense of awe, respect or even fear regarding the power or autonomy possessed by others. When applied to Inuit-gallunaat relations it encompasses sentiments of respect for gallunaat technology and timidity created by gallunaat behaviour (Williamson 1979).
the communicative aspects of the police role, augmented and facilitated by the able Special Constables and interpreters, was revealed in both superstructural modes (cognitive and value aspects), and also in direct behaviour and action taken by police, and inculcated by example and tutelage in the Inuit.

Secondly, and in many respects, complementarily, the police addressed their attention to the physical and more tangible expediencies of everyday existence, acting as providers of information and sustenance (where necessary), monitoring ecological conditions, disseminating information on resources, human locations and movements, and encouraging the adoption of conservation techniques. This second material and infrastructural set of activities was both a response to unfolding changes and an impetus to conform to new patterns of hunting and movement created by the Trade. The R.C.M.P. thus functioned as a mediator of change, steering the acculturation process in terms of values, behaviour and material strategies, and attempting to render changes less debilitating. The police presence also served to complement the acculturative thrust of missionaries and traders by actively working to effect transition toward the new modes. A certain paradox emerges here though, for like the other two agencies, police documentation is full of admiration for those groups of Inuit such as the Backs River people and the Pelly Bay natives, who were seen to avoid what was deemed unhealthy dependency upon the traders and missionaries. Those groups who display a progressive orientation to the Post are invariably regarded as something less than "real Inuit", as if their orientation to the
qallunaat systems is in some way ignominious. Whilst it is possible to filter out such value-loading from the data, such attitudes tend to colour the reporting of facts to some degree. In essence, this seeming contradiction of action directed toward changing Inuit lifeways, jars with attitudes which advocate the retention of traditional activities and self-reliance. It becomes apparent that the acculturative process as a whole embodies many such inconsistencies and ambiguities and the police role in this process reveals itself as no exception.

There are some indications that the police activities began to bear fruit by the mid 1920's, Inuit response being characterized by more open acceptance and less suspicion and hostility:

These winter patrols are welcomed by the Eskimos who now realize that they come as friends and not merely as agents of punishment.

(Petty 1925).

Petty's comment came after some ten patrols in the year ending July 1925. The rendering of assistance to sick and destitute people also served to enhance the police reputation for valued positive action. This reiterates the idea that acculturative change emerges from a welding together of both practical material elements and behavioural and cognitive aspects. Positive response was much more likely to arise from contact in which real service was done for the needy than from mere tutelage without reinforcing action. From the initial tentative probings of one group by the other, with accompanying problems of language, communication and employment, there emerged a more solid rapport between the Inuit and the police. The high incidence
of homicide which marked the beginning of the 1920's seems to have been anomalous. Police business thereafter focused not so much on the implementation of justice, but rather more upon the livelihood of the Inuit, their utilization of resources, and the provision of essential services (relief and medicine) where such measures were demanded. The patrolling officers, through the skills of their employed guides and companions, seem to have developed an increasing awareness of the character of the land, its inhabitants and their immediate needs, so much so that patrolling officers might recommend relocations. Nichols, on patrol in the Kazan River area of Baker Lake in 1931, "found a camp to consist of eleven natives in a state of semi-starvation. Relief was given and Corporal Nichols, on investigation, concluded that the Kazan River area is bad for game and advised them to shift their hunting ground, offering them help to do so...he was in hopes they would take his advice" (Nichols 1931: 93).

In addition to this advisory role, (one also played by the Post Manager whereby dialogue between hunting camps and Manager would produce possible new locations) certain officers attempted to provide solutions to resource problems such as the perennial dog feed shortage by encouraging increased fishing as a subsistence tactic. Nichols once again is enthusiastic about "the possibility of inducing the natives to fish with nets in numerous lakes, so as to be able to provide dog feed without killing the caribou" (ibid.: 92). Effectively, such strategies reflect an awareness on behalf of the police of the importance of reshaping aspects of the resource quest to accommodate already changed
elements, in this case, the diminution of caribou herds. Nichols notes that the efforts of Nelson, a White trapper at Beverly Lake, had resulted in widespread and successful adoption of fish-netting practices previously unused by the Beverly Lake dwellers.

Whilst such evidence indicates the fruitful application of ideas to the material realm by the police, they similarly broadened the Inuit understanding of their raison d'être in the Keewatin, gradually dispelling the negative perceptions of their presence, which seemed to stem from a basic misunderstanding of police power and motive:

While making the...investigation I found that the Natives were under the impression that the police would kill any native who had committed a wrong. I got the whole camp together and explained to them that this was not so, that the police would not kill anyone, but if a native, or a White man or woman did wrong, the police would come and inquire into the matter and if the case warranted it they would then take them away, and it was only in cases where one person killed another that death would be meted out... but even then, the police would not do it.

(Steward - Southampton Island Patrol 1931: 89).

Steward's explanation to the Southampton Islanders provides an insightful adjunct to earlier comments on the ironies of carrying out law enforcement amongst a people who possessed no clear notion of judicial process and powers. The extract reveals the perplexing nature of the police officer's role in this, the most formal of his many duties. It serves also to illustrate the gradual and painstaking nature of the acculturation process as far as successful communication of ideas is concerned. Certainly the awareness which Steward is
striving to inculcate, did not come about quickly or even uniformly among the Inuit of the Keewatin. A pattern of more ready acceptance of tangible material and technological innovation is suggested, with a much less immediate response to and understanding of ideas, values and other intangible elements of transaction.

In its totality, the R.C.M.P. presence and its acculturative impact evidently covered a formidable range of activities. Drawing upon the concepts of infrastructure, structure and superstructure introduced earlier, it can be observed that the R.C.M.P. endeavours permeated all three areas, exerting pressure and mediating pressure at the material-ecological level, but no less in its attempts to convey concepts and attitudes (superstructure) and in its attention to behaviour and sociocultural patterns (structure). The range of influence of this single intrusive organization, touching so many facets of Inuit life, predisposes a perspective of acculturation which does not artificially divide action into realms of impact, but envisages the process as an integrated and holistic one, whereby one organization and its individual representatives might effect an immense variety of changes.

3.4.10 The Value of R.C.M.P. Documentation

Throughout the substantive material introduced, the R.C.M.P. emerge as a dual force in the Keewatin. The police worked to actively inculcate certain attitudes and behaviour, but simultaneously provided a most thorough monitoring of the impact of both the Missions and traders. This capacity to both effect change and record it is shared,
to some extent, by the other agencies, but is enhanced in the R.C.M.P. case by the considerable range of topics to which the police directed their attention. The preserve of the trader was also the concern of the policeman in terms of the ecological facts of Inuit existence. Yet, the trader possessed no intrinsic interest in the spiritual activities of the Missions, whilst the R.C.M.P., as part of their objective of bringing law and order to the Keewatin necessarily found themselves pursuing many of the ethical and moral commitments of the missionaries.

The copious thoroughness of R.C.M.P. observations and the attention payed by officers to the minutia of several aspects of Inuit existence and its metamorphosis, renders the R.C.M.P. data particularly valuable herein. It also permits a veritable three-dimensional picture of acculturative change to emerge by acting as a commentary upon both H.B.C. and missionary endeavours.
CHAPTER 4: CHANGE DYNAMICS: ANALYSIS

So far, some assessment of the individual and collective impact of the three main intrusive institutions in the Keewatin has been presented. Information in Chapter 3 has provided insights into the priorities and strategies of the separate interest groups, as well as attempting to point out the collective thrust which they comprised. It becomes apparent that whilst all three concerns, the H.B.C., the Missions and the R.C.M.P., can be broadly grouped in terms of overall acculturative impact, that each entity possessed a particular set of goals which were pursued quite single-mindedly. The nature of the dialogue between the Inuit and each organization reflects this situation, often revealing a characteristic set of sociocultural and material responses and overtures consistent with the attainment of discrete goals. Despite this more or less elaborate set of transactions, it becomes evident that certain over-arching changes were set in motion by the three interest groups as their several concerns overlapped.

Firstly, the geographic coexistence of the three institutions provided a series of settled focal points for interchanges, be they economic, religious or sociocultural. Worth considering in this regard is the disparity of priorities which emerged between trader and missionary where the need to increase fur returns and maintain a land-oriented existence for the Inuit, stands in opposition to the missionary goals of defusing certain traditional elements associated with the nomadic way of life and fostering an increasingly close rapport with the Mission. Nonetheless, while Christian festivals were sometimes a nuisance to the trader, the
end of each trapping season meant an influx to the settlement anyway and Christmas observances were also traditionally part of the H.B.C. scheme of things. Invariably all those persons trading at a given Post would converge upon it for the Christmas festivities, irrespective of the strictly religious aspects of the holiday. Significantly, at all those points where two or three of the intrusive institutions were established, a tendency toward increasing movement in and out of the settlement is noticeable. This increase in traffic was complemented by a growing tendency for residence in the settlement or its immediate vicinity by employees of the agencies and by summer dwellers. Furthermore, as indicated by H.B.C. data from Southampton Island and Wager Inlet, to name but two Posts, a growing material dependency in the face of periodic country food shortages becomes apparent. In such instances, the Fur Trade paradoxically seems to create the very converse of the results it desires, by drawing individuals into a dependent relationship materially and cognitively, instead of keeping people away from the Post on traplines and in winter hunting camps. Although the Trade flourished as more people came to depend upon it, the long term implications of such increased dependency were to the trader's disadvantage, particularly in poor fur years. Nonetheless, the Trade and the total network of institutions in the settlements evidently induced a trend toward spatial centripetalism. The client population of trappers and hunters, focused upon the settlements and supported by it through Trade and employment ties, came to view the settlements from a pragmatic viewpoint, as a source of sustenance and recompense. This is not to suggest that the traditional rapport with the
land and its resources was necessarily relegated, cognitively or materially, but that the settlements provided a welcome reinforcement in the event of privations on the land. The Trading Post, even in the absence of the other institutions, served to structure and guide the spatial and demographic facts of existence.

4.1 Spatial and Demographic Changes

The Wager Inlet Post illustrates well the nature of the spatial and demographic shifts which the Fur Trade stimulated. Its relatively isolated inland position and its distance from the floe-edge, the usual source of marine mammal sustenance, serve to distinguish it from most of the other Keewatin Posts. Nonetheless, the country food resources in the vicinity span a broad spectrum, including caribou, extensive fishing possibilities in the Backs and Hayes River area, and marine mammals and fishing along the Inlet to the floe-edge. Flanked to the south by the highland of the Wager Uplands and to the north by similarly rugged terrain, the Inlet permits a narrow corridor of hunting camps on its north shore. Human movement is circumscribed to a great extent by the natural physiographic character of the Inlet and camps tended to be stretched out along the north shore and clustered in the immediate vicinity of the Post at Brown Lake (Kaminalow) and Ford Lake (Tessyouyak). In 1925, some eleven families were focused upon the Post but volume of Post utilization was quite low (see Table II). A significant increase in Trade visits during the next two years is notable, as well as a tendency for individuals to visit the Post far more frequently. The decline in Post utilization in 1928-29 coincides with the non-appearance of the Backs River natives
that year. The following year sees the reappearance of the latter group of trappers and a general stabilization of the population of post-oriented families. The years 1930-1933 reveal a tendency for greatly increased use of the Post with many individuals and families making multiple visits to trade fur and country food resources. A focus upon summer fishing during the annual July fish run for salmon also brings a flurry of Post activity, as netting is undertaken by post staff and Inuit alike at the Narrows, where Brown River connects Brown and Ford Lakes. In 1929 the run produced a total of 1300 fish from July 1st to August 10th (B. 492/a/6). In addition to netting during the salmon run, Kaminalow Lake was fished in the traditional manner with lines, and by jigging through the ice in winter.

As indicated earlier, fishing and caribou hunting served to offset the periodic scarcity of marine mammals created by the remoteness of the floe-edge. Seals comprised a year-round staple nonetheless, and were hunted consistently with both rifle and harpoon. Often the time and energy devoted to sealing yielded only meagre returns. In March of 1926 it is observed that the post servants spent the whole day at the rapids, some ten miles from the Post "and for one seal" (B.492/a/1/1926: 16). The idiosyncratic character of the sealing enterprise further reveals itself in the fact that some eight days later further down the Inlet, Samson, a post employee, reports "Natives getting many seals" (ibid.: 18). Given the variable nature of returns from sealing, it becomes evident that the resource quest is by necessity a pluralistic one, where failure in the pursuit of one quarry is counterbalanced by success in other hunting
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Wager Inlet: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization

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Visit Breakdown

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Visit Breakdown

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Visit Breakdown
Table II (continued)

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
endeavours. Throughout the early years of the Wager Post the hunt is characterized by a dual focus, to the Inlet itself for sealing and fishing and to the inland regions for caribou. The hunt for caribou was not just a seasonal activity either, although spring and autumn reveal increased efforts in this direction, corresponding to widespread migration of herds, for throughout the year caribou were sighted within 20 km of the Post (ibid.). The spatial implications of these natural resources, as well as the trapping enterprises, demand attention.

Firstly, despite the transportation problems encountered due to the distance of the Post from the coast and the nuances of the Inlet's tidal and navigation characteristics (two sets of falls "polanyi" created by tidal and riverine currents presented an awkward hazard to small vessels), the Wager Post was well situated to draw upon the Trade from the Backs and Hayes River district and to benefit from those dwelling along the shore of the inlet. The trail to Hayes River, given good travelling conditions, took six or seven days from the Post to the mouth of the Hayes (B.492/a/1/1926: 17). Given the effort invested in courting the Trade attention of the Uthuhikhalingmiut, the people inhabiting the Hayes and Backs River systems, there seems to have been, from the outset, a deliberate attempt to induce individuals to gravitate to the Wager Inlet Post. When the Backs and Hayes River people failed to make the trade journey, the tally of individuals trading and total visits made fell markedly as in 1923 to 1929 (Table II). However, the existence of a natural resource base was quite critical to the Trade as a whole at Wager, as at all other Posts. The Uthuhikhalingmiut of Hayes and
Backs Rivers concentrated mainly on fishing and caribou hunting. The Inlet provided a far more extensive range of resources for those people focused upon it. Nonetheless, even given a spectrum of subsistence pursuits, the Post came to exert an increasingly powerful influence upon local movements whenever country resources proved inadequate. Volume of traffic into the Post appears to be governed then, not only by fur abundance or scarcity, but also by the availability of game for sustenance.

In this regard it should be observed that abundance of country food and acute shortage both result in increased use of the Post, either to trade country food, notably fish and deer, or to obtain alternative provisions in the absence of natural sustenance. Where reasonably good fur years coincide with adequate country food supplies, as in 1929-1930, recourse to the Post is more limited and single visits rather than multiple visits predominate. This tends to corroborate the argument offered earlier, that the Post came to be viewed as a 'fail-safe' system which could be counted on in the event of natural resource failure. In the final years for which data is available at Wager Inlet, certain other notable patterns emerge. From 1930 to 1933, a preponderance of multiple visits is detectable, suggesting at first glance a growing dependency upon Post facilities. However, the records indicate 1930-1931 as being a bumper fur year and the volume and frequency of visiting appears to reflect this situation: "Cheerio 261, the best outfit since the Post has been established for fur, here's hoping future outfits will live up to your standards. So long" (B.492/a/7/1931: 81). The final two years shown
reveal consistently large populations of trappers and a high level of Post utilization. Frequency of visiting figures suggest that more persons are visiting the Post more than five times during the year. Fur returns show a downtrend following the bumper yield of Outfit 261, but country food resources seem quite ample (B.492/a/8/1932). What then is the explanation for the high levels of Post utilization? A possible partial explanation is provided by the record (B.492/a/8/1932) which indicates that many people camped on Kaminalow west of the Post moved to the floe edge toward the mouth of Wager Inlet in the winter of 1932. The logistics of moving nine families and their possessions seem to have required a fairly constant recourse to the Post during this transfer:

   Auktuk, Sic-Sac and Kaffee in. They have been freighting some of their belongings down to the floe...All natives from Caminalow Lake now in vicinity of post, en route to the floe. As between them they have an immense number of goods and chattels, much time will be taken before all their belongings are taken down to the floe; it can only be accomplished in relays. This is by far the best policy for these natives, as naturally in Caminalow vicinity "seal hunting" is impossible. The inaccessibility of the floe would appear to be the snag in Wager Inlet.

   (B.492/a/8/1932: 66).

   The Post Manager's explanation is quite direct, the lack of country food resources necessitating move toward the floe edge for seal hunting. From January 1st to 18th, some nine families shift their location to the floe-edge (ibid.: 64-68). Kaminalow still serves as a base for several traplines, however, and caribou hunting in that vicinity is pursued with consistent effort (ibid.: 73). Caches of meat from autumn hunting around the lake provide a further explanation of the movements up
and down the Inlet from Kaminalow to the floe edge. Trapping activities and country food needs both serve to focus attention on the Post and trading is brisk from January to April although the White Fox is scarce in the region. When food supplies dwindle, once again the Post is resorted to: "Keamilleajook and Amanak in. Had been deer hunting at Caminalow (sic) as their food supply is low" (B.492/a/8/1932: 79). This latter entry seems to suggest that country resources are sought out in preference to Post commodities, but also that any activity in the region of Kaminalow includes a trip to the Post. However, certain contraindications of Post dependency occur in the record. In the autumn of 1932 the journal keeper notes that "Yesterday's arrivals out down Inlet for sealing again. They seem to be pretty hungry and are losing no time hanging around the Post" (B.492/a/9/1932: 34). In this, the final year of documentation available, patterns of movement reflect a continuing focus on the Post, with 42 percent of all visitors making multiple visits (Table II). Scrutiny of the daily journal predisposes a view that even when country food is ample, frequent visits to the Post occur, often to trade the fruits of the hunt. During October 1932, twenty separate visits occur to trade fish and deermeat and to report on the presence or absence of deer or seals. As suggested previously, the Post functions as an inventory of ecological information, keeping the Post staff and visitors up-to-date on conditions to the east and west of the Post. The volume of traffic in 1932-1933 is somewhat reduced, particularly during the trapping season, a fact which the Post Manager attributes to the overall scarcity of fur (ibid.: 52). Coupled
with this there is a scarcity of country food in the camp to the N.W. of the Post some five days distant, where a number of families are based, and also down the Inlet:

Natives Deaf Johnny, Angatinwak, Sutoxi and Nowya arrived at the Post this evening and they were all in a sorry plight with frostbite, hunter and tiredness. The majority of their dogs had died on them through lack of food and they had but seven dogs amongst them when they arrived here. None of these natives had any fur.

(B.492/a/9/1933: 53).

This tends to reiterate the idea that the overall populations of seal, caribou and fox together structure the flow of people into the Post and guide decisions regarding camp locations. During a particularly poor year, such as Outfit 263 (1932-1933), visits to the Post decline. No tradeable furs were available and mobility was severely restricted by lack of dogs. Recourse to the Post is eventually made as a last resort and under conditions of extreme duress.

A final point regarding the propensity of the Post to stimulate movement and guide location, by virtue of its accessibility and capacity to provide, emerges in the spring of 1933 when the Backs River natives show up to trade:

Traded today with the Okshikshillingmiuts and this occupied the greater part of the day. These men are contemplating residing in the vicinity of Wager Inlet, probably in close proximity to Kaminalow, but their final decision with regard to this question depends on whether deer are plentiful or otherwise.

(B.492/a/9/1933: 83).
This suggests that the presence of a Fur Trade Post, while it may be convenient and welcome, does not solely dictate the demographic patterns which emerge, but that the decision to remain or move arises from a complete consideration of country resource potential, upon which the trapping enterprise itself critically depends. Essentially the Post was not a true resource focus, although high volumes of traffic into the Post may initially convey that impression. Rather, it comprised a central pool of information about the location of human and animal groups and as such represented a resource focus of a quite different nature. Scrutiny of the total available record at Wager Inlet indicates that many visits were for the expressed purpose of notifying the Post of human relocations and faunal resources. In the latter years there were some social visits and small scale transactions, especially in summer, of country food, notably fish. The Post's proximity to the excellent fishing at Kaminalow contributed to this summer traffic. Those persons who visited annually from the northwest were neither inclined nor obliged to frequent the Post for such trade, and fur was stockpiled through the trapping season for an annual trade visit.

The evidence from Wager Inlet strongly upholds a view of the Fur Trade Post not as a magnet for settlement and peripheral nearby location, but as a contributing factor to be weighed against other more urgent ecological constraints. Notably, when one strand of the resource quest failed to provide, there was little hesitation in moving to another more propitious locale for sealing, fishing or caribou hunting. It is, however, worth noting that the Post was always kept informed of such movements
and played an important role in passing on vital information to others who visited it. In this respect the Post does come to possess a central status for those who utilize its services. Furthermore, the availability of rudimentary medical and dental care should not be dismissed as a factor contributing to an increased cognitive and material orientation to the Post.

It seems fair to say that the Post, at Wager Inlet in this instance, fostered a confidence and progressive orientation to it rather than a complete dependency on its resources. The increasing utilization of the Post which Table II reveals emerges as a result of a number of factors, primarily ecological and geographical, rather than reflecting solely the increasing progress of the Trade. One final point provides food for thought and may be explored further in the light of evidence from other Posts, namely the tendency for Post utilization to reflect a polarity between single visit trading and multiple visit trading. Even given that some single visits are not trade related, (e.g. mail carrying, guide work, social, information-relaying) there remains a population of Post users who maintain as little contact with the Post as necessity allows, making only annual visits to trade and then returning to the land. As a counterpoint, the advance of the Fur Trade also creates a clientele who become more involved with the Post, keeping close ties with it and using it frequently. This dichotomy seems to be revealed in certain other Posts too, as perusal of the relevant tables shows. Some examination of the other Keewatin Posts will serve to shed some light upon other kinds of spatial and demographic patterns associated with the Fur Trade settlements.
4.1.1 Repulse Bay Data

The spatial characteristics of population location around Repulse Bay differ somewhat from those of Wager Inlet. At Wager groups of hunters and trappers tended to be located lineally along the north shore of the Inlet and around the lakes by the Post. Repulse Bay, lacking the physiographic constraints imposed by the natural channel of the Inlet and its flanking high land, drew on a less circumscribed area in its immediate vicinity and also attracted trade from further afield with annual trade visits from Igloolik and Southampton Island (See Map 7).

