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Northern Periphery: Long-Term Inuit-European and -Euroamerican Intersocietal Interaction in the Central Canadian Arctic

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ABSTRACT

This study examines long-term Inuit - European and -Euroamerican intersocietal interaction in the central Canadian Arctic. This geographical area encompasses the traditional ranges of the contiguous Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit societies. Specifically, the study analyzes and discusses changes in intra- and intergroup material trade networks and social relations resulting from indirect and direct contact with the developing capitalist world-system. Through the application of world-system theory and methodology, it is shown that indirect contact in the form of the acquisition of material trade items was a gradual, though constant, process that had a considerable impact on the cultural development of these societies. Both indirect and direct contact were greatly accelerated during the 19th century, increasing the rate of cultural change, and, by the early 20th century, ultimately culminating in the articulation of the Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit societies within the modern capitalist world-system.

RESUME

Cette étude fait l'analyse de l'interaction à long terme entre les sociétés Inuit-Européene et -Euroaméricaine dans la région centrale de l'Arctique Canadienne. Cette région géographique est comprise d'une diversité traditionelle de sociétés Inuit et contiquës de Copper, Netsilik et Iglulik. En particular, l'étude examine et discute les changements dans les réseaux de commerce matérial et les relations sociales entre les groups, et à l'intérieur de

ces derniers, resultant de contacts indirects et directs avec le système mondial qui était dévéloppant et capitaliste. A cause de l'application de la théorie et la méthodologie du système mondial, il sera démontré que le contact indirect dans la forme de l'acquisition des articles de commerce matérial était un processus graduel, tout de même constant, qui a eu un impact considérable sur le dévéloppement cultural de ces sociétés. Les contacts indirects et directs, les deux, étaient beaucoup accélérés pendant le 19e siècle, précipitant le changement culturel, et culminant finalement dans l'articulation des sociétés Inuit de Copper, Netsilik et Iglulik dans le système mondial qui était capitaliste et moderne au debut du 20e siècle.

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My return to University, and the writing of this thesis, could not have been accomplished without the love, constant encouragement and strong support of my wife Alanna (also a superb editor), daughter Guinevere, and son Gunnar.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beloved father,
Carl Gunnar Johnson, 1921-1997.
"Fortitudine Vincimus"

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines long-term Inuit-European and -Euroamerican intersocietal interaction in the central Canadian Arctic (Figure 1). This geographical area is characterized by Damas (1969, 1971, 1972, 1984a) as incorporating the regions that encompass the traditional ranges of the contiguous Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit societies (Figure 2). Specifically, the thesis will analyze changes in intra- and intergroup material trade networks and social relations resulting from indirect and direct contact with the developing capitalist world-system.

It is shown that indirect contact in the form of the introduction of material trade items was a gradual, though constant, process that had a considerable impact on the cultural development of these indigenous societies (e.g., Boas 1888; Rasmussen 1931; Renfrew 1984:119-121; Hickey 1984; Savelle 1985; Trigger 1985; McCartney 1991). Both indirect and direct contact were greatly accelerated during the 19th century and brought about significant cultural change which, ultimately, culminated in the complete articulation of the three Inuit societies within the modern capitalist world-system by the early 20th century.

The theoretical approach to examining and understanding precapitalist societies in the central Canadian Arctic followed in this thesis is world-system theory (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989). Four important reformulations of world-system theory will be applied within the theoretical context of the thesis: 1) the process of "incorporation" - the process through which indigenous groups are

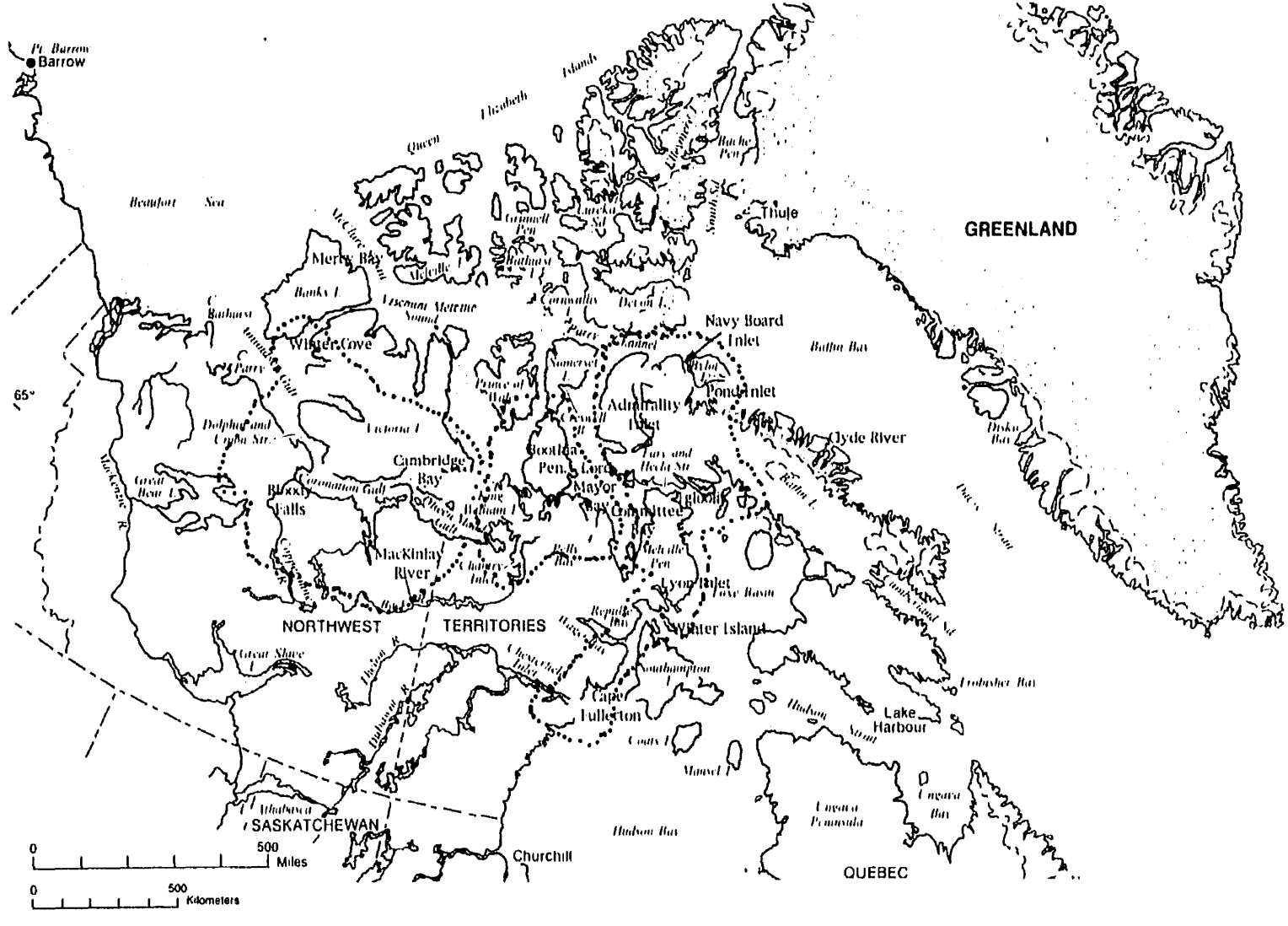


Figure 1. Map of the central Canadian Arctic (base map after McGhee 1984:370).

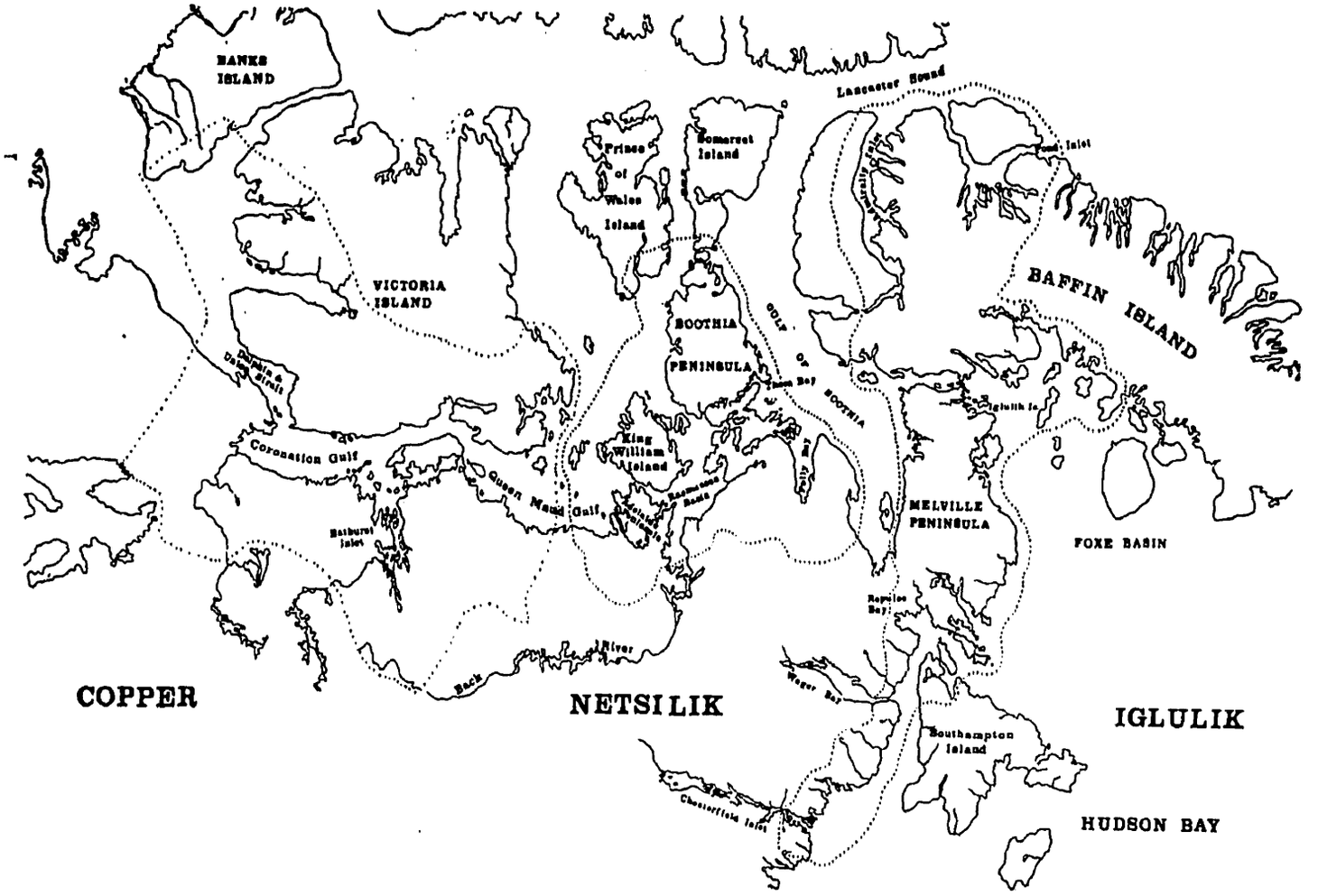


Figure 2. Map of the central Canadian Arctic, approximate aboriginal ranges of the Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit (From Damas 1969).

"articulated within the expanding capitalist world-system" (Hall 1986); 2) the extension of the modern world-system back in time (Gills and Frank 1991); 3) Chase-Dunn and Hall's (1991:7) redefinition of world-system boundaries; and 4) elements of Friesen's (1995) general model of hunter-gatherer world-systems. These theoretical components and their importance in the examination of precapitalist societies in this study will be discussed below.

The development of classification and chronological systems for the study of the process of incorporation into the modern world-system will serve as the methodological foundation for researching the archaeological, ethnographic and ethnohistoric record. Dates thus derived have been used to develop a comprehensive "culture history" of the central Canadian Arctic for the "periods of incorporation" (see below). This "culture history" will then serve as the basis for testing and evaluating various hypotheses for each of the periods of incorporation.

Incorporation is viewed as a gradual process, forming a trajectory from the Incidental Zone to the Dependent Periphery which is viewed as the starting point for greatly increased Inuit dependency due to the advent of the fur trade. However, it should be noted that some scholars, such as David Damas, have stated that both Inuit-whaler and Inuit-explorer interaction and trade prior to the initial stages of the fur trade "made little difference in the life of the people [Inuit]" (Damas 1988:104, see also Damas 1996:363,350). Further, other scholars question whether a dependency or reliance on European materials necessitate a political and economic dependency (e.g. Krech 1987:236-277). Nevertheless, there is a growing body of research that suggests that, prior to the fur trade era,

indirect and direct contact did indeed have significant, and in some instances long-lasting effects on northern indigenous societies (see e.g Ross 1975; Hickey 1984; Savelle 1985; Trigger 1985; Friesen 1995).

Accordingly, in this thesis, special emphasis has been placed on examining and interpreting relevant 19th century exploration narratives, compiled primarily by officers of the Royal Navy and the Hudson's Bay Company, which offer critical insight into cause and effect of intersocietal change (e.g., those by Parry 1821; Franklin 1823; Lyon 1824; Ross 1835; Back 1836; Simpson 1843; Collinson 1889). Specifically, this involved the holistic examination of indirect and direct contact, and changing social relations and material trade networks, particularly from 1818 to circa 1880, a point in time when the central Canadian Arctic was visited by upwards of forty-two expeditions (e.g., Cooke and Holland 1978; Oswalt 1979; Holland 1994).

It is apparent today, that anthropology is less likely to view small societal units as autonomous, isolated entities (e.g., Trigger 1989:330). Moreover, it has been demonstrated that it is important to fully understand the effects of the penetration of the capitalist world-system on precapitalist societies (e.g., Wobst 1978; Wolf 1982; Schrire 1984; Sahlins 1987; Bettinger 1991:144). This thesis is one of the first studies to examine the three indigenous central Inuit societies through a world-system perspective. As such, it complements and builds on the earlier studies of intersocietal interaction among these societies including, most notably, those by Hickey (1981, 1984), and Savelle (1985). Similarly, it will also serve as a useful adjunct study to Crowell's (1997) examination of the impact of the world-system in Russian America, and especially to Friesen's

(1995) comprehensive world-system examination of the neighboring Mackenzie Inuit who interacted indirectly and directly with at least one of the Inuit groups (Copper) in this study.

Theoretical Background

World-system research is a burgeoning perspective with an increasing number of theoretical studies discussing, synthesizing and defining world-system boundaries and interaction (Hall 1986; Trigger 1984; Shannon 1989; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991). Similarly, it is now generally accepted that a single, preeminent world-system has existed for up to 5000 years. This thesis draws on studies by Schneider (1977), Kohl (1978), Champion (1989), Wilkinson (1991), Frank (1994), and others, in the examination of core/periphery relations within the precapitalist world-systems of the central Canadian Arctic.

Studies relevant to the profound impact of capitalism on the indigenous hunter-gatherer groups and its effects on social interaction that occurred within the periphery, are those by Wolf (1982, 1992), Hall (1986), Hannerz (1992), Sahlins (1987), and Nash (1981), all of whom are critical of Wallerstein's view of capitalism as a "totally transformative system" in which all change emanates from the power of the center. Rather, social relations, interaction and mode of production within the periphery are seen as infinitely more complex, possessing a constant "dynamic tension," that manifests itself in a fluid interchange between core and periphery. This interchange is, in turn,

"mediated" and "harnessed" by local cultures for their own reproduction as well as the "creative transformation" of the cultural order (e.g., Freeman 1980:265).

Theoretical Framework

The salient applications in the examination of precapitalist societies embraced herein are, firstly, Hall's (1989) model of the process of incorporation into the world-system. The foundation of this model is composed of four stages of incorporation defined on the basis of market articulation (Champion 1989:44-48, Friesen 1995): the **External Arena**, which is completely external to the world economy; the **Contact Periphery**, where some contact with representatives of the world economy has occurred; the **Marginal Periphery**, where a moderate degree of market activity has occurred; and, finally, the **Dependent Periphery** which is fully incorporated within the interstate system of the world-economy.

Second, a central premise is that the world-system can be extended "back in time." In other words, it can be suggested that a "single, preeminent" world-system has existed for at least 5000 years" (Frank 1994; Schneider 1977; Wilkinson 1991). Further, this world-system possessed many of the components of its modern counterpart including center/periphery structures, capital accumulation and significant intersocietal interaction.

Third, the thesis follows Chase-Dunn and Hall's redefinition (1991:7) of world-system boundaries as: "Intersocietal networks in which interaction (trade, warfare, intermarriage, etc.) is an important condition of the reproduction of the

internal structures of the composite units and importantly affects changes which occur in these local structures." This definition allows for comparisons and assessment of different kinds of interaction critical to the "maintenance of internal societal structures" (Friesen 1995; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991). For example, if material trade plays a critical role in the structure of social networks within a given society, then the nature of this trade can be closely examined to determine boundaries within that particular world-system (Guemple 1971).

Finally, this thesis will embrace Friesen's (1995) general model of hunter-gatherer groups as the most critical component of its theoretical framework. Friesen's model is predicated on the following: 1) although hunter-gatherer regional groups are essentially autonomous, they must engage in long-term interaction with neighboring groups in order to insure their viability; 2) interaction, i.e. trading, visiting, forming of marriage partnerships, alliances, redistribution, etc., is "confined primarily to the regional group;" and 3), while self-reliant, regional groups maintain interaction for "economic safety" in case of famine, "social reproduction," and exchange. According to Friesen:

> "...all hunter-gatherer world-systems, including those of both mobile and sedentary hunter-gatherers, can be modeled as overlapping *networks of interaction*, with the effects of that interaction decreasing with distance from each regional group. Primary alliances, most exchange and the greatest degree of conflict will exist between neighboring groups. The exact nature of the interaction will vary, and may be manifested in the exchange of bulk goods, exchange of prestige goods, presence of regular conflict, or exchange of information" (Friesen 1995:54, see also Figure 3).

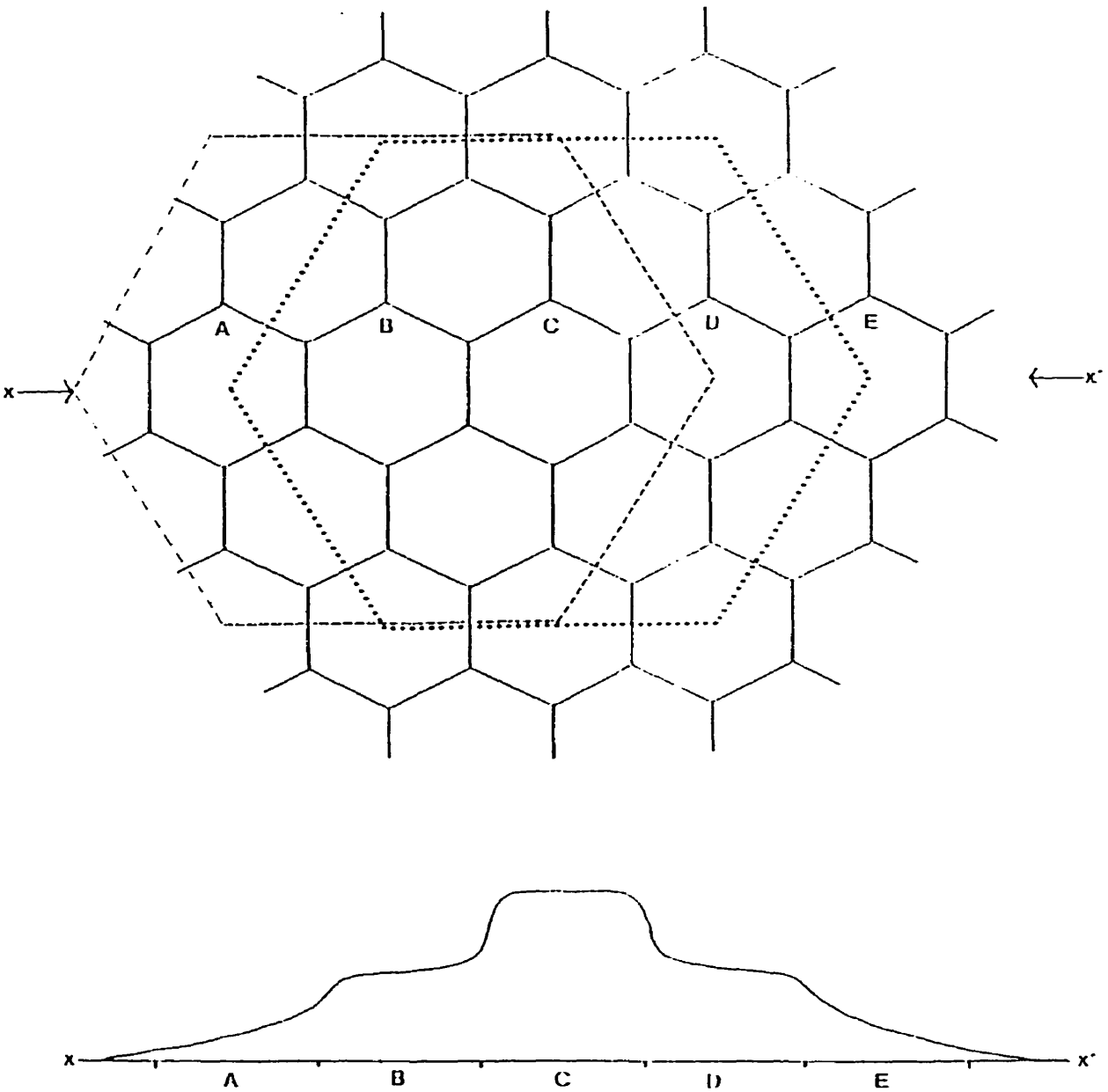


Figure 3. Schematic representation of overlapping hunter-gatherer world-systems. Top: each hexagon represents the territory of one regional group. Area enclosed within dotted line represents the limits of group C's world-system; area enclosed within dashed line represents the limits of group B's world-system. Bottom: transect along line x-x'. Height of line represents intensity of interaction of group C with neighboring groups (From Friesen 1995:55).