In addition, the Repulse Post was not hampered by the difficulties of a remote floe edge and marine hunting formed the main thrust of the subsistence quest there. Summer fishing activities around North Pole River during the salmon trout run, and small game and avifauna, supplemented the major reliance upon seals and square flippers. The relatively high carrying capacity of the littoral region around Repulse Bay Post in part accounts for the growth of local population through the 1930's. By 1937, some 33 percent of trade visits were emanating from within 20 km of the Post (see Table IV). The major portion of the trade however, was being drawn from more distant points, but with the exception of Igloolik, all the other camps still lay within four or five day's travel, even given poor travelling conditions. The Southampton Island trade came by way of Duke of York Bay and Beachy Point, involving a crossing by boat or customarily on the sea ice forming between the two points. No trade is noted from the Island in 1937-1938, and no explanation is offered in the record for this severance of the Southampton Island connection. It is possible that ice conditions prevented the usual
LEGEND
Repulse Bay hunters: R
Wager Inlet hunters: W
crossing or alternatively, that trade was taken elsewhere on the mainland. The data from Chesterfield indicates trade with "John L. and his companions in from Southampton Island" (B.401/a/10/1938: 50). This was in April of 1938, and appears to substantiate the view that, for whatever reason, it was thought that trading at Chesterfield was preferable. In former years Chesterfield had built up an annual trade link with John Ell and his companions, all of whom trapped and hunted in the south of the Island. It is quite possible that the northern islanders may have also adopted this pattern, when ice conditions between Duke of York Bay and Beachy Point were unfavourable.

The data on Post utilization, albeit scant, conveys the impression of increased use of the Post and a tendency toward multiple visits, consistent with the growth of local population in the immediate vicinity of the Post, at Haviland Bay, Beachy Point, Harbour Islands and Aivilik Point. Single visits also increase in 1937-1938, bolstered by the greater numbers making an annual trade trip from Pelly Bay. Visits from Committee Bay decline (Table III) indicating a shift of these individuals to another location. At least two come to reside nearer the Post at Beachy Point. Notably those individuals who gravitate to the hunting grounds in the immediate proximity of the Post account for most of the multiple visits. Black Peter and Akwajug from Haviland Bay and Neloolak from Beachy Point make thirty-five trips to the Post altogether in 1937-1938. Those individuals camped at Lyon's Inlet, somewhat further away, but still within seventy miles of the Post, also tend to make more than one visit, but less than five. The Pelly Bay
TABLE III:

Repulse Bay: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Individuals Trading</th>
<th>Total Visits to Post</th>
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<td>78</td>
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<td>1931-1932</td>
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<td>127</td>
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<td>1937-1938</td>
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Visit Breakdown | Single | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more |
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Source: H.B.C. Daily Journals B.472/a/1 - a/3
TABLE IV: Spatial and Demographic Characteristics of Repulse Bay Population

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<tr>
<th>Origin or Location of Individuals Using Repulse Bay Post</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>As % of Total Visiting Population</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Committee Bay</td>
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<td>Ross Bay</td>
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<td>Lyons Inlet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Igloolik</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Local Vicinity (&lt;20 km from Post)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total population of visitors</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: H.B.C. Daily Journals B.472/a/1 - a/3
natives who swell the ranks in that same year traded formerly at King William Island, equidistant with Repulse from Pelly Bay, but less easily reached over the height of land to the west of Pelly Bay and then across the sea ice, in comparison with the less strenuous route across the Rae Isthmus south to Repulse.

It is regrettable that the data for Repulse Bay is not complete enough to provide an incontrovertible pattern of utilization from its inception in the mid-twenties. Nonetheless, the available information suggests that the presence of both H.B.C. and Revillons Freres trading posts exerted a considerable influence upon group location and movement. Bearing in mind the fact that Repulse Bay was also a favoured wintering location for the whalers prior to Fur Trade activity, it would appear that the strength of focus upon the Posts also emerged partly from the longstanding nature of Trade and employment opportunities there. The decision to trade at Repulse by Pelly Bay and Igloolik natives arose out of consideration of travelling conditions and fur abundance: "When asked if they (Pelly Bay Netsilingmiut) would return next winter they stated that they would if foxes were plentiful" (B.472/a/2/1932: 40). The Igloolik natives also tended to sometimes trade at Pond's Inlet rather than negotiate the often-treacherous spring coastline south to Repulse Bay. Nonetheless, at least some of the Igloolik trappers arrived annually at the Revillons Freres Post, if not at the H.B.C. facility. Figures tabulated include individuals trading at both concerns. The key element in maintaining the growing local population of trappers seems to have been the relatively high resource potential of the coastline in the immediate vicinity of the Post. The accentuation of hunting pressure,
created by the Post to some degree, and supporting it on the other hand, will be duly examined as will resource data from elsewhere. Presently it remains to render some explanation of emerging spatial patterns at the other Keewatin Posts.

4.1.2 Chesterfield Inlet Data

Chesterfield Inlet Post records are quite thorough and provide a fairly consistent chronological record from 1920 to 1940 with the exception of the middle years of the 1920's. Data on Post utilization, presented in Table V represents use of other services in the settlement to some degree, but reflects particularly the trading activities of the H.B.C. Post. Initial scrutiny of the data reveals that the numbers of individuals trading at and visiting the H.B.C. Post remained remarkably stable over the twenty year period covered. Furthermore, single visits predominate, suggesting a situation in which there was no appreciable increase in reliance upon the Post. Seasonal patterns of resource utilization, particularly the annual walrus hunt coordinated by the three institutions, resulted in summer convergence upon the settlement. The annual arrival of the supply ships to the Mission and the H.B.C., also created an influx of normally land-based hunting camp dwellers to the settlement. Aside from this summer influx, the journals attest to a largely land-oriented pattern of location for the remainder of the seasonal round. Even during summer the pattern is one of temporary residence at Fairway Island, Promise Island, Deadmans Island, Sakpik Island and Wag Island, (see Map III) rather than in the settlement proper. Nonetheless, by the mid-thirties greater numbers of formerly land-based individuals had come
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Visit Breakdown

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<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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**N.B. Post-resident population has increased. These resident individuals are not included here."
MAP 3: Chesterfield Inlet

LEGEND
Chesterfield Inlet hunters: C
Tavane hunters: T
to take up residence in or near the settlement, and the Post Journals note that as early as 1922, the combination of mainland and offshore island traplines produced a steady stream of Trade visits (8.401/a/4/1922). Furthermore, the Chesterfield Post's location, at the mouth of the Inlet, placed it en route to Baker Lake by boat or on ice, contributing to its utility as a staging Post for trade, mail and other traffic. The increased residential population reflects a more general growth of activity in the settlement, which by 1932 is host to a number or concerns besides Mission, hospital, Trading Post and R.C.M.P. Northern Aerial Mining Exploration and Dominion Exploration Ltd. both base operations from the settlement, and a government physician is in residence. In consequence, numbers of employed natives and their families increase substantially. By 1932, the White population of the settlement numbers some nineteen individuals, all of whom require, in some degree, the services of the indigenous people in the settlement or as guides upon the land. The Chesterfield fox farm operated by the H.B.C. until 1931 also required the services of rather more people than a regular Trading Post. At least five individuals are employed by the H.B.C. in 1930, they and their families receiving regular weekly rations. In that year, the total number of individuals visiting the Post more than once comprises 56 percent of total visit types (see Table V). Multiple visits continue to predominate with the passage of time, although, as noted in regard to Wager Inlet, a dichotomy emerges between land-oriented individuals who trade only annually, and those trappers and hunters who inhabit the nearby islands, Baker Foreland, and the Rankin Inlet region some 75 miles south by the
coastal route. This latter group comprise those individuals making at least two trips, and usually more, to the Post in any given year (8.401/a/5/1930: 32). This despite the fact that the Mistake Bay Outpost run by Chesterfield Post also handled trade. It is not unreasonable to suggest though, that the main Post would have offered a much greater range of commodities and services than would have been available at the Mistake Bay Outpost. Chesterfield ultimately took charge of the collection and preparation of pelts taken to Mistake Bay.

Even despite the growing numbers of persons taking up summer residence or trading more frequently to the Post from nearby locales, the characteristic attitude of the Post management was that the rightful location of the trapper was on the land not at the Post. This comment from October 1930, immediately prior to the opening of the trapping season on November 15th, conveys such an attitude most emphatically:

> We are glad to be able to mention that not one native (male) is at the post - all being strenuously engaged in preparation for trapping and we hope will help us to succeed in our endeavour to ship many foxes in this era of erratic markets and low prices.

(8.401/a/5/1930: 97).

Overall, the patterns of location around Chesterfield Inlet Post provide a generalized picture of localized displacement, with heavier populations located on the coast south of Chesterfield and taking advantage of floe edge sealing possibilities provided by the littoral. Some small camps are located up the Inlet west of the Post, but the majority of those people trading in are based along the indented shoreline south to Mistake Bay, or on the numerous small islands at the mouth of
the Inlet. The 1930's also saw an increasing use of the government physician (Doctor Bruce in the early years of the thirties), for the treatment of numerous minor outbreaks of disease, among them tonsillitis, influenza and dysentery, the latter complaint related to abundant country food from spring marine hunting. Trading of country food from the littoral also contributed to the stream of traffic into the Post. Relative abundance or scarcity of fox seemed to have little significant effect on movement in and out of the Post, for in 1931-32 where the Post is described as "the 'dead spot' on the coast", there is still a high incidence of visiting (B.401/a/7/1932: 82) only slightly less than in the good year of 1933-1934 (B.401/a/9/1933: 36). A tendency for local groups to trade in with only one or two fox pelts during the late 1930's also accounts for increasing multiple visits to the Post. The accessibility of hunting camps and traplines emerges as a key factor in creating this pattern. As at Repulse Bay, those groups located far from the Post make only one visit, or at most two, whilst the 'local' camps become habituated to a multiple visit pattern. Social celebrations such as dances or feasts held by the H.B.C. and Missions become biannual events, with organized sports days, dances and gift giving at Christmas and Easter and an increasing number of impromptu affairs participated in by all and sundry, with the notable exception of the Mission Fathers and Sisters. This pattern of institutionalized get-togethers found favour with the locals, White and Inuit alike, and must be considered as a possible attraction to frequent settlement visiting.
In observing the extensive range of reasons for increased Post utilization, it should be noted that Chesterfield of all Keewatin settlements possessed or came to possess the most developed sense of community, a fact expressed as eloquently in the rivalries between the trader and the missionary, as in the general conviviality and intimacy of intersettlement relations. The intrusive population was numerous, at times almost a third the size of the indigenous group it attracted, and the development of a physical, social and economic fabric as a consequence of the juxtaposition of these numerous concerns served to convey an impression to their personnel and to visiting Inuit of a kind of microcosmic 'white society' in the Keewatin, which found its hub in Chesterfield. The acculturative potential of this kind of social world, however far removed in its sociocultural character from the more distant points of its origin, was great, and the profundity of its impact is not easily approached through statistics of visiting to Chesterfield. Nonetheless, such figures reflect trends substantiated by the observations of the trader and his co-residents; that as the Trade and other concerns developed, an intensification of Inuit interest in the settlement followed, with increasing transactions of an economic, social, medical and religious nature. Although perhaps contrary to the wishes of the intrusive agencies, yet in implicit emulation of their sedentary life style, more and more individuals opted to move close to or into the settlement, at least for some portion of the year. This growing attention to the settlement, evidenced in the multiple visits to it for trade and other purposes, is balanced by the land-oriented populations who visited only to trade
annually or when circumstances of ill-health or deprivation demanded it.

4.1.3 Tavane Post Data

Established in 1929, the Tavane Post catered to a rather smaller population of trappers and hunters which attained a maximum of 37 individuals in 1933-1934. At least three of these individuals also traded into and/or visited Chesterfield, but the majority of those trading at Tavane maintained a consistent orientation to it. Populations also reflected in their locations around Tavane a two-fold resource orientation, to the inland region and to the littoral for sealing and walrus hunting. Hunting camps were located at Term Point, along the Wilson River, along Dawson Inlet and on Walrus and Morso Islands, where there were traplines and some hunting and egging in season. Inland camps included one at Quartzite Lake, 50 miles west of Tavane, and camps up the Maguse and Copperneedle Rivers, all of which offered fishing and seasonal caribou hunting possibilities (see Map 8). Most critical, in terms of its repercussions for the Fur Trade and general human mobility, was the annual walrus hunt carried out from Tavane as well as Chesterfield and focusing upon Walrus Island and its immediate environs. It required the coordinated efforts of Inuit-owned boats, H.B.C. craft and R.C.M.P. and Mission vessels. Cached walrus from this early autumn hunt provided the dog feed so vital to effective movement for both trapping and hunting.

Utilization of the Post increased slightly from 1932 to the final year for which documents are available, 1941 (see Table VI). Single visits predominate until that final year despite set-backs for some very able

1. Tavane Post Journal notes nine fox retrieved from 20 traps on Walrus Island in January of 1938. The flotsam from walrus butchering made the island a consistently favourable trapping location (B.487/a/1/1938).
TABLE VI:

Tavane: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Individuals Trading</th>
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<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
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Source: H.B.C. Daily Journal B.487/a/1 - a/4
hunters in the winter of 1938. Speaking of Pork, a hunter described in 1935 as "our best trapper this year" the journal keeper laments Pork's arrival in January of 1938:

He is apparently broke flat as he has nothing at all, and it looks as if he will have to go on destitute rations - too bad as he was once a very good hunter.

(B.487/a/1/1938: January).

Pork's fortunes in trapping reflect the difficulties encountered in obtaining good hunts year after year even when new locations are tried for foxes, inland and on the coast. A White trapper, J. Brown, trading into Tavane, notes scarcely a month after Pork's 'demise' as a trapper that fox signs abound both inland and on the floe edge, but signs and actual pelts appear to have been two quite different commodities (ibid.). Some indication of the influence which the Post at Tavane exerts emerges in 1940-1941 records (see Table VI) when multiple visits to the Post far outweigh single visits. This was, by all accounts, a good fur year inland, but mention is made of problems in shifting stock-in-trade, so actual trading would appear to have been quite light, indicating a poor fur year (ibid.). The comparatively high number of multiple visits suggests that fur or no fur there was a definite increase in Post utilization. In some cases this was to trade country food, in others to bring in very meagre catches from time to time, a pattern which suggests privation in the camps or a growing perceived need for Post commodities, or both. Data from Eskimo Point would seem to indicate a growing population of trappers in the late 1930's, but no significant increase in visiting,
despite higher totals of individuals. The journals from Eskimo Point indicate privations in 1937-1938 which are not apparent in the Tables (see Table VII). Scarcity of deer inland meant certain individuals were obliged to resort to fishing for dog food and fared none too well on their traplines as a consequence. Several individuals, among them some widowed women, received destitute rations on a regular basis and fur was in short supply inland and on the coast. In the face of such conditions, some individuals opted to camp at the settlement through the spring and summer while others chose to camp inland (B.408/a/3/1939: 70). Numbers of people arriving with no fur and "for no apparent reason" are notable, suggesting that the Post has become far more than simply a trading facility for some of those frequenting it (ibid.: 64 and 70). Analysis of data from the remaining Posts indicates a similar kind of ambivalence; those who use the Post increasingly more frequently, and those who choose to stay away, trading only once a year unless necessity demands otherwise. Significantly, those Posts whose trading populations have had the direct experience of long term problems in either securing sustenance or furs, and those Posts whose populations are located within very short distances (as noted with Repulse Bay) increasingly became the targets of frequent heavy visiting.

4.1.4 Coats and Southampton Island Data

The Coats Island and Southampton Posts conform to both sets of conditions, privation and close location of trading populations, but given the extent of resource failure referred to in the records and noted earlier (pg. 237) visiting is still somewhat limited with no substantial
TABLE VII:

Eskimo Point: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization

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Visit Breakdown

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1937 - 1938

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Visit Breakdown

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<td>15</td>
<td>7.5</td>
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incidence of multiple visiting except in the year 1920-1921 (see Table VIII). The transfer of the Coats Island Post to Southampton Island in 1924 swelled population figures when Baffin Landers were relocated to trap there, but visiting patterns reflect a tendency for single visits to take precedence (1924-1925 and 1925-1926) among this larger population. Furthermore, some of the inhabitants of the Island chose to visit Repulse Bay to trade with H.B.C. or Revillons Freres concerns or to cross to Chesterfield Inlet to trade. Even given the widespread destitution in 1925-1926 multiple trips to the Post increase only slightly. Possibly this stems from the response of the Post Manager to destitution which is characteristically unforgiving
in all but the most drastic cases. Many of the trappers in the north of Southampton Island obtained credit at Revillons Freres in Repulse Bay in 1926, a sound strategy in view of the hard line on credit taken at Southampton as a result of poor fur returns, and resource failure at Cape Low, Native Point, Munn Bay and other southern hunting locales.

Prior to the move to Southampton Island a year of drastic privation in 1920-21 resulted in a decision to keep the native inhabitants of Coats Island at the Post for whaling during the summer of 1921. The following year, a number of individuals of the eight hunters located there moved "to hunt near the post" (B.404/a/3/1922: February). The paucity of trapping returns, only an estimated 320 foxes at the most, and shortages of country food led the Post Manager to attempt whaling again in the summer of 1922. The 1922-1923 trapping season (Outfit 253) brought poor results and such foxes as were trapped were of poor quality (ibid.: 1922: December). Heavy debt was extended to the trappers by the relief Manager M.L. Manning in the absence of the usual Manager S.G. Ford. Visiting records kept by Manning were not as comprehensive as those entered by Ford but the heavy debt extended would suggest that the visiting figures in terms of volume and frequency may have been somewhat higher than actual transactions recorded. At any rate, the Post was well used:

Things about the post does (sic) not look encouraging in looking over native A/C I see all of them got pretty heavy debt for this place, and will have some trouble to collect again.

(B.404/a/3/1923: June).
TABLE VIII:
Coats Island: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization

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<th>Year</th>
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</tr>
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Visit Breakdown | Single | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more |
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Visit Breakdown | Single | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more |
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<td></td>
<td>Total Visits to Post</td>
<td>87</td>
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With Ford in charge as Manager for the last season on Coats Island and debts already outstanding, a fairly rigid control over further debts was exercised. Visiting to the Post is quite low in volume and frequency, possibly as a consequence of Ford's avowed lack of sympathy for the predicament that the island's residents find themselves in and his hard line policy on debt. Referring to the conditions of starving dogs and people, Ford remarks:

This is the fruits of letting the natives during the spring and summer to lie around in their tents when they should be driven off to hunt seal and walrus for the coming winter. Poor reports of foxes.

(B.404/a/3/1924: January).

Following the transfer of the Coats Island people to Southampton Island and a further relocation of Baffin Landers to Southampton Island, Ford
notes a heavy dependency upon the Post which does not reveal itself in
the figures tabulated. Numerous visits with single fox pelts become
notable and Ford observes:

This continual run on the post is an
entirely new departure to me. It would
appear that some of the natives have been
pampered or mishandled at some time or
another.


Given Ford's observations on the frequent Post visiting and the failure
of the southern fur hunt on the island that year, it would appear
that scarcity of foxes and inadequate country resources along with the
privations of the Coats Island Post, well remembered no doubt by those
formerly located there, contributed to a sense of dependency upon the
Post as a source of provisions. The desperate lack of country food in
the south of the Island revealed itself again the following winter with
individuals trailing into the Post with similar tales of starvation:

Joanassie and Wife in, have been living
on their dogs and now that they have all
done they have not had a bit to eat for
15 days. Report that everywhere seal and
walrus is not to be got, although the ice
floe is quite satisfactory for hunting and
no deer at that part of the Island (towards
Cape Low). I shall go to their rescue with
a bit of walrus and seal meat and fat to
keep them from starving. What a year for
hunger among natives: "Kahkhook" (hungry)
is the first greeting that we get every
arrival.

(B.404/a/3/1926: 269).

That year of widespread starvation in camps at Cape Kendall, Cape Low,
Native Point, Munn Bay and other southern localities, marked the last year of journals available for Southampton Island. The famine felt by those hunters and trappers did little to dissuade those people from an increasing orientation to the Post.

4.1.5 Inland Post Data

Coats and Southampton Islands were by no means singular in terms of the privations the hunters around them endured while in pursuit of the White Fox. The middle years of the thirties saw periodic famines in the interior of the Keewatin among the Padlimiut and more northern groups. A dearth of information is notable for both Baker Lake Post and Padley (H.B.C. spelling) with documentary record of events unavailable for almost the entire history of these Posts. The sad testimony which such records must have contained regarding the unforgiving consequences of resource failure is, therefore, inaccessible to the researcher. Table IX shows the record for Post utilization for Baker Lake and Table X is the only available year for the Padley Post. The Baker Lake data predisposes a view of the Post as a location for primarily annual visits, but does point to a large overall population increase during the middle years of the 1930's. Forty-three percent of visitors make more than one trip by 1937-1938. Extrapolating from other Posts' data is somewhat difficult, given the fact that inland Posts were obligated to rely solely on caribou hunting supplemented by fishing. However, it seems not unreasonable to posit a similar growth of orientation toward the Post, as the trade became a regular feature of life in the interior. Dominion Exploration Ltd., Anglican and Catholic Missions and an R.C.M.P. detachment, as well as
Revillons Freres and H.B.C. Posts, served to make Baker Lake a focal point for a variety of traffic, both White and Inuit. White trappers trapping in the Upper Thelon River made periodic visits to the Posts, as did Northern Aerial Mining Exploration personnel. A total population of at least 23 White residents meant that Baker Lake, like Chesterfield, was a miniature metropolis by Keewatin standards (B.384/a/1/1929). The logistics of transporting and maintaining this intrusive population necessarily entailed a good deal of interaction with the Inuit, who were employed as guides, hunters, porters, stevedores, seamstresses (for the White trappers mainly, who wisely adopted indigenous clothing and footwear styles), Mission helpers, purveyors of country food and Post Servants, in addition to their trapping obligations and traditional hunting and fishing activities.

In the absence of a solid chronological record of such interaction, a similar pattern of visiting and spatial location to that pertaining to Chesterfield might be assumed to have developed, with certain important differences. Firstly, the inland location of Baker Lake effectively precluded marine animal hunting, thus severing one strand of the resource quest and placing a heavy pressure upon the staple resource of caribou. Secondly, the sad facts of numerous localised famines in the interior around both Padley and, to a lesser extent, Baker Lake, would have predisposed the Inuit in the vicinity to a greater degree of dependency upon the Post, as a survival strategy. Thirdly, the scope of the White institutions in terms of needs catered to and personnel involved would have certainly provided a formidable acculturative presence
### TABLE IX:

**Baker Lake: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization**

1929 - 1930

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1930 - 1931

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1937 - 1938

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### TABLE X:

**Padlei: Volume and Frequency of Post Utilization**

1937 - 1938

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<td>%</td>
<td>46</td>
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for those within the sphere of influence of Baker Lake\textsuperscript{2}. Patterns of seasonal residence similar to those at Chesterfield, e.g., either on or very near the Post, reflect this increasing interaction. Finally, the plethora of health problems which began to emerge in the thirties, especially the widespread ravages of tuberculosis, causally related to the numerous famines on the land, and the rapidity with which epidemics gripped the settlement-based population, invariably created an untoward reliance on settlement facilities. Baker Lake cannot be recorded as an exception to this pattern. By the same token the very real dread of hospitalization and the tacit understanding that the settlement, be it Baker Lake or Chesterfield, was in some way less wholesome than a life on the land, doubtless caused some individuals and their families to steer clear of the settlement, unless a visit was absolutely necessary. The final year of figures (1937-1938) for Baker Lake seems, once again, to point to this duality of orientation to the Post, with nearby groups making many trips to the Post, but others (57\%) making only a single visit, usually at the end of the trapping season. The Padlei data for that same year reveals a similar pattern but with more individuals making multiple visits to the Post there (54\% make more than one visit). In view of the recurring famines in the interior around Padlei, this strong orientation to the Post might well be expected to emerge in the wake of the privations of the mid-thirties. The almost complete reliance on caribou by the Padlimiut placed them in a position of acute dependency.

2. Records from the summer of 1929 report forty natives engaged in a widespread search and rescue operation for a Northern Aerial Mining Exploration aircraft, almost the entire population of natives trading in at Baker Lake mobilized for this search effort.
in the event of the failure of the biannual caribou migration in spring and autumn. The anxiety associated with successful hunting is hinted at in the incident already related at Padlei in the late summer of 1937, where a number of hunters arrive from the west for extension of debt in the form of ammunition and provisions for the autumnal caribou quest. The critical importance of hunting immediately for caribou moving in the vicinity seemed to elude the manager of the Padlei Post, who refused to advance debt until the new manager arrived (B.453/a/1/1937: August).

It is unfortunate that more complete data are not available for the Padlei and Baker Lake Posts, but the impression conveyed supports a view of increased orientation to and dependence upon the Fur Trade Posts. Some overall analysis of the spatical patterns generated by the Fur Trade presence has been permitted though, and the Post-by-Post breakdowns presented above provide a general picture of development of patterns and the underlying factors which gave rise to them. A brief summation, prior to discussion of pertinent ecological factors touched upon here, is useful in drawing general conclusions.

At each Post examined, certain idiosyncratic factors of geography and ecology, as well as the nature and degree of development of intrusive agencies present, dispose particular patterns of human location and movement. Each Post creates a 'catchment area' of population trading and visiting it, from its inception. Significantly, there are disparities in patterns of utilization and location between Posts, arising out of the spatial characteristics of Post location and the fur and resource potential of the catchment areas through time. The Post comes to resemble
a nexus or hub of influence creating a polarity of response in the hinterland around it. This response is a function of the way in which transactions are conducted at the Post, e.g., degree of flexibility regarding debt, rapport with Post staff. This, in turn, is a response to the plentitude of White Fox and faunal populations generally. The scarcity of data from inland Posts prohibits an incontrovertible statement regarding the repercussions of resource availability, but it is highly probable that Post influence achieves its greatest power in the absence of adequate traditional resources. An increasing dependency is thus posited for inland locations. In the littoral, where the sphere of influence of the Post extends to both maritime and terrestrial populations, patterns of utilization reflect a steady increase of attention paid to the Post, but also a marked ambivalence. A dual pattern of increasing utilization by nearby populations trading fur and country food periodically, and of annual utilization by more distant land-oriented groups emerges. Even locations such as Coats and Southampton Islands, where a twofold resource orientation is possible, are not spared the privations of marine resource failure, and the subsequent dependence which such tribulations tended to create. Those locations such as Repulse Bay, Chesterfield Inlet, Wager Inlet and Tavane benefit from a less limited hinterland than the islands and the fruits of the sea too, with the possible exception of Wager where difficulties in sealing were noted. Yet, in each of these cases there emerges a cumulative orientation to the Post, and other facilities where such exist. Consequently, it is possible to suggest that increasing populations and higher traffic focus upon Posts where there are relatively abundant resources in the
vicinity, e.g., Chesterfield, Repulse, Tavane, and also upon Posts
where traditional resources are limited or periodically depleted, e.g.,
Southampton Island and Padley. Some more detailed analysis of ecological
factors will serve to bring this pattern into sharper relief.

4.2 Resource Availability: Pressure and Access

As previously pointed out, R.C.M.P. Patrol reports and diaries draw
attention to the accelerated depletion of country food stocks, commensurate
with the development of the Fur Trade. The message of conservation,
particularly with regard to caribou, and somewhat earlier, musk-oxen,
was consistently instilled into both Inuit hunters and the intrusive
White population. The local expediencies of the Trade dictated that
increased effort be invested in hunting endeavours at certain points in
the seasonal cycle, and throughout the year, in order to provide for
the larger populations located near the Post as well as for the intrusive
groups. The daily energies of the Post servants at all Posts were
directed towards subsistence as well as trapping. Those people at
hunting camps near the Post also devoted a major portion of their time to
securing food, a pursuit which continued to take precedence over fur
trapping. It appears that the relationship between hunting and trapping
was, at times, far from harmonious, particularly when seasonal scarcity
meant hunting must, of necessity, be the prime consideration of outlying
camps. In the final analysis, the capacity of a Post to maintain a
population of trappers was directly related to the ability of the land and
its resources to provide sustenance. Southampton Island illustrates this
axiom quite graphically as did Coats Island before it.
Certain other factors were also critical, not least the presence of predators. The early years of the Wager Inlet Post reveal that wolves and, on at least one occasion, roaming polar bears, wreaked havoc with the trap lines along the inlet's north shore: "Traps troubled by both wolves and wolverines" (B.492/a/1/1925: 11), and "McHardy saw some of Mr. Brown's traps that had the bait devoured by a wolf. This wolf is now a constant visitor" (ibid. 1926: 25). The nuances of climate must also be considered, particularly in attempts to hunt seal on the ice. In the winter of 1927, only two days of sealing were managed on a seventeen day trip to the floe edge "due to constant winds" (B.492/a/2/1927: 32). That same winter, Keemalliarjook, a Backs River native left the Inlet for "his own country. He thinks foxes are too scarce" (ibid.: 32). Compounding this problem of hunting and trapping difficulties, acute shortages of dogs further hampered both activities. The dog populations of the Keewatin as a whole were decimated by 'Arctic Distemper', a rabies-like disease, throughout the 1920's and 1930's.

Despite such setbacks, the integration of traditional hunting with the trapping enterprise seems to have been accomplished with some success in those localities where country resources were adequate. At Wager, trips to the floe by the indigenous employees coincided with checking of traplines along the shore of the Inlet. Caribou were pursued whenever they were within range of the Post (within 15 miles of the Post for short excursions and further inland when extended trips were necessary). On the whole, the directions impelled by the resource needs of the hunting camps and the Post were duly followed. Movements and relocations followed
the natural rhythms of micro-ecological variation:

Sik-Sak and family, Kuluck and Kaffee in. They intended to camp down at the floe as both foxes and food are scarce at their old camp.

(B.492/a/2/1927: 35).

As if to underline the way in which human movements respond to those of caribou and seal, the journal notes that Keemilliarjook, who had intended leaving for points inland on account of poor trapping prospects, "did not go very far inland as there were a few deer about" (ibid.). However, the juxtaposition of trapping and hunting often provided incongruous, the constant traffic of trappers and hunters up and down the Inlet interfering with sealing:

Squasha pulled in last night. He says that there are quite a few fox signs down at the floe and also that the seals are scared owing to the number of hunters always on the prowl down there.

(B.492/a/2/1927: 38).

The articulation of hunting and trapping strategies was not always a harmonious one. Caribou hunting from June 1st to November 1st (prior to the onset of the trapping season) yielded 51 caribou while 15 seal were taken (B.492/a/3/1927: 1-29). Fishing provided some five hundred salmon trout almost all barrelled for use as fox bait when trapping began.

The overall pattern of resource utilization at Wager and at other Posts suggests an increasing emphasis was placed upon the country food quest as a means of sustaining the trapping enterprise as well as providing sustenance for the Post itself. The strategy adopted seems to have been
one of diversification, a veritable "catch-all" approach finely tuned to the behaviour of the populations of seal, caribou, small game and fish, all of which were integral components of the food quest according to their seasonal availability. Areal disparities in resource populations reveal themselves. The Backs River natives, for instance, achieved poor results from caribou hunting in the fall of 1927 in that locale, whilst the immediate vicinity of the Post and west of it provided rich returns. Spring and late summer were the usual seasons for increased efforts in caribou hunting, but a residual population of caribou provided some returns throughout the year, although attention turned mainly to sealing once trapping was underway (B.492/a/1 - a/10: 1925-1934). Notably, the needs of the Post itself for fresh meat often necessitated directing the energies of Post Servants to caribou hunting throughout the winter: "Dick is off on a deer hunt as our meat is finished" (B.492/a/9/1933: 56).

Coastal locations revealed a similarly broad-based hunting strategy with walrus playing an important role in providing for the trapping enterprise. Summer fishing and egg collecting on offshore islands near Chesterfield and Tavane supplemented this seasonal quest. Whaling for beluga adopts a considerable significance with extensive netting at Chesterfield during July and August, but often with poor results (only four were netted in 1921) (B.401/a/3/1921: August). Predators, especially the ubiquitous wolf, continued to ruin traps on the islands and inland and maintaining dog teams remained costly and difficult as a consequence.

3. In June of 1922 at Chesterfield Inlet total catches are recorded as 4 ducks, 90 eggs, 2 ojuck or 'square flipper', 1 seal and 83 tern, an indication of the significance in summer months of avifauna and
of 'Arctic Distemper' (B.401/a/4/1922: January). As at Wager Inlet, country food needs took priority over trapping, reiterating the vital importance of hunting whenever game was available. Increased effort was devoted to caribou hunting in spring and autumn, particularly autumn, in order to lay up caches of caribou at inland locations where hunting camps would be positioned during the trapping season. Baker Foreland and Rankin Inlet were both favoured hunting locales for caribou by populations focused on Chesterfield. Inland, caribou were sought in the region of Kaminuriak Lake, some 150 miles inland from the Post. The littoral proved quite bountiful for those people inhabiting it, the months of spring and summer providing numerous seals, ojuick and walrus. The following seasonal calendar gives some indication of resource strategies for Chesterfield Inlet and other Posts with access to coastal hunting.

TABLE XI:
Calendar Showing Seasonal Resource Cycle with Fur Trade and Post Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAN</th>
<th>FEB</th>
<th>MAR</th>
<th>APR</th>
<th>MAY</th>
<th>JUNE</th>
<th>JULY</th>
<th>AUG</th>
<th>SEPT</th>
<th>OCT</th>
<th>NOV</th>
<th>DEC</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sealing</td>
<td>caribou</td>
<td>sealing, whaling</td>
<td>walrus</td>
<td>caribou</td>
<td>sealing</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trapping</td>
<td>heavy trading</td>
<td>supply vessels</td>
<td>trapping</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>finishes</td>
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<tr>
<td>sporadic caribou hunting</td>
<td>waterfowl, eggs, small game</td>
<td>intensive river fishing</td>
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<td>sporadic caribou hunting</td>
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</table>

4. From March to July, 1930, the tally for marine hunt was 34 seals, 5 ojuick and 3 walrus, taken by eight hunters, four of whom were hunting for the Post (B.401/a/5/1930: 32-50).
The same basic seasonal emphasis occurred at Wager Inlet and Tavane. At Repulse Bay, maritime strategies tended to take precedence over caribou hunting, but there was still seasonal importance attached to this animal and to summer fishing on the North Pole River to the northwest of the Post. Inland Posts were much more restricted in their resource strategies where caribou and fishing comprised the two main prongs of the hunt. Even at coastal camps the critical factor governing fur yields was the availability of country food. At Repulse Bay in 1928, it is noted that:

The former (natives Ungala and Padluaney) whose camp is on the coast north of Lyons Inlet report a lack of meat there and hard times. The result of course is that they have very little fur.


Natives trading at Chesterfield in 1938 fare reasonably well in their trapping endeavours, but the availability of country food is, once again, a contentious issue:

Samuktuk and his two sons Kooserak in from Depot Island, also pushed (for time) so traded immediately. These people did better in their fur catch but are getting tired of eating rotten fish which has been their main diet for the last month.

(B.401/a/11/1938: 38).

The scarcity of resources which this implies had been noted in the vicinity of Chesterfield as early as 1931, and although fluctuations in resource populations were characteristic of long-term ecological patterns, there is, in the following observation, a suggestion that the larger human populations brought into the orbit of the Post placed undue pressure upon faunal resources,
especially upon caribou herds and seals as a result of population pressure on the coast and inland:

Reports from natives along the coast and inland indicate a scarcity of game of all kinds. Caribou seem to be moving out of the country or diminishing rapidly, seals are scarce except north of Chesterfield Inlet. South of Chesterfield is poor sealing grounds. Walrus are plentiful around Mistake Bay and small herds are seen north of Chesterfield. White Fox seemed to be plentiful throughout the country, but except Eskimo Point, there does (sic) not seem to be great catches made.

(Joy 1931: 85).

Other R.C.M.P. officers, like Staff-Sergeant Joy, made similar observations when patrolling the interior and the coastal margin, often connecting the fur trapping enterprise to the overall conditions of game abundance and scarcity. A tendency for foxes to frequent certain localities and avoid others is also noted by H.B.C. staff. A balance seems to have existed between coastal and inland locations in this respect, with foxes ranging toward the floe edge and neglecting the interior or vice versa (B.401/a/11/1939: 55). Wholesale desertion of coastal habitats by the fox usually meant substantial populations inland, if fox populations were in an abundant stage of the four year cycle which they adhered to. MacPherson, in a detailed study of the dynamics of Arctic Fox populations in the Keewatin links the growth and sudden decline of fox numbers over a four or five year cycle to the varying degrees of reproductive success (McPherson 1969: 36).

Other writers have attributed quadrennial patterns of abundance and scarcity to peaks and declines in herbivore populations, notably lemmings and voles. MacPherson observes that fox peaks may coincide with
lemming abundance, or lag behind by one or two years (ibid.). The conventional wisdom of the trader was that one followed the other: "An abundance of mice this year, we wonder if this indicates a good fox run this coming season" (B.401/a/12/1939: 1). The winter of 1940 saw poor fox runs on the coast around Chesterfield and a few signs inland despite numerous mice tracks. North of the Post signs were also poor, although later arrivals from inland reported better indications of fur in that direction (ibid.: 62-64).

Fox populations, judging from the continuous stream of data from the Chesterfield journal, appear to have been roughly conforming to the quadrennial cycle known to exist, but their ranging and denning habits were far less easy to ascertain. This uncertainty bearing was responded to differently by individual hunting camps. Some groups remained committed to a country resource quest, treating trapping as little more than a useful adjunct to traditional pursuits. Others, those who tended to make multiple visits to the Post with many small fur catches seem to maintain a workmanlike commitment to trapping. In 1938, a medical patrol by Dr. Melling noted, in visiting Papak's camp north of Chesterfield:

This is a very interesting encampment. Every year this man takes two or three families and makes himself their leader. Invariably they are families that would otherwise be on relief. All the work is organized and everybody works. There are no exceptions. Apparently he has the right idea, namely, obtaining native food is more important than trapping because trapping is only lucrative during the season and for the best trappers only, therefore it is a pastime with him and his followers. He hunts caribou seriously rather than aimlessly as do many others.
He takes his camp inland on foot before the snow comes, it may be very arduous to find the deer but he perseveres. Papak and Ohoktok, another native follower, constantly tend the floe when the weather permits. He is also taking care of two old women and they, with the other women, operate the traplines and do the usual women's work about the camp.

(Melling 1938: 2).

Melling's observations have many ramifications. In this context of resource ecology, it is fitting to note that this strategy of hunting in preference to trapping is a response to an awareness that trapping, at best, is a profession for those who excell at it, whereas hunting is the only logical pursuit for obtaining bonafide sustenance. Papak's approach to hunting is thorough and consistent, as well as attentive to the spectrum of resources offered by the coastal margin and the inland region. It might be observed that the serious fur trapper must also possess a strong orientation to traditional hunting activities, but Papak is content to leave trapping to the women of the camp and concentrate upon the life-sustaining pursuits of sealing and caribou hunting. Melling's comments indicate that this is an exceptional strategy in comparison to the less committed hunting patterns of other groups, who devote time to the trapline and hunt to support trapping activities. Nonetheless, Papak's strategy provides an important counterpoint to the acculturative trends which accompanied Fur Trade development, and resulted, as noted, in an increasing drift to the Post. Furthermore, it reiterates the need to consistently direct energy toward the several segments of the resource quest and to interdigitate littoral and inland hunting endeavours in order to fully utilize the natural environment.
This strategy of land-based and coastal-oriented hunting emerges as a consistent pattern in the data of most of the Keewatin Posts, with the exception of the landlocked Padlei Post and Baker Lake. Seasonal caribou hunting and sealing for the Ringed Seal either at the floe edge or through the ice at seal breathing-holes (both techniques were widely used) comprised a complementary dual resource focus at Repulse Bay, Wager Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, Tavane and Eskimo Point. Fishing provided an annual supplement during the summer salmon run and was a perennial part of the resource quest for many inland and coastal groups. Baker Lake and Wager Inlet both netted large quantities of salmon trout in the summer for bait and dog feed. The annual walrus hunt provided yet another vital strand of the total hunting strategy employed at coastal Posts. In summation of resource information, some important points merit attention. A pluralistic and often highly diversified resource quest persisted throughout the Fur Trade years. It was finely honed to the nuances of local and regional ecology, responsive to the immediate potential of faunal resources, both marine and terrestrial. During the Fur Trade years, attention continued to be focused upon traditional resources and this resource orientation, although seasonally variable, remained a determining factor with regard to group location and movement. The Fur Trade, although it generated new patterns of peripheral location in the immediate vicinity of trading Posts, did not in any way detract from the primary importance of hunting and gathering strategies. The addition of the trapping enterprise to the seasonal resource quest tended to reinforce the significance of traditional activity by placing a critical emphasis on certain aspects of the seasonal
round. Evidence has been shown for disruption of traditional patterns at the local level and differential weighting of hunting and trapping activities, as reflected in frequency of volume of Post utilization, which ranged from annual, biannual or multiple visiting levels.

In the final analysis, resource pressure, accentuated by trapping needs, may be said to have contributed to periodic scarcity, particularly where the natural resources of a locale were effectively constrained by environment. Even at locations where a potentially broad spectrum of resources existed, such deprivation was observed to emerge. Causal factors for resource failure include population pressure through artificially enlarged populations in circumscribed areas, accentuating hunting pressure in order to sustain trapping efforts, and natural ecological fluctuations in faunal populations. Notably, those animal populations subjected to most accentuated seasonal pressure, migrating caribou and seasonal walrus herds being cases in point, also possessed the greatest potential for environmental disruption, hence

5. The Southampton Island Post in the years 1925-1926 failed, despite attempts to implement a broad-spectrum resource strategy which included whaling, walrus hunting, sealing and caribou hunting, to meet the needs of the enlarged population focused upon it. The residual population of Coats Island hunters and translocated families from Baffins Land exceeded the capacity of the Island's resources to sustain such a population. In previous years on Coats, and in the year of the inception of the Southampton Island Post, clear signals of resource scarcity recurred. To exacerbate an already precarious country resource situation, foxes on the Island were below par in size and pelt quality and had a distressing tendency toward mass exodus to the mainland with the advent of ice formation across Roe's Welcome Sound in late autumn (B.404/a/1 - a/3: 1918-1926).
the concern voiced with regard to careful management and conservation of inland caribou stocks and walrus herds by R.C.M.P. observers. It is worth noting that the crucial priority of natural faunal resources, over and above trapping activities which ultimately depended upon such hunting, was acknowledged by both hunter/trapper and trader.

4.3 Regional Dynamics

The foregoing analyses have attempted to convey local or microcosmic patterns of location, mobility and resource potential. The intricate relationship between fur trapping, hunting and human movement is stressed, although admittedly the complexities of priority and causality operating remain somewhat opaque. At times it appears that fur is the prime mover, whether abundant or scarce, which generates an orientation to the Post. At others, fur seems relegated to a position of inconsequentiality in the face of hardships and privation occurring as a result of country resource failure. It can be stated with some certainty, however, that orientation toward the several Posts occurs as a function of micro-environmental or local resource factors, and the spatial characteristics of population dispersal. At all the Posts, the significance of traditional hunting activities is undiminished, although if Dr. Melling's earlier comments are taken to be quite accurate, there is a discernable ambivalence toward hunting in the late 1930's, by which time the trapping mode has become firmly inculcated. In contradistinction to the lack-lustre commitment toward hunting demonstrated by some hunters (Melling says "many others"), (Melling 1938: 2) there are clearly some individuals, like Papak, capable of motivating and organizing others, who maintain a rigorous and disciplined approach to traditional food-procuring systems.
The spectrum of data available for the region predispose a perspective on Fur Trade acculturation whereby these two "types" of individual or group become increasingly polarized through time. Each Post reveals a gathering momentum of individuals drawn frequently toward the Post to trade trifling amounts of fur, to relay information, to socialize and to avail themselves of a variety of goods and services. Equally well, each Post maintains a less visible, in a documentary sense, but similarly vital population of hunters and trappers who avoid the Post most of the year, trade accumulated furs annually, focus upon summer seasonal resources and sporadic employment at ship-time, and then return to the land to hunt and trap for the major portion of the annual cycle. Information pertaining to this group is regrettably unavailable in Post Journals, but mobile observers such as the physician and the patrolling officers suggest that they are autonomous and independent, valuing a more traditional lifestyle in terms of nutritional habits, clothing and, bearing in mind comments on the acceptance of Christianity made earlier, adhering more closely to aboriginal values and beliefs.