Chapter 2: Methodology and Predictions

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1991) have recognized the critical importance of measuring or analyzing world-system boundaries for comparative purposes. Since there are various differences between hunter-gatherer regional groups, variations in overlapping world-systems that connect these groups can be expected. Friesen (1995:56-58) has proposed that these variations be described and analyzed through three dimensions:

1) **Breadth** - "the geographical extent of the world-system, or, the number of other regional groups which interact to significant degree with the regional group."

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

3) **Internal Differentiation** - "degree of incipient internal differentiation, in that certain regional groups are more populous, sedentary, socially complex, or wealthy than others." Further, "Internal differentiation... can be characterized both in *degree*, as measured by the scale of difference between core and periphery, and in *form*, which indicates the location of the core relative to the periphery."

Within the context of this thesis, material trade networks and changing social relations in the central Canadian Arctic will be examined using the above dimensions. As previously discussed, this is essentially a bifurcated ethnographic and ethnohistoric analysis in which hunter-gatherer societies will be examined through two perspectives: 1) that of the penetration and growth of

the world-system, and 2) that of the indigenous world-system. The first perspective will endeavor to examine and explain the incorporation of the three indigenous Inuit groups of the central Canadian Arctic over a period of time - from the external zone to the Dependent Periphery. As stated above, this is seen as a dynamic process in which interaction was often "mediated" or influenced by indigenous groups.

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

A classification system for the process of incorporation has been developed using several examples (Wallerstein 1974; Hall 1989; Friesen 1995:37). The system formulated for this thesis (see below) is based on Friesen's classification system developed for his study of the Mackenzie Inuit, which consists of: the **External Zone** in which there is "no observable interaction with the world-economy;" the **Incidental Zone**, in which only limited and tenuous contact is apparent; the **Contact Periphery**, where growing interaction with agents of the core is evident through infrequent direct exchange and growing indirect trade which, in turn, can significantly alter

aspects of a group's lifeways. Interaction between the indigenous groups and the world-system within the contact periphery is still characterized by choice on the part of the indigenous group. Regular and extended contact can be observed in the **Marginal Periphery,** as can certain evidence of the growing dependency of indigenous groups on the world-system. The **Dependent Periphery** represents the culminating period of the incorporation process in which indigenous societies become fully articulated within the world-economy.

One important change to Friesen's incorporation model is the adoption of a bifurcated "Contact Periphery." Tentatively labeled "Early Contact Periphery" and "Late Contact Periphery", these "stages" differ from each other not only in chronology, but also through the accelerating degree of contact with agents of the expanding capitalist world-system, the greater frequency and degree of intersocietal interaction, and the observable changes in lifeways and incipient dependency. The "Early Contact Periphery" dates from 1717-1818, while the "Late Contact Periphery" dates from 1818 to 1880. The rationale for this division is discussed in the following chapter (Figure 4).

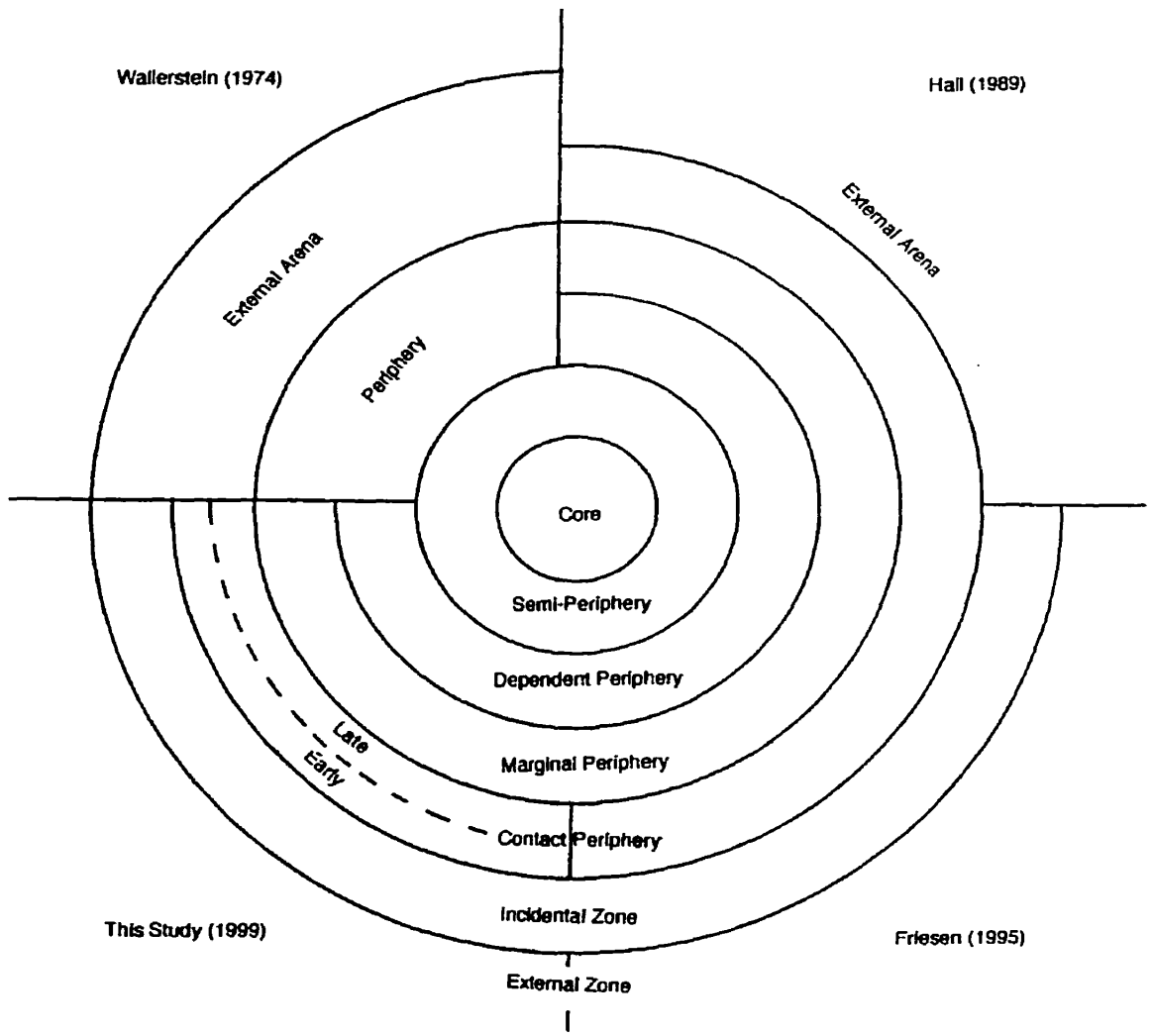


Figure 4. Schematic comparison of four classification systems for the process of incorporation (After Friesen 1995:37).

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

1. External Zone	- 2000 B.C. - 1000 A.D	(Palaeo-Eskimo)
2. Incidental Zone	- 1000 A.D. - 1717 A.D.	(Central Thule, Early Protohistoric Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik)
3. Early Contact Periphery	- 1717 A.D. - 1818 A.D.	(Protohistoric Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik)
4. Late Contact Periphery	- 1818 A.D. - 1880 A.D.	(Early Historic Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik)
5. Marginal Periphery	- 1880 A.D. - 1920 A.D.	(Historic Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik)
6. Dependent Periphery	- 1920 A.D. - Today	(Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik)

By incorporating the archaeological, ethnographic and ethnohistoric record, (among other sources), a comprehensive "culture history" of the central Canadian Arctic for the periods of incorporation listed above will be developed. This history will then be used to test and evaluate various hypotheses (based on "breadth," "depth," and "internal differentiation") for each of the above periods of incorporation.

Culture History, Process of Incorporation, and Predictions

External Zone

Because of the fragmentary archaeological record, the Palaeo-Eskimo period will not be examined.

Incidental Zone

The Thule and Early Historic Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik societies of the central Canadian Arctic are hypothesized to have been located in the Incidental Zone of the European world-economy during this period. Tenuous and intermittent indirect contact with the European world-economy is seen to exist primarily through down-the-line trade networks that extended west to Alaska and Siberia, and east to Greenland. Trade in foreign metals accounted for the majority of indirect interaction with the world-economy (e.g., McCartney 1988, 1991; McCartney and Mack 1973).

Predictions:

1. Breadth is relatively low. Regular interaction occurs between immediate neighbors and material trade goods should originate in a limited number of regions.
2. Depth is also relatively low.
    a. Material trade goods should be rare.
    b. Material trade networks should exist primarily between immediate neighboring groups.

c. Social interaction is confined primarily to immediate neighboring groups.

3. Internal Differentiation. Little internal differentiation exists between neighboring groups.

Early Contact Periphery

Soon after 1717, the central Canadian Arctic is hypothesized to be in the Early Contact Periphery of the European world-economy. There is a significant change/increase in trade through intermediaries due to the establishment of Fort Churchill by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1717 (e.g., Burch 1974, 1978). The establishment of regular trade operations by the Hudson's Bay Company with the Inuit of southern Baffin Island in the Hudson Strait region and with the Caribou Inuit of western Hudson Bay, and the subsequent dispersal of trade goods through down-the-line trade into the central Arctic, is also seen as a major contributing factor to this increase (e.g., Barr 1994). Traditional down-the-line trade from the west is seen to continue as well. Intergroup "trade fairs" in the "Thelon woods" area of the Keewatin interior also contributed to the increase in trade and intergroup social interaction (e.g., Smith and Burch 1979). Direct contact with agents of the world-economy was still relatively rare.

The significant increase in trade goods entering the central Arctic and the expansion of trade routes and networks, are predicted to affect the indigenous world-system in the following ways:

Predictions:

4. Breadth should increase.

a. Availability of material trade goods should increase. This increase should be apparent in all regions.

b. Material trade networks should expand.

5. Depth should increase.

a. Material trade networks should expand.

b. Material trade through intermediaries should increase.

6. The degree of internal differentiation should increase due to increasing access to European trade goods.

Late Contact Periphery

By 1818, the central Canadian Arctic is hypothesized to be in the Late Contact Periphery of the European world-economy. In addition to the continued expansion of trade as seen above, significant indirect and direct contact now occurs between indigenous Inuit groups and agents of the world economy: primarily whalers, and secondarily, members of Royal Navy and Hudson's Bay Company expeditions engaged in exploration, and later, following the disappearance of the Franklin Expedition in 1845, Royal Navy and Hudson's Bay Company personnel engaged in search and surveying expeditions (e.g., Holland 1994; Neatby 1970; Simpson 1843, etc.). The King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula and Boothia Peninsula areas are seen to be a "core region" from approximately 1832 to 1860 (or longer), due to the presence of large quantities of materials in the form of the abandoned *Victory* and associated "stores depot" at Victoria Harbour, Boothia Peninsula, and, the abandoned H.M.S. *Erebus* and H.M.S. *Terror* and associated materials "dispersed" through the "retreat" of surviving members of Franklin's crews in the

King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula region (e.g., Ross 1835; Rasmussen 1929, 1931; Savelle 1985, 1987b). The northwestern Hudson Bay Region is also seen as a "core region" at this time due to the presence of the Euroamerican whaling industry. The Banks Island/Victoria Island area is seen to be a "minor core region" from approximately 1853 to 1880 due to the presence of significant quantities of material in the form of the abandoned H.M.S. *Investigator* and "stores depot" at Mercy Bay (e.g., Stefansson 1914; Jenness 1922; M'Clure 1857; Hickey 1981, 1984). The increase in direct contact (especially with whalers and Royal Navy "wintering parties") and trade are predicted to affect the indigenous world-system in the following ways:

Predictions:

7. Breadth should increase significantly.
    a. Greatly increased material trade and social interaction between agents of the world-system and Inuit groups should be apparent.
    b. Trade goods should appear in greater numbers.
8. Depth should increase. Greater group movement should be observed in "core regions."
9. The degree of internal differentiation should increase. The Boothia Peninsula, King William Island/northern Adelaide Peninsula areas should become a "core region" due to the spatially restricted presence of large quantities of exotic material and manufactured goods at Victoria Harbour, Boothia Peninsula, and the King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula area. Western Victoria/ Banks Island area should become a "minor core region" due to the presence of materials and manufactured goods at Mercy Bay, Banks Island. Northwestern Hudson Bay should become a "core region" from

approximately 1860 due to the increased interaction with the whaling industry.

a. Trade goods exist in greater quantities in "core regions."

b. Increased social complexity and change in groups within "core regions" is seen.

Marginal Periphery

The process of culture change and incorporation into the Euroamerican world-economy is greatly accelerated due to the expansion of the whaling industry in northwestern Hudson Bay (e.g., Ross 1975, 1977, 1980). This geographical area is observed to be a "core region" at this time. Similarly, a second "minor core region" is also seen to exist in the Pond Inlet area of northern Baffin Island as a result of the impact of the whaling industry (W. Ross 1979). Other mechanisms and manifestations of incorporation, apparent at this time, include the introduction of firearms, significant movement of populations, disease, epidemics, missionization, Canadian law, the introduction of fur trapping and the establishment of trading posts and direct exchange (e.g., Balikci 1964, 1970; Damas 1988; Freisen 1995; Rasmussen 1929, 1931). By 1920, the indigenous Inuit groups of the central Canadian Arctic are hypothesized to be fully incorporated into the Dependent Periphery of the Euroamerican world-economy.

Predictions:

10. Breadth should increase. Greater interaction with agents of the Euroamerican economy should occur.

11. Depth should increase.

a. Population grows in "core region."

b. Subsistence practices should show adaptations developed to obtain commodities for export to the Euroamerican economy.

12. Internal differentiation should continue to increase through expanding contact with agents of the world-economy. Northwestern Hudson Bay is seen as a "core region." The Pond Inlet area is seen as a "minor core region."

a. Increased social complexity overall. Increasing mobility with some migration to "core region."

b. Groups located in the "core region" and "minor core region" should exhibit a greater degree of cultural complexity than other groups.

Dependent Periphery

13. The central Canadian Arctic is hypothesized to be fully articulated within the Dependent Periphery of the Euroamerican world economic system by 1920.

Chapter 3: Incidental Zone - Discussion

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

At the start of this period, approximately 1000 A.D., members of the Thule culture, the direct cultural and biological ancestors of the Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic (Savelle and McCartney 1990:702), migrated from northern Alaska and across the Canadian Arctic to Greenland (Mathiassen 1927; McGhee 1978, 1984:370-374; Schledermann 1996:104). The Thule have been described as a classic whale hunting society and, as such, they occupied "relatively large and permanent settlements that were established on the coast or channels where bowheads were available during periods of summer-fall open water" (Savelle 1987a; Savelle and McCartney 1990:705; McCartney 1991:34). In terms of comparison, Thule society and material culture most closely resembled that of the North Alaskan Eskimo (e.g., Spencer 1959; Burch and Correll 1972; Burch 1980; McGhee 1984:372-373; McCartney 1991:34).

Both native and foreign metals were highly desired as trade materials (Figure 5) and almost certainly served as prestige materials within these "ranked societies" (McCartney 1991). These materials were cold hammered into knife blades and projectile points and utilized primarily in sea mammal hunting and butchering contexts (McCartney and Mack 1973:337). Copper was used and traded extensively by Thule groups occupying the area later inhabited by the Historic Copper Inuit (McGhee 1972; McCartney and Mack 1973:331; Morrison 1987; McCartney 1988). Other important trade metals included telluric iron found in the Disko Bay area of western Greenland, meteoritic iron from Cape York, northwestern Greenland, Asian trade metals which entered the Arctic across the Bering Strait, and, lastly, Norse metals from the Western and Eastern settlements in Greenland (McCartney and Mack 1973:336; McGhee 1984:374; McCartney 1988, 1991:26, 30). Additional trade materials utilized by Thule societies included obsidian, hematite, mica, silver, amber, bear teeth, skins, oil and stonepots (Stefansson 1914:27; McCartney 1991:34).