It would be facile to posit a truly binary dichotomy between these two stylized archetypes, but equally reprehensible to ignore the increasing distinction between the two groups. Disparities between those who became more closely oriented to the intrusive groups through repeated contact and those who eschew dependency are made murky by historical distance. However, certain geographical axioms prevail, insofar as those groups in close proximity to Posts engage in frequent and numerous interchanges, whilst
those located farther afield visit the Post far less. This spatial pattern of mobility and contact remains relatively constant, although the later years of trade and other intercourse reveal, throughout the region, a discernable increase in attention to the settlements.

A number of factors conspire to achieve this growing orientation, even among those people who resolutely return to the land far from the settlements. The influence of the Missions must be considered as one, the growing incidence of ill-health another. Both of these factors (at Chesterfield they become one in the institution of the Mission hospital) attenuate the web of acculturative contact to such an extent that, by the late 1930's and early 1940's, the volume of transactions, medical, economic, religious and social, has increased dramatically. By that time even the land-oriented groups, such as the Padlimiut, Uthuhik-halingmiut, and Iglulingmiut, many of whom attempted to maintain quite limited trade contact in the early 1930's, have become quite enmeshed in the intrusive cultural world. Paradoxically, while missionary and health factors induced this settlement orientation, the inevitable backlash which H.B.C. sources predicted as a result of health issues in Chesterfield (pg. 288), also served to reinforce among some individuals a disdain for settlement existence and settlement dependency. The positive orientation and nurturance inculcated by the Missions particularly, and the other agencies too, is thus reflected in the pattern of ambivalence toward Chesterfield and other settlements as well.

The regional canvas must, therefore, be seen as a product of a number of forces and rests upon local cultural-ecological variables and complex
oppositions, cognitive and material. Purely spatial factors which emerge from consideration of resource potential and carrying capacity, give rise to two basic patterns of settlement utilization, which itself may be taken as a general barometer of acculturative contact and impact. Superimposed upon these basic or infrastructural concerns of distance, resource population and local environment are more intangible cultural constraints and conditions involving dependency, reciprocity, tutelage and increasing transactions. It is to this area of behaviour, essentially inseparable from such material conditions, that attention will now be directed.

4.4 Increasing Transactions: Sociocultural Implications

In terms of volume and frequency, a significant increase in Post utilization has been observed to occur. The local and regional dynamics of this spatial and demographic trend have been explored and causal factors associated with the resource quest and the trapping enterprise examined. It has also been duly noted that the totality of acculturative influences must be considered as well as influence and impact at a material and ecological level. Preceding chapters dealing with the strategies and effects of the three primary agents of directed change indicate a cumulative interaction between them and the indigenous people of the Keewatin. The foregoing analysis of changing patterns couches this interaction in terms of ecology and material needs, in the fundamental issues of resource access, population pressure, and economic transaction. However, it is equally important to attempt some grasp of the less evident, but equally formidable, sociocultural, behavioural and cognitive changes stimulated by the intrusive presence.
Initially, it must be stated that the burgeoning series of interchanges between the two populations, qallunaat and Inuit, were not circumscribed by purely material or economic boundaries. Even straightforward trade transactions, using the familiar beaver emblem tokens and made in the Company store with clerk or Post Manager, were replete with sociocultural implications. The many facets of such transactions, and the ambiguity often embodied in them as a result of linguistic and cultural differences, rendered them more than perfunctory exchanges of goods for pelts. Indeed, the journals of the H.B.C. suggest that interaction came, in time, to possess an altogether more complex and far-reaching character. The growing intimacy with the Post already observed meant that even land-oriented groups and particularly those in the immediate vicinity of the Post became familiar with the Post, its goods, its personnel, its goals and gained a close insight not only into the economic aspects of the Post, but also into its social and cultural milieu. Where other supportive institutions were present, this familiarity, borne of frequent and longstanding contact, was even greater. Attempts by the trader to foster both understanding of his goals and positive sentiment towards them were many and varied. They included organized get-togethers conducted outside the realm of economic transactions, sports days, football matches, dances and impromptu gatherings to cheer up the trappers when fur and game returns were low and morale sank (B.401/a/1 - a/11: Chesterfield Post). Often interchanges took on a more personal individual character, with H.B.C. employees hunting in partnership with a post-resident Inuk. The following example, rendered by S.G.
Ford, then manager of Coats Island, is a rare nugget of information, which succinctly conveys the individual and institutionalized posture of winning over the Post's trapping population. It represents an exchange of meaning in a context of ambiguity and dissonance and, through the scene which he communicates, Ford provides a valuable vignette of the acculturation process:

A husky must be very thankful, for they said grace, before partaking of food, the first time I ever heard a husky say grace. I think that some of them will have a pain in their pantry's tonight. I have explained to them why they were getting such a time as this, and I had quite a bit of trouble to make them understand what is meant by Anniversary but after quite a lot of explaining they are a bit enlightened on the subject.

I also gave them their medals and explained to them as best I could, and they are going around like war veterans delighted to be decorated on such an occasion.

(B.404/a/3/1920: 7).

Ford notes that the festivities were rounded out by sports such as shooting, jumping, sack race, tug o' war, the greasy pole and "cleared up with Baffin Land dance" (ibid.). The whole event, and its colloquial rendering by Mr. Ford, provides an evocative glimpse into the meeting of trapper and trader; Ford at pains to convey the concept of anniversary on the second anniversary of the Post, the trappers evidently unfamiliar with the notion but delighted with the festivities and proudly emblazoned with their medals, acceding to the gravity of the occasion by saying grace. The same Mr. Ford was also capable of acerbic confrontation with his Post Servants:
Powyungie has been slack in rising at proper hours and coming to work late, I spoke to him about it before and of (sic) no avail, so this morning I told him not to come at all if he could not turn up in time. I shall send him home by the "Nunnuk". Sleepy huskies are no good for servants.

(8.404/a/2/1920: August).

Perhaps the mere recording of displeasure was sufficient to exorcise the wrath which Ford felt toward his unpunctual aide, for Powyungie was not relieved of his post. Ford's attempts to instill a sense of punctilliousness into his chief servant reflect yet another aspect of the acculturation process, one in which Post Servants, by virtue of their incumbent obligations and their physical proximity to the Post, bore the brunt of managerial dissatisfaction when they failed to conform to intrusive social standards, or respond to the cultural cues of their employers. Ford's attempt to inculcate certain modes of behaviour, to establish certain patterns, and to impose certain attitudes, was not overly harsh, he merely reacted to deviation from his own cultural pattern and his economic goals by others in terms of his own individual temperament and cultural milieu. He himself was part Inuk, hailing from the Ungava Coast, but his position in the Company disposed him to view himself as non-native. By and large, he dealt with situations with a kind of phlegmatic equanimity, yet there were, in his interchanges with the trappers, definite manipulative or 'modelling' tendencies, as he attempted to pass on information or create mandates for behaviour. His strategy in dealing with a case of controversy over the ownership of fox pelts reveals as much:

If the fox runs with the trap the man who stalks it gets the fox, the the owner gets back his trap or
if he gives the fox to the owner of the trap and resets the trap any other fox in it is his cos' he set the trap. These are the rules that I have been taught by my dear old Dad and I think and act by them. These natives won't take foxes out of the others traps and bring them home which I think is a very poor system...if anything came along they would get eaten up.

(B.404/a/1/1919: 16).

Ford's logic is faultless, but his method is one of implicit tutelage, as he contrives to mould a pattern of cultural rules for conduct regarding title to foxes and traps. His bluntness often brought him into conflict with his clientele:

Ninguecheak has been kicking off and on during the winter, he had a bit of a spat this morning because I refused to give him ammunition on debt. He said he wished that a ship would arrive when he was out of cartridges, I believe this fellow would be the first to leave if the opposition should turn up. (Not much odds as he is no hunter).

(B.404/a/3/1921: 54).

This penchant for confrontation and Ford's evident loyalty to his company are both notable, insofar as they indicate Ford's willingness to run against the grain with his employees and trappers, rather than outstep the bounds of his position as an H.B.C. trader or betray his own sociocultural code.

Some general observations ensue from the minutia of these transactions at Coats Island. Firstly, it is apparent that the character of the rapport between trapper and trader is as much a product of the temperament and disposition of both parties as it is an encounter of broad acculturative groups. This reflects back to some fundamental points about acculturation,
that the process is spearheaded by people, by human individuals encountering
one another and attempting to build a commonly comprehended code of meaning
and behaviour. It is not a meeting of discrete cultural entities acting
according to some preordained pattern, it is a conjunction of individuals
who strive to attain mutual intelligibility.

Secondly, the examples rendered above point out the element of
tutelage implicit in encounters, where one group or representative of
a group, possesses the power to dictate terms and conditions and to guide
the behaviour of the other. Whether this power is wielded despotically
or not, the end result is the same, insofar as it provides the leverage,
be it economic, psychological or political, to achieve desired goals and
to weight transactions. Such reciprocity as exists is directed and loaded
as a consequence of this power variable. Evidence from other Posts
indicates that, as the Trade developed, the tendency was towards greater
contact, and consequently there was some crystallization of these weighted
reciprocal patterns. Invariably there are snippets of information,
brief comments or observations committed to the daily journal which point
to the manifold influence of regular contact and transactions. Such
information might relate to the adoption of new patterns of behaviour
displayed by Post habitues or visiting trappers. Sometimes this met
with approval, at others it incurred censure or drew criticism. At each
Post, and to some extent with each individual involved in sociocultural
transactions, the character of interaction differed.

With the passage of time, and the observable increase in the number
and range of transactions entered into by the Inuit with Missions and
R.C.M.P., as well as the trader, the capacity for the intrusive population to guide and control behaviour grew greater. The increasing volume of traffic requiring medical aid for such problems as burns, inflammations, lacerations, influenza, dental caries, epileptic fits, gastro-enteritis and a galaxy of other woes is especially notable at Wager Inlet and Repulse Bay. As indicated earlier (pg.218), the trader's ability to heal greatly enhanced his position in the perception of the Inuit. Moreover, such services served to cement the patterns of transaction which the Trade governed, the range of services available adding to the element of power which the trader possessed. Command of medical services then, must be seen as a powerful facet of the acculturative thrust of the intrusive agencies as a whole. Records from Wager Inlet note consistent use of medical services at the Post, mainly for minor ailments, influenza outbreaks, lacerations and numerous cases of frostbite, from 1925-1934, with an average of three visits per annum in the years 1925-1929, rising to ten visits per annum in 1929-1934.

Also worthy of mention are the growing number of visits predicated upon small trades, entailing social visiting and tea drinking with the personnel at the Post:

Native Sic-Sac meandered into the Post about noon, having hiked over land from Caminalow, after a little trading, and three refreshing cups of tea - the dear old man bade us farewell and hiked back - to more tea - I suppose.

(B.492/a/8/1931: 26).

Other comments from the same Post, Wager Inlet, indicate exchanges, trade and otherwise, to have been amicable and warm:
Gave the natives a dance tonight to cheer them up as they all seem very downhearted and miserable owing to the scarcity of fur. Everyone in town attended this brilliant social function which went down very well.

(B.492/a/9/1933: 54).

The impression conveyed is one of congeniality and mutual understanding. The hunters and trappers reciprocate such gestures of kindness by periodically bringing haunches of caribou meat or fresh fish, welcome supplements to the canned fare at the disposal of Post personnel. As intimated earlier, in H.B.C. material, the Post personnel invariably displayed a genuine and solicitous concern for the well-being of their trappers, especially in attending to health issues. This solicitude was conducive to the development of a mutual trust and respect, although, once again, it should be noted that not all H.B.C. staff responded to their clients with equal sensitivity and understanding as some of Ford's more cantankerous comments at Coats Island might suggest.

4.5 Sociocultural Implications

The increasing number and variety of exchanges may be viewed as important indices of the cementing of bonafide rapport between the Inuit and the qallunaat, and of an increasingly positive reference towards the intrusive groups. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that this broad acculturative development was quite idiosyncratic in its local and interpersonal character. Whilst the trader attempted to foster orientation and inculcate those traits of behaviour and attitude which he deemed valuable in a material and cultural sense, certain other factors created responses of caution and withdrawal among the Inuit. The issue of health care most
aptly indicates the often contradictory repercussions of extended acculturative contact, for whilst the trader came to be regarded with respect for his medical expertise, the institutionalized aspects of missionary health-care delivery at the Chesterfield hospital drew a response almost diametrically opposed to this. The failure of the hospital, on some occasions, to affect the quick cure associated with the trader, who dealt with less complex medical problems after all, and the numbers of those who never emerged from the hospital once admitted, generated, especially among those who had lost relatives or friends, an unwholesome dread of hospitalization. This fear of incarceration and the overall perception of the land and hunting camps as somehow representing a less dangerous and more healthy existence also coloured, by association, the viewpoint held regarding the settlement. On occasion, this perspective resulted in the summary removal of patients in the hospital:

It now appears that the hospital has lost two more patients - the mad woman and the girl who takes fits - they both went away with Papaa and Apack last Tuesday to the former's camp.

(B.401/a/7/1932: 63).

This issue of health-care delivery and the untoward repercussions of the baleful influence of the Chesterfield medical facility will be examined in terms of the acculturative developments which had occurred by the late 1930's and early 1940's, under the heading 'The War Years and Post War Transitions'. At this point, it should be observed that the increasing volume of transactions between Inuit and qallunaat embodied a number of oppositions and a marked ambivalence, rather than appearing as a uniform and steady linear process. Health-care delivery was one major
area in which positive orientation to the intrusive agencies was achieved, by the swift remedies of the trader, and prevented or inhibited by the observable inability of the Mission hospital to provide adequate services. Melling offers the following observations in a strictly confidential memorandum to his superiors, regarding the management of the hospital and the attitude of the Inuit towards it. It conveys some sense of the complexities of the situation for the Inuit and the contentious attitudes of the various White institutions regarding the hospital:

The Eskimo in this area are very primitive yet and are not accustomed to the white man's point of view in regard to health and treatment of disease. They learn only by results obtained by health officers, and these results must be accomplished in very short times, they appear to have no faith in cures which extend over lengthy periods. They are asked to go to hospital by one, asked to stay away by another and told by another that the hospital is no good, there is no wonder that there is no definiteness in their mind.

(Melling 1938).

Melling's observations lend substance to the perspective posited earlier regarding the perceived efficacy of curing processes experienced at the hospital and at the Post. Moreover, Melling's tone implies that the acculturation process consists of teaching the Inuit the correct response to this aspect of qallunaat ways through experience and through "results" (ibid.). The implication is that in order to provide efficient health care a level of comprehension of medical practices, goals and problems must be inculcated. The obstacle to such understanding and to acculturative interchanges which might facilitate it, appears to have been not the "primitive" consciousness of the Inuit as much as their inability to fathom
the alien culture's reasoning regarding health issues. The conflicting stream of signals from the several intrusive agencies passing comment and judgement on health-care delivery at Chesterfield only served to bewilder the potential patients as to the real goals and policies of the medical facility.

The negative ramifications of the hospital's influence extended far beyond its immediate confines, creating serious problems of socio-cultural readjustment for those individuals who spent time as patients. The microcosmic qallunaat society which the hospital and the settlement represented, while the institution attempted physical healing, did little to salve the sociocultural pathology which hospitalization created. Ex-patients found themselves poorly equipped to deal with the material rigors of hunting-camp life and the sociocultural responses which it demanded. Visiting the camp of Autaktak north of Chesterfield, Melling shares the following useful insight:

All these had received issues of rations from me but they were very short of native food. I inquired about their health and was told that all were well then but for two months, while inland, the wife of Kapi had been ill, her complaints were very obscure, however she had fully recovered. This girl only seventeen and recently married, had spent the previous number of years in the hospital as a ward of the mission, my native concurred with me that perhaps she could not accustom herself to a strictly Eskimo mode of living after the life in the hospital, however this faculty will return in due course.

(Melling 1938, my emphasis).

Kapik's wife, as a former ward of the Missions, was more fully immersed in the intrusive society than most patients, but long-term patients
at the hospital undoubtedly encountered similar difficulties upon their return to a land-based lifeway (Williamson 1974: 83).

In other avenues of contact with qallunaat agencies and individuals, even apart from Post and Mission encounters, the acculturative process became, in some instances, one of strong positive orientation to qallunaat cultural and social patterns. The tendency for the emulation of certain material patterns has been mentioned before, in the instance of summer residence in wooden houses, in the tendency for trappers to demand flour (at Coats Island), Tea (at Wager Inlet Sic-Sac is described as a "walking advert for the Salada Co." (8.492/a/8/1932: 48) and other qallunaat commodities which long-term contact rendered 'essential' subsistence ingredients, and in the adoption of White modes of dress, particularly in summer: "Sutoxi donned his civilized clothes and took a walk" (ibid.: 92). Caution should be exercised, though, before making a broad extrapolation from such developments to widespread assimilative acculturation. Extended frequent contact tended to result rather in selective acceptance of specific elements of qallunaat culture, rather than indiscriminate cultural absorption. However, indications of strong cognitive orientation in certain cases do exist, particularly where Inuk employees spend protracted periods of time with one agency or individual, lending credibility to hypotheses advanced earlier regarding native broker figures and the tendency for brokers to possess certain broad characteristics (e.g., the autonomous broker, the binary broker and the acquiescent broker (pg. 142). A case noted by Melling refers to Atwak and his family, employed by J. Brown, a White trapper in the Pistol Bay area: This
native is employed by Brown and is being well cared for but is losing his Eskimo personality rapidly" (Melling 1938C: 5). Treating Melling's comment with all due circumspection, bearing in mind the doctor's earlier remarks about the 'primitive' nature of local Inuit, it would seem not unreasonable to suggest that Atwak, in his capacity as the employee of Brown, is indeed assimilating certain behavioural and attitudinal modes, in the manner posited as characteristic of the acquiescent broker figure. H.B.C. sources indicate Brown and Atwak to have had a long-standing employment relationship (B.401/a/11/1938). This information tends to validate the notion of sociocultural change arising from specific kinds of acculturative contact, notably those more intimate, long lasting interchanges which sometimes characterized employment relationships.

Employment ties with qallunaat, other than the representatives of the three main agencies, seem to have had other, more immediate material implications:

R. Hickes and J. Brown have each acquired a native family to assist at their separate camps. This scheme has worked out well. Both families have been the recipients of relief and have had large debts at the trading stores, but since their having been under the control of the white men they have cleared their debts. They have aplenty of deer caches and can now afford to take time off from trapping to attend the floe for seal hunting thus obtain skins for clothing and more varied native diet for man and dogs. (Melling 1939: 3).

The reference to "control" seems to evidence the process of tutelage mentioned earlier. Indeed, the implication of this kind of contact is that both material and sociocultural concerns are immediately affected. Here the process consists, according to Melling's analysis, of sociocultural change
due to the influence of the White employers, insofar as previous debts become eradicated as a result of financial strategies inculcated by the White trappers, which, in due course, frees the indigenous employees of the obligation to trap intensively and thus permits an increased orientation toward country pursuits. This example is intriguing, for it reveals what is tantamount to a reversal of the acculturative impact of the Fur Trade proper, which tended to create an intensified obligation to trap and trade, particularly where debt had been advanced. In this instance, the influence of the independent trappers had the effect of removing the material pressures of the trade, enabling a refocusing upon traditional subsistence activities. The extent to which this type of reversal was broadly characteristic of the later years of the intrusive presence in the Keewatin is not ascertainable, but given earlier reference to Papak's camp in 1938 and its strong orientation to country resources, in preference to trapping activities, it seems that this reversal of acculturative trends formed some part of the overall pattern in the later years of the 1930's. The ambivalent reaction of groups toward the Fur Trade manifested in visiting figures evaluated earlier, whereby a dichotomy of priority and orientation emerged, increases the possibility that such a reversal of trends occurred.

Other instances of rejection of acculturative pressure occur in brokerage situations and are indicated specifically through termination of employment agreements, sometimes at the behest of the employer, sometimes as instigated by the employee. This created certain difficulties, for it meant that a person largely oriented to the settlement and employment role
might be thrown back into a traditional lifeway:

Native Nuvok employee of Thos. Melling, M.D.
Chesterfield Inlet: Dismissed.
It will be necessary to assist him to get a
fresh start along a new life, with this in
view I have instructed the Hudsons Bay Co.
to advance him six weeks rations and credit
him with six weeks salary.

My reasons for this dismissal are that he
has become unsatisfactory in every way and
that he has become incompetent.

(Government File Vol. 888, 1938).

Increasing numbers of destitution cases receiving relief rations and/or
payment attest to the dysfunctionalization of certain individuals as
a result of contact with intrusive agencies. Government policy regarding
destitute relief was that such relief be given only in instances of dire
need where relatives were unable to provide family support characteristic
of traditional sociocultural life. However, relief payments might be
authorized and justified by the resident physician and certified by the
R.C.M.P., costs being passed on by the H.B.C. to the Department of the
Interior (ibid.). Melling's dismissal of Nuvok was deemed by the doctor
to necessitate such payment, even though Nuvok had been employed only one
year (February 1937 - May 1938). The employee who replaced Nuvok, one
Ishomata, was formerly employed by Dr. Livingston prior to 1937. This
suggests, despite a memo from government officer D.L. McKeand to the effect
that "an Eskimo might be classed as a one man worker...and it is seldom
the same native is employed by two different white men" (ibid.), that some
definite oscillation between employment in the settlement and traditional
life on the land occurred. This fits the 'binary broker' type advanced
earlier (pg. 143). H.B.C. records attest to long periods of service punctuated by periods out of the settlement by Post Servants. A former trader noted that this was his own policy for employed natives:

> While I was there (at Repulse Bay) I wouldn't let them stay too long - I'd change them around, maybe have them two years and then put them out on the land again, so as they wouldn't depend too much on the store. They could get out and fend for themselves.

(Voisey, Interview 1980).

This suggests that such moves were initiated totally by the Post Manager, but there is also the response of Post Servants themselves to consider, individuals who very much needed to become reoriented once more to hunting-camp rather than settlement life. The official government attitude was that the natives should be oriented to traditional rather than settlement existence wherever possible for medical and financial reasons as well as out of a desire to perpetuate traditional cultural life:

> The natives generally should be encouraged to remain on their hunting grounds and not congregate in the settlements. In this way they are less susceptible to disease and maintain their independence and self-respect by providing their own food and other requirements...In the case of chronic cripples...it falls on us.

(Gibson 1937, memo).

The observable oscillation between employment and the land emerged from the needs of both Post Manager and Post Servant, as well as arising out of employment situations extant between the Inuit and other agencies, as Melling's dismissal of Nuvok indicates. The impact of this kind of cultural opposition was highly variable. In some cases, Long term
service created a highly acculturated individual possessing a strong sense of loyalty and commitment to his employer. In others it resulted in a kind of periodic ambiguity, a cultural state of limbo, as the result of the dual forces acting upon the employee. In yet others, employment was perceived only as a temporary means to an end, perhaps to recover from set-backs and privations on the land until a move could be made back to traditional camp’ existence. It becomes evident that a spectrum of sociocultural and material responses existed within the larger pattern of increased orientation to and familiarity with the intrusive institutions which acculturation reveals.

The forgoing attempt to elucidate sociocultural implications of acculturation from material, spatial and demographic patterns reveals a number of kinds of influence. Sociocultural response to qallunaat presence is not easily extracted, but such data as are available have suggested a latitude of reaction to the intrusive agencies. The binary character of trapping and trading response has been noted, as has the impact of health care delivery at the Post and in its institutionalized form. Some indication has also been given of the polarity of acculturative influence whereby some individuals and groups become more closely bound to the qallunaat agencies through trade, employment, religious and social transactions, while others strive to avoid entering into this kind of sociocultural intimacy. Paradoxically, acculturative trends often facilitate contra-acculturative reactions, as in the case of the indigenous employees of the two White trappers when employment security removed the onerous pressure to trap rather than hunt. Detailed case histories of employment
situations like this might provide a fruitful line of enquiry with regard to differing acculturative pressures and the spectrum of socio-cultural responses created by such pressures. Data available here is somewhat sporadic and misses the vital input of the Inuits' own cognitive reaction to acculturative forces, which would have immeasurably improved understanding of the great number of changes wrought through contact. Nevertheless, insights have been provided regarding local and regional dynamics of change with some effort to evaluate the implications thereof at an ecological and sociocultural level.

4.6 The Interaction of Interest Groups

Some mention has already been made of the relations between R.C.M.P., H.B.C. and Missions in chapters pertaining to those organizations. The difficulties encountered in coordinating the activities and priorities of the three agencies and maintaining a modus vivendi have been duly noted. By the middle thirties, however, it became increasingly apparent that only concerted and coordinated efforts on behalf of all three groups could adequately deal with the complexities of the acculturative situation. The integrated resource efforts addressed to the walrus hunt were demanded by material requisites of trade and mobility for the three groups. Certainly, interaction and mutual support of all kinds was urged upon the various agencies by their concern for the Inuit and the achievement of their several goals, all of which depended upon the material, and to some extent the cultural, well-being of the indigenous people. Interchanges between the intrusive populations were thus borne of material necessity and the need for internal cohesion and entente cordiale. R.A. Gibson, Deputy
Commissioner of the N.W.T. Council, stressed as much, when dealing with an incident of confrontation between medical personnel and Missions:

   In order that medical service might not be denied to anyone in need, and to maintain the harmony that is so essential particularly in the Far North you may wish to write or speak to your missionary Rev. D.B. Marsh at Eskimo Point.

   (Gibson, File 9277 1939, my emphasis).

This letter from Gibson to Marsh's superior, Archbishop Fleming, arose out of an incident regarding the "interference by laymen in medical matters" Government memorandum, May 1939: 1). It reveals the amount of concern expressed in the higher echelons of government that regional and local confrontations and antagonisms should not be allowed to interfere in the policy directives of government or the kind of health-care delivery available to the people of the Keewatin. Even though formal government presence in the region was confined to a single medical doctor and the R.C.M.P., who maintained a stream of information upon regional and local politics to their distant superiors in Ottawa, there was, from the middle thirties onward, an attempt to coordinate and monitor the activities of each interest group through annual conference of the three agencies' senior representatives, and by those personnel in the Keewatin at the local level.

   At the local and regional scale there was a tendency for cooperation and harmony to be sometimes negated by conflicting interests, interdenominational rivalries and the question of where the onus of responsibility for Inuit welfare should be placed. The issue of destitution relief became a contentious one, although internal radio contact made it quite simple
to identify needy cases and provide the necessary relief (Voisey 1980). The H.B.C. policy was to provide relief for its own:

Any good hunters, the Company would look after them themselves and the poor they were the government's responsibility to see them through over hard times.

(Voisey 1980).

Before government officially assumed this responsibility, the H.B.C. generally acceded to the distribution of relief. In 1936, it will be recalled, the government physician, Dr. L.D. Livingstone, recommended that each of the agencies employing Inuit shoulder the financial burden of medical treatment for ill-health related to settlement residence (pg. 304). In the late 1930's, the onus of destitution was placed, through a chain of authorization and distribution involving R.C.M.P. validation of needy cases and H.B.C. advancing of rations, eventually upon the Department of the Interior. Wherever possible the issuance of relief was avoided or minimized:

As you will see from the monthly medical returns the work done here has not been very much. This I put down to my policy of getting the natives out trapping and keeping them there as much as possible where they are much healthier. This also cuts down relief to a minimum.

(McKee 1941: 1).

Despite McKee's (the physician who succeeded Melling) attempts to minimize relief payments, there were indications that, in the face of failure of the resource quest and fox runs, the relief budget rose. McKee also explains increased expenditure by referring to a growing number of settlement-oriented families:
Secondly, the numbers of "hangers-on" about the settlement has increased. Neither persuasion nor it seems force will cause these people to get out on the land. They live from hand to mouth and out of humanity one feels obliged to give them relief. At present there are five such families in the community.

(McKee 1941: 2).

The reaction of H.B.C. and Missions to these dispossessed families is not known, but it appears as if government is being required, albeit grudgingly, judging by McKee's constant justification of budgets, to extend sustenance to them.

It was the issue of medical services, or lack of same, which stimulated the most coordinated front to emerge from the intrusive institutions. The lobby for more effective medical transportation facilities is a case in point (pg. 300). Health care service proved on more than one occasion to be the most inflammatory of local (at Chesterfield) and regional issues. The 'Flying Doctor' type of service which was sought elicited a kind of solidarity between the interest groups not always present in institutional exchanges (R.G. 85: 1944). It became evident that adequate care for the well-being of the Inuit could only be achieved through congruence of activities, e.g., medical patrols, R.C.M.P. patrols, missionary visits and the close attention of the trader. Radio-relayed diagnoses and treatment plans, although providing some solution to the problem of one doctor for such an immense region, proved quite ill-equipped to meet the problems of devastating epidemics. It is unfortunate that it took such epidemics to communicate the necessity of cooperative effort to the various agencies present, as well as to government
policy makers.

The integration of the three main institutions was facilitated in some degree prior to the events outlined above, with the introduction of a regional internal radio communications system. For the trader, this facility meant rapid dissemination of local trade information. The Missions throughout the Keewatin also had radio by 1937 (B.472/a/3/1937: 27). Along with air transport, radio was perhaps the most significant and useful technological attribute possessed by the intrusive groups. Formerly, radio had provided a welcome link with the outside world, from the mid-1930's on, it proved invaluable in coordinating the activities of all three groups and in alerting them to problems of ill-health and destitution. Radio communications enabled the representatives of each separate interest group to communicate internally and provided all three main agencies the opportunity to pool information and organize services, such as health care and the provision of goods and services.

4.7 The War Years and Post-War Transitions

The data evaluated so far has provided insights into the growth of all three institutions in the Keewatin and attempted to document their separate and collective influences up until 1940, with limited reference to events transpiring after that date. H.B.C. sources, including the invaluable daily records of Post activity referred to throughout, cease to be available for all Posts beyond 1941. Analysis of changes subsequent to this date is, therefore, gleaned from perusal of government, R.C.M.P. and missionary material.
4.7.1 Government Involvement: Policies and Programs

While it is not accurate to postulate a series of sweeping changes or markedly different circumstances with the onset of the 1940's, it should be observed initially that the war years and the immediate post-war period saw a number of changes in the Keewatin, most notably the growth of government attention to and involvement in the region. The inception of government medical services through the auspices of the resident government-appointed physician in the late 1930's marked the only visible government presence aside from the R.C.M.P. in the Keewatin. Response to the kinds of problems identified by the physician by government policy makers might be described as laggardly, given the plethora of medical problems which were pointed out and the increasing number of cases of destitution noted in the late 1930's by the physician. Nonetheless, government policy makers saw fit to extend certain services through the established institutions in the Keewatin, health care through the R.C. Missions and destitution relief through the H.B.C., when duly authorized by the R.C.M.P. O.S. Finnie's comments upon government posture regarding support for Mission hospitals were rendered earlier (pg. 286). To recapitulate, government policy in the 1930's was to provide minimal assistance for existing medical facilities controlled by the Missions. Substantial allowances of foodstuffs for the needy were not authorized until 1945 with the inception of family allowance payments. As will be seen, certain provisos regarding the distribution of payments were in operation for the indigenous people of the N.W.T. Policies regarding education bore a marked resemblance to those dealing with medical care.
and general well-being. In the field of education, only the most rudimentary of facilities were available through missionary institutions, and supplemented by meagre government financial support. Government involvement on a local level was practically non-existent and the government school, when finally established at Chesterfield Inlet in 1952, was deficient in so many areas as to constitute a monumental insult to the unfortunate teacher appointed there.

It becomes quite evident that such government policy as existed even into the 1940's, with regard to medicine and education specifically and well-being of the Inuit in general, was tantamount to a strategy of isolationism. Growth of involvement by government during the war years comprised an increase in the monitoring of important areas of concern such as education, social welfare and health care, rather than active instrumental intervention at local and regional levels. Some further observations on education services may serve to illustrate the government's position immediately after World War II.

4.7.2 Education in the Keewatin

As intimated earlier (pg. 301 and above), missionary institutions provided rudimentary summer school education at Chesterfield Inlet and Eskimo Point. Until 1948, when local response from the main agencies present was first elicited by government, schooling consisted of basic

6. This date marks the first of a series of plaintive letters from the government-appointed teacher at Chesterfield bemoaning the paucity of facilities, the ineptness of the curriculum, the poor teacher-pupil ratios, the inadequacy of the salary and the difficulties in establishing a rapport with the other institutions at Chesterfield.
arithmetic, English language tuition, religious knowledge and training in personal hygiene. A report from Eskimo Point in 1948 provided the first indication that such educational training was scarcely adequate but gave scant indication of directions which might be pursued to remedy this situation. The caucus at Eskimo Point involved comments from R.C.M.P., Mission and H.B.C. personnel, distinct in their polarity:

Constable Ball was inclined to agree that some type of education might be tried, but was very pessimistic that any progress would be made due to the low mentality of the people. He claims that although the mission has been teaching the children and the adults for many years, very little can be seen in the way of results.


Significantly, the officer attributed the observable lack of progress not to the inadequacy of the years of missionary schooling, but to an inability on behalf of the pupils. Mr. Chesley Russell of the H.B.C. was somewhat more positive in his observations:

Mr. Russell...was most enthusiastic in his reaction. He considers that a summer school is greatly needed at the settlement; results may not be immediately apparent as progress would undoubtedly be slow, but unless a start were made, the people would remain in the same condition as they are in today...He stated that he felt the government had an obligation to fulfill with respect to Education that it could not liquidate by the payment of a grant to either the R.C. or the Protestant Church.

(ibid.).
Missionary reaction to Russell's statement from Father Dionne of the Oblate Order and the Ledyards presiding over the Northern Canadian Evangelical Mission was somewhat muted, given that the missionaries felt themselves to be the logical tutors of the indigenous population. Denominational differences are interposed with the general question of education, suggesting that the N.C.E.M. teachers had rather missed the point of Russell's comment on liquidation of responsibility:

Father Dionne stated that in his opinion there was little need for a school, but that if one were instituted by the government, he would cooperate. At present time he is carrying on classes two hours a day. Mr. and Mrs. Ledyard felt that a government school would be good although they are at present doing all that is necessary for the Protestant children by teaching them Eskimo Syllabics and arithmetic.

(ibid.).

The reaction of the N.W.T. Government to this caucus was visibly minimal. A grant of $62.50 was given to Ledyard of the Northern Canadian Evangelical Mission in March of 1948, along with usual educational package for primary schools, e.g., "Enid Blyton, Donald Duck, Story Books of Oil, Clothes, Food, Sugar, one Happy Hour Stories, Clean Klay, scribblers, wax crayons...". In August of 1948 a further report from Eskimo Point with enthusiasm expressed for education for adults and children, reached the administration. Notably, neither R.C.M.P. nor traders felt very strongly about the cultural and linguistic implications of English as a language of instruction:

Neither of these men feel that the teacher should be proficient in the Eskimo language. They felt it would be a waste of time for the teacher to
learn Eskimo and that it would be far preferable to let the children learn the English language just as they had learned to speak the mother tongue.


The fact that acquisition of verbal skills in English would necessarily be obtained in quite a different manner from that in which Inuktitut had been learned seems to have escaped the civil servant reporting, the persons commenting and the Administration responsible for formulating a cohesive educational policy. Nobody seemed to consider the people who would supposedly be the recipients of the education or their convenience, or specifically their response to these internally cast decisions by the White community. The one individual whose strategy for raising educational standards seems to have been most sound, Bernard Friedland, seems to have been evaluated according to his lifestyle rather than his potential as an educator, and largely discredited by internal government memoranda such as the following:

We have had reports that this man is not very stable. He has been roaming among the Eskimos largely leading their way of life. I take it from his letter (a request for school supplies and lunches) he plans to contact Eskimos wherever possible which means by travel. I should think English for Eskimos and some writing materials are all he needs. If he has no school he cannot serve lunches.


Caustic comments on Friedland made by Father Berube regarding the supposedly starving condition of Friedland’s indigenous helper proved quite unfounded upon investigation. He was issued $102.00 for school supplies at Padley
where he was camped. The above memo intimates somewhat derogatorily that Friedland has "gone native" and is therefore unstable and not to be trusted. Significantly, even this does not prompt the government to do anything other than continue to liquidate their responsibility, or attempt to, by giving minimal support to Friedland.

At Chesterfield, formal government involvement in education provided one poorly salaried teacher, Roland Lariviere, without proper accommodation but still obliged to pay $100.00 a month for his board and room, and teaching forty pupils who spanned four different grades in one room. A proposition by N.W.T. government to teach summer school in tents to summer-resident children was rejected by Bishop Lacroix in 1952. The Bishop proposed, instead, a residential school, agreeing to use the old Mission building of the Oblates if government would pay a per diem rate for resident children. He agreed to a plan to erect a residential school hostel if R.C. Sister teachers rather than lay teachers were used. The official response to Lacroix' plan is most revealing, containing, as it does, explicit acknowledgement of the Mission's political and local power in the absence of firm and supportive government education policy:

You will agree that Bishop Lacroix has given us a few things to think about. Apart from objections on the matter of policy, this would be an easy and relatively inexpensive way out in a community which is almost solidly Roman Catholic. Occasionally there may be one or two White protestant children at Chesterfield, but their parents seldom remain there more than a year or so at this point. The school is, therefore, to all intents and purposes a federal school for Eskimos not greatly different from Indian Affairs schools for Indians. I believe it is the policy of Indian Affairs to work very closely with the missions and that teaching sisters are often employed in Indian schools. I am not arguing in favour of
any departure from our policy but I think we may expect a certain amount of friction and difficulty in school administration at Chesterfield if the Bishop does not win his point.


The policy referred to is one in which control over education be maintained by government, but the uneasy transition of administrative authority in educational matters from Missions to government is clearly evident. The primary obstacle, aside from a seeming unwillingness to spend government money on education, is the political control which the Mission possesses at Chesterfield, accrued through extended contact and proselytizing there. By conveniently, and somewhat erroneously, equating Eskimo education with Indian school policy, the writer stepsides the issue of compliance with Lacroix' demands for Roman Catholic, as opposed to lay teaching staff, but ends by admitting that to confront Lacroix would be to invite an administrative combat over educational resources. The genuine educational needs of the local children are not even mentioned, presumably not meriting consideration in the light of such important political issues.

The need to maintain local political and social harmony emerges as a priority if Lariviere, the government-appointed welfare teacher, is given credence. His responsibilities included, in addition to regular teaching, the organization of recreation, adult education, welfare visiting to hunting camps up to fifty miles from the Post, sub-registration and the distribution of Family Allowance payments. He notes that:

The other white residents do not appreciate
very much welfare teachers with so spread powers. "They put their nose in here and there". I heard some of welfare teachers who are considered rather as controllers when their work is too general and touches the field of other employees. We must not forget the Police, the Doctor, the Hudsons Bay Manager, and others have their own obligations and do not seem very interested when a welfare teacher seems to interfere in their fields.


Lariviere's comments upon the delicate local social and political scene, and his own uncertainty in dealing with the numerous groups inhabiting the settlement, despite his being told to cooperate in every possible way with all of them, reflect, among other things, the lack of definition which characterized the delegation of responsibility in the settlement during the post-war era. The broad range of tasks allotted to the welfare teacher was perceived by other agencies as a kind of bureaucratically-sanctioned interference in areas which each agency already regarded as their own preserve. Organizing dances drew censure from the Missions and the doctor, keen interest in native welfare was interpreted as an affront to the H.B.C. who had long ago adopted the role of guardians of Inuit material well-being, and recreational programs generally were frowned upon by all of the agencies, the roster of which now included Department of Transport employees. The general consensus was that providing an attractive existence at the Post was "against the mode of Eskimo life. When it is interesting at the Post the Eskimos stay at the Post and the government has to supply them with food and clothes" (Lariviere 1951).
Even thought the school in 1951 was officially a government facility, advertising for the teaching post was conducted only in R.C. approved publications: The Prairie Messenger, Meunster; the Western Catholic, Edmonton; and the Canadian Register, Kingston. Two insertions in the Winnipeg Free Press were vetoed by the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Hudson's Bay. This latter body received a government grant of $19,000 for completion and equipping of the school which was approved by the Committee of the Privy Council in July 1951 (R.G. 85: Vol. 229, File 630/158/1). However, as Lariviere is at pains to point out, school supplies including basic furniture, were insufficient, and no kitchen facilities were provided for the teacher-in-residence, who was obliged to pay for meals at the Mission hospital (ibid.).

The whole policy of the government program for education in the Keewatin, as in the years prior to government 'involvement', reflected a tendency to delegate responsibility for actual completion of facilities, for the hiring of personnel and with regard to the powers of the welfare teacher, to the Missions. The R.C. Mission, by 1950, had effectively become a Corporation, a fiscal entity oriented if not to profit, then toward consolidation and development. The government reaction in the absence of active policy, was to passively permit this development, place a token government representative (D.O.T.) in the larger settlements and maintain a limited flow of capital to existing institutions, notably the Missions.

4.7.3 Social Welfare Activity

In other areas the government made direct provisions to the Inuit, or
so it seemed, through Family Allowance payments. R.A. Gibson, the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, gave certain specific instructions to those registrars issuing payment in 1948. Gibson was well aware, somewhat belatedly, of the possible drawbacks of Family Allowance payments:

One of the main complicating factors in attempting to assure that Family Allowances help Eskimo people is the danger that free issues of goods may have a tendency to develop which might be called a "dependency complex". It is particularly desirable that the natives should maintain that spirit of independence and self-reliance for which they are so well known but which could be readily destroyed by any influence that tended to encourage their remaining close to the trading posts or coming too frequently when they should be engaged in their normal pursuits of hunting and trapping.

(Gibson 1948: 1).

It must have escaped Gibson's notice that the normal pursuits in which he includes trapping, had been bringing at least some portion of the indigenous populace into evermore frequent and localized contact with the settlements. Dr. McKee's comments regarding settlement "hangers-on" some seven years earlier had already pointed out the "dependency complex" which Gibson posits, in regard to destitution relief distribution. Gibson includes a list of foods and clothings approved as payment for Family Allowance and emphasizes that other goods should be issued only under extenuating circumstances and with a full report explaining why. Special instructions regarding relief rations were also circulated to traders, R.C.M.P. officers, missionaries and doctors, outlining the ration to be supplied and giving strict instructions that the able-bodied were not to be issued relief except under "the most unusual circumstances" (Gibson 1948b: 2).
The issue of relief, formerly dealt with by the H.B.C. in most cases, remained a contentious one for the post-war administration. The "dependency complex" which Gibson sought to avoid had already developed to a marked degree, in large part due to the ravages of disease amongst the population. Still a primary consideration was the cost of relief. In 1937, it had been suggested that permanent relief recipients be brought from Tavane and Baker Lake to Chesterfield, to "decrease relief costs of outlying posts" (Melling 1937, March). Reducing costs of relief in the 1940's appeared to be a major policy concern.

The policy of Family Allowance payments in goods also raised problems. The R.C. Mission publication, 'Eskimo' noted in 1956:

As all Canadians, the Eskimos now benefit from the Family Allowance, the only difference being that they do not receive money as such and must collect the material goods coming to them at a designated trading post. This situation, which has its advantages, can also lead to abuses. Up until recently, for example, a group of Eskimos residing midway between two trading posts were obliged to collect their merchandise at the one where the prices were 30% to 50% higher.

(Eskimo, Vol. 39, 1956: 3).

Whether or not this price differential existed, the mode of issuance of Family Allowance distribution, e.g., through the trader, meant that the H.B.C. were as much the beneficiaries as the Inuit who received payment. Furthermore, the discretion of individual traders, police officers, and, in the fifties, area administrators, with regard to the issuance of relief, had to be relied upon to be consistent and non-partisan. The exterior bureaucracy which held the purse strings had to be satisfied by written reports that relief had been given only to the
needy according to the mandate of N.W.T. government circulars. This placed an onus of responsibility for fairness and consistency once again on the local representatives of the various agencies, who found themselves in double jeopardy with obligations to both local needs and external policy. This awkward situation of external and internal loyalties and justifications was reflected in the often vague policy formation of the administration, who attempted to circumvent financial problems and local politics and distribution by charging those existing institutions to carry out government designs. Clearly, the factor of remoteness from settlement to policy formulation was critical, both in terms of decisions cast and their subsequent implementation and impact at settlement level.