According to McCartney (1991), intra- and intergroup exchange/ communication routes among Thule groups across the central Canadian Arctic can be suggested in part by examination of the trade maps (Figure 6) found in Stefansson (1914) and Boas (1888: pl. III). Trade was facilitated by Thule mobility, a predilection for lengthy travel, and through the use of dog sled technology in winter. *Umiaks* (large skin boats) were used to transport both people and trade materials during summer and early fall when "leads" in the ice would open. Travel in all seasons would have increased exchange between Thule groups (McCartney 1991:36; Condon 1996:14-15; Schledermann 1996:105). According to McCartney: "...the very strong continuity of Thule

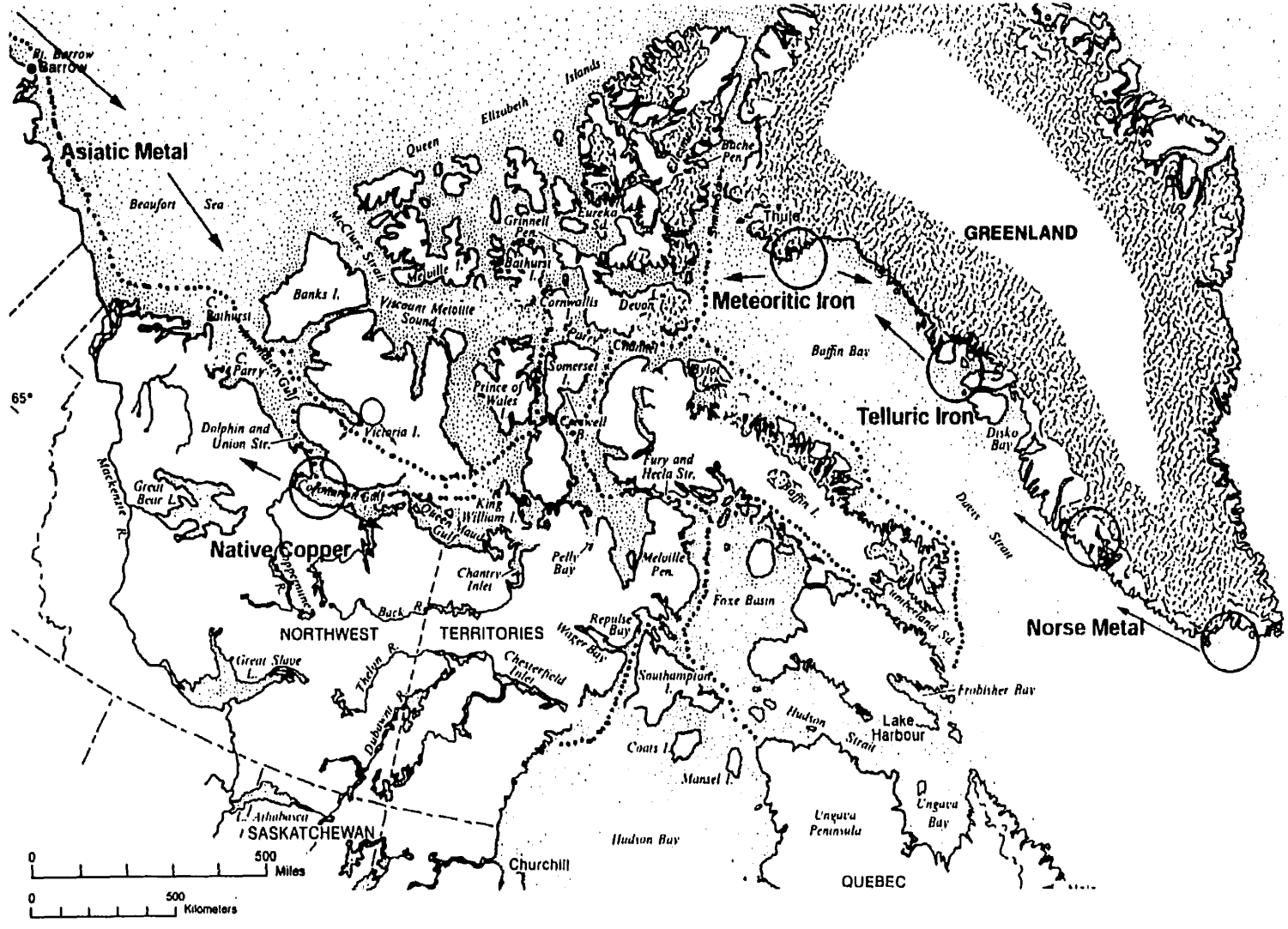
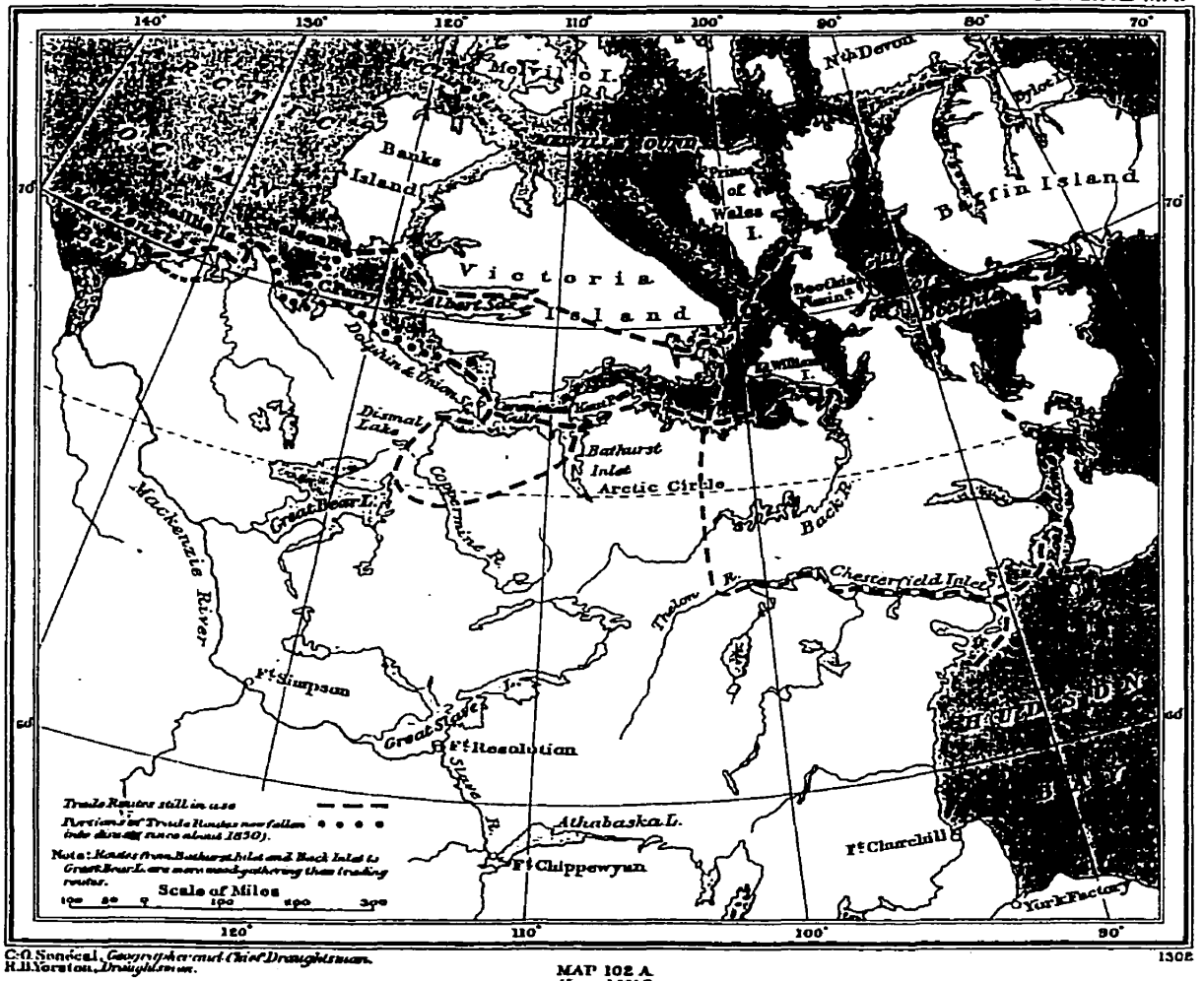


Figure 5. Map of the central Canadian Arctic. Probable trade routes, Incidental Zone (After McCartney 1991:32).

Canada
Department of Mines
HON. L. CODERRE, MINISTER; R.W. BROCK, DEPUTY MINISTER.
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

OUTLINE MAP



C.O. Senécal, Geographer and Chief Draughtsman.
H.J. Yeraton, Draughtsman.

MAP 102 A.
(Issued 1914)

ESKIMO TRADE ROUTES, ARCTIC COAST, CANADA.

Figure 6. (From Stefansson 1914).

artifact styles (harpoons, arrows, carving knives, *ulus* (women's knives], gravers, snow knives, gaming pieces, etc.), that spread from the Siberian coast to Greenland suggests that once Thule migrations took place from the Beaufort Sea coast throughout the New World Arctic, social and economic networks remained open between these societies. It is along these extensive networks that metals are postulated to have moved across the Arctic" (McCartney 1991:35).

The end of the Thule period, circa A.D. 1600, coincided with the emergence of the early Protohistoric Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik groups and Martin Frobisher's three voyages (1576-1578) of exploration and commercial inquiry (e.g., Oswalt 1979; Neatby 1984; Holland 1994). Frobisher's abandoned mining operations on southern Baffin Island introduced hundreds of manufactured tools and other items into intra- and intergroup trading systems of that area (McCartney 1991:31; Fitzhugh and Olin 1993). In the years prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, various European expeditions explored the coast of Baffin Island and the interior of Hudson Bay. While several of these expeditions did make landfall, their contributions to material trade networks on the periphery of the central Canadian Arctic would have been small in scope (McCartney and Mack 1973:337; Oswalt 1979).

4. Breadth should increase.
    a. Availability of material trade goods should increase. This increase should be apparent in all regions.
    b. Material trade networks should expand.
5. Depth should increase.
    a. Material trade networks should expand.
    b. Material trade through intermediaries should increase.
6. The degree of internal differentiation should grow due to increasing access to European trade goods.

Several new factors emerge during this period which significantly influence the type and the growing number of trade goods entering the indigenous intra- and intergroup trading networks of central Canadian Arctic (Figure 7). Of salient importance was the establishment in 1717 of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Churchill on Hudson Bay (Burch 1978:4, 1979:78; Cooke and Holland 1978). Secondly, the growth of trade between ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Caribou and the Hudson Strait Inuit and the dispersal of trade items into inter-group trading systems (Burch 1974:143; Barr 1994). It is also during this period (in 1771) that the first known direct contact between a European agent of the world-system and the Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic occurred (e.g., Cooke and Holland 1978).

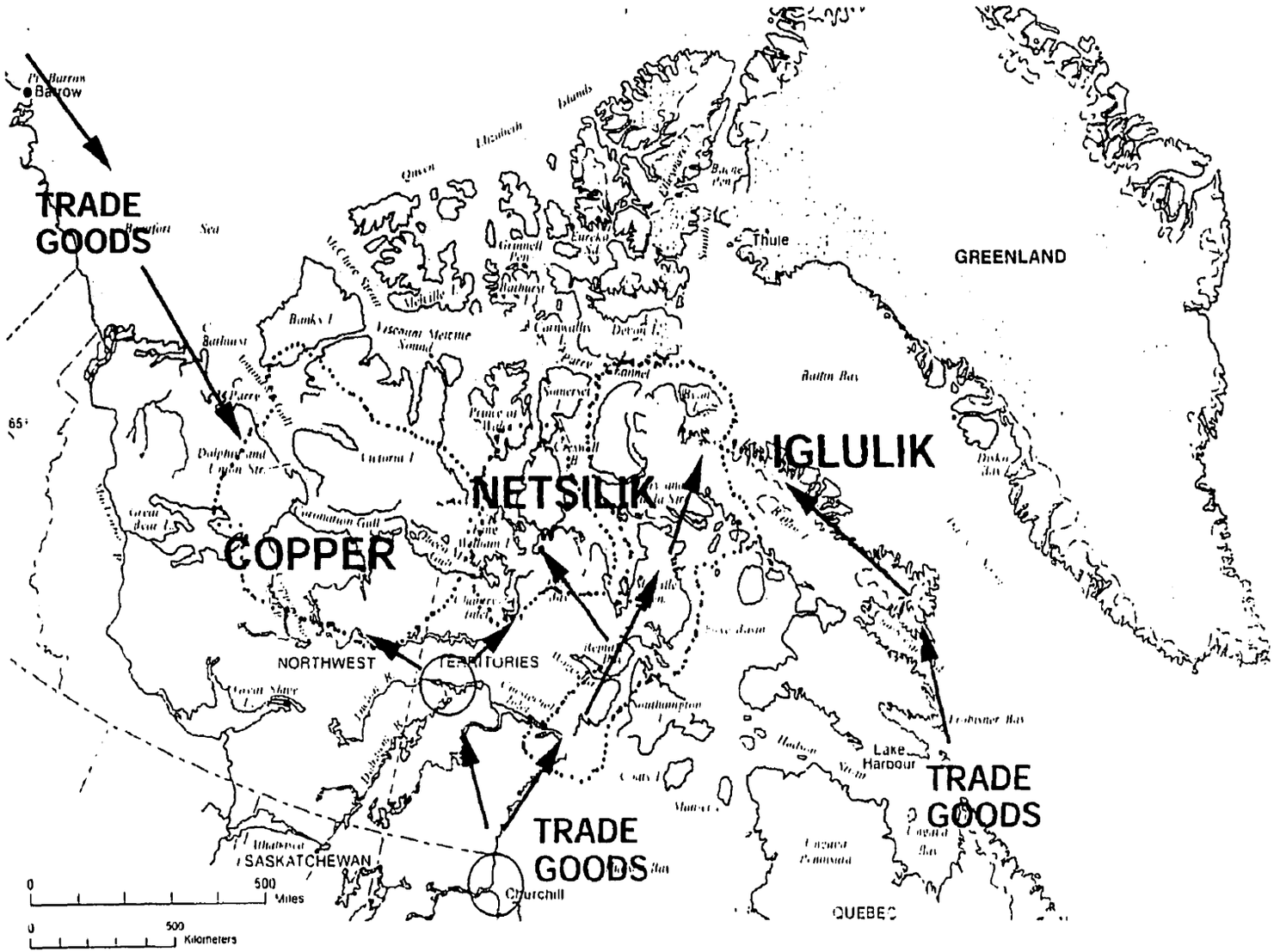


Figure 7. Map of central Canadian Arctic, probable changes - Early Contact Periphery.

The Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Churchill was established with the specific intention of developing trade with the Chipewyan Indians (Smith and Burch 1979:78; c.f., Burch 1978:7). At the time, this Athapaskan group inhabited territory with fluctuating boundaries which extended to the Coppermine River, and the vicinity of Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes on the west, to the Hudson Bay drainage and Seal River in the north, and south to the limit of the boreal forest (Smith and Burch 1979:77, 79). The Chipewyan, now acting as middlemen and carrying manufactured trade items obtained at Churchill, maintained what were probably infrequent trade meetings with the Copper Inuit at Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River (Stefansson 1914:3; Smith and Burch 1979:80). Samuel Hearne (1958) mentions a meeting between the Chipewyan middlemen Matonabbee and Idotleaza and the Copper Inuit in the late 1760s. Hearne himself noted some iron among the possessions of the Copper Inuit "massacred" by his Chipewyan guides at Bloody Falls in 1771 (Hearne 1958; Smith and Burch 1979:82; Morrison 1991:244). There is no evidence of this trade relationship continuing after the massacre. Interestingly, another tenuous Chipewyan trading affiliation with the Utkuhikhalingmiut or the Hanningayurmiut (or both) may also have existed during this period (Back 1836:86, 197-198).

The Chipewyan maintained regular though uneasy trading links with the Caribou Inuit along their northeasterly boundary throughout this period (Birkett-Smith 1929; Smith and Burch 1979; Arima 1984:459). The Caribou Inuit, in turn, acted as middlemen in trade with groups of Iglulik, Netsilik and Copper Inuit. Caribou Inuit middlemen plied their trade of manufactured items obtained from the Churchill/Chipewyan axis through a down-the-line intergroup route that

extended along northwestern Hudson Bay via the Aivilingmiut, thence to the Igloolik axis where trade goods then traveled north to Baffin Island and westward to Netsilik areas and beyond (Boas 1888:469; Stefansson 1914).

Similarly, Caribou Inuit acted as middlemen with other Inuit groups at mid-summer "trade fairs" along the wooded reaches of the Thelon River or "Akilinik" (e.g., Stefansson 1914:4-6; Jenness 1922:47-48; Burch 1978:24-25; Morrison 1991:243). Trade and social interaction (that undoubtedly stressed the importance of trading partnerships) at Akilinik, was directly responsible for some Churchill materials reaching the Copper and Netsilik groups.

Trade between ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait and Caribou Inuit undoubtedly added to the infusion of materials and manufactured items entering the central Canadian Arctic. The Hudson's Bay Company's trade with the Hudson Strait Inuit actually began in the late seventeenth century as Inuit became accustomed to contacting supply ships bound for Company posts in Hudson Bay in their kayaks and *umiaks* in order to barter (e.g., Oswalt 1979). This trade became more formalized in the eighteenth century. Subsequently, a significant volume of manufactured goods such as awls, hooks, files, beads, kettles, etc., reached the Hudson Strait Inuit who had taken-up the role of middlemen (e.g., Hood 1975: 13-16; Barr 1994:240, 245). The items acquired by these Inuit were then circulated for more than a century from Lake Harbour by intergroup trade throughout Baffin island and into other areas (Barr 1994:244).

Between 1717 and 1792, Hudson's Bay Company vessels sailing north

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

Chapter 5: Late Contact Periphery - Discussion

7. Breadth should increase significantly.

    a. Greatly increased material trade and indirect and direct social interaction between agents of the world-system and indigenous groups should be apparent in all regions.

    b. Trade goods should appear in greater numbers in all regions.

8. Depth should increase. Greater group movement should be observed in "core regions."

By the beginning of the Late Contact Periphery, the Iglulik, Netsilik and Copper Inuit groups of the central Canadian Arctic continued to receive raw and exotic material trade goods through traditional intra- and intergroup down-the-line-trading systems (Boas 1888:462-470; Stefansson 1914). With the notable exception of Hearne's contact with the Copper Inuit in 1771 (Jenness 1922:28), these Inuit groups do not appear to have experienced any direct contact with Europeans or Euroamericans prior to 1819 or 1820 (Oswalt 1979:172).

However, by 1820, and continuing through to 1880, all three groups (Figure 8) experienced a gradual and significant increase in the availability of trade goods and materials, and a heightening of interaction with agents of the world-system due to indirect and direct contact with the whaling industry, expeditions and wintering parties of the Royal Navy, Hudson's Bay Company, and privately funded expeditions. Evidence presented herein suggests that the increase in both trade goods and materials, and indirect and direct interaction

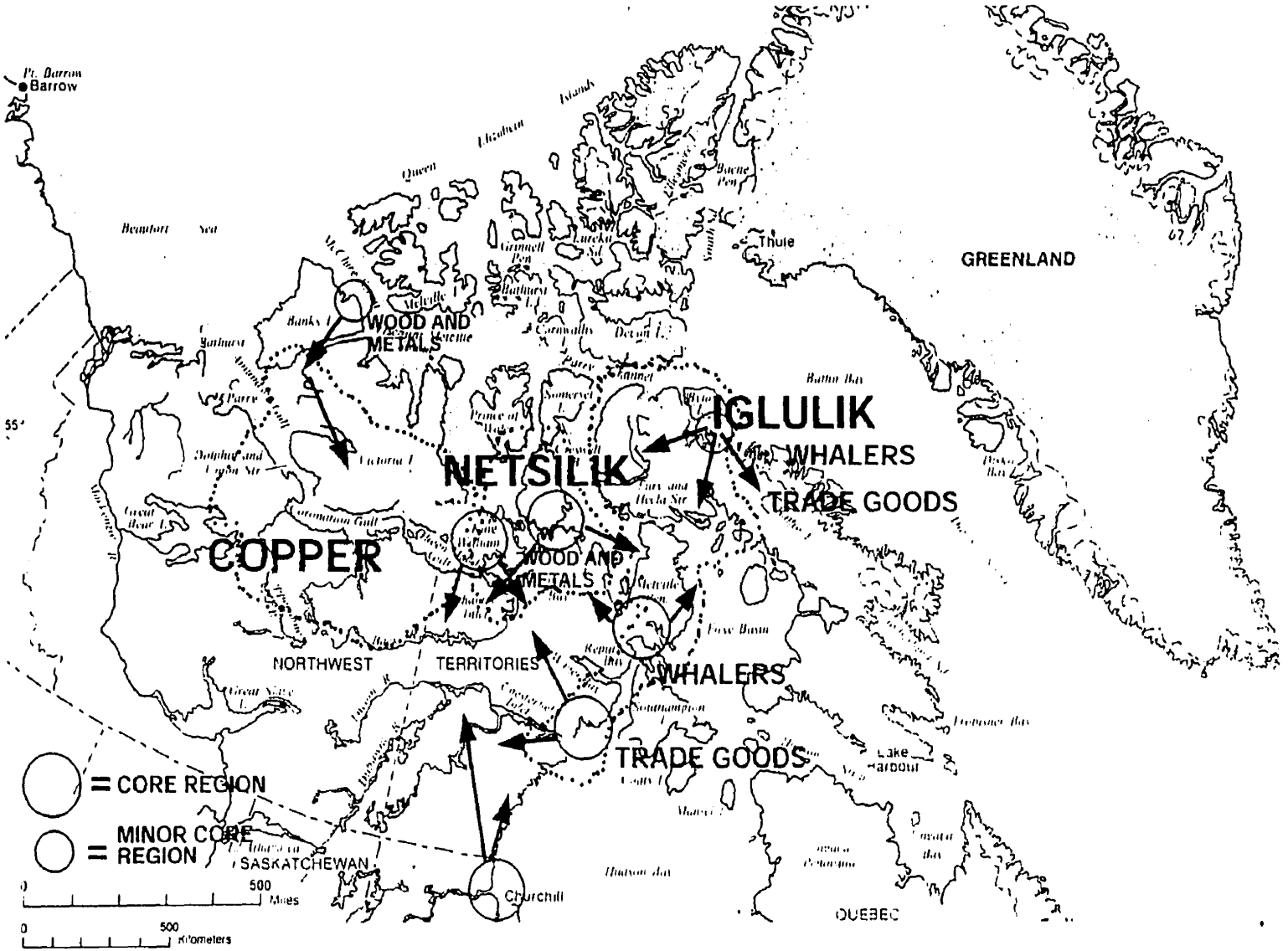


Figure 8. Map of central Canadian Arctic, probable changes - Late Contact Periphery.

within Iglulik and Netsilik areas was more pronounced during this period, 1818 to 1880, than in the more geographically isolated Copper Inuit areas.