This brief analysis of government policy in education and social welfare serves to illustrate the often complex character of the acculturation process in the Keewatin. The contact situation which continued to effect material and sociocultural change was a function of local process and external policy. The juxtaposition of these two forces, during the years of development of the various institutions in the region, and in the immediate post-war years, and the negligible feedback from local to external situations, created certain problems which policy makers sought to circumvent through continuing delegation of responsibility. It also appears that by the time government had become aware of the issues, certain processes which policy sought to avoid, e.g., "dependency complex", had already been set in motion and exacerbated by other aspects of acculturation, such as medical and nutritional problems. It is to these health-care issues that attention will now be directed.
4.8 Health Status: Medicine, Nutrition and Disease

It was not until 1940 that the immense extent of the problem of tuberculosis in the Keewatin was realized. This year marked the arrival of X-Ray equipment at the Chesterfield hospital. In previous years, active cases had been noted, as early as 1926 in fact, but no firm policy existed for the disease. Neither was its magnitude truly revealed until 1946, when the first X-Ray campaign was launched in the region (Eskimo 1956: 8). The disease played a crucial role in the creation of widespread orientation to the settlements which became notable following World War II, despite the initial efforts of the physician at Chesterfield to maintain a land-oriented lifestyle where cures had been affected, even to the extent of giving discretionary relief to those families who agreed to spend time hunting on the land:

Apak's family. This family presents a problem in that the hunting ability of Apak is very poor indeed and as such he is mostly dependent on relief. The mother has an active pulmonary tuberculosis and in four months has lost two children...from tuberculosis. I have adopted the policy of issuing relief in this case when I have the promise that the family will leave the settlement for hunting purposes. In this manner I expect to have the remaining children - three in number - living in a more native manner and on a native diet.

(Melling 1940).

Melling, quite correctly, perceives a causal link between the poor nutritional status which he associates with non-native food habits, and tuberculosis. Country food was far more able to sustain an individual and offer resistance to tuberculosis than store-bought goods or a diet of tea and bannock (flour cakes) which had become the staple diet of
Post-residing natives, and formed a major part of land-based camp's
diet in the event of country resource scarcity. With the tendency for
trapping to take up time normally spent securing country food (for some
groups at any rate) there was an increasing predeliction for store
foods, low in protein and vital vitamins and high in carbohydrates.
With this link between nutritional habits and disease incidence well
known, an attempt to improve the quality of diet was made in 1940 by
substituting whole wheat flour for white flour. This met with the
disapproval of the Inuit for reasons outlined thus:

Past attempts to supply natives with whole wheat flour have not been too successful, as reported
by Dr. Livingstone - because of native dislike
of the taste. Flour is eaten as bannock which is
fried - it seems the whole wheat element, at
least in full strength flour, burns on frying and
taste is affected. It may be that a "percentage"
flour as proposed may overcome this difficulty.


It is significant that bannock, a staple since the introduction of flour
by the whalers, had become so much a 'traditional' facet of Inuit
diet that widespread resistance to changing its content had resulted
from previous attempts to substitute higher protein flour. When balanced
by a regular country food diet such fare was fine, but in the absence
of traditional meats, dangerous undernourishment resulted. Other
evidence suggests that Post-resident Inuit employed at the settlement
had become totally habituated to intrusive dietary patterns by the
late 1930's. Dr. Melling noted a severe outbreak of enteritis, the cause
of which he identified as overindulgence by settlement Inuit in the fruits
of the annual walrus hunt:
Since these natives are employed they live almost entirely upon 'whiteman' food...moreover, they have been eating this food for over two years steadily. Hence it (the cause of enteritis) is now limited to native food. It was at this time that the walrus hunt had been completed and the fruits brought home. These employed natives had not tasted native meats for a long period and now they were suddenly given access to large quantities which was being stored for dog food.

(ibid.).

This evidence of the causal link between acculturated dietary habits and health status indicates the degree to which intrusive patterns of the most fundamental kind had been adopted, at least by settlement-oriented individuals. Although it is accepted that dietary changes were not the sole factor causing the massive debilitations of tuberculosis, this pattern of increasing use of non-native foodstuffs must be considered as a contributing factor in the etiology of that disease. Response to the ravages of tuberculosis in terms of policy and implementation was initially to adopt the strategy of the Department of Indian Affairs. This involved removal of infective cases of tuberculosis from residential schools, prompt surgery for bone and joint tuberculosis to prevent permanent crippling, removal of grossly infective cases from a household where others might be affected, and the maintenance of free areas (ibid.: 1940, July).

More drastic measures were taken in the 1940's when attempting to eradicate the disease. Many hundreds of Keewatin Inuit were expatriated for medical treatment in southern hospitals. Missionary sources indicate "an important percentage of the total Eskimo population" were sent to sanitoria outside of their homeland (Eskimo 1956: 4). The acculturative
shock of such experiences was immense, involving in many cases prolonged incarceration in a totally alien environment often without the ability to communicate with family. Mission sources point to this psychological trauma associated with estrangement from family and the totality of familiar cultural reference points:

We know of several cases of derangement, at least temporary, which would never have occurred if the patients had been left in their own country...

The number is growing of Eskimo children who, sent to hospitals and sanitoriums at a very young age, at the end of several years have completely forgotten their mother tongue. We ask ourselves what influence the fact of returning home and being unable to understand their own parents, of having acquired tastes and habits entirely different from their compadriots, will have upon the psychic and physical development of these children. Who can affirm that they will be successful in readapting themselves completely?

(Eskimo 1956: 4).

The same editorial also poses a fundamental question regarding the policy decision to translocate Keewatin Inuit to southern hospitals and asks why, in the face of awesome expenditure for the D.E.W. line radar stations including airlifts of heavy equipment was it not decided to bring hospital facilities consistent with the needs of the sick to the north, rather than expatriate the Inuit. No reasonable answer to this question emerges from the accumulated data, but it is reasonable to assume that fiscal constraints superceded considerations of the sociocultural implications of the translocation policy.

Apart from the epidemic scale of the tuberculosis problem, the strained health-care delivery system of the Keewatin was burdened by a
gamut of other diseases. For two years (1942-1944) no government doctor was in residence at Chesterfield's St. Theresa Hospital. A brief but by no means complete, catalogue of epidemics is rendered from missionary records:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date/Year</th>
<th>Disease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1932 - Feb. 1933</td>
<td>Smallpox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March - April 1934</td>
<td>Influenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April - May 1937</td>
<td>Influenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1940</td>
<td>Undiagnosed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1945</td>
<td>Whooping Cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1937</td>
<td>Impetigo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April - May 1948</td>
<td>Influenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1948 - Summer 1949</td>
<td>Polio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1950</td>
<td>Influenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1952</td>
<td>Chicken Pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. - Dec. 1952</td>
<td>Measles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March - April 1953</td>
<td>Influenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1954</td>
<td>Mumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1955</td>
<td>Influenza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this chronology of disease, the 1948 and 1949 Poliomyelitis epidemic was the most devastating in its physical and psychological consequences. The disease was brought north from Churchill by Tootoo, a native employed by R. Hickes, a White trapper in the Tavane area. Travelling overland, Tootoo visited several hunting camps near Eskimo Point. No diagnosis was available, as no doctor visited the area, but sickness and paralysis were reported. No deaths occurred and radio-prescribed treatments were given. Special Constable Jimmy Gibbons then undertook a patrol with Constable Corey to the Padlei district from Eskimo Point in the winter of 1949. Gibbons, the police employed native, had suffered from the disease in the autumn of 1948, and was still partially paralyzed. The disease was then carried to Chesterfield by Father Dionne of the R.C. Mission at Eskimo Point, the latter carrying mail, visiting the hospital and Industrial Home and all the natives in residence at the
settlement. When the extent of disease contagion became apparent some days after Father Dionne's return to Eskimo Point, a strict quarantine was imposed by radio on the whole west coast of Hudsons Bay from Churchill to Repulse Bay and East of Baker Lake. Thirteen patients suffering from the disease were airlifted to Winnipeg. One death had been recorded by March 10th. As a tragic postscript to the episode, which revealed more than four more cases in May of 1949 at Tavane, Eskimo Point and Padley, the Canso aircraft assigned to remove more patients to Winnipeg that summer went down, and all twenty-one passengers were killed. Missionary records noted:

August 21. A Canso plane is here. The Eskimo refuse to bring the sick to the plane to show their opposition. It is sad to see people leave against their will.

August 22. The plane with the sick on board is lost.

August 24. We learn that the plane crashed and that all the passengers, 21 in all, are dead, not one surviving.

(Eskimo 1956: 17).

In some attempt to define the reasons for the severity of the polio outbreak, particularly at Chesterfield, lengthy discussion was held following the epidemic. The conclusions drawn centred upon the fact that Chesterfield had become an increasingly powerful focus of native visiting and semi-permanent residence:

It was unanimously agreed the chief reason was the same old question about which countless reports have been written in the past, and which has and will probably always be a controversial issue on this settlement, namely the unwarranted congregation of natives on the
settlement when they should be at their camps inland or along the coast hunting, trapping, and making some effort at self support. ...the situation will never be corrected as long as one organization on the settlement continues to encourage unlimited visiting and entertainment in their buildings, allows the natives to build snow houses, erect tents and live in close proximity to their buildings and sympathize with them in the smallest adversity.

(Hamilton 1948: 4).

In the face of the greatest adversity suffered by all the residents of Chesterfield, this latter comment upon mismanagement of hospital facilities by the Missions suggests that, however accurate such a perspective was, a definite attempt was being made by Sargeant Hamilton to apportion the blame for the epidemic. Such institutional conflict and the dissemination of such opinion in the context of an official report seems strangely inappropriate in the wake of such an experience. Nonetheless, Hamilton's comments reveal the degree of enmity between the Mission and other institutions more clearly, suggesting that despite the need for concerted and coordinated policy and action at the settlement level, institutional antagonism prevailed.

Hamilton's earlier comments are less emotionally-loaded and opinionated. They substantiate the information and analysis put forward earlier, and attested to in all records, insofar as an increasing momentum of settlement orientation is observed. This predisposition for settlement residency and extended visiting is contrary to the expressed wishes of most of the agencies present, for it has medical
epidemiological consequences, material repercussions for the trader, and is a visible expression of the dependency which has become so antipathetic to qallunaat goals and priorities by the middle to late 1940's. The fact that many of the casualties of the polio epidemic might have been spared had they been out of the settlement, in part explains the rancour felt by Sargeant Hamilton and other White residents of the settlement. Some of the individuals, though, had moved into Chesterfield to be in close proximity to hospitalized relatives, one family "refusing to leave as long as the baby was in the hospital although they had fifty seal caches at Depot Island north of Chesterfield" (ibid.). Many of those who fell victim to the epidemic were at Chesterfield for other bonafide reasons, such as to obtain Family Allowance benefits, relief payments or debt for trapping activities. It would doubtless have been little consolation to Sargeant Hamilton to conjecture that, without the continued presence of the intrusive groups at Chesterfield for the previous thirty-six years, all casualties would have been avoided.

4.9 Consolidation and Conflict of Intrusive Interest Groups

The polio epidemic, along with the other periodic diseases recorded at Chesterfield, did eventually lead to the inception of a more extensive and efficient health-care delivery service in the Keewatin and elsewhere in the Northwest Territories. The epidemics provided a graphic if unwelcome reminder of the complexity of the whole web of acculturative processes which the qallunaat presence had stimulated. Part of the aversion felt for settlement dependency by the intrusive population
surely originated with the knowledge that all the individuals and organizations who entered the region had in some way, wittingly or unknowingly, contributed to that dependency. Indeed, they had contrived from the onset of acculturative contact to foster an orientation to and controlled dependency on the range of institutions they ushered in.

The missionaries, by virtue of those very qualities of attentiveness and empathy which they strove to emphasize in their actions and teachings, created a strong orientation to the Mission. Notwithstanding the negative perspective in which some patients and non-patients viewed the hospital, the service it provided definitely served to focus increasing attention upon the settlement. Trade traffic also created a growing population of visitors and semi-permanent residents. The whole spectrum of services and commodities which settlements provided; employment, education, religion, medical care, trade opportunities, debt opportunities and later institutionalized relief and income supplements, brought the inevitable result of crystallizing a material and cognitive focus upon the settlement.

Despite this observable pattern of consolidation of activities, which found its local expression in the greater numbers of Inuit who now depended upon the presence of the qallunaat in a most acute way, no genuine concorde or harmony had been achieved between the various agencies. The government now found itself awkwardly attempting to negotiate and form policy within the existing institutional framework, in many respects adopting a similar role to that of the
R.C.M.P. in former years, monitoring the conflicting goals of interest groups and interjecting as a kind of diplomatic and financial institution. In this enlarged context of institutional interaction, there were also fundamental economic concerns, as well as the initiatives of educational policy to pursue and the realization of social and material welfare goals.

4.10 The Decline of the Fur Trade

The bottom line of economic prosperity in the Keewatin had always been reflected in the activities of the Fur Trade. Following the Great Depression, fur prices plummeted markedly from $53.45 in 1929 to a mere $8.66 in 1940. The war years showed an artificially induced increase in prices for White Fox pelts, rising to $35.58 in 1945. By 1950, prices, no longer buoyed up by the military presence in the north and world wide demand trends, had slumped once more to $8.55 per pelt. The overall trend for other furs in the late 1940's reflected this downturn. The implications of this at a local and regional level were quite straightforward; namely the trapping lifestyle became less economically viable for both trapper and trader. The trapper having been weaned away from a former prime directive of hunting, now found his livelihood as a professional trapper endangered. In tandem with other factors, notably the depletion of caribou populations and the increasing incidence and impact of disease, this economic decline served to throw many formerly self-supporting individuals onto the good offices of the State. The long awaited innovation of government initiative in the Keewatin was arguably forced by the erosion of the 'traditional' lynchpin of the region's economy. The inception of a revolving fund of
$50,000 in 1953-1954, known as the Eskimo loan fund, was tantamount to an admittance that swift and substantial economic intervention was imperative for the continued survival of the region. The commencement of mining activities at Rankin Inlet in 1951 and 1952 may, similarly, be seen as a response to the decline of trapping.

Effectively, such economic strategies signaled the beginning of a new epoch of acculturation in the Keewatin, an initiation of a cycle of more transient economic projects, each aimed at filling the void left by the decline of the trapping enterprise. This series of encounters was characterized by relatively brief influxes of capital and resources, human and technological, beginning with the installation of defence equipment following the second world war. The post-war period discussed above was thus a transitional era, bridging the decline of the Fur Trade proper and the inception of markedly different economic strategies. By 1950, the demise of the Fur Trade and the intervention of government had almost rendered the incipient urbanization of the Keewatin Inuit a fait accompli.

Although the economic and political character of the Keewatin had changed perceptibly by 1950, as had the patterns of existence of its original inhabitants, both the H.B.C. and the R.C. Missions remained. This is due as much, perhaps, to historical and acculturative inertia as to the demonstrable capacity of both organizations to consolidate, and where necessary, adapt their strategies. Even given the criticism leveled at the Missions by all and sundry, that institution displayed a remarkable ability to weather adverse criticism, censure and open
antagonism. Similarly, the H.B.C., although its primary economic raison d'être was in marked decline, possessed an economic infrastructure and corporate power resilient enough to withstand the decline of trapping viability. Both institutions had become entrenched entities on the material and sociocultural landscape of the Keewatin. The R.C.M.P., relatively free from fiscal constraints and essentially a continuing instrument of government, also remained a fixture in the region.
CHAPTER 5: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A considerably body of information and analysis has been presented here, in terms of both theoretical and substantive material. It remains to demonstrate the way in which theory, fact and analysis have been employed, and to render some conclusive insights into the lexicon of changes which observably occurred in the Keewatin as a consequence of the acculturative encounters which took place there.

Initial attention to defining and reviewing acculturation as a theoretical and empirical process provided an understanding of the enduring and pervasive nature of this particular cultural change process. Some awareness of the dynamic character of acculturation and its holistic nature was thus achieved. The substantive data revealed that indeed the acculturation process was an integrated and composite one, whilst also depicting the relative complexity of the phenomenon, in a cultural context where a number of intrusive, externally-directed and goal-oriented agencies engendered a spectrum of changes. Theoretical considerations acknowledged that the influence of the three primary agents of change could be detected, not only in the material or ecological realm, but equally in a behavioural and sociocultural sense. The proposed theoretical synthesis drew upon a number of accepted theoretical models which were juxtaposed with a view to elucidating the nature of the changes which occurred and the sherd processes which operated in these transformations. The theoretical framework constructed was, therefore, a composite model and one which might adequately provide for the analysis of a relatively complex series of cultural changes.
It can be observed that the process of acculturation in the Keewatin was directed and shaped by the several goals and strategies of the three primary intrusive agencies which came to be established there; the Hudson's Bay Company, the Missions and the R.C.M.P. The collective thrust of these three groups was at once, both confluent and divergent. Whilst each possessed certain specific objectives, the real power of their acculturative influence derived from their contextually connected presence. Theoretical and substantive considerations attempted therefore to elucidate this elemental internal dynamic and its significance in terms of acculturative impact upon the Inuit.

Moreover, it has been noted that, while the actual locus of change was in the Keewatin in a local and regional sense, the acculturative impetus which was felt there originated from external, detached decision-making and policy formation processes. This juxtaposition of exterior influence and local impact is one of the hallmarks of acculturation in the Keewatin. It is apparent then, that acculturation with such qualities of exteriorization is theoretically and empirically quite distinct from less complex internally managed acculturative encounters. In consideration of substantive data attempts were made to convey the significance of this exteriorization for actual cultural transactions in the Keewatin. The growth of the Fur Trade, in particular, was characterized by the implementation of policy goals formulated beyond the confines of the region, although admittedly with due reference to local conditions. What seems to emerge from initial consideration of acculturative perspectives and subsequent analysis of empirical patterns is a recognition that within the Keewatin,
acculturation was directed not only by the representatives of the intrusive agencies there, but that it was also simultaneously a process of growing exteriorization. Indeed, this process was already in motion as a result of the incursions of the whalers and the explorers and merchants who preceded them. As indicated in Chapters 1 and 2, this series of contacts comprised the initial acculturative inroads in the Keewatin. Some further observations on the theoretical utility of the models chosen to assess the data and the degree to which such models assist in providing insights into the information is now appropriate.

In earlier consideration of the appropriateness of cultural-ecological and cultural-material paradigms, certain shortcomings in the latter approach were noted, as well as the general utility of cultural-material percepts in evaluating certain fundamental aspects of acculturative change in the Keewatin. The postulated sequence of cultural changes emerging from techno-environmental innovations stimulated primarily by the Fur Trade seems to be attested to in the substantive data presented. In analysis of change dynamics (Chapter 4), it was noted that immediate and cumulative spatial repercussions were stimulated by the introduction of the trapping enterprise. Even before the beginning of organized trapping, the whalers had stimulated widespread changes in a number of areas. They had begun initial employment and brokerage relationships, generated both techno-economic and spatial changes, and engendered through selective employment a tendency for incipient socio-economic differentiation. Moreover, the trapping enterprise itself grew out of the early attempts by the whalers to encourage fur trapping as whaling declined.
The superimposition of the trapping mode onto the already pluralized resource quest of the Inuit also created certain untoward results through the accentuated seasonal hunting pressure it created. The effect of such localized pressure and the subsequent areal scarcity which it resulted in, produced a visible and strengthening orientation toward the various posts, particularly those inland. This material orientation found a corollary in certain sociocultural transitions, notably increased tendencies toward settlement residency and embryonic employment patterns and debt obligations. In essence, the causal primacy of cultural materialism with its emphasis on infrastructural determinism seems to be vindicated in this sequence of material change which led to an increasing behavioural and cognitive orientation to the intrusive groups.

However, in the final analysis it becomes necessary to note that sociocultural change, although emerging from more fundamental material metamorphosis, also occurred simultaneously with the latter. In the case of the Missions, the two areas of change were inextricably intertwined, for an ostensible desire to achieve cognitive and behavioural changes was augmented by the possession of material resources and control of healthcare services. The sociocultural repercussions of technological and environmental innovation occur as both logical consequences thereof and as co-existent process. The Fur Trade most certainly had the capacity to direct sociocultural change by virtue of its technological and economic superordinance, but this should by no means have removed the need to seek non-material evidence of cultural change. In recognition of this, the theoretical principles employed steered attention towards the actual transactional processes which comprised acculturation. In essence, the
data reflect the fact that acculturation consisted of far more than material and ecological changes, being an integrated process consisting of a number of transactional elements.

The significance of exchange processes which characterized the acculturative encounter of the Inuit and qallunaat was, therefore, seen as most central to a complete comprehension of acculturation. Hence, the attempt to render an understanding of the dynamics of transaction in terms of the multilaminar nature of exchanges, e.g., material, economic, sociocultural, economic, sociocultural and value-loaded, and the individuals who directed and mediated such exchanges. The data evaluated, in particular in the analytical sections (Chapter 4) readily attests to the holistic nature of transactions whereby involvement with the Fur Trade presupposes the inculcation through direct or indirect tutelage of certain significant non-material cultural patterns. The fostering of loyalties and positive affirmation of the goals and objectives of the Trade, the engendering of formal contractual recognition among the trappers is paralleled in the development of ties with missionaries and police. Indeed, all the three institutions sought to instill, among the Inuit, values and attitudes consistent with their own cultural matrix of origin. The inculcation of such non-material cultural elements was, at the same time, an integral part of more direct material transactions such as the trading of pelts or the provision of hospital and other medical services. This spectrum of material and sociocultural interchanges reiterates some earlier suppositions regarding the nature of acculturation. It transpires that the process is an accretive and enduring one, composed of numerous 'microprocesses' each connected to the others. Transaction
as process thus emerges as the veritable vehicle for acculturative change. The significance of indigenous brokers in fusing together these processes arising from the encounters of the Inuit and the various interest groups has been shown to be especially vital. Without the indigenous brokers employed in some capacity by all three intrusive groups, what was observably a cultural collision might well have been more simply a cultural collision. The scrutiny of brokers in both a theoretical and empirical light reveals quite uncompromisingly the key role which these individuals played in acculturation. It is only regrettable that more detailed case histories of individual native brokers could not be reconstructed. Nonetheless, the central importance of these communicators is incontrovertible. The canvas of acculturative change becomes one in which the individual representatives of discrete interest groups build a growing rapport, a transactional sequence which gains cumulative strength.

The brokers then, especially the indigenous brokers, represent the leading edge of the acculturation process in the Keewatin, amplifying the exteriorizing power of the intrusive groups at a local level of interaction. These key figures were able to translate the objectives of the external agencies into direct action and successfully build a bridge of communication between initially distinct groups. In certain respects the indigenous brokers were a metaphor for acculturation as a whole, for they were essential vehicles for change, facilitating a series of interactions which then gave rise to qualitatively distinct and innovatory cultural patterns, of employment, of spatial location, of mobility and of culturally prescribed man-to-land relationships. Significantly, these brokers provide a necessary theoretical connection too, for the observed
cultural ecological changes can be seen as a product of the transactional
dialogue between Inuit and intrusive groups which the indigenous brokers,
to some extent, established and maintained. Without this dialogue the
material changes which are observed as one aspect of acculturation would
most likely not have been as effective, in the relatively short era under
consideration.