The Iglulik and to a lesser degree, the Netsilik groups gained access to large amounts of trade goods and materials through indirect and direct contact with the Europeans (primarily British) and later, American whaling industries which expanded to Baffin Island or the "West Land" in 1819 and northwestern Hudson Bay by 1860 (Osborn 1865:71; Ross 1975, 1979:250, 1985).

Within the Iglulik region, the presence of whalers and of the initial Royal Navy expeditions was felt immediately in the northeast area of Baffin Island. William Edward Parry, R.N., and his ships H.M.S. *Hecla* and H.M.S. *Griper*, called at Clyde River, on September 6, 1820, shortly after meeting the whaler *Lee* of Hull (Parry 1821:275-276; Oswalt 1979; Ross 1980:43). Parry was returning from a highly successful voyage, having effected the initial passage westward through Lancaster Sound and the Parry Channel, and the subsequent wintering of the expedition on Melville Island. The convergence of these ships at Clyde River -- one representing commercial endeavors and the others, exploratory and scientific interests, effectively marks the beginning of long-term direct interaction between agents of the world-system and the Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic.

While at Clyde River, Parry noted that the Inuit, possibly a mixed grouping comprised of families from the Tununirusirmiut and Akudnirmiut (Parry 1894:228; Boas 1888:442; Kemp 1984:465; G. Wenzel, personal communication), had already bartered with the crew of the *Lee*. Similarly,

Parry's own crews also engaged in trading for sledges, a kayak, clothing, stone vessels, and knives made of walrus tusk (Parry 1821:276, 280, 286) with the Inuit who presented "their commodities with great honesty, but in a manner which showed them to be no strangers to traffic" (Parry 1821:277).

Parry alludes to a traditional intra- and intergroup down-the-line trade network: "We had several proofs of their having had some previous communication, indirectly or directly, with the civilized world; such as some light blue beads, strung by themselves on thin leathern threads; and an instrument for chopping, very much resembling a cooper's adz, which had evidently been secured to a handle of bone for some time past, and of which the iron was part of an old file" (Parry 1821:286).

Parry's observations are instructive for the purposes of understanding and evaluating the manner in which trade goods and materials were introduced at this time, and the growth in importance of these items to the Inuit societies of the central Canadian Arctic, especially from 1820-1880. In 1820, the Inuit of Clyde River, like all Inuit societies of the central Canadian Arctic, were clearly maintaining traditional indirect trade networks in which materials, such as partially-worked raw iron, were apparent (Parry 1821:284; see above). These same indirect networks were also responsible for the presence of "exotic" manufactured materials, such as the trade beads, and the iron file that were seen. Finally, direct contact with whalers and Parry's expedition was responsible for the introduction of items of European manufacture that included knives, axes, brass kettles, needles, metal buttons, pikes, wood and tin within this isolated society.

Whaling: The Period 1820 - 1880

Throughout this period, indirect and direct contact with the whaling industry was responsible for the introduction of large quantities of exotic and manufactured trade materials into the orbit of the Iglulik and the Netsilik societies. This was particularly true within Iglulik territory where whalers operated immediately along the northern Baffin Island littoral, and throughout Pond Inlet and Lancaster Sound. Later, after 1860, their operations expanded into the rich whaling grounds of the Foxe Basin and Roes Welcome Sound in northwestern Hudson Bay, areas contiguous with Iglulik territory and within reach of Netsilik and other Inuit groups through traditional trade routes. (Damas 1988; Ross 1975, 1979:250-252).

In the early stages of the whaling industry in northern Baffin Island, direct contact between whalers and the Iglulik was limited, though not unknown. Given the unpredictable movements of whales, changing ice conditions, often adverse weather and the irregularity of whaling "cruises," direct contact and trading more often than not, occurred during the short summer months when Iglulik groups would "congregate" at bays and inlets where ships would stop for whaling or provisioning (Ross 1979:251). As early as 1823, Parry, while wintering at Igloolik during his second expedition, noted the arrival of Inuit, "...from the western coast of Baffin's Bay, or about some inlets communicating with it. They report on seeing whaling ships probably near Pond's Bay [Inlet]..." (Parry 1824:436). George Francis Lyon, Parry's second-in-command, and a

gifted and sympathetic observer, frequently recorded Iglulik accounts of their travels and encounters. In one interview, Lyon's Inuit informants told him of meeting with whalers five days to the northwest of Igloolik (possibly the Admiralty Inlet area). They also mentioned incidents involving direct communication with ships which "gave presents" or "killed whales." The Inuit also told Lyon that they harvested the carcass or "krang" (Lyon 1824:256, 293-299, 426; Dunbabin:1963:48). Ross (1979:251) has stated that the "waste products" from whaling (including unretrieved and lost wounded whales) provided a resource "of remarkable abundance" for the Iglulik.

Wrecked whaling ships, a not infrequent occurrence, also became valuable sources of wood, iron and other materials (Parry 1824:436; Ross 1979:251-252). The retrieval of these materials by Iglulik groups seems to have been conducted with some regularity throughout this period. In 1858, Francis M'Clintock observed that the Inuit near Pond Inlet used wood from ships in order to build sledges and paddles. They also had "...discovered the use of saws obtained by barter from our whalers..., and ...had successfully applied them to the stout planking of the old wrecks, which they could not have stripped off with any tools previously in their possession" (M'Clintock 1972:140,151; c.f., Parry 1824:14).

As the whaling industry grew, the majority of whale kills and therefore much of the activity of the whaling fleet, centered on Lancaster Sound, Pond Inlet, and off Admiralty and Navy Board Inlets. As a direct result, a more regularized trade developed between the Iglulik and whalers (Ross 1985:63, 66-67, 220-222). This shift away from the whaling "circuit" along the more

southerly areas of the Baffin Island littoral and Greenland, presaged the growing prominence of Pond Inlet and environs as a trade entrepot (Boas 1888:468; Ross 1980: 43; Neatby 1984:384). Later, during the period 1848 - 1879, this trade would expand as expedition vessels participating in the Franklin searches often made contact with the Inuit. Indeed, the regular nature of this trade was noted by several observers :

> "Esquimaux had been here [Pond Inlet] in some numbers... One of the crew had been here with a whaler... we left a number of presents" (Osborn 1865:71);
>
> "I walked at once to the extreme point [in Pond Inlet]... Everywhere the grass grew luxuriously, save in certain places, where numerous small circles of stones and vacant enclosures denoted that a large encampment of natives had, not long since, been there. Seal-bones, bits of whalebone, and other sundry remnants proved...that the "Yacks" [Inuit] had been there, probably to the number of fifty, only a short time back." (Snow 1851:356);
>
> "There were no signs whatever that the whalers had been at Ponds Bay [Inlet] this season [1851]: had this been the case, it is very improbable that the Esquimaux should not have left it so soon. When the whalers visit any of their resorts, they never think of any of their usual duties, such as fishing or sealing; nothing seems to go down with them but excitement, and each endeavors to make the most of the intercourse that has been opened up with the white men... a tribe of Esquimaux does not soon get over visits of the whalers in the autumn" (Sutherland 1852:327);

"They [Inuit] collect whalebone and narwhal's horns in sufficient quantity to carry on a small barter with the whalers...each year they trade with the whalers" (M'Clintock 1972:149);

"At about 1 P.M. we were off the Wollaston Islands, which are situated at the entrance of Navy Board Inlet. The clouds lifting for a short time, revealed to our view a party of about fifteen Esquimaux with their dog sledges on the land ice, probably come from Pond's Bay [Inlet] for the purpose of "Trocking" [bartering]" (Markham 1874:159);

"On arriving at the land ice, [off Admiralty Inlet, near Pond Inlet] several parties of Esquimaux came down to us, and the ship has the whole day besieged by them...Altogether there were seven sledges, bringing about twenty-five men, women, and children. With the exception of a few foxes' skins and walrus tusks they had little to barter, though that did not prevent their asking for everything they saw, and the more that was given them the more they wanted" (Markham 1874:224-225).

In addition to the centralized whaling activity at Pond Inlet, whalers in search of abundant new stocks, shifted their operations to the Cumberland Sound area, and, importantly, to northwestern Hudson Bay. This movement to the Iglulik areas adjacent to Foxe Basin and Roes Welcome Sound initiated additional contact situations and, in a relatively short period of time, brought about regularized interaction and a subsequent increase in trade not only between whalemen and Inuit, but also in Inuit intra- and intergroup down-the-

line trade emanating from these localities. The primary cause of this increase was the "nucleation" of the whaling industry at "harbors" like Repulse Bay, and Depot Island within Iglulik territory where ships regularly visited and wintered (Damas 1984a:395; Ross 1975, 1979:252-253).

The presence of whalers created a "core region," which had a powerful influence on the Inuit. It is abundantly clear that trade and intersocietal interaction in many forms grew rapidly in this region between the years 1860 and 1915 (Damas 1988:104). Ross (1975:253) has stated that the "increasing emphasis on trade" between Inuit and whalers meant that "a stronger flow of manufactured goods" entered the orbit of Inuit groups in this region and beyond. This influx subsequently caused the accelerated deterioration of the traditional components of material culture. Seasonal subsistence patterns and harvesting methods were also affected to a significant degree, as Inuit started to acquire guns (though not universally at this point), and chose to take up residence near wintering ships, where they worked as hunters providing food for wintering crews. Similarly, Inuit were recruited for spring "flow edge whaling" and often were employed by whaling masters to continue harvesting whales in their ship's absence (Ross 1975:97-98; 1979:246-247).

Importantly, this extensive influence of the whaling industry subsequently caused large numbers of neighboring Netsilik to migrate to Repulse Bay and precipitated movement of the Iglulik to more southerly areas such as Cape Fullerton and Marble Island where they had easier access to trade goods. (Mathiassen 1928:101-102; Rasmussen 1930:84-85; Ross 1975:131-132 Klutschak 1993:22). Regularized interaction with the whaling industry was also

responsible for the introduction of alien diseases and the depletion of wildlife in the areas near wintering locales.

Inuit - Expedition Contact

Material trade goods also made their way into intra- and intergroup trade networks of the Iglulik, Netsilik and Copper Inuit through increased contact with European and Euroamerican "explorers." Some forty-two expeditions entered the central Canadian Arctic between the years 1820-1880 (Cooke and Holland 1978; Holland 1994). A number of these expeditions encountered Inuit groups either indirectly or directly.

Contact situations with expeditions (Figures 9 and 10) can generally be categorized as those involving indirect contact, direct contact of short duration (e.g., Franklin 1823; Back 1833; Anderson 1856), and those of long-term interaction, especially in "wintering" locales (e.g., Parry 1824; Ross 1835; Collinson 1889). In *every* instance, material trade or barter always occurred.

Trade goods often entered a group's trading system indirectly, either as items left by expeditions as gifts, or as abandoned materials. On those occasions when recently occupied Inuit campsites, or sites associated with seasonal harvesting (such as river weirs, caches, sealing and caribou hunting camps) were encountered, expedition personnel would, in most cases, leave materials such as ironwork, needles, beads, kettles, etc., with the clear expectation that such articles would be retrieved and later utilized (e.g., Franklin 1823:199, 226, 240, 245-247; Back 1833:431; Simpson 1843:305, 384;

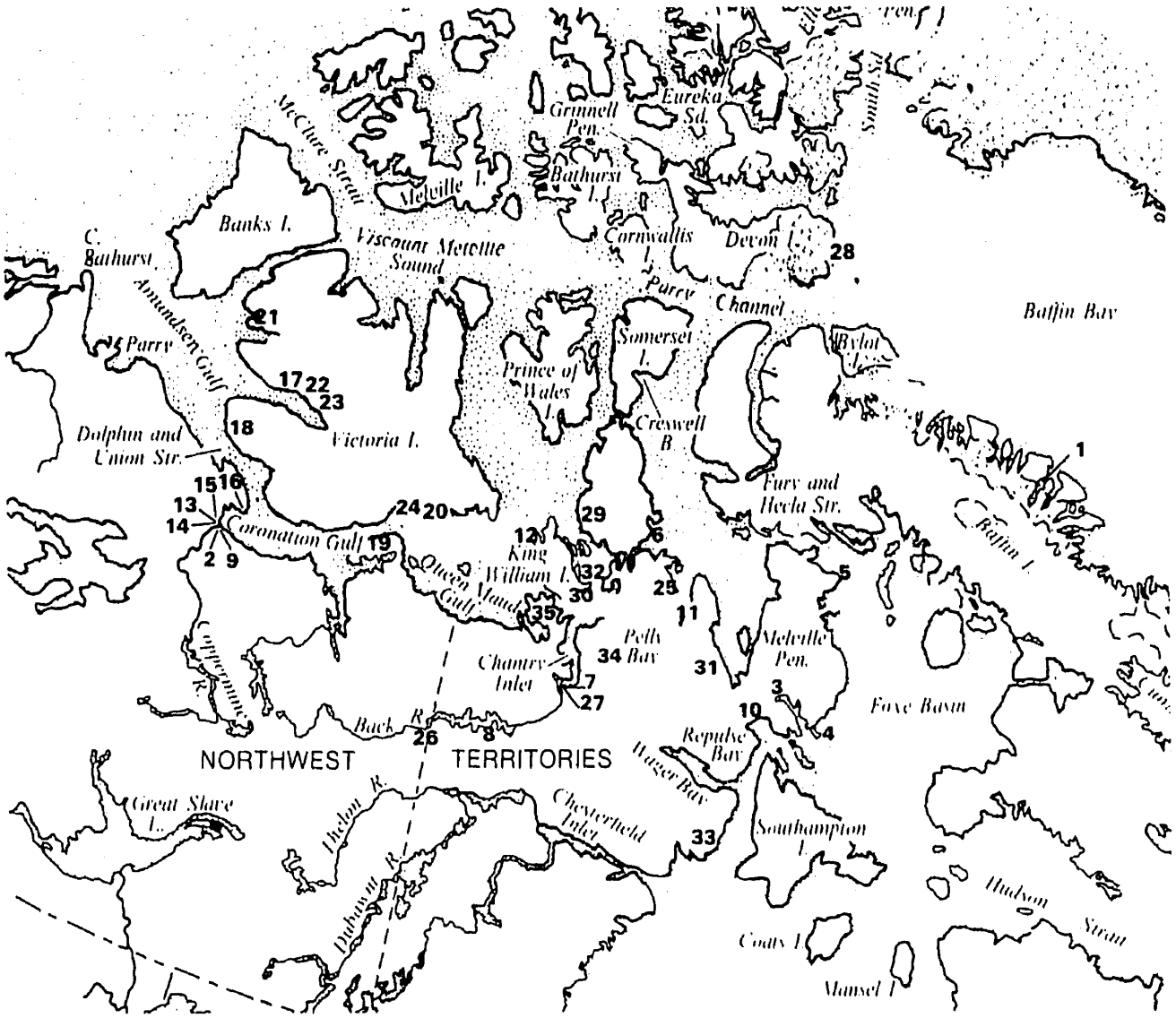


Figure 9. Map of central Canadian Arctic. Initial Inuit-expedition contact points, Late Contact Periphery.

	GROUP	DATE	near Cape Horsburg, Devon Island	EXPEDITION LEADER(S)	REFERENCE(S)
1	Iglulik	Sept. 6, 1820	Clyde River, Baffin Island	Parry	Parry 1821
2	Copper	July 16, 1821	vicinity of Bloody Falls, Coppermine River	Franklin	Franklin 1823; Richardson 1984; Back 1994
3	Iglulik	Sept. 10, 1821	Lyon Inlet, Melville Peninsula	Parry	Parry 1824; Lyon 1824
4	Iglulik	Feb. 21, 1822	Winter Island, near Melville Peninsula	Parry *	Parry 1824; Lyon 1824
5	Iglulik	July 16, 1822	Igloolik Island, off Melville Peninsula	Parry *	Parry 1824; Lyon 1824
6	Netsilik	Jan. 9, 1830	Felix Harbour, Boothia Peninsula	Ross *	Ross 1835; Holland & Savelle 1987
7	Netsilik	July 28, 1834	rapids below Lake Franklin, Back River	Back	Back 1836; King 1836a, 1836b
8	Netsilik	August 31, 1834	Lake Garry, Back River	Back	Back 1836; King 1836a, 1836b
9	Copper	July 2, 1838	near mouth of Coppermine River	Dease & Simpson	Dease & Simpson 1839; Simpson 1843
10	Iglulik	July 25, 1846	Repulse Bay, Melville Peninsula	Rae *	Rae 1953
11	Netsilik	April, 1847	Pelly Bay, Simpson Peninsula	Rae	Rae 1953
12	Netsilik	?, 1848	King William Island	Franklin, Crozier	Cyriax 1939; Savelle 1985
13	Copper	Sept. 4, 1848	Back's Inlet, Coronation Gulf	Richardson & Rae	Richardson 1851a, 1851b
14	Copper	July 14, 1849	Richardson Bay, Coronation Gulf	Richardson & Rae	Richardson 1851a, 1851b
15	Copper	July 17, 1849	Rae's River, Coronation Gulf	Richardson & Rae	Richardson 1851a, 1851b
16	Copper	? August, 1849	inland from Pasley Cove, near Cape Krusenstern	Richardson & Rae	Richardson 1851a, 1851b
17	Copper	late May, 1851	near Berkeley Point, Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island	M'Clure	M'Clure 1857; Armstrong 1857; Miertsching 1967
18	Copper	May 22, 1851	near Cape Hamilton, Wollaston Peninsula, Victoria Island	Rae	Rae 1953
19	Copper	July 22, 1851	Cape Flinders, Kent Peninsula	Rae	Rae 1953
20	Copper	August 21, 1851	Parker Bay, S.E. Victoria Island	Rae	Rae 1953
21	Copper	Sept. 17, 1851	Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island	Collinson *	Collinson 1889
22	Copper	May 8, 1852	26 days south from Winter Cove	Collinson	Collinson 1889

Figure 10. Initial Inuit-expedition contact points, Late Contact Periphery.

	GROUP	DATE	LOCATION	EXPEDITION LEADER(S)	REFERENCE(S)
23	Copper	May 10, 1852	north shore, Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island	Collinson	Collinson 1889
24	Copper	Oct. 3, 1852	Cambridge Bay, Victoria Island	Collinson *	Collinson 1889
25	Netsilik	April 20, 1854	western Pelly Bay	Rae	Rae 1953
26	Netsilik	July 20, 1855	Back River, mouth of McKinley's River	Anderson	Anderson 1856; Anderson 1940-41
27	Netsilik	July 30, 1855	rapids below Lake Franklin, Back River	Anderson	Anderson 1856; Anderson 1940-41
28	Iglulik	July 15, 1858	near Cape Horsburg, Devon Island	M'Clintock	M'Clintock 1972
29	Netsilik	March 1, 1859	magnetic north pole, Cape Adelaide, Boothia Peninsula	M'Clintock	M'Clintock 1972
30	Netsilik	May 7, 1859	southeast King William Island	M'Clintock	M'Clintock 1972
31	Netsilik	April 29, 1866	north of Cape Weynton, Committee Bay	Hall	Loomis 1991
32	Netsilik	April, 1869	southeast King William Island	Hall	Loomis 1991
33	Iglulik	Aug. 7, 1878	Cape Fullerton, Depot Island area	Schwatka *	Klutschak 1993
34	Netsilik	May 15, 1879	Hayes River	Schwatka	Klutschak 1993
35	Netsilik	May ?, 1879	northern coast Adelaide Peninsula	Schwatka	Klutschak 1993
36	Netsilik	Nov. 2, 1879	near Smith Point, Adelaide Peninsula	Schwatka	Klutschak 1993

* Long-term contact during wintering expedition

Numbers 1-36 correspond to locations on map Figure 9, page 41.

Figure 10, continued. Initial Inuit-expedition contact points, Late Contact Periphery.

Richardson 1851a:300, 309-310). It is important to note, that trade items were normally carried by expedition personnel in the expectation that contact situations would arise (Figure 11). Similarly, the giving of such gifts was explicitly ordered by the Hudson's Bay Company and British Admiralty in order to illustrate an expedition' s peaceful intentions, and, to insure cooperation of many forms (geographic information, procurement of food and natural history specimens, ethnographic data etc.), in any future meetings (e.g., Franklin 1823:185-186; Idiens 1993:95).

Direct contact encounters of short duration were fairly common and were experienced by all Inuit groups in the central Canadian Arctic. These meetings generally occurred in the late spring through the summer and into the early fall, the only seasons suitable for Europeans or Euroamericans to travel long distances by foot, boat or sledge. Not surprisingly, in most cases explorers usually made contact with Inuit as they (Inuit) were engaged in food harvesting activities such as sealing, walrus hunting, fishing at weirs, caribou hunting, or in transit to and from food harvesting areas.

Groups interacting with wintering expeditions, some for as long as ten months, benefited economically through the acquisition (by trade, gift or as refuse) of significant amounts of exotic materials and highly-valued manufactured items (Mackinnon 1985:21). These groups also experienced extensive "psycho/social" interaction which may have initiated culture modification. Finally, many Inuit groups were the recipients of materials abandoned by some expeditions. These materials, which ranged from metal engine parts, wooden boats, and ship's stores, to a plethora of manufactured

Arctic Land Expedition Cr.[1]
By Norway House Out. 1845

2	Gro Indian Awls	4/8	– 9	4
8	round head half Axes	1/6	– 12	–
15	Square „ large Do.	4/7	3 8	9
32	„ „ half Do.	3/2	5 1	4
15	„ „ small Do.	2/–	1 10	–
12 lbs.	Com round Beads	1/3	– 15	–
12	Broad Scarlet Belts 6 in	3/4	2 –	–
12	Nar: Com „ D. 2 in	1/1	– 13	–
10	Plain Blankets 3½ pts.	9/–	4 10	–
30	„ Do. 3 „	7/6	11 5	–
10	„ Do. 2½ „	6/2	3 1	8
5	„ Do. 2 „	4/2	1 –	10
5	„ Do. 1½ „	3/3	– 16	3
2 doz	plain Japnd. Tobco. Boxes	4/8	– 9	4
2 gro	metal Coat Buttons	5/8	– 11	4
1 doz	Grey milled Caps	14/8	– 14	8
1 „	Scarlet „ Do.	15/4	– 15	4
10	Blanket Capots 4 ells	18/11	9 9	2
7	Grey Illinois Do. 3½ „	14/9	5 3	3
5	Indian Do. 1½ „	5/–	1 5	–
5	„ Do. 2 „	6/4	1 11	8
3	„ Do. 3½ „	13/1	1 19	3
20	„ Do. 4 „	15/9	15 15	–
1/6 doz	Firmers Chisels	10/2	– 1	8
6	Broad Ice Do.	8½	– 4	3
18	Narrow „ Do.	8½	– 12	9
2	Boat Oil Cloths	46/–	4 12	–
	Forward		£78 7	10

Arctic Land Expedition Cr. By Norway House Cont.

	& Amt. Brot. forward		£78 7	10
2 doz	large Horn Combs	2/8	– 5	4
1 pr.	Carpenters Compasses	3½d	– –	4
60 pieces	Net Cork	5d	1 5	–
1 lb.	Cotton wick	2/8	– 2	8
1 doz	Hand Dags 7 in	16/–	– 16	–
1 „	„ Do. 9 „	20/–	1 –	–
3 „	flat Bastard Files 8 in	5/8	– 17	–
3 „	„ „ Do. 10	8/9	1 6	3
½ „	Rattail Do. 4	2/10	– –	9
½ „	„ Do. 8	5/8	– 1	5
½ „	x Cut Saw Do.	6/2	– 3	1
1 „	Hand „ Do.	3/5	– 3	5
2 „	Pit „ Do.	6/2	– 12	4
½ „	Tenon „ Do.	2/10	– 1	5
1 Gro	Army Lace Garters	5/9	– 5	9
1 „	High „ Do.	8/4	– 8	4
6 yds	Green Silk Gauze	3/4	1 –	–
1 doz	assd. Gimlets	1/4	– 1	4
1	Grindstone	4/8	– 4	8
5 Bags	mixed Gunflints	2/3	– 11	3
2 Gro	wire Gunworms	2/–	– 4	–
2	Carpenters large Claw Hammers	1/11	– 3	10
1	Carpenters Clenching Hammer	10d	– –	10
6 doz	4/4 Cotton Handkfs	5/11	1 15	6
3 Cents	Cod Hooks	5/10	– 17	6
1 „	Mackerel Do.	2/1	– 2	1
24	Powder Horns	2/4	2 16	–
½ Cwt	flat Bar Iron	18/8	– 9	4
1 dble	Jack plane Do.	1/6	– 1	6
1 „	Hand „ Do.	1/6	– 1	6
1 „	Trying „ Do.	1/10	– 1	10
2 doz	Com Clasp knives	7/–	– 14	–
18 doz	Scalping knives	5/7	5 –	6
10 dble	Cod lines 24thd.	5/4	2 13	4
2 doz	Small fishing Lines	4/–	– 8	–
2 „	mackerel Do.	9/4	– 18	8
½ „	Pad Locks 3 in	9/4	– 1	7
½ „	wooden stock Do. 8 in	52/–	– 8	8
½ „	„ „ Do. 10 „	57/4	– 9	7
	Forward		£105 2	5

Figure 11. Hudson's Bay Co. 1845 "Arctic Land Expedition" partial equipment and trade goods list (From Rae 1953).

and personal items, were, at least in some areas, responsible for both immediate and long-term post-abandonment utilization by Inuit, and significantly, were instrumental in causing important changes in intra- and intergroup trading and social relationships (Boas 1888:456; Rasmussen 1931:27-29; Hickey 1981, 1984; Savelle 1985; see below).

Iglulik, Netsilik and Copper Inuit contact with European and Euroamerican expeditions, including contact situations of short duration and long-term interaction with wintering expeditions, occurred in three distinct periods between 1820 and 1880. The first period spanned 1820 to 1839, during the search for the Northwest Passage and the surveying and mapping of much of the continental shore within the central Canadian Arctic. From approximately, 1845-1860 during the period of the Franklin searches. Lastly, from 1860 to 1880 when two Euroamerican expeditions sought to solve the conundrum of the ultimate fate of the Franklin expedition.

Expeditions: The Period 1820 - 1839

Following Parry's successful voyage and brief encounter with the Tununirusirmiut and Akudnirmiut at Clyde River in 1820, the Admiralty optimistically ordered two expeditions, one sea borne led by Parry and the second, overland and by canoe, commanded by Lieut. John Franklin, R.N., in an attempt discover a Northwest Passage and failing that, to map the northern coastline of the continent. Neither expedition was successful. Franklin's party, while surveying some 675 miles (1086 km) of coastline in birchbark canoes, came perilously close to outright disaster due to starvation and the deaths of

several members of the expedition. Franklin's misfortunes might have been mitigated or averted entirely had his party been able to "communicate" with Copper Inuit groups along the route (Franklin 1823: 212, 237; Neatby 1970). Nevertheless, both expeditions did initiate contact with Inuit groups.

Franklin's brief encounter with a small group of Copper Inuit (Kogluktogmiut , or "Deer Horn Esquimaux") on July 16, 1821, in the immediate vicinity of Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River, was the first meeting between this group and agents of the world-system, since 1771 (Franklin 1823:85; Stefansson 1919:26-32; see above). This meeting proved to be the first of a series of contact situations between the Copper Inuit and explorers, that occurred in each of the next four decades. Subsequently, there was little communication between the world-system and the Copper Inuit until the early 20th century.

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

Parry's expedition encountered the Iglulik of northwestern Hudson Bay less than two months later on September 10, 1821, at the very bottom of Lyon Inlet (Parry 1824:89). Presumably, this was a family group engaged in caribou hunting (Boas 1888:447). Parry's encounter was similar to Franklin's in one respect in that the Iglulik immediately showed their knowledge of trade and exotic materials by asking for iron. However, unlike the Copper Inuit, most of whom had fled with the appearance of Franklin's party, these Iglulik exhibited a strong sense of curiosity and were shown how to row Parry's ship's boats. Their desire for exotic materials was not satisfied by the empty tin cans given them by Parry, but only after "pilfering" cups, spoons and other articles from the boats. (Parry 1824:89; Lyon 1824:75).

Parry spent the next two years in the Melville Peninsula region searching for a westward passage, ultimately finding a frozen and unnavigable strait, he would name after his ships Fury and Hecla. The expedition spent this period in close proximity to the Iglulik, 1821-22 at Winter island (nearly nine months) and 1822-23 at Igloolik (nearly eleven months), where significant long-term intersocietal interaction took place between the officers and crews of Parry's ships and various groups of the Iglulik. H.M.S. *Fury* and H.M.S. *Hecla* acted as new focal points for psycho/social interaction and experimentation, and undeniably, as rich sources for the acquisition of all manner of highly desirable materials.

Among other factors, this interaction caused a disruption of seasonal activities, (most importantly, sea mammal harvesting), initiated a system of regularized trade or barter through which significant amounts of exotic materials

and manufactured items entered the orbit of the Iglulik, and, prompted the Iglulik to extend traditional kinship structuring agents and voluntary associations to the officers and possibly some crew members of the expedition.

Due to advantageous sea ice conditions, the localities of Winter Island and Igloolik were traditional sealing and walrus harvesting areas for the Iglulik (Lyon 1824:71; Boas 1888: 444, 461). The annual seasonal cycle for these critical economic activities began in December and generally continued until April. During this time, large aggregations of Iglulik forming groups or "settlements" of fifteen to thirty and up to one-hundred individuals, regulated by a settlement leader or *isumataq*, moved on to the ice to hunt (Parry 1824:159; Damas 1969: 45-46, 50; Wenzel 1981:89, 100-101, 1991; 1995:55). Given the close proximity of these traditional hunting areas to Parry's wintering locations, it seems highly probable that some regularized form of interaction between the expedition and Iglulik would have occurred.

However, there is evidence to suggest that some Iglulik intentionally sought out Parry's ships at Winter Island after their meeting at Lyon Inlet, thereby changing or disrupting their subsistence patterns (Parry 1824:75). Again, at the end of the initial winter of intense interaction, some of the Iglulik moved directly north to Igloolik in order to be near the ships for a second winter. According to Lyon (1824:341):

> "There are no regularly established settlements along an immense extent of the coast, at which the Eskimaux can be said to have a fixed habitation; but there are three or four which are considered as general mustering places,

> and are, from year to year, changing their population. Thus for instance, Igloolik, *in consequence of our known intention of visiting it*, proved the most attractive wintering quarter, and at least half the dwellers along the coast hurried to assemble there."

It is not surprising then, that some of the Iglulik who interacted with the expedition seemed to neglect subsistence activities in order to trade, engage in piecework, guide, and take part in games and cultural experimentation (c.f., Oswalt 1979). Parry observed that "families wished to make the most of us while we remained neighbors." Some "settled near the ships," and, "asked for food rather than hunting" (Parry 1824:227; Oswalt 1979:173). Alternatively, Parry engaged the Iglulik in making clothing: "In this manner we continued to turn our new acquaintances to some little account" (Parry 1824:174). There was "considerable" trade in mittens made of sealskin, toys (little canoes [kayaks], sledges, figures of men, paddles) bows and arrows, spears, whalebone, etc. (Parry 1824:173-174, 212). The giving of gifts or "presents" (usually in return for geographical information, map making or guiding services (e.g., Parry 1824:276; Lyon 1824:184) was a common occurrence. The Iglulik also made a regular habit of examining the ships' ash and sand piles for bits of materials and refuse (Parry 1824:164; Lyon 1824:140).

The image that emerges from this cultural interchange in northwestern Hudson Bay is one of total reciprocity. A vast amount of materials such as iron (Parry 1824:212; Lyon 1824:154), wood (Parry 1824:212; Lyon 1824:184; Mary-Rousselière 1984:443), "numberless" beads (Parry 1824:214), copper (Lyon 1824:140), cloth (Lyon 1824:146), bottles (Lyon 1824:147), European

clothing (Lyon 1824:411), as well as other manufactured articles (including one or two "rifle-guns") entered the Iglulik orbit and trading systems. The largess experienced by the Iglulik can be amply summed-up by Lyon's (1824:184-185) description of Inuit families leaving Winter Island for Igloolik:

> "On the 13th, a party walked out to witness the departure of our winter acquaintances. Two sledges stood ready packed with skins and household furniture, to a yard in height. Tin pots, bottles, and jars, hung dangling all round the sides of the heap, while knives, pieces of iron, and wood, filled up the chinks."

The social interchange between groups was also significant. Inuit were regular visitors on board *Fury* and *Hecla*. They often ate, slept, danced, played games such as football, cricket and qouits, worked, prepared maps, bartered, received medical treatment, witnessed "divine services" and other British celebrations, such as St. George's Day. Alcohol and tobacco were also sampled for the first time (Lyon 1824:113, 300).

Parry's officers and crews received as much from the Iglulik, as they gave. The expedition's ultimate success in finding Fury and Hecla Strait, was due in large part to the Iglulik's profound knowledge of their territory and their skill as mapmakers and guides (e.g., Parry 1824:276-277, 296; Lyon 1824:344). Similarly, the health, safety and comfort of Parry's crews was greatly enhanced through indigenous information derived directly from the Iglulik. This knowledge included the use of dogs, procurement of fresh meat, and the use of Inuit clothing which, at least on one occasion, contributed to saving lives (Parry

1824:191-193). The Inuit also cooperated fully in the ethnographic work of Parry and Lyon and in compiling an Inuit vocabulary, which was subsequently utilized by most Royal Navy expeditions over the next sixty-years (e.g., King 1836b:5).

The obvious reciprocity that existed in the relationship between officers and seamen of the Royal Navy and the Iglulik was certainly enhanced by long and very intimate interaction (Sahlins 1987). If "friendship engenders material aid," it follows that the Iglulik may have formed partnerships, alliances, or, what Damas (1971:47, 52), calls "extra-local associations" especially in reference to trade, with Parry, his officers and crew. Moreover, the adaptive qualities of the Iglulik kinship system which manifested itself in the extension of kinship, adoption and integration, may also have been at work (Damas 1971:50-51; 1975:21, 25). Both Parry and Lyon, as one example, entered into what appears to be an intimate relationship as adoptive sons with Toolemak and his wife, whom Lyon quite appropriately termed his "worthy Amama and Ortata" (on another occasion Lyon uses the term "atata"), which are corruptions of the terms mother and father within Iglulik kinship system (Lyon 1824:121, 301,410; Parry 1894:199; Damas 1975:18). Toolemak, in turn, took pride in calling Lyon, "his Kabloona son" and told friends he could make Lyon "...give them whatever they wanted" (Lyon 1824:410), which is a directive much in keeping with *naalaqtuk* or the respect/obedience behavior found in a father/son relationship congruent within Iglulik social organization (Stevenson 1997:274; Wenzel 1981:89).

Lyon's close relationship with Toolemak, may have arisen through a interpersonal leader/leader form of respect that would have been natural under

the circumstances, given Lyon's unassailed position as both an officer *and* a gentleman within the Royal Navy's strict command/class hierarchy. Similarly, it is clear that Toolemak occupied the position of *isumataq* (G. Wenzel, personal communication), as well as "Anatkoo" or shaman, within his band. According to Lyon: "This person was cunning and intelligent, and, whether professionally, or from his skill in the chase, but perhaps for both reasons, was considered by all of his tribe as a man of importance" (Lyon 1824:358). Further, Lyon describes another example of leadership: "The frozen walrus was lowered down, and cut into two portions, the largest of which was kept by Toolemak, while the other was sent to the man who had killed and really owned the animal. From having, on other occasions observed the same distribution of food, I am convinced that the old man, (Toolemak), either from his profession as an Anatkoo, or his abilities as a hunter, had invariably a share of whatever provision was taken from the stores along the beach, as well as animals which were killed in the daily excursions. That he was not selfish in what his authority procured him, was evident..." (Lyon 1824:301-302).

Toolemak's positions of authority, coupled with his intimate relationship with two (or more) of the officers of the expedition, his admonishments against "stealing" (so much a part of contact situations between the Royal Navy and indigenous groups (e.g., Sahlins 1987:4; Hough 1997:88-89; Franklin 1828:420-422; Richardson 1851a:237-240), excessive "begging," and the importance he placed on the equal distribution of food and materials, made him an important intergroup "middleman" (Lyon 1824:257, 300, 302, 347, 350). Significantly, as a middleman, Toolemak anticipated the role played by other Iglulik shamans who acted as middlemen or "liaisons" with whaling captains

Iglulik shamans who acted as middlemen or "liaisons" with whaling captains after 1860 (Adams 1971; Ross 1975:80).

Following his second voyage among the Iglulik, Parry attempted to find a passage through Prince Regent's Inlet in 1824-1825. Here, he was stopped by ice off Somerset Island where he was subsequently forced to abandon H.M.S. *Fury* (Neatby 1970:67). Parry's aborted route was attempted again by a privately sponsored expedition commanded by Captain John Ross in 1829-1833. Like Parry, Ross hoped to discover a Northwest Passage. While failing in his intention, the expedition located the position of the north magnetic pole and surveyed nearly 1000 km of "unexplored" coastline (e.g., Ross 1835; Savelle 1985, 1987b; Holland and Savelle 1987; Ross and Savelle 1990).

With his nephew, James Clark Ross, serving as second-in-command, Ross was able to make his way south into the Gulf of Boothia at which point their ship Victory and the small supply vessel *Krusenstern* were stopped by ice at Felix Harbour in Lord Mayor Bay. On January 9, 1830, Ross and his command made contact with a group of approximately one-hundred Netsilik Inuit of the Boothia Peninsula who were apparently engaged in seal harvesting (Damas 1969:45-46; Balikci 1970:58). This was the first meeting between agents of the world-system and the Netsilik (Ross 1835:242-244; Rasmussen 1931:27-28; Savelle 1987b:427; Holland and Savelle 1987:1-2). Ross (1835:309), later learned that this group had searched for the *Victory* on the advice of a woman whose sister had been at Winter Island during Parry's first season among the Iglulik. Rasmussen's (1931) Netsilik informants told him the Inuit who had heard "so much talk" about "white men, initiated contact" the day following their first sighting of the *Victory*. A third alternative to the above

contact scenario is offered by Boas (1888:453), who surmised that several Inuit sighted *Victory*, and returned to the Spence Bay area where they communicated with a women who had been on board Parry's ships in 1821-1823. Apparently encouraged by her observations, a larger group of Netsilik then sought out *Victory*. Contact with the Netsilik was extended through the expedition's first winter at Felix Harbour, and, into the spring and summer of 1831 at Sheriff Harbour to the north.