It is in consideration of transaction that it becomes evident that
cultural-ecological or material change is welded tightly to a lexicon of
behavioural and cognitive changes. The patterns of material orientation
to the settlement are mirrored, to some extent, by a cognitive and
behavioural focusing. As indicated in analysis of change dynamics the
precarious relationships with the land which the Fur Trade contributed to
brought with it a perception of the settlement as a necessary recourse
for survival. In the event of an abundance or a scarcity of fur the trail
necessarily led to the settlement, either for an advance or for trade
commodities paid for in pelts. The growth of the Missions and the obligations
incumbent on the Inuit as Christians served to complement and reinforce
this orientation. It will be recalled how the missionary presence,
through control of medical resources, augmented its cognitive and spiritual
objectives with quite concrete material strategies.

This once again points to the integrated or composite nature of the
acculturation process, whereby an amalgam of forces and processes operates.
For instance, in consideration of missionary proselytizing, it becomes
necessary to take stock of the political power of the missions at a regional
and local level as well as its related control of medical and educational
resources. When considered as one element of a three-dimensional composite
cultural entity possessing technological, economic, social and religious leverage; the total magnitude of the acculturative forces becomes evident. The three intrusive agencies must therefore be viewed, as the data has revealed, as a powerful and contextually intertwined acculturative force. This collective presence and its influential capacity to address a spectrum of cultural and material elements owed its strength to its simultaneous and mutually supportive character.

The noted consistency of objectives and values between R.C.M.P. and Missions is a case in point. Through repeated transaction and the use of brokers, the inculcation of such notions as the work ethic, company loyalty, punctuality, honour and thrift, by the H.B.C., tended to reinforce the values which were being communicated by missionary and policeman alike. Furthermore, the visible ability of the Company, to guide energy on the trap line, to move whole groups of people by induced 'translocation' and to dictate the recompense of the trapper through trade agreements with other fur companies, all served to bring home the relative power of the gallunaat and the inexitability of change. To return briefly to transaction, it might also be observed that the asymmetricality of power held by Inuit and gallunaat enabled the gallunaat to create a transactional matrix which served their own interests, a veritable means to shape the course of acculturative events. Certainly data presented on Fur Trade employment contracts, induced migrations, strategies for involving non-trappers in lucrative craftwork, the organization of social get-togethers, the possession of medical and educational resources, and the supplanting of the traditional belief system, would seem to substantiate this power differential quite graphically.
The final analysis of dynamics of change seems to demonstrate the inexorable thoroughness of this acculturative power. Although a dichotomy between the acculturated settlement-oriented Inuit and the less dependent land-based groups emerges, the totality of changes stimulated militates against any real autonomy for even those on the land. The trend towards sedentarism emerges as a logical and directed consequence of cumulative material and sociocultural transactions. This meant, particular for those individuals habituated to settlement existence, that the acculturative process was in essence an assimilation one, that the flow of exchanges had become less bilateral and more unidirectional and that a transition of material and behavioural aspects of Inuit culture had been largely achieved. There was no longer a chosen and reciprocal set of exchanges. Instead there was a necessary dependence upon the qallunaat who had become such an integral feature of Keewatin cultural existence for those people oriented to the settlements. The events of the immediate post-war years certainly validate such a conclusion, the collective presence of government and other institutions serving to increasingly render the settlements an indispensable rather than an expedient resource.
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<td>1934</td>
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<td>Chesterfield Inlet</td>
<td>B. 401 a/3, 1920 - B. 401 a/12, 1940</td>
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<td>Wager Inlet</td>
<td>B. 492 a/1, 1925 - B. 492 a/10, 1934</td>
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<td>Baker Lake</td>
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<td>B. 445 a/1, 1937 - 1938</td>
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<td>Eskimo Point</td>
<td>B. 408 a/1, 1931 - 1932</td>
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<td>B. 408 a/2, 1937 - 1938</td>
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<td>Tavane</td>
<td>B. 487 a/1, 1932 - 1935</td>
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<td>Repulse Bay</td>
<td>B. 472 a/1, 1930 - 1931</td>
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<td>B. 453 a/1, 1937 - 1938</td>
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<td>9605</td>
<td>Rev. Fr. P. Schulte &quot;Flying Priest&quot;, 1936-1942</td>
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<td>250-8/2</td>
<td>Enquiries N.W.T. Eskimos</td>
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<td>Canadian Licence for Scientific Exploration</td>
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<td>Science Exploration</td>
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<td>9292</td>
<td>Income Tax for Eskimos</td>
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### Interviews and Personal Communication

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<tr>
<td>W.A. Buhr</td>
<td>Former H.B.C. Trader</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.A.C. Nichols</td>
<td>Former H.B.C. Trader</td>
<td>Correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Swaffield</td>
<td>Former H.B.C. Trader</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Tallboom</td>
<td>H.B.C. Trader</td>
<td>Interview</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Voisey</td>
<td>Former H.B.C. Trader</td>
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<td>R.G. Williamson</td>
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<td>Personal Communication</td>
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APPENDIX 1: Historical Section


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Rut</td>
<td>1527</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Cartier</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td>French North West Passage</td>
<td>Explored west coast of Newfoundland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Cartier</td>
<td>1535-1536</td>
<td>French North West Passage</td>
<td>Explored St. Lawrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hore</td>
<td>1536</td>
<td>Obscure British Expedition</td>
<td>Cannibalism off Newfoundland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1541-1555</td>
<td>French and Portuguese Expeditions North West Passage/Colonization</td>
<td>Portuguese &quot;Straits of Anian&quot; Hoax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Frobisher</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Eskimo took five of crew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Frobisher</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>Gold mining in Frobisher Bay and seek the North West Passage</td>
<td>Met more Eskimos Mine 200 tons of iron pyrrite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Frobisher</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>To mine gold only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Davis</td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Entered Cumberland Sound. Two crew killed by Eskimos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Davis</td>
<td>1587</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Crossed Davis Strait to Baffin Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Maldonado</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish North West Passage</td>
<td>Hoax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Nature or Object of the Voyage</td>
<td>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weymouth &amp; Drew</td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Enter Frobisher Bay, Hudson Strait</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Knight</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Three killed on Labrador Coast</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Hudson</td>
<td>1610-1611</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Entered Bay, subsequent mutiny and death. Four mutineers killed by Eskimos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Button,</td>
<td>1612-1613</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Discovered Coats Island wintered at Port Nelson reached 65°N in Roe’s Welcome Sound</td>
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<td>John Ingram</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>William Gibbons</td>
<td>1614</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Icebound, turned back from Hudson Strait</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Bylot,</td>
<td></td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Tidal observations in Foxe Channel, Southampton Island region. Concluded no possibility of North West Passage through Hudson’s Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Baffin</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Bylot,</td>
<td></td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Explored Baffin Island coast</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Baffin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jens Munck</td>
<td>1619-1620</td>
<td>Danish North West Passage</td>
<td>Mapped Chesterfield and Wager in rudimentary form</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke Foxe</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Followed coast south to meet James</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas James</td>
<td>1631-1632</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Explored south west shore of Bay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1647-1661</td>
<td>French Overland Expeditions</td>
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### Appendix I: Historical Section, Continued

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<th>Personnel</th>
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<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radisson, Grosseillers</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>Fur Trade voyage to Hudson's Bay from Boston (merchant sponsors)</td>
<td>Turned back</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stannard,</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>London merchant voyage to Hudson's Bay</td>
<td>Established Fort Charles, traded with Indians</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>Incorporation of Hudson's Bay Company by Charter under Governor Prince Rupert</td>
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<td>Gillam, Raddison, Grosseillers, Bayly</td>
<td>1670-1671</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co., Fur Trade Voyage</td>
<td>Erected Rupert House near Fort Charles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayly</td>
<td>1672-1675</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co., Fur Trade Voyage</td>
<td>Attempted unsuccessfully to establish posts at James Bay and Nelson River</td>
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<td>Bayly</td>
<td>1674-1679</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co., Supply voyage</td>
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<td>Bayly</td>
<td>1679</td>
<td>Establishment of Fort Albany</td>
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<td>Greenway, etc.</td>
<td>1680-1681</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co., Supply Voyage</td>
<td>Established Depot on Charlton Island, ordered abandonment but captured by French in 1686</td>
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<td>1682-1686</td>
<td>Annual Supply voyages</td>
<td>Established Fort Hayes 1683, Established York Factory 1684</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>Treaty of Neutrality between England and France</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1687-1696</td>
<td>Supply voyages</td>
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<td>Outlaw, Abraham</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Renegade British Fur Trade voyage</td>
<td>Caught by Hudson's Bay Co. vessel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personnel</td>
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<td>Nature or Object of the Voyage</td>
<td>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</td>
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<td>Young, Kelsey et al.</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Churchill Post founded</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Young, Kelsey</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Overland Expedition</td>
<td>Walked 200 km. north of Churchill, met no Eskimos</td>
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<td>Kelsey</td>
<td>1690-1692</td>
<td>Interior Overland Expedition</td>
<td>To bring Indian Trade to York Factory</td>
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<td>Kelsey</td>
<td>1696-1713</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co. supply voyages and French expeditions</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Treaty of Utrecht a cessation of French-English Rivalries and restoration of the Hudson's Bay to Great Britain, officially acknowledging Rupert's Land as Hudson's Bay Co. land</td>
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<td>1714-1765</td>
<td>Regular Hudson's Bay Co. supply voyages into the Bay</td>
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<td>1717</td>
<td>Second founding of Churchill (1st, 1689)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>Churchill renamed Fort Prince of Wales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelsey, Hancock</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>First of several attempts to develop Eskimo trade by Hudson's Bay Co.</td>
<td>Reached beyond Marble Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight, Berley, Vaughn</td>
<td>1719-1721</td>
<td>To seek copper, gold and the mythical &quot;Straits of Anian&quot;</td>
<td>Starvation and death of all hands by 1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napper, Hancock</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co., Trade Expedition for copper, oil, whalebone on west coast</td>
<td>Reached 61°N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I: Historical Section, Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelsey, Norton</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>Trade for copper, North of Churchill</td>
<td>No Inuit contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrogs, Norton</td>
<td>1721-1722</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co., Trade and Exploring Expedition</td>
<td>Last expedition North until 1737 by Hudson's Bay Co. Limited trade contact for whalebone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Atkins</td>
<td>1729</td>
<td>New England whaler</td>
<td>Traded trifles for whalebone on Labrador coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1731</td>
<td>Construction of stone fortress at Churchill (Fort Prince of Wales)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napper, Crow</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Trading, mining and North West Passage voyage by Hudson's Bay Co.</td>
<td>Established friendly contact with Eskimos only as far as Whale Cove. Agreed to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Smith</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td>Trade voyage north of Churchill</td>
<td>Eskimos failed to appear. Resolved to make yearly voyage thereonin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleton, Moore</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Concluded no hope of passage via Chesterfield, Wager or Repulse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>1742</td>
<td>Trade voyage north of Churchill</td>
<td>&quot;Made but poor trade with Eskimos&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td>Trade voyage north of Churchill</td>
<td>Saw three times the number of Eskimos on route for Whale Cove. Trade poor, however.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I: Historical Section, Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Moore, F. Smith</td>
<td>1746-1747</td>
<td>British North West Passage</td>
<td>Explored Wager Bay. Reiterated Middleton's supposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coats Mitchell</td>
<td>1749</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Co. Exploration Expedition</td>
<td>Measured tides and currents south from Cape Digges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1749</td>
<td>Parliamentary inquiry into Activities of Hudson's Bay Co., no case for annulling charter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walker</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>Second attempt to cultivate trade to north of Whale Cove</td>
<td>Little or no success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walker</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Third attempt</td>
<td>Did not attract natives, although reached Marble Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walker</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>Fourth attempt</td>
<td>300 natives attacked ship south of Marble Island, little success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean, Wood, Johnston</td>
<td>1753-1765</td>
<td>Regular Hudson's Bay Co. Trading voyages</td>
<td>Failure. Three men die on Labrador Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Swain</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>American North West Passage Expedition</td>
<td>Failure. Three men die on Labrador Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bean</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>Hudson Bay Co. Supply Voyage</td>
<td>Failed to relocate Chesterfield Inlet (1746-47). Found no Chesterfield Inlet north of 64°N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses, Norton,</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>Hudson Bay Exploration and trade</td>
<td>Failed to relocate Chesterfield Inlet (1746-47). Found no Chesterfield Inlet north of 64°N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>Hudson Bay Co. Exploration and trade</td>
<td>Failed to relocate Chesterfield Inlet (1746-47). Found no Chesterfield Inlet north of 64°N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Hudson Bay Co. Trade voyage</td>
<td>Routine trade with Eskimos north to Whale Cove</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix I: Historical Section, Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/ or Inuit Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Wood</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Trade Voyage</td>
<td>North of Churchill (replacing John Bean)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Wood</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Re-established Fort Severn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Wood</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>Trade Voyage</td>
<td>North of Churchill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Christopher</td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>Exploration Voyage</td>
<td>Found Chesterfield Inlet, renewing hope of North West Passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus, Johnston</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Trade and exploration voyage north of Churchill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus, Johnston</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>Whaling and trade north of Churchill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1766-1773</td>
<td>Annual Whaling, Trade and Supply Voyages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Wales, Joe Dymond</td>
<td>1768-1769</td>
<td>British Scientific Expedition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearne</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Overland Exploration Expedition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Cooke Clerk</td>
<td>1776-1780</td>
<td>British North West Passage voyage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>British Navy Davis Straits Expedition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>French attack on Hudson Bay Co. Posts including Prince of Wales Fort</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards et al</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Hudson Bay Co. Supply voyage, North West Passage Expedition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Taylor, Charles Duncan</td>
<td>1791-1792</td>
<td>British North West Passage Expedition</td>
<td>Earmarked Corbett and Chesterfield Inlet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I: Historical Section, Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muirhead</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>British whaling voyage</td>
<td>Followed Greenland coast to 77°N - returned via Greenland shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>British whaling voyage</td>
<td>Sailed northwest to Baffin Bay and across to Canadian coast. Whole fleet followed Ross's (1818) and returned south along Baffin Coast - first whaling ships to follow anti-clockwise course, a course that became routine for whalers in following years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Francis Lyon</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>British Naval Exploration Expedition</td>
<td>HMS Griper, sailed to Repulse, cross Melville Peninsula and explored north coast of America. Landed at Coats Island. In Roes Welcome Sound, nearly shipwrecked twice and forced to return before reaching Repulse Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapel, Christopher and Ed</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>U.S. whaling in Hudson’s Bay</td>
<td>Wintered at Depot Island - good catch despite scurvy. Followed by 59 ships in next decade. Whaling concentrated in Roes Welcome Sound and Repulse Bay. Total whaling voyages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I: Historical Section, Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nature or Object of the Voyage</th>
<th>Achievement and/or Inuit Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. F. Hall</td>
<td>1864-1869</td>
<td>U.S. Franklin Search</td>
<td>Base at Repulse Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Taylor</td>
<td>1866-1867</td>
<td>Hudson Bay Co. whaling and trading</td>
<td>Along west coast - north of Churchill. Intended to trade with Eskimos and compete with Americans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approximately 105 of the voyages overwintered. Captains employed Eskimos temporarily, Eskimo trade often profitable. To Hudson's Bay totaled 146 American - 117, British - 29.
APPENDIX II: WHALER'S TRADE SUPPLIES

- Lyons Inlet, March 29, 1906

List of supplies, stores & c., transhipped to the Ernest William, Captain J.W. Murray by the ss. Active, Captain A. Murray, on August 24, 1905, at Repulse Bay. District of Keewatin, Canada for use in trading with natives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provisions</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8960 lbs. biscuits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 casks peas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 casks oatmeal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cask barley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 casks molasses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 lbs. coffee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168 lbs. butter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>448 lbs. marmalade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ammunition, Rifles, etc.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,000 cartridges, Martini-Henry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 primers, Martini-Henry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 rifles, Martini-Henry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 primers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 caps, Rifle No. 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 caps, Rifle No. 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 lbs. lead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 powder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardware</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 doz. enamel mugs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 doz. plates, tin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. pans, oval, cooking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. flagons, assorted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. knives, sealing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. knives, snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 doz. knives, pocket</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. files</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. files, saw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 doz. spoons, iron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix II: (continued)

Miscellaneous

200 gross matches
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. needles, glovers
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. needles, sewing
3 doz. combs, dressing
3 doz. combs, small tooth
6 doz. thimbles
3 doz. mirrors, small
2 doz. pipes
6 doz. pencils, lead
$\frac{1}{2}$ gross, thread linen, reels
16 lbs. beads, assorted

Clothing

4 doz. drab mole trousers
4 doz. drab mole vests
5 ends wool tartan
8 ends indigo prints
4 doz. swan drawers, mens
3 doz. shirts, tweed, mens
3 doz. sauson shirts
3 doz. caps, cloth, mens

I, J.W. Murray, master, solemnly declare upon oath that above
is, to the best of my belief, a complete list of stores and supplies
taken on board the Ernest William from the ss. Active for use in
trading with natives.

Sworn before me this 29th day of March, 1906

(Sgd) L.E. SELLER, Const.,
Acting Assistant Collector of Customs
APPENDIX III: HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EMPLOYMENT CONTRACT, 1923

THIS AGREEMENT made this twenty-fourth day of March A.D. 1923, between....hereinafter called "the party of the first part", and The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, commonly called The Hudson's Bay Company, hereinafter called "the Company of the second part",

1. The party of the first part, for the consideration hereinafter mentioned, agrees to enter into the service of the Company and to serve the Company at such place or places in North America as the Company or its officers shall direct, in the capacity of Apprentice Clerk in such other capacity as the Company or its officers shall from time to time appoint, for the full term of five years, to be computed from the date of day of embarkation to Canada, A.D. 1923, and for such further term as is hereinafter provided; and that he will, during the whole of such time, diligently, honestly and faithfully serve the Company and perform all such work and services for the Company as he shall be required to perform by the officers thereof, and abide by all rules and regulations now or thereafter made by the Company and applicable to his employment.

2. That he will not (during the period of his engagement hereunder) engage or be concerned either directly or indirectly in any trade or employment whatsoever except for the benefit of the Company and according to its orders, and that all goods obtained by barter with the Indians or otherwise which shall come to his hands or into his possession or within
Appendix III: (continued)

or under his control or direction shall be held or controlled by him for the Company only and shall duly be delivered up to the Company, its officers or agents.

3. The party of the first part further agrees with the Company that in case he shall not give at least twelve months previous notice in writing of his intention to quit the service of the Company at the end of the said term of five years (which notice shall be given to the officer in charge of the Post where he then is, or in the event of his being himself in charge of a Post, then to the officer in charge of the district where his Post is) he shall remain and continue in the service of the Company for the further period term of twelve months after the expiration of the term above agreed upon, on the terms and conditions herein contained.

4. The Company hereby agrees with the party of the first part that in consideration of the services to be rendered and performed by him, the Company will, during the time that he shall remain in the service of the Company, pay him at the rate of two hundred and forty dollars ($240) for the first year, three hundred dollars ($300) for the second year, three hundred and sixty dollars ($360) for the third year, four hundred and twenty dollars ($420) for the fourth year and five hundred and four dollars ($504) for the fifth year, to be computed from the date of the day of embarkation to Canada, A.D. 1923, and will also provide for him board and lodging according to the usual custom of the Company's
service, or will at the Company's option pay to him such additional sum per annum in lieu of board and lodging and all allowances as shall be from time to time fixed and allowed therefor by the Company.

5. Provided always and it is hereby expressly agreed between the parties hereto that it shall be lawful for the Company or its officers at any time during the said term or any extension thereof to terminate this Agreement by giving to the party of the first part ninety days previous notice in writing or at the option of the Company on payment by the Company to him of three months' wages in lieu of notice.
APPENDIX IV: NORTHEAST TERRITORIES GAME ACT

THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS OF THE NORTHWEST GAME ACT ARE HERE REPRINTED FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC

5. No one shall enter into any contract or agreement with or employ any Indian, Eskimo, or other person, whether or not such Indian, Eskimo, or other person is an inhabitant of the country to which this Act applies, to hunt, trap, kill or take game contrary to the provisions of this Act or a regulation, any egg, nest or part thereof. 1917, c. 36, s. 5.

6. All members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the sub-collector of customs at Herschel Island, shall be ex-officio game officers. 1917, c. 36, s. 6.

7. Any game officer, when he considers it necessary so to do, may appoint a constable or constables to apprehend any person who has done, or who he has reason to believe has done, anything in contravention of any of the provisions of this Act or the regulations.

2. Such constable shall, upon apprehending such person, arrest him and bring him for trial before the nearest justice of the peace, together with any game, eggs or nests, or parts thereof, protected by this Act or a regulation, found in the possession of such person at the time of his apprehension. 1917, c. 36, s. 7.

8. No person without lawful excuse, the proof whereof shall lie on him, shall buy, sell or have in his possession any game, or the nests, or eggs of any wild bird, or any part thereof, during the close season. 1917, c. 36, s. 8.

9. All guns, ammunition, traps, boats, skiffs, canoes, punts and vessels of every description, horses, dogs, wagons, sleighs, and other outfits, decoys, and appliances, and materials of every kind, used in violation of or for the purpose of violating this Act or any regulation, may be seized upon view by any game officer or game warden, or taken and removed by any person appointed for such purposes by a game officer or game warden, for delivery to a justice of the peace, who may order such chattels to be held pending the payment of any penalty for any offence committed.
Appendix IV: (continued)

2. (a) Any game taken, caught, killed or had in possession, or any nest or egg or parts thereof taken or had in possession, in violation of this Act or any regulation; and,

(b) Any poison, ammunition, explosives, traps, snares, spring-guns, firearms, and other implements, appliances and contrivances, the use of which is prohibited under the provisions of this Act; may be seized on view by any peace officer, game officer or game warden, and shall be forfeited to the Crown. 1917, c. 36, s. 9.

10. Any game officer, game warden or peace officer who violates this Act or any regulation, or who aids, abets or connives at any violation of this Act or of any regulation, shall be liable upon summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding five hundred dollars and not less than one hundred dollars, or to imprisonment for any term not exceeding six months, or to both fine and imprisonment. 1917, c. 36, s. 10.