Communication with the Netsilik was enhanced through the interpreting skills of James Clark Ross, who had experienced extensive interaction with the Iglulik while serving under Parry at Winter Island and Igloolik (Ross 1835:244; c.f., Rasmussen 1931:28). Evidence of Inuit indirect and direct trade was apparent from the start. Ross (1835:244) noted that a member of the group had a knife: "...formed of the blade of a English claspknife, having the maker's mark on it..." James Clark Ross was able to ascertain that they knew the names of places in Repulse Bay, along the coast north to Igloolik, and a number of points on the Rae Isthmus, along the route from Repulse Bay to Committee Bay (Ross 1835:252, 254, 263). Another member of this group, Otookin: "...brought also a knife having an English maker's name on the blade; saying that he had obtained it from those of his nation who had seen the ships formerly at Igloolik" (Ross 1835:283).

The Rosses also learned that the Netsilik were trading iron pyrites, found on the Boothia Peninsula (Rasmussen 1931:26; M'Clintock 1972:180), with the Iglulik at Repulse Bay for "potstone" and with the Ookjulik ("Oo-geoo-lik") Inuit, "very far to Westward" (King William Island and the Adelaide Peninsula), for

driftwood (Ross 1835:313, 317, 362-363; Savelle 1985:205). John Ross himself, acquired "an ear ornament of iron ore" through barter (Ross 1835:249).

Much like the extended wintering interaction that occurred between Parry and the Iglulik, there was a very significant infusion of trade items (including iron, tin, glass beads, buttons, needles, wood, etc.) into the Netsilik orbit at Felix and Victoria Harbours. A system of reciprocity was established which insured "fair measure" in all trade transactions. The Netsilik provided fresh meat and fish, clothing, and detailed geographical information. Moreover, Netsilik guides enabled Ross and his crew to "explore" much of the Boothia Peninsula, and west to Matty Island and the north shore of a land mass Ross called King William Land (Savelle 1987b:429). Indeed, two Netsilik guides aided James Clark Ross in finding the approximate position of the north magnetic pole, near Cape Adelaide, in May, 1831 (Ross 1835:555; Holland and Savelle 1987; Lehane 1981:113-114).

Social interaction between expedition personnel and the Netsilik (who were joined by at least one other group from "Neitchille" (Spence Bay area) who had learned of the presence of the *Victory*) was intimate, and featured numerous examples of cross-cultural experimentation and learning (e.g., Ross 1835; Lehane 1981:118-125; Savelle 1987b:430). Rasmussen (1931:28) states that the Netsilik "...practically became related to the white men." While James Ross, who later chaffed at the boredom to be endured during the long Arctic winters, noted that "time passed away like a dream" due to the company of the Netsilik during the first winter at Felix Harbour.

Ross had considerable difficulty with the *Victory*'s steam engine on the outward passage. Subsequently, "most" of the engine parts were deposited on McDiarmid's Island in Felix Harbour in 1830 (Ross 1835:457, 465; Savelle 1985:195-198). Later, at Victoria Harbour, preparatory to the expedition's retreat to Fury Beach on Somerset Island, and it's ultimate rescue in 1833, the *Victory* itself was abandoned along with the *Krusenstern* and a very extensive array of ship's stores and expedition equipment (Ross 1835:643; Savelle 1985:196). The post-abandonment utilization of these materials would figure prominently in future Netsilik intra- and intergroup trade and social relations (Savelle 1985). This important aspect of Netsilik cultural development will be examined below.

When the Rosses had gone unreported for three years, a private "relief' expedition was organized in 1832-1833 by public subscription, with the aid and financial support of Parliament and the Hudson's Bay Company. The position of commander was ultimately given to George Back, R.N., with Dr. Richard King serving as surgeon-naturalist (Back:1836; King 1836a, 1836b; Neatby 1970:76-77). After traveling overland from New York to Fort Resolution, Back and his party surveyed a prospective route to the source of the Thlew-eecho-dezeth, the Great Fish River (the Back River), before wintering over at Fort Reliance. In the spring of 1834, Back learned that the Ross expedition had returned to England. Back's new orders instructed him to journey to the river's mouth with one boat, turn westward, and chart the coast up to Point Turnagain, where Franklin ended his survey of the coast in 1821.

While Back did complete his descent of the Great Fish River, by the time

he reached the Chantrey Inlet and the sea, the season had advanced to the point where any further movement to the west along the coast would have invited a disaster similar to that of Franklin's expedition in 1819-1822. It was, however, along this river that Back's expedition did make the initial, albeit brief, contact between the world-system and two Netsilik Inuit groups - - the Hanningayurmiut (Saningajormiut) and the Utkuhikhalingmiut (Jenness 1922:49; Anderson 1940-41:135; Balikci 1984:416, 421).

On July 28, 1834, at the rapids below Franklin Lake (Figure 12), Back encountered a group of thirty-five Utkuhikhalingmiut drying fish (Back 1836:379; King 1836b:9; Rasmussen 1931:467-469). Both Back and King (who utilized the Inuit vocabulary prepared by Parry during his two winters with the Iglulik), conducted a brief interview with members of this group (Parry 1824:492-571; King 1836b: 5). They noticed that the Utkuhikhalingmiut possessed "rudely fashioned iron knives," and "rough iron, bartered from the east" (Back 1836:379). One individual was "acquainted with Akkoolee" (Committee Bay region), information that would seem to indicate intragroup trade with the Netsilik (Rasmussen 1931:481; Savelle 1985:205; c.f., Ross 1835:362-363).

Interestingly, Back and King noted that the Utkuhikhalingmiut were fabricating knives out of the iron that resembled an "Indian dagger, precisely similar to those disposed of at the Company's (Hudson's Bay Company) posts throughout the country" (Back 1836:385-386; King 1836b:9). This observation coupled with the presence of a small copper kettle, would seem to confirm the arrival of both trade items *and ideas* through intergroup, down-the-line trade with the Netsilik via the Iglulik/Caribou Inuit/Churchill axis, or, directly through

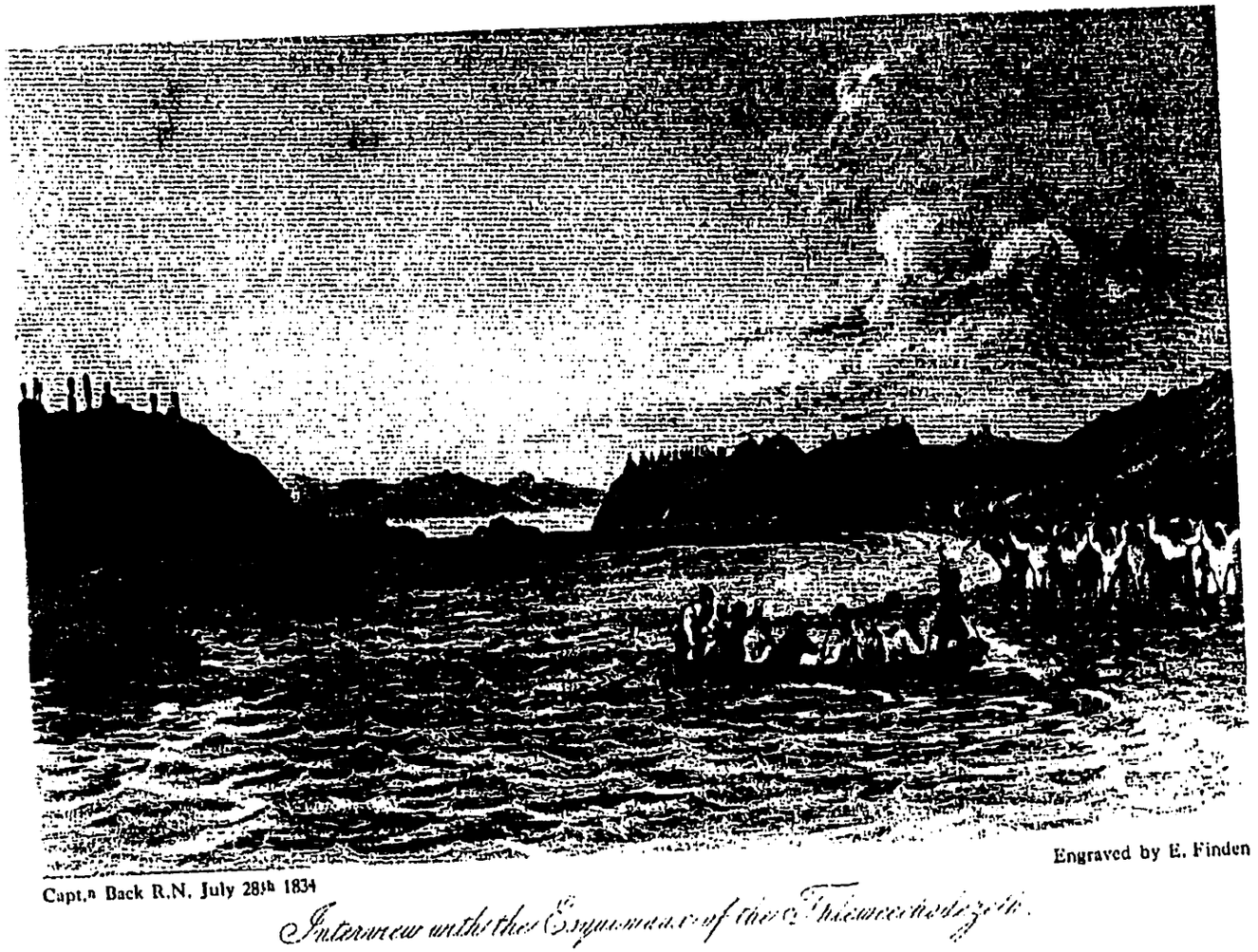


Figure 12. Contact: "Interview with the Esquimaux of the Thleweechodezeth" (From Back 1836).

the Caribou Inuit -- possibly during trade fairs at Akilinik, on the Thelon River (Stefansson 1914:4, 6; Rasmussen 1931:26, 482; Balikci 1984:416; Morrison 1991:243). While social interaction with the Utkuhikhalingmiut was brief, Back's expedition did provide this small group with a substantial amount of manufactured items including: buttons, fishhooks, a number of iron hoops, various colored ribbons, twenty-three awls, three dozen brass rings and two pounds of beads (Back 1836:379, 432).

Back's party also made contact with the Hanningayurmiut on Lake Garry while ascending the river. Both parties observed each other. However, the Inuit showed no inclination to communicate or trade, and Back did not land (Back 1836:436-437).

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

The following season, Dease and Simpson descended the Coppermine River, traveled east by boat to Point Turnagain, and, on foot, surveyed another 100 miles (161 km) of the coast before retreating. The next season was

untypically warm, and descending the Coppermine River once again, they discovered favorable ice conditions that allowed them to journey east, past Chantrey Inlet as far as the Castor and Pollux River on the Boothia Peninsula. At this point Dease and Simpson sailed back to the Coppermine River after coasting 150 miles (241 km) of the southern shore of Victoria Island, completing "the longest voyage ever performed in boats on the Polar Sea" - 1408 geographical miles (2266 km), (Dease and Simpson 1839; Simpson 1843).

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

Dease and Simpson met the Kogluktogmiut several more times and always on or near the Coppermine River (Dease and Simpson 1839:325; Simpson 1843:265, 266-267, 352-353; MacLaren 1994:473). Another Copper Inuit group, the Uwalliarmiut (Jenness 1922:36) was encountered on the Richardson River just to the east (Simpson 1843:344-345, 348). Significantly, the first indirect communication with the Copper Inuit of Victoria Island --

possibly the Ekaluktomiut (Jenness 1922:40-41) - - also occurred on this expedition as Dease and Simpson coasted the Cambridge Bay and Wellington Bay region during the late summer of 1839 (Simpson 1843:384).

Simpson (as well as Franklin and Richardson), found evidence that copper was being mined and utilized as material for tools and weapons by these groups (e.g., Franklin 1823:206; Simpson 1843:264, 384). Small pieces of iron were also seen and may have entered the Coppermine River area through down-the-line trade from the east and southeast (e.g., Stefansson 1914:3-5; Jenness 1922: 44-46; Rasmussen 1932:67). Contact with groups to the west may have ended by 1830 (Damas 1984b:397; Morrison 1991:243). However, by 1838, the Copper Inuit groups living in the Coppermine area, west to the Richardson River, and east, as far as the estuary of the Tree River, had clearly been acquiring materials from Richardson's two boats and associated cache, probably since 1826.

While at the mouth of the Coppermine River in July of of 1838, Dease and Simpson noted that the Inuit "keepings" had "carefully preserved... "pieces of *Dolphin* and *Union* " as well as tin canisters, gunlocks, pencil strips of red cloth and other items from Richardson's cache at Bloody Falls (Dease and Simpson 1839:326; Simpson 1843:262-263). This is the first evidence of post-abandonment utilization of materials by the Copper Inuit and the entry of these exotic materials (especially mahogany) and other objects into their intra- and intergroup trade system.

Immediately to the west of the Coppermine, "Fragments of Dr.

Richardson's mahogany boats were found widely scattered" (Dease and Simpson 1839:326). More remains of the boats were discovered further west in "Back's Inlet" (near the Richardson River). While to the east: "Seven sledges, with a variety of other articles (including the wide-spread remnants of Dr. Richardson's boats), were laid up close at hand" (Simpson 1843:272). At the Tree River Estuary, they found "the caches of six tents of the Esquimaux." Inside, among the remains of caribou, muskox, seal, was a "striped cotton shirt, almost new" and "wrapped-up and preserved with especial care" (Simpson 1843:273). Interestingly, while passing Cape Hearne (north of the Richardson River) in August of 1848 in the search for the missing Franklin expedition, Sir John Richardson's party: "found a decayed sledge, that was put together with copper nails marked with the broad arrow (of the Royal Navy), which must have been extracted from the boats... abandoned on the Coppermine River in 1826" (Richardson 1851a:298).

In effect, materials and associated items from the boats abandoned by Richardson at Bloody Falls in 1826, had passed from the Kogluktogmiut on the Coppermine River approximately 50 km west to the Uwalliarmiut in the Richardson River area, and possibly another 50 km further north to Cape Hearne. Presumably, these materials were also traded to the Asiagmiut who inhabited the area east of the Coppermine, and possibly further, to the Pingangnaktomiut, a total distance of 100-150 km. Simpson also noted that the Uwalliarmiut he met, on the Richardson River, journeyed to the Beren's Islands in Coronation Gulf during the winter to hunt seals. A number of Copper Inuit groups interacted socially during the winter on the sea ice, therefore, some materials may have been traded to groups from southwestern Victoria Island as

well (Simpson 1843:344-345; Jenness 1922:110-111; Rae 1953:104).

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

Expeditions: The Period 1845 - 1860

In 1845, Sir John Franklin and his ships H.M.S. *Erebus* and H.M.S. *Terror*, set out from the Thames for what, it was felt, would be a successful transit of the Northwest Passage by ship. Franklin's ships entered the Arctic archipelago in August of 1845. By 1848, after a fruitless attempt to penetrate the ice, *Erebus* and *Terror* were abandoned by the surviving members of Franklin's crews, at a point northwest of King William Island. Their efforts to escape the ice by way of "Back's Great Fish River" also failed and the

exhausted and starving survivors died along a route that extended down the western coast of King William Island and across Simpson Strait to the Adelaide Peninsula. Here, it is presumed that the last of Franklin's crews died here attempting to reach the Hudson's Bay Company posts within the interior of the mainland (e.g., Cyriax 1939; Neatby 1970; Beattie and Savelle 1983; Savelle 1985). Equipment and supplies from the expedition were scattered along the escape route, and it is thought that one of Franklin's ships may have drifted to the O'Reilly Island area (Savelle 1985:195). The post-abandonment utilization of these materials and manufactured articles by Netsilik groups, and the resultant changes in intra- and intergroup trade and social relations will be discussed below.

Between the sailing of Franklin's expedition and the initial search attempts, Dr. John Rae of the Hudson's Bay Company was sent by Governor George Simpson to survey the unknown coast from Dease and Simpson's "furthest" on Boothia Peninsula to Fury and Hecla Strait. Rae landed at Repulse Bay on July 25, 1846 where he met a group of Iglulik. According to Rae (1953:48) none of the Iglulik: "had ever visited Churchill, but one or two of the women had seen Captain Parry's ships both at Igloolik and Winter Island, and they still wore beads round their wrists which they had obtained from on board those vessels."

Rae's was also the third expedition to make contact with the Netsilik. After traveling across the Rae Isthmus to the Lord Mayor Bay area, Rae encountered four members of this group on his return, near Pelly Bay, in April of 1847 (Rae 1953:40). The expedition's presence definitely attracted several

groups of the Iglulik, and at least one small party of Netsilik, to Repulse Bay (Rae 1853:42, 66, 273). During Rae's stay at Fort Hope (near Repulse Bay), the same system of reciprocity that developed between the wintering expeditions of Parry and Ross, seems to have evolved.

Rae distributed the expedition's spare nets, knives, files and other items to the Iglulik. One Inuk received a gun and ammunition for his services. In return, the Iglulik provided invaluable information on the geography of the region, and served as guides and hunters on Rae's journeys (Rae 1953:36,135-136). Social relations between the two groups were friendly (Rae 1953:42, 66).

With no word from Franklin's expedition, several searching expeditions were ordered by the Admiralty in 1848. One of these expeditions commanded by Sir John Richardson, with Dr. John Rae serving as second-in-command, traveled in two boats built in England that were especially designed for coasting in shallow waters. Their route took them from Great Bear Lake, down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean and eastward through Dolphin and Union Strait. At this point, Richardson and Rae veered south, into the territory of the Copper Inuit at the western end of Coronation Gulf, where they would make direct contact with Inuit groups in 1848, and with Rae as 'acting' leader, in 1851.

Meeting thick sea ice at Cape Krusenstern, Richardson and Rae abandoned their boats and some stores, including cooking utensils and hatchets, with the knowledge that the boats would probably be "brokenup" by the Inuit for copper and ironwork (Richardson 1851a:300, 309). At Back's Inlet on September 4, 1848 they met with the same group of Uwalliarmiut

encountered by Dease and Simpson in 1839 and confirmed that this group communicated with the Inuit of Wollaston Land, Victoria Island (c.f., Simpson 1843:344-345; Richardson 1851a:310, 314, 1851b:122).

In 1849, after wintering on Great Bear Lake, Rae attempted a second voyage through Coronation Gulf without success, though direct contact with the Copper Inuit continued. In July and early August, Rae met groups at Richardson River, Rae's River and near Cape Krusenstern where his men encountered five Inuit who had been spearing salmon at "a rivulet that falls into Pasley Cove." It was learned that this small group also hunted seals and traded with groups from Wollaston land, Victoria Island, during the winter (Richardson 1851b:122-124, 125-126). As expected, Rae found their abandoned boats at Cape Krusenstern "brokenup" by the Inuit for ironwork (Richardson 1851b:124).

As noted above, direct contact was necessarily of short duration and therefore social interaction was limited to interviews in reference to geography, location of game, trade, and ice conditions. However, as during Dease and Simpson's visits in 1838-1839, Richardson and Rae did distribute "presents" to all groups encountered (Richardson 1851a:309-310, Richardson, 1851b:122-123). More importantly, there was evidence of Inuit post-abandonment utilization of wood, copper and ironwork from the boats left at Cape Krusenstern. These were sizable boats built in England (Richardson 1851a: 40-42), and they provided the Copper Inuit with roughly 900 board feet (212 board meters) of wood per boat, as well as ironwork. Excepting the Tree and Coppermine River valleys, there was a general scarcity of wood throughout the Copper Inuit territory (Jenness 1922:14, 50). The large amount of exotic wood

taken from the two boats left by Richardson in 1826, Dease's and Simpson's boat in 1839, and Richardson and Rae's two boats in 1848 may have provided groups like the Kogluktogmiut and Uwalliarmiut, with significant materials for their own use and for trading purposes.

As the search for Franklin continued, three additional expeditions made contact, both indirect and direct, with Copper Inuit groups. The first expedition, under the command of Captain Robert M'Clure, R.N. of H.M.S. *Investigator*, made the initial contact with a group from Victoria Island -- probably the Kanghiryuarmiut of the Prince Albert Sound region. There were actually two brief meetings with this group within several days, both on the northern coast of Prince Albert Sound. In late May of 1851, Lieut. Haswell, R.N. and a sledging party from *Investigator* met a group of eighteen Kanghiryuarmiut hunting seals (M'Clure 1857). In early June, M'Clure, with a party that included *Investigator's* interpreter, Johann August Miertsching, was able to reestablish contact with the same group.

M'Clure was primarily interested in acquiring geographical information and making maps. The Inuit were able to provide assistance in both of these areas. Further, it was clear that the weapons and tools of this group were fabricated entirely with native materials, most prominently copper. Indeed, M'Clure and his men saw "pure lumps" of copper lying inside tents, apparently recently acquired through direct trade with a group(s) "further east" for seal oil and skins (Jenness 1922:50-52). The trade that ensued during this meeting, saw the *Investigator's* party receiving skins and copper knives, and, in return, this isolated group acquired their first wares from the factories of the world-

system -- red and blue flannel, knives, saws, needles, beads and other "trifles" such as a looking glass, and a thick red shawl or scarf. These trade goods may, in fact, have influenced this group to visit with another expedition wintering in their territory that same year (M'Clure 1857:185-186; Armstrong 1857:338-341; Collinson 1889:172; Miertsching 1967:114-117; Condon 1996:22-28). M'Clure and his crew would spend three hard years in the Arctic, before the *Investigator* and the ship's stores that had been landed, were abandoned in Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island, on June 3, 1853. M'Clure and his exhausted crew ultimately found succor through the efforts of Lieut. Bedford C.T. Pim, R.N. of H.M.S. *Resolute*, who reached the *Investigator* from Melville Island after a cross ice trek of twenty-eight days (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 1896) Sometime later, perhaps not long after *Investigator*'s abandonment, the Copper Inuit discovered the ship and stores. Their discovery initiated the long post-abandonment utilization of these materials, which, in turn, may have directly effected intra- and intergroup trade networks and social relations among the Copper Inuit (Stefansson 1919; Hickey 1984; Condon 1996:31; see below).

Dr. John Rae also returned to the Coronation Gulf area in 1851, where he was finally successful in reaching and coasting much of the southern shoreline of Victoria Island. Rae and his expedition contacted the Copper Inuit of southwestern Wollaston Land, Victoria Island, at least twice in May of 1851, ironically, at virtually the same time M'Clure was meeting with the Kanghiryuarmiut further north. Later that summer, the seemingly tireless Rae, communicated with a party of Inuit near Cape Flinders on the Kent Peninsula, and again on Victoria Island in Parker Bay in August. Like M'Clure, Rae saw no items of European manufacture in possession of the Inuit of Victoria Island.

(Rae 1953:186-188,197, 209-209; Neatby 1970:114-116; Calder 1993:59-60).

By the late summer of 1851, H.M.S. *Enterprise*, *Investigator's* supposed consort on the search for Franklin in the western Arctic, was about to become the first Royal Navy ship and representative of the world-system to engage in extended social interaction with the Copper Inuit (c.f., Morrison 1987:4; Mackinnon 1985:21). In fact, Captain Richard Collinson and his crew made contact with the Kanghiryuatjagmiut at Winter Cove, Walker Bay, Victoria Island (Stefansson 1913:278-279; Jenness 1922:41-42). Beginning in September, Collinson met other groups from the Kanghiryuarmiut, including the Inuit who had met Haswell and M'Clure earlier that year (Collinson 1889:172), at Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island. For two months, September 17th - November 18th, the Inuit were nearly always present, fishing through the ice, bartering fish and caribou for trade goods, teaching the crew to use sleds and sled dogs, and visiting the ship. However, by November 7th, it was apparent that the caribou were leaving the area and cached food stocks were low, as crew members were only able to purchase small amounts of caribou. On November 18th the sun disappeared, and on November 22nd Collinson recorded that "both the natives and deer appear to have left us" (Collinson 1889:173).

Unlike the Iglulik with Parry at Winter Island and Igloolik, and the Netsilik with Ross at Felix Harbor, the Copper Inuit appear to have entirely forsaken the temptations represented by the *Enterprise* . This turn-of-events is not surprising, considering that breathing hole sealing for these groups began on or about November 22nd. At this critical juncture in their annual subsistence cycle, groups move out on to the sea ice. In this case, they may have moved far

enough, and with enough regularized group movement, to make regular communication with the ship impossible (Collinson 1889:221; Jenness 1922:110-120; Damas 1984b:398). Certainly, the Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut were sealing in one of the richest ringed seal (*Phoca hispida)* habitats in the Canadian Arctic (Smith 1987:13). In any case, with their knowledge of seasonal ice movements, these Inuit groups knew that the *Enterprise* and all that she held, would still be icebound in the spring "when they abandoned the snowhouse villages on the sea ice and moved to land" (Damas 1984b:398).

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

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

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

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

Collinson also observed that copper was the primary material utilized by the groups in and around Cambridge Bay. What little iron he saw, seemed to be used in making "arrow tips." He also commented on the intermittent "crossing to the continent" and back by these groups (Collinson 1889:284). The winterings of the *Enterprise* were the first (and last) examples of direct long-term intersocietal interaction between agents of the world-system and the Copper Inuit in the 19th century. After August of 1853, a period of approximately fifty years would elapse before contact and interaction, of a more extensive nature,

would be reestablished (Bockstoce 1975:298-299; Jenness 1922:30).

By the mid to late 1850s, the pattern of contact situations shifted back to Franklin search areas within the Netsilik and Iglulik territories of the central Canadian Arctic. Dr. John Rae returned to Repulse Bay in 1853, not with the intention of searching for Franklin's expedition, but to chart one of the last unsurveyed areas on the Arctic coastline. Ironically, it was on this expedition that Rae found the first real evidence of the "fate" of Franklin's expedition (Neatby 1970:243-245; Beattie and Geiger 1990:28-29). Rae wintered at Repulse Bay and the following spring crossed the isthmus to Committee and Pelly Bays. On April 20, 1854, in western Pelly Bay, Rae met a group of seventeen Netsilik sealing, "several of them had been at Repulse Bay... in 1847" (Rae 1953:273-274). Here, Rae purchased the first "artifacts" from the Franklin expedition, objects that the Inuit had acquired through trade from the west. Rae returned to Repulse Bay in May, 1854, at which time he noted that many more Inuit had gathered there to trade and interact with his expedition (Rae 1853:284).

In order to further investigate Rae's findings, the Admiralty commissioned the Hudson's Bay Company to send a party down the Thlew-eecho-dezeth or, in "Back's Great Fish River" to Chantrey Inlet (Neatby 1970:247). Led by Chief Factor James Anderson, this party descended the river quickly. Direct contact was made with both the Hanningayurmiut and the Utkuhikhalingmiut. Anderson met the Hanningayurmiut on July 20, 1855 near the mouth of the MacKinley River and again further down river at the rapids between Pelly and Garry Lakes (Anderson 1856:21; Anderson 1940-1941:24, 135). Evidence of indirect or

direct contact with the world-system could be seen in the articles of European manufacture this group possessed including the "daggers, beads, files and tin kettles" which Anderson recognized as items traded by the Hudson's Bay Company (Anderson 1856:21). Raw iron had apparently been acquired and made into "spear heads." Like George Back and Richard King in 1834, Anderson surmised that this group was trading with the Caribou Inuit of Chesterfield Inlet who "resorted" to the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Churchill (Anderson 1856:21; Anderson 1940-1941:135; Smith and Burch 1979:83-85).

Indirect and direct contact with the Utkuhikhalingmiut at the rapids below Franklin Lake and at other sites, and the presence of large amounts of materials and manufactured objects from the Franklin (and possibly the Ross 1829-1833) expeditions confirmed that post-abandonment utilization and intergroup trade of these materials was being conducted (Anderson 1856:22; Anderson 1940-1941:10-11, 23; Savelle 1985). Interestingly, Anderson does not seem to have found any Franklin or Ross materials with the Hanningayurmiut. This fact would seem to confirm that there was little or no contact between the Hanningayurmiut and Utkuhikhalingmiut (at least, at this point), and that both groups were participating in different trading systems (see below).

The last expedition to make contact with an Inuit group during the period of the Franklin searches, was by commanded by Captain Francis M'Clintock, R.N. This privately sponsored expedition set sail from England in the *Fox,* with its primary goal being the recovery of documents from Franklin's expedition. M'Clintock, who had a reputation as an officer who got things done, was

eminently successful in this task (e.g., Cyriax 1939; Neatby 1970:262-263; Lehane 1981:158-161).

Throughout the expedition (1857-1859), M'Clintock and his men were interacting with indigenous groups whose cultures remained essentially "traditional." Concomitantly, these same groups were beginning to feel the impact of the world-system. Indeed, by 1858-1859, indirect and direct encounters with agents of the world-system were causing some groups to modify their lifeways as an adaptive response to contact. The *Fox* called at Pond Inlet before sailing on to Boothia Peninsula. While there, M'Clintock met an Inuit group who, for some years, had been modifying their subsistence patterns in order to accommodate seasonal contact with whalers and ships of the Royal Navy that had been using Pond Inlet as a staging area (M'Clintock 1972:149). This group now seemed to prefer materials from the workshops of the world-system, although traditional components of their material culture were present as well. For instance, M'Clintock learned that this group still traded for iron pyrites with "people from the west of Navy Board Inlet." Alternatively, he observed that they were "much in want of wood;" and "saws and files were in great demand;" wooden staves were present, as was "iron-hoop;" and "Goldner's tins" (M'Clintock 1972:140).

On Boothia Peninsula and King William Island, the Netsilik M'Clintock encountered were already experiencing changes in intra- and intergroup relationships due to the post-abandonment utilization of massive amounts of materials from the Ross and Franklin expeditions (M'Clintock 1972:208-209, 225, 228-229, 235, 240; Savelle 1985; see below). The Inuit desire for contact

and trade was readily evident to M'Clintock, who, at one point, was questioned about the position of his ship by an Inuk (M'Clintock 1972:229-230; Savelle 1981). On another occasion, M'Clintock learned that several Inuit had followed "his track" north on western Boothia Peninsula, found his cache, and had "carried off" blubber, trade items and two loaded revolvers (M'Clintock 1972:228-230; Savelle 1981:118)

Expeditions: The Period 1860 - 1880

The two privately organized Euroamerican expeditions that followed M'Clintock into Iglulik and Netsilik areas were also witnesses to incipient change among these groups. The American, Charles Francis Hall, a controversial amateur explorer, noted regularized interaction between whalers and the Iglulik at Repulse Bay, his winter quarters in the late 1860s (Nourse 1879; Loomis 1991). While searching for further evidence of the fate of the Franklin expedition, Hall met and interacted with Inuit from both Pelly Bay and King William Island. Hall, like Rae, Anderson and M'Clintock before him, also observed post-abandonment utilization of materials from the Franklin and Ross expeditions (e.g., Nourse 1879:392, 398; Loomis 1991:202, 221). Several Inuit from the Cape Weynton area of Committee Bay, followed Hall back to Repulse Bay in order to live and trade with his expedition (Loomis 1991:206).

The modification of Inuit culture observed by M'Clintock and Hall, was also observed by members of the Schwatka expedition of 1878-1880. Establishing a base of operations at Depot Island, south of Repulse Bay, members of the party observed, at close hand, the effects on the Iglulik due to

regularized interaction with the whaling industry. The Aivilingmiut of the area, "...annually trade with the whalers who call here (Klutschak 1987:19). While Schwatka's party established their base camp, a group of Inuit moved across from Cape Fullerton to be near the expedition. And indeed, it was later learned that many members of this group had journeyed south from Repulse Bay to enjoy easier access to the whalers (Ross 1975:127; Klutschak:1987:19-20). These same Inuit were also using pidgin English as a result of their interaction with whalers, and many were carrying firearms (Ross 1975:98; Klutschak 1987:22).

While searching for documents and objects from the Franklin expedition, Schwatka's party noted extensive post-abandonment utilization of materials and, the changes that occurred in the intergroup interaction among the Netsilik, Utkuhikhalingmiut and Ugjulimmiut as a result of this usage (Klutschak 1987:64, 69-70, 94, 131; see below). Like every other expedition that made contact with the Inuit during the preceding decades, Schwatka also bartered items like needles and cheap tin plates with the Inuit, receiving, in return, geographical information, meat and fish, and numerous weapons and tools made with Franklin materials (e.g., Klutschak 1987:66).

9. The degree of internal differentiation should increase. The Boothia Peninsula, King William Island/Northern Adelaide Peninsula areas should become a "core region" due to the spatially restricted presence of large quantities of exotic material and manufactured goods at Victoria Harbour, Boothia Peninsula, and the King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula. The Western Victoria Island/northern Banks Island area should become a "minor

core region" due to the presence of materials and manufactured goods at Mercy Bay, Banks Island. Northwestern Hudson Bay should become a "core region" from approximately 1860 due to the increased interaction with the whaling industry.

a. Trade goods exist in greater quantities in "core regions."

b. Increased social complexity and change in intergroup trading systems within "core regions" is seen.

The Boothia Peninsula and King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula regions became "core regions" during this period due to the introduction of large amounts of expedition material from the Ross (1829-1833) and Franklin (1845-1848) expeditions. The engine parts of the Ross's expedition ship *Victory* were abandoned on McDiarmid's Island at Felix Harbour in 1830 (Savelle 1985:195, 197). According to Ross (1835:457): "But as the boilers and their frames could be of no use, and were not worth the transport in any state, they were left on shore; with the satisfactory reflection, at least, that they would prove a valuable iron mine for our friends the Esquimaux." The *Victory* itself was abandoned at Victoria Harbour in 1832 along with the supply launch *Krusenstern* as well as "chronometers and astronomical instruments, gun powder, the masts, sails and rigging" (Ross 1835:643). With some prescience, Ross (1985:643) wrote: "We now secured everything on shore which could be of use to us in case of our return, or which, if we did not, would prove of use to the natives [Inuit]."

In 1848, 16 years after the abandonment of *Victory* and associated stores, Franklin's H.M.S. *Erebus* and H.M.S. *Terror* were abandoned in the ice

to the northwest of King William Island. The surviving officers and crew perished in their attempt to reach an inland Hudson's Bay Company post via the Back River. Subsequently, the route of their "retreat" along the west coast of King William Island, and northern Adelaide Peninsula was littered with ships' boats, naval stores and hundreds of personal items (e.g., Beattie and Savelle 1983:100; Savelle 1985:195; Cyriax 1939; Beattie and Geiger 1990).

Prior to the abandonment of the *Victory* and the associated materials of the Ross Expedition at Felix and Victory Harbours, the Netsilik, who inhabited Boothia Peninsula, acquired trade items from the Hudson's Bay Company at Churchill through the Iglulik (from whom they also received "potstone") at Repulse Bay and from the Caribou Inuit near the Thelon River (Parry 1824:504; Ross 1835:244-245, 252, 283, 362-363; Boas 1888:459; Rasmussen 1931:28; M'Clintock: 1972:140). Wood was acquired primarily from the Ookjulik Inuit who inhabited parts of King William Island and the northern coastal areas of Adelaide Peninsula (Ross 1835:313, 317; Savelle 1985:205). The Netsilik seem to have used iron pyrites as their principle trade item at this time (Ross 1835:362-363; Rasmussen 1931:26; M'Clintock 1972:140). However, the abandoned Ross expedition materials presented the Netsilik with vast amounts of iron, wood and other objects within their own territory. These materials were undoubtedly heavily "mined" for some time (J. Savelle, personal communication). Indeed, according to Rasmussen (1931:27), the Netsilik name for Victory Harbour, "Qilanartut," when translated means "a joyful foretaste of something nice to come later," or, "the beach of joyful hopes." The Netsilik were still acquiring iron at Victory Harbour during Rasmussen's visit in 1923.

With direct access to the Ross Expedition materials, particularly wood and iron, the Netsilik's traditional trade network and trading partnerships engendered by that system, were undoubtedly disrupted. The group most severely affected by this change was the Ookjulik, whose primary, and perhaps only, trade item was driftwood. Because the Ookjulik lived in areas (southern King William Island and the Adelaide Peninsula) with only marginal subsistence resources (e.g., Rasmussen 1931:473), they would have been seriously impacted in times of resource scarcity when they would have "...depended upon extensive intergroup relationships for security..." (Savelle 1985:205).

At the time of the abandonment of *Erebus* and *Terror* in 1848, it was the Ookjulik who, as residents of King William Island and northern Adelaide Peninsula, made contact with Franklin's retreating crews as they attempted to reach the Back River. This group initially had almost sole access to the materials scattered along the western shoreline of King William Island and northeastern Adelaide Peninsula (Boas 1888:456). They may also have "mined" the hulk of one of Franklin's ships near O'Reilly Island for wood, iron and ship's stores. Explorers who visited King William Island and the Chantrey Inlet area of the Adelaide Peninsula from 1859 to 1879, commented on the diversity of items and significant amount of Franklin expedition materials found in Inuit camps, and at sites used by Franklin expedition members (e.g., Anderson 1856:22-24; M'Clintock:1972:225, 235, 240, 334; Loomis 1991:221; Klutschak 1993:64, 74, 94).

Within two to three years after the abandonment of *Erebus* and *Terror*,

some groups of Netsilik from the Boothia Peninsula, who had undoubtedly received Franklin objects through trade from the Ookjulik or the Utkuhikhalingmiut, or both (Rae 1953:274), began to move on to King William Island in order to acquire Franklin materials. This movement, which was directly attributable to the Netsilik's desire for materials and manufactured items produced by the world-system, caused the Ookjulik to move further westward. The Boothia Peninsula, King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula area remained "core regions" for at least twenty-five years, after which the depletion of materials, and the growing influx of trade items from whalers in northwestern Hudson Bay, a new "core region, " and the continuing migration of families to Repulse Bay caused the Netsilik to revert to different trading strategies and movement back to the Boothia Peninsula (Savelle 1985:205). The role of northwestern Hudson Bay as a "core region" has been discussed above.

A "minor core region" existed within the Banks Island/western Victorian Island area, possibly from the mid-1850s to 1890. As seen above, the Copper Inuit experienced indirect and direct contact with European expeditions several times from 1821 to 1853. The Kanghiryuarmiut of Prince Albert Sound had interacted with a party from H.M.S. *Investigator* in 1851, and the Kanghiryuatjagmiut of Minto Inlet (with some Kanghiryuarmiut), had passed the fall of 1851 and the spring and much of the summer of 1852, with Collinson's wintering H.M.S. *Enterprise* (e.g., M'Clure 1857; Collinson 1889; Jenness 1922:41). Indeed, both groups had already participated in the post-abandonment utilization of the large amounts of *Enterprise's* refuse, especially tin, since July of 1852 (Collinson 1889:221).

As seen above, M'Clure's *Investigator* was abandoned along with a substantial depot of naval stores at Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island in 1853. Hickey (1981; 1984:24), has stated this depot was comprised of a "ton or more" of iron, copper, brass, tin and various woods. At some point after the abandonment of *Investigator*, one or both of these Copper Inuit groups from Victoria Island discovered the ship (Stefansson 1914:17, 1919; Hickey 1984:18). These groups may have found *Investigator* while hunting or through the process of "frontier scanning" (Hickey 1984:18). However, it is very likely that they searched for the ship. The Kanghiryuatjagmiut had experienced, at first hand, the material benefits to be reaped from long-term interaction with Collinson's *Enterprise* at at Winter Cove, Walker Bay in 1851-1852 (Collinson 1889:221). They were joined at Winter Cove by some of the Kanghiryuatjagmiut who had met and bartered with M'Clure near Berkeley Point on Prince Albert Sound (Collinson 1889:172). During that meeting they supplied M'Clure and his interpreter, Johann August Miertsching, with geographical information, and there is every reason to suppose that the Inuit knew of M'Clure's intended route (M'Clure 1857:185-186).