11. Any person who assaults, obstructs or interferes with any game officer, game warden, constable or other peace officer in the discharge of any duty under the provisions of this Act or of any regulation, shall be guilty of a violation of this Act. 1917, c. 36, s. 11.

12. Any person who willfully furnishes false information to a game officer, game warden or peace officer respecting a violation of this Act or of any regulation, the existence of or the place of concealment of any game, nest or egg, or portion thereof, captured, killed or taken in violation of this Act, or of any regulation, shall be guilty of a violation of this Act. 1917, c. 36, s. 12.

13. Any game officer, game warden, constable or other peace officer may enter any place, building or premises, or any ship, vessel, or boat in which he has reason to believe there exists game, nests or eggs or any parts thereof, in respect to which a breach of this Act or of the regulations has been committed, and may open and examine any trunk, box, bag, parcel or other receptacle which he has reason to suspect and does suspect contains any such game, nest or egg or any part thereof. 1917, c. 36, s. 13.

14. Any person found committing an offence against this Act may be arrested on view by any game officer, game warden or peace officer. 1917, c. 36, s. 14.

15. Every justice of the peace may upon his own view convict for any offence against this Act or a regulation. 1917, c. 36, s. 15.
16. The killing, taking, trapping or capturing of each mammal or bird, contrary to the provisions of this Act or a regulation shall constitute a separate offence. 1917, c. 36, s. 16.

20. Whenever by this Act it is made an offence to do any act without holding a licence therefore, the onus in any prosecution shall be upon the person charged, to prove that he was the holder of the licence required by this Act.

(2) In any prosecution under this Act the onus of proof as to his bona fide residence in the Northwest Territories shall be upon the defendant. 1917, c. 36, s. 20.

NOTE
Penalties. -- Penalties for the violation of the provisions of the Regulations for the Protection of Game in the Northwest Territories may be found in the Northwest Game Act, Chapter 141 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927. These vary from Five ($5.00) to Five Hundred ($500.00) Dollars fine with or without imprisonment up to six months according to the offence.
AN ORDINANCE RESPECTING THE EXPORTATION
OF FURS FROM THE NORTH WEST
TERRITORIES

(Assented to May 7, 1929)

The Commissioner of the North West Territories by and with the
advice and consent of the Council of said Territories, enacts as
follows:--

Short Title.
1. This Ordinance may be cited as "The Fur Export Ordinance".

Interpretation.
2. In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires,
"Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the Northwest
Territories.

"Exportation" means exportation from the Northwest Territories.

"Fur-bearing Animal" means any animal referred to in Schedule
"A" of this Ordinance.

"Furs" means all pelts or skins or parts thereof of any fur
bearing animal whether such pelts or skins are in a raw state or
tanned and dressed.

"Package" includes any box, bale, trunk, bag, barrel or other
container.

"Permit" means a permit to export furs from the Northwest
Territories.

"Permit Officer" means any officer appointed by the Commissioner
to issue permits for the exportation of furs from the Northwest
Territories.

"Tax" means the sum or rate payable on furs exported from the
Northwest Territories as set out in Schedule "A" of this Ordinance.

"Territories" means the Northwest Territories of Canada.
Appendix IV: (continued)

3. Any permit officer may, upon receipt of the tax provided in Schedule "A" hereto, issue permits for the exportation of furs. Each article of fur or package of furs for which a permit has been issued shall be stamped or sealed by the Permit Officer with a stamp or seal approved by the Commissioner.

4. No person shall export, carry or cause to be exported or carried out of the Territories, any furs, without first having obtained a permit to do so.

5. No person not authorized by the Commissioner to issue permits shall have in his possession blank permits, seals, stamps or other equipment used by permit officers in carrying out the provisions of this ordinance, and no unauthorized person shall remove, mutilate or destroy any tags, seals, stamps or other markings attached to any package or bale of furs by any permit officer.

6. No person, transportation company, or common carrier shall accept for transportation out of the Territories any furs unless the furs or package containing the furs has been stamped or sealed by the Permit Officer as aforesaid.

7. Any permit officer, any police officer or any game officer or game warden acting under the Northwest Game Act may, without warrant or other legal process, open and inspect any package which he has reason to believe contains furs and may, on view, seize any furs being exported upon which the full amount of the tax has not been paid.

   (2) All furs so seized shall be liable to double the amount of tax in addition to the liability of the owner to the penalties provided for the violation of the provisions of this ordinance and where the double tax is not paid at the time of seizure such furs shall be held to be thereby forfeited to His Majesty.

8. The Commissioner may authorize the issue of a permit without payment of tax where furs are to be used for scientific purposes.

9. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding six months, or to both fine and imprisonment, together with costs in either case.

10. Prosecution for violation of any of the provisions of this ordinance may be commenced not later than one year from the date of such violation.

11. The Commissioner may from time to time make such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this ordinance, for the carrying out of the true intent and meaning thereof as are found necessary or deemed expedient by him.
Appendix IV: (continued)

12. Any notice, demand, or any other communication required under this ordinance may be validly given to or given, and served by the Director of the North West Territories and Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior, or other person duly authorized by him.

13. This ordinance shall come into force and effect on the 31st of December, 1929.

W.W. Cory,
Commissioner
Appendix IV: (continued)

SCHEDULE "A"

Tax Payable On Furs Exported From The Territories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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APPENDIX V:

DRAFT TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL
TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

Secret

OTTAWA, May 26, 1925

No.

My advisers have noted press reports that a scientific expedition is being prepared in the United States for exploration in the Arctic regions to be led by Dr. Donald B. MacMillan, under the auspices of the National Geographic Society and with the co-operation of the United States Navy.

I would request Your Excellency to inquire of the Secretary of State whether this report is correct. If so, I would desire to call the attention of the Government of the United States to the fact that the Government of Canada has established Royal Canadian Mounted Police posts in Baffin Island, Ellesmere Island and other sections of its northern territories, that in the course of the Police patrols through the Arctic Islands depots of provisions have been established at various centres, and that in addition Hudson's Bay Company posts are in existence at island and mainland points. The Government of Canada would be pleased under these circumstances to assure the expedition whatever assistance could be given from these posts and depots and by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, to furnish the necessary permits for the expedition, and in any other way possible to facilitate the plans of Dr. MacMillan and his associates.
SUPPLEMENTARY DRAFT DISPATCH

FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

With further reference to my dispatch No. on the MacMillan Arctic expedition, it has been considered advisable to set forth some of the grounds which have caused the Canadian Government apprehension as to the purposes of the expedition and also the grounds of its claims to certain Arctic territory which may be questioned.

The expedition is under the leadership of Dr. MacMillan, a Newfoundlander by birth but now a citizen of the United States, who is widely experienced in Arctic exploration. In his earlier expeditions he was disposed to work closely with the Canadian Government and when giving evidence before the Canadian Royal Commission on the Musk Ox and Reindeer Industries, in 1920, he advised that all explorers going into Canadian Arctic territory be required to secure licenses. Of late, perhaps because of the exigencies of popular lecture tours in the United States and campaigns there for financing his new expedition, he has tended to emphasize the advantages to the United States of the discoveries he may make in the Arctic and also to ignore the Canadian Authorities. The Director of the North West Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior wrote him in June 1923 prior to his last trip north, asking for information as to his plans and calling his attention to the hunting and trading licence requirements. The letter though received, was not acknowledged. On MacMillan’s return, the Director wrote again in October 1924, calling attention to press reports of killing of musk ox on Ellesmere Island. MacMillan replied stating that the objects of the expedition were purely scientific, and adding that "nothing in Canadian territory was trapped or killed or traded for
Appendix V: (continued)

by me or by a single member of my personnel, else you would have received
notice immediately upon my return and check forwarded for hunting and
trading license", a reply which was considered in the light of Royal
Canadian Mounted Police reports as to killing of musk ox, at least
evasive.

On January 14, 1925, the Director wrote McMillan calling attention
to press reports of the new expedition, enclosing copies of Game Act
and other regulations, and suggesting that application be made for
a migratory game permit. No answer has been received to this letter.

The United States Department of the Navy, to judge by the
"Shenandoah" and other incidents, is not adverse to securing whatever
prestige may attach to adding territory and possibly air bases in the
North. It is providing planes and also lending pilots and mechanics.
No intimation whatever as to the expedition has been received from the
United States government.

Given this persistent ignoring of Canadian authority, special
significance attaches to the reported route of the expedition. While
it is proposed to make airplane explorations through Baffin Land,
as to which no question of sovereignty could possibly be raised, this
is apparently to be left to the return trip and is not an essential
feature. On the northward journey, the expedition, after coaling at
a Canadian port, and possibly touching at a Labrador port, is to coast
along Greenland to Etah; permission to make use of Etah as a base and
make certain scientific inquiries there has been sought and secured from
the Danish Government. From Etah the planes are to fly across Elles-
mere Island to the northern end of Axel Heiberg Island, there to establish
a base for exploring the large unknown area to the north westward.
As it happens that the two portions of Canadian territory thus to be
visited or flown over, Ellesmere Island and Axel Heiberg, are precisely
the two areas in the North as to which some question as to our sovereignty
might be raised (by the United States and Norway respectively), it is
Appendix V: (continued)

apprehended that this choice of route is not wholly accidental or based wholly on technical grounds, and that it may foreshadow claims not merely to any new territory discovered to the eastward by to part or all of Ellesmere Island itself.

The grounds upon which Canada rests her claim to these as well as to the other Arctic islands north of her mainland territory may be summarized briefly.

In 1880, Great Britain, by Imperial Order in Council of 31st July 1880, transferred the Arctic archipelago to Canada. The order provided that "all British territories and possessions in North America and the islands adjacent to such territories and possessions, which are not already included in the Dominion of Canada, should (with the exception of the colony of Newfoundland and its dependencies) be annexed to and form part of the said Dominion".

The Dominion of Canada claims as its "hinterland" the area bounded on the east by a line passing midway between Greenland and Baffin, Devon and Ellesmere Islands and, thence northward to the Pole. On the west, Canada claims, as her western boundary, the 141st meridian from the mainland of North America indefinitely northward "without limitation".

There is at least on precedent for the claim to the 141st meridian; namely, the Russian-United States Treaty of 30th March 1867, whereby the present territory of Alaska was ceded to the United States. It provides that:

"The western limit, within which the territories and dominion conveyed (to the United States) are contained, passes through a point in Behring's straits on the parallel of sixty degrees thirty minutes north latitude......and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the Frozen (Arctic) Ocean".

This, in terms, is a claim by the United States that the western boundary of Alaska is a due north line passing through the middle of Bering Strait and thence due north to the North Pole.
In 1867, this contention received the recognition and support of the Russian Government and, so far as the Government of Canada is aware, it has never been protested by any other power, nor has the United States ever indicated that she does not propose to maintain in its entirety.

Inferentially, the United States would make a similar contention respecting its eastern boundary the 141st meridian. Such claim, if formulated, would, of course, receive the support of the Government of Canada.

The various grounds on which title may be based will be taken up in turn:-

1. Discovery.

So far as discovery goes, the title of Great Britain, and thus of Canada, to the whole Arctic Archipelago is beyond question, except possibly in the case of certain Ellesmere and Axel Heiberg areas. With the exception of Heiberg, Ringnes, Meighen, Borden, Brock and some smaller islands, all the known insular areas in the Canadian Arctic archipelago were discovered and formally taken possession of by British commissioned navigators from a century to three-quarters of a century ago and such acts of possession were formally taken possession of by a Canadian expedition in 1914-17. Consideration will therefore be confined to the areas which may be questioned.

In 1616, Bylot and Baffin, English navigators, DISCOVERED Ellesmere Island. They named Smith Sound to the east of it and Jones Sound to the south.

In 1818, an official expedition formally commissioned by Great Britain and commanded by Capt. John Ross, R.N., surveyed the southeastern portion of Ellesmere Island.

In 1852, Commander Inglefield, R.N. commanding one of the Franklin vessels despatched by the British Admiralty, surveyed the south shore longitude $84^\circ$ W. and the eastern shore to Princess Marie bay in latitude $30^\circ$. 

Appendix V: (continued)
Appendix V: (continued)

In 1853-1855 and 1860-1861, two citizens of the United States, Kane and Hayes, explored the shore of Ellesmere Island from Princess Marie Bay northward to latitude 81° 30'. In 1871, Hall, also a citizen of the United States, explored a small portion of the north-eastern coast of Ellesmere Island between latitudes 81° 45' N. and 82° 30' N.

In 1875-1876, Capt. Nares, R.N., commanding an expedition despatched by the British Admiralty, surveyed accurately and in detail the coasts explored by Kane, Hayes and Hall, which, in large part, had been so inaccurately mapped that it was difficult to recognize many of the salient points indicated on their plans. Nares also explored the northern and western coasts from Hall's "furthers" to Cape Alfred Ernest in latitude 82° N.

In 1881-1884, Lieut. A. A. Greely, U.S.N., commanded an International Circumpolar station "for the purpose of scientific observation", particularly in developing meterology and extending the knowledge of terrestrial magnetism Greely crossed Ellesmere Island and explored the shores of Greely fiord, and inlet in the west coast.

In 1900-1902, Sverdrup, commanding an expedition which was financed in large part, by citizens of Norway, explored nearly all the remainder of the southwestern coasts of Ellesmere Island and also discovered Axel Heiberg, Amund Ringnes, Ellef Ringnes and King Christian Islands.

In 1913-1918, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, commanding an expedition commissioned by the Dominion of Canada, made further explorations in the Canadian Arctic archipelago. He discovered Meighen, Borden, Brock, some smaller islands and made further surveys of Amund Ringnes, Ellef Ringnes and King Christian islands. He found that the last named, instead of being north of Findlay Island, as Sverdrup supposed, was a separate island.

It is thus clear that this island was DISCOVERED over three centuries ago by an English expedition; that a part of the shore-line was surveyed by a British Naval expedition and that, three-quarters
of a century ago, another officer of the British Navy EXPLORED AND SURVEYED 300 miles of its shore-line.

By progressive steps the remainder of the shore-line was SURVEYED between 1853 and 1902 by British, United States and Norwegian explorers, but it is to be noted, that with the exception of the Greely expedition, which accomplished but little in the way of exploration, neither the United States expeditions nor the Norwegian were commissioned by their respective Governments.

At this point, it seems pertinent to state that there can only be one discovery of an island. Subsequent individuals or expeditions, can only explore or survey, though they may claim to have discovered specific topographical features such as capes, bays, mountains, rivers, etc.

The fact of discovery, therefore, was completed when Bylot and Baffin discovered it 309 years ago.

While Great Britain has never conceded such sweeping claims, it is noteworthy that, in 1827, during the Oregon Territory negotiations, the United States plenipotentiaries claimed that all the country between the 42nd and 49th parallels of latitude, basing their claim upon the mere entrance into the mouth of the Columbia by a private citizen of the United States. Further, these extraordinary pretensions were put forward although it was a matter of common knowledge that Cook and Vancouver took possession of or touched at various points of this portion of the mainland.

Had the United States subsequently occupied portions of the coast discovered by citizens of that country, such occupation would have formed the basis of a strong claim but upon the facts, as set forth above, it is evident that she has no claim except such attenuated claims as could be founded upon exploration by her nationals upon part of the coast of an island discovered by an English expedition two and one half centuries earlier, and surveyed to the extent of 300 miles by officers of the Royal Navy, prior to the advent of any citizen in the United States.
Appendix V: (continued)

The portions of the coast of Ellesmere Island which were first explored by citizens of the United States have been coloured as United States territory by some map-makers in that country, and the coast-line first sighted by the Sverdrup expedition has been coloured as Norwegian though, so far as known, neither the Government of the United States nor the Government of Norway has made a "public assertion of ownership" of the areas explored by their nationals, and, in the case of the United States, the lapse of a half century should bar such claim at the present time.

Similarly, in the case of Norway, the lapse of over twenty years should also bar any claim by that nation.

Again, so far as known, Kane, Hayes, Hall and Sverdrup were uncommissioned navigators. The money appropriated for the Greely expedition was for "observation and exploration" in the Arctic seas, but neither he nor Kane, Hayes nor Hall was commissioned to take possession of lands in the name of the United States. Nor was Sverdrup similarly commissioned on behalf of Norway.

This clearly negatives any claims by the United States or Norway which is based upon discovery by their respective Nationals.

Hall says that: "If an uncommissioned navigator takes possession of lands in the name of his sovereign, and then sails away without forming a settlement, the fact of possession has ceased, and confirmation of his act only amounts to a bare assertion of interest to possess, which, being neither declared upon the spot nor supported by local acts, is of no legal value".

2. Contiguity.

The importance of the principle of contiguity, and its applicability to the present situation, may approximately be indicated by quotations from United States authorities:

In 1824, Mr. Rush, United States Minister at London wrote: "It will not be denied that the extent of contiguous territory to which an actual settlement gives a prior right must depend in a considerable degree on the magnitude and population of that settlement, and on the
Appendix V: (continued)

facility with which the vacant adjoining land may within a short time be occupied, settled and cultivated by such population, as compared with the probability of its being thus occupied and settled from another quarter". (quoted by Westlake, I., pp. 116-117).

In 1844, Mr. Calhoun, U.S. Secretary of State, wrote Mr. Pakenham, British Minister at Washington: "That continuity furnishes a just foundation for a claim of territory, in connection with those of discovery and occupation would seem unquestionable. It is admitted by all, that neither of them is limited by the precise spot discovered or occupied. It is evident that, in order to make either available, it must extend at least some distance beyond that actually discovered or occupied; but how far, as an abstract question is a matter of uncertainty......................How far the claims of continuity may extend.....can be settled only by reference to the circumstances attending each".

In 1826, Mr. Callatin, negotiator on behalf of the United States, said:

"The actual possession and populous settlements of the valley of the Mississippi, including Louisiana, and now under one sovereignty, constitutes a strong claim to the westwardly extension of that province over the contiguous vacant territory, and to the occupation and sovereignty of the country as far as the Pacific Ocean."

"It will not be denied that the extent of continuous territory, to which an actual settlement gives a prior right must depend, in a considerable degree, on the magnitude and population of that settlement and on the facility with which the vacant adjoining land may, within a short time, be occupied and settled, and cultivated by such population, as compared with the probability of its being thus occupied and settled from another quarter."

As to the relative probability of settlement or control by the United States or Norway - as compared with Canada - there can be no question. Further, when the difficulties of control in the Arctic, as compared with
Appendix V: (continued)

the temperate and torrid regions, are considered and when due weight has been given to such considerations, Canada's title may be claimed to be, if not unquestionable, at least much superior to that of any other nation.

The islands discovered by Sverdrup, namely Axel Heibert, Amund Ringnes and Ellef Ringnes, are six, eight and twenty-five miles distant, respectively, from islands which have been acknowledged as British for three-quarters of a century. In addition, they are, as already stated, simply portions of the geographical entity, known as the Canadian Arctic archipelago.

3. Occupation and Control.

The decision of the arbitrators respecting the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela recognized a principle which materially strengthens the claims of Canada. In this case, British Guiana was awarded the larger portion of the area in dispute because the British and their predecessors in title, the Dutch, and exercised a control over the native inhabitants of that area. The same principle was also recognized in determining the boundary between British Guiana and Brazil which was in dispute for many years.

The awards in each case recognized the principle that such control constitutes effective occupation.

Similarly, Great Britain and Canada have exercised control over the natives of the mainland of Canada and of the Arctic islands between Greenland and the 141st parallel. It is true that Ellesmere Heiberg and the Ringnes are not inhabited by natives or white men but it is highly probable that they were so occupied by the Eskimo even in historic times and, since then, have not been occupied by any one else.

In 1670, King Charles II granted a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company. By virtue thereof, the Company for two centuries exercised a proprietary government over the area covered by its charter and established posts throughout the Arctic drainage basin of the mainland.
Since the sale of its rights and privileges to the British Crown and the transfer thereof to Canada over a half-century ago, the Hudson's Bay Company and other fur-trading companies have extended their operations to the Arctic islands and have established posts therein thus exercising a control over practically the whole of the native population.

The Canadian Government has established police posts on Ellesmere, Devon and Baffin islands in the eastern portion of the archipelago and at other points in the western portion of the area, these posts being so placed as to dominate the whole of the archipelago, thus furnishing all the control required to maintain its title.

4. Prescription.

The taking possession of Melville, Cornwallis and other islands of the Canadian Arctic archipelago was formally notified to the world, and for three-quarters of a century and more has been unprotested.

Reference may be made to a despatch of Lord Salisbury, of March 18, 1896:

"There is no enactment or usage or accepted doctrine which lays down the length of time required for international prescription and no full definition of the degree of control which will confer territorial property on a nation, has been attempted. It certainly does not depend solely on occupation or the exercise of any clearly defined acts. All the great nations in both hemispheres claim, and are prepared to defend, their rights to vast tracts of territory which they have in no sense occupied, and often have not fully explored. The modern doctrine of "Hinterland", with its inevitable contradictions, indicates the unformed and unstable condition of international law as applied to territorial claims resting on constructive occupation or control."

In 1904, the Government of Canada published a map showing "Explorations in Northern Canada". On that map, the boundary of the Canadian Arctic archipelago, on the east, is delineated by a line passing through the middle of Robeson channel - waters separating the Canadian islands from Greenland - and thence northward to the Pole, and, on the west, by the
Appendix V: (continued)

141st meridian from the mainland northward to the Pole.

This official map was published twenty-one years ago and obviously, a tacit acquiescence, during over a fifth of a century, on the part of Norway and all other nations, bars their claim to protest the Canadian claim.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that it is obvious that the specific rules of international law that are considered by the best authorities to be applicable to the torrid and temperate zones are, in such cases as the Canadian Arctic archipelago, not applicable with the same strictness. The effect of measures of control, of contiguity and of settlement must be given very much greater weight than would normally be attached to similar measures in more temperate and habitable regions.

Against any claims by the United States or Norway to territory in the Arctic archipelago, it may be urged that, collectively, these islands form a geographical entity and that discoveries by the national of other nations of hitherto unknown units in this entity do not impair the title of Canada. Canada would not necessarily regard the undertaking of such explorations made on the mainland of Canada in areas that are still unexplored, provided that they be undertaken in such a way as to form an acknowledgement of her sovereignty. But Canada does contend that the nationals of other nations should conform to the regulations and laws of Canada, particularly as such conforming does not impose any hardship upon such nationals.