As a direct result of the post-abandonment utilization of *Investigator* and the associated depot, at least two significant culture changes occurred within the closely allied Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut. First, the "mining" of such enormous amounts of exotic materials enabled these groups to attain paramountcy within their intergroup trading system (Stefansson 1914:17; Morrison 1991:244). The wealth of iron taken from *Investigator* would also have alleviated the need for these groups to make long trading trips to southern Victoria Island, and beyond to the mainland interior (Stefansson 1914:3;

Morrison 1991:243). Secondly, paralleling, in some respects, the Netsilik experience in response to the presence of Ross and Franklin expedition materials, the Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut extended their summer range to northern Banks Island to salvage *Investigator's* materials. This movement probably had an adverse effect on subsistence resources on Banks Island, especially the muskox population, which is known to have been severely reduced. Further, this range extension may explain the disappearance, during the mid-nineteenth century, of basking-seal hunting techniques in these groups (Hickey 1984:20, 22; c.f., Damas 1984:409). The Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut seem to have stopped utilizing the Mercy Bay materials by 1890, possibly because of depletion. By 1905, and later, nearly all Copper Inuit were trading directly with American vessels from Alaska and Herschel Island (Jenness 1922:50; Morrison 1991:245).

10. Breadth should increase.

    a. Greater interaction with agents of the Euroamerican economy should occur.

11. Depth should increase.

    a. Population grows in "core region."

    b. Subsistence practices should show adaptations developed to obtain commodities for export to the European world-economy.

12. Internal differentiation should continue to increase through expanding contact with agents of the world-economy. Northwestern Hudson Bay is seen as a "core region." The Pond Inlet area is seen as a "minor core region."

    a. Increased social complexity overall. Increasing mobility with some migration to "core region."

    b. Groups located in the "core region" and "minor core region" should exhibit a greater degree of cultural complexity than other groups.

Although bowhead whale stocks declined during this period (Figure 13), the Roes Welcome Sound/Repulse Bay area of northwestern Hudson Bay remained a "core region" due to continuing presence of the whaling industry (Ross 1979; Damas 1988; see above). Pond Inlet is regarded as "minor core region" at this time due to the impact of the whaling industry, its use as a staging area for ethnographic, hunting and government expeditions, and, as a winter harbour for vessels (Damas 1988:108; Holland 1994). In reference to the Iglulik, Boas (1888:468), stated that "...the importance of goods of European manufacture at Pond Bay [Inlet] made trade with that region even more

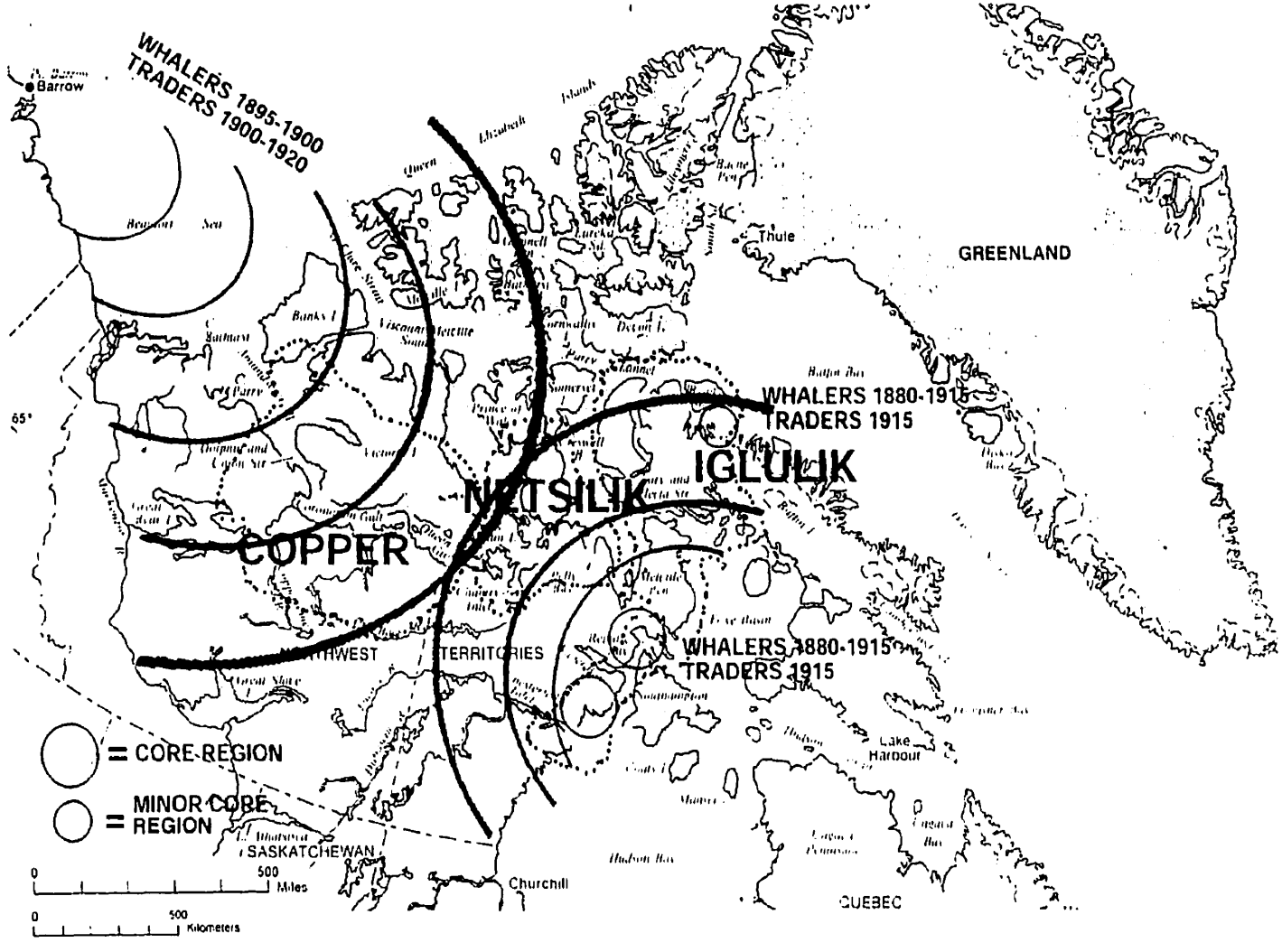


Figure 13. Map of the central Canadian Arctic, probable changes - Marginal Periphery.

important than formerly." It is not surprising that the expeditions sent into the Arctic by the Canadian Government to assert Canadian sovereignty, utilized Pond Inlet as a base of operations and winter harbour during the early 1900s (e.g., Low 1906:271; Bernier 1909:9, 27; Mary-Rousselière 1984:443; Neatby 1984:387). Trade was formulized to a great degree at Pond Inlet through the establishment of the first Hudson's Bay Company post in 1921 (Innis 1970:370).

The Euroamerican whaling industry remained an important agent of change throughout northwestern Hudson Bay. Contact between Iglulik and migrating Netsilik and whalers in this region was greater at this time than ever before, due to the increased incidence of wintering ships and the establishment of permanent whaling stations at Repulse Bay, Marble Island, Depot Island and Cape Fullerton (Ross 1975; 1979:253; Damas 1988:105). The ever increasing presence of the whaling industry had a enormous impact on the Inuit of the region who were effected by four major agents of change.

First, as bowhead stocks declined, whalers increasingly looked to trade with Inuit groups as a means of maintaining profits. The nucleation of this industry at specific locations meant that trade could be carried out in a regularized manner. The growth in trade between whaler and Inuit was prompted due to competition between whaling ships and the Hudson's Bay Company, which attempted to resume its coastal trading voyages in this region in 1886 (Ross 1975:66-67; 1979:253; c.f., Arima 1984:459).

Prior to the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in northwestern Hudson Bay, whalers were primarily interested in trading manufactured goods

to the Inuit for caribou meat and skins. Faced with declining bowhead harvests and the threat of competition from the Hudson's Bay Company who had initiated trade with the Inuit for furs, whalers now looked to the fur trade to maintain revenues (Ross 1975:66-69). The commercial trade in furs, ivory, whalebone and skins gradually grew and by the early 1900s, whalers were essentially serving as "sedentary trading posts for ten months of the year, and as mobile ones during the summer" (Ross 1975:136). Furs such as fox, wolverine, wolf and muskox, that had previously been of little importance to the subsistence economy of the Inuit, subsequently grew in value. With the acquisition of firearms and whaleboats, Inuit hunters were able to increase their harvest of skins for the fur trade and spend considerably less time on subsistence hunting. By hunting animals principally for exchange, Inuit were participating in a nascent trapping economy that would continue to grow with the establishment of Hudson's Bay Company "posts" in the region. Ultimately the fur trade emerged as a full-blown commercial enterprise in this region after the First World War (e.g., Balikci 1964; Ross 1975:136, 1980:47; Mary-Rousselière 1984:443; Damas 1988:106-107).

Second, the continuing migration (see above) of Inuit attracted by the opportunities to trade with and work for whalers proved to be an even greater factor than before in the disruption and or modification of the traditional patterns of subsistence, social life, and trading networks, as well as the distribution of Netsilik and Iglulik groups. Damas (1984:428; 1988:105), states that between one-quarter to one-third of the Netsilik migrated to Repulse Bay and other whaling establishments. In 1923, Rasmussen (1930:84-88), estimated that forty-percent of this group had migrated. It is clear that by 1920, economic

opportunities presented by the whaling industry had caused major changes in the geographical distribution of these groups (Balikci 1970:247; Ross:1975:125, 131-134, 1977:5-6; Van de Velde et al. 1993:3-4).

Third, alien diseases, most commonly, sexually transmitted diseases, were introduced to Inuit groups frequenting whaling stations and working on ships. While there is currently no evidence of the Iglulik or Netsilik being affected by epidemic diseases like those that decimated the Mackenzie Inuit during this period, the extinction of the Saglermiut of Southampton Island has been attributed to a "whaler-derived disease", perhaps gastric or enteric fever (Ross 1979; Damas 1988:104-104 Friesen 1995:116). Ross (1979:6) has suggested that Inuit groups infected by interacting with whalers at this time, may have later "disseminated" the disease in their home regions.

Near the end of this period, the fourth agent of change appeared in the form of Euroamerican religious and political institutions, such as church missions, Royal North-West Canadian Mounted Police detachments, and fur trading posts. The influence of these institutions at this time, while significant and growing, was, at least until 1915, overshadowed by that of the whaling industry.

The changes experienced by Netsilik and Copper Inuit during this period occurred more gradually than those that impacted on the Iglulik and migrant Netsilik due to their direct interaction with the whaling industry. Within Netsilik areas, there was little direct contact with expeditions. Amundsen (1908), who interacted with the Netsilik on King William Island during his Northwest Passage

expedition (1903-1905), describes a group that is essentially still living a "traditional" lifestyle (Rasmussen 1931:128; Lehane 1981; Damas 1988:106). Nevertheless, rifles had already appeared among the Netsilik (Balikci 1964, 1970:247; Klutschak 1993:17-18) and a regularized trade in furs already existed as Netsilik hunters journeyed across the Rae Isthmus to Repulse Bay to barter with whalers and, by 1920, with a newly established Hudson's Bay Company post there (Damas 1988:107). The articulation of the Netsilik within a fur trade economy continued into the 1920s. At the time of Rasmussen's visit in 1923, he met Netsilik hunters on their way to Repulse Bay to trade "seventy-odd fox furs" for guns. That same year, he witnessed the arrival of *El Sueno* sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to establish the first post on King William Island (Rasmussen 1931:80; Zaslow 1980:70).

After experiencing a series of contact episodes with agents of the the Royal Navy and Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1850s, the Copper Inuit remained isolated from the world-system until the 1890s when some contact with American whalers may have occurred (Bockstoce 1975:298-299). Regular Interaction with Euroamericans was renewed in 1902 when David T. Hanbury traveled from Chesterfield Inlet to the Coppermine River. A number of traders, Klengenberg (1905-1906), Mogg (1908), Bernard (1910-1914) initiated irregular contact at this time (Jenness 1922:31). Exploratory, scientific and ethnological expeditions entering the Copper Inuit territory included, notably, those of Stefansson (1910); G.M. and L.D. Douglas (1912); and perhaps most famously, the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-1918 (Stefansson 1913, 1919; Douglas 1914; Jenness 1922, 1991).

By 1916, the Hudson's Bay Company had established a post at Bernard Harbour thereby providing a springboard for the fur trade (Jenness 1922:31). Missionization was initiated by the Catholic Church but slowed after the "murders" of Oblate priests, Rouvière and Le Roux, by the Copper Inuit, Sinnisiak and Uluksak, near Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River (Douglas 1914:157-169; Neatby 1984:386; Jenness 1991:596-598).

The articulation of the Copper Inuit into the fur trade and the first stages of economic dependency continued during, and immediately after, the First World War as the Hudson's Bay Company established a series of fur trade posts across the southern tier of the Arctic Islands (Zaslow 1980:70). The use of rifles was already widespread by this time and had begun to alter the seasonal subsistence cycle, with sealing grounds being abandoned early in order to begin the caribou hunt. According to Damas (1984:409), by 1923-1924, Copper Inuit in the Dolphin and Union Strait area were engaged in caribou hunting inland for a substantial part of the winter.

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

> "From the furnishings and utensils in his snow hut it was easy to see that we could not be far from the trading post. Fine blankets, the best of the Hudson's Bay Company stock, were spread about

the platform along with rugs of much more useful material in this land and climate - caribou skin. Enamel dishes had replaced the fine, blubber-shiny wooden trays that are made of driftwood; aluminum pans took the place of stone pots, and even the handsome Eskimo lamp of soapstone had had to surrender to a shiny basin of tin.

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

Dependent Periphery

13. The central Canadian Arctic is hypothesized to be fully articulated within the Dependent Periphery of the Euroamerican world economic system by 1920.

The Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik groups were drawn irrevocably into the Dependent Periphery by 1920 through their participation in the direct exchange economy of the fur trade and through regularized interaction with Euroamerican commercial, religious and political institutions.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Incidental Zone

Although the Thule inhabited a large geographical area, world-system breadth (Table 1) at this time is relatively low due to the small population size and the limited number of "settlements" (J. Savelle, personal communication). It is clear, however, that this was not an isolationist culture. Regular intra- and intergroup interaction occurred primarily between neighboring settlements and was undoubtedly facilitated by Thule transport technology which enabled groups to travel in all seasons (e.g., McCartney 1991:36).

Evidence from the archaeological record supports the view that world-system depth was not as low as originally predicted during this period. Trade goods that emanated from locations on the geographical periphery, such as telluric iron from northwestern Greenland, meteoritic iron from western Greenland, Norse metals from western and eastern Greenland, were undoubtedly highly-valued prestige materials. Nevertheless, the supposed rarity of these materials needs to be questioned given the regularized appearance of metals in nearly all excavated Thule winter settlement sites and winter houses, and their constant occurrence in Thule material culture (e.g., McCartney 1991:30). The occurrence of native materials (such as raw copper) within Thule sites seems to have been even more pronounced, especially in those areas where these materials were collected (McCartney and Mack 1973:328; Morrison 1987:10). Further, McGhee (1989:98), has stated that throughout the history of the Thule occupation, *stone tools were almost*

Prediction	Archaeo-logical Data	Ethnographic, Ethnohistoric Data
1. Breadth is relatively low. Regular interaction occurs between immediate neighbors and material trade goods should originate in a limited number of regions.	+/-	
2. Depth is relatively low. a. Material trade goods should be rare. b. Material trade networks should exist primarily between immediate neighboring groups. c. Social interaction is confined primarily to immediate neighboring groups.	- +/- +/-	
3. Internal differentiation. Little internal differentiation exists between neighboring groups	+	

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

Table 1. Summary of Predictions for the Incidental Zone.

completely replaced by "small points and blades" made of smelted metal, iron from meteorites and native copper.

While all material trade networks were strongest at the linkage between immediate neighboring groups, the material trade system itself extended far beyond localized settlements. McCartney (1991:35), following Stefansson (1914), has postulated that extensive social and economic networks remained open between Thule societies throughout the central Canadian Arctic throughout this period. Knowing that Thule groups were patterned on ranked North Alaskan societies, direct trade and other *regularized* forms of more structured and controlled social interaction (such as trading partnerships), may have occurred beyond immediate neighboring settlements.

Little internal differentiation seems to have existed between neighboring Thule societies and there is no evidence of the existence of core regions or minor core regions. It can be stated however, that some groups may have established effective middleman positions in trade or even attained trade paramountcy due to their control over native resources such as copper. Similarly, the economic well being of some groups may also have been enhanced due to regular access to more productive subsistence harvesting environments.

Early Contact Periphery

The establishment of Fort Churchill, at the beginning of the Early Contact Periphery, contributed markedly to world-system breadth (Table 2).

Prediction	Archaeo-logical Data	Ethnographic, Ethnohistoric Data
4. Breadth should increase. a. Availability of material trade goods should increase. This increase should be apparent in all regions. b. Material trade networks should expand.	+	+ +
5. Depth should increase. a. Material trade networks should expand. b. Material trade through intermediaries should increase.		+ +
6. The degree of internal differentiation should increase due to increasing access to European trade goods.		+

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

Table 2. Summary of Predictions for the Early Contact Periphery.

Trade goods from the European world-economy thereafter entered the central Canadian Arctic at increasing levels. Some of this growing trade was conducted directly with groups such as the Copper Inuit. The majority however, was conducted with the Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit primarily through Chipewyan and the Caribou Inuit intermediaries.

The increase in world-system breadth and depth was apparent in all regions as trade materials entered the central Canadian Arctic through "trade fairs" at Akilinik on the Thelon River. From this important axis point, down-the-line trade routes extended into and through Netsilik and Copper Inuit areas. The Iglulik Inuit received the majority of their trade goods during this period through down-the-line intergroup routes that started near Chesterfield Inlet and extended northward through the Igloolik area and thence on to Baffin Island. The trade between ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Caribou and Hudson Strait Inuit undoubtedly contributed to this influx of trade goods and growth of intergroup participation in trade. The traditional western trade route to Bering Strait was also utilized at this time, presumably with lower levels of down-the-line interaction. By approximately 1830, this route was no longer being used by the Copper Inuit (Richardson 1851a; Stefansson 1914:10-11; Morrison 1991:239).

It is hypothesized that the degree of internal differentiation may have grown within the Early Contact Periphery, especially in those groups located closest to point-of-trade. These Inuit would have possessed a greater number of trade goods, and may possibly have benefited more materially and economically in relation to groups located on the periphery of trade.

Late Contact Periphery

World-system breadth and depth increased significantly within the late Contact Periphery (Table 3). A greater degree of internal differentiation can also been seen in groups within "core regions" and in the "minor core region." Material trade increased gradually until approximately 1860, when an even greater influx of goods began to enter the central Canadian Arctic through interaction with the whaling industry which had established itself in northwestern Hudson Bay.

In addition to the trade items reaching the Netsilik and Iglulik (and possibly the Copper) Inuit through intermediary trade via Fort Churchill, a significant number of goods now entered intergroup trade routes due to indirect and direct contact with whalers and expeditions. While initially of a desultory nature, this type of trade grew gradually and became more regularized throughout this period. By 1830, the Iglulik of the Pond Inlet area and northwestern Hudson Bay had altered their subsistence cycle in order to interact with whalers who provided this group with a regularized source of trade. Royal Navy expeditions made contact with, and also wintered among, each Inuit group thereby adding significant amounts of materials and manufactured items to intra- and intergroup trading systems. Indirect and direct contact between Inuit and private as well as Hudson's Bay Company expeditions also contributed to the growth in trade.

World-system breadth was accentuated to a large degree through intersocietal interaction between agents of the world-system and the Inuit. As

Prediction	Archaeo-logical Data	Ethnographic, Ethnohistoric Data
7. Breadth should increase significantly.		
a. Greatly increased material trade and social interaction between agents of the world-system and Inuit groups should be apparent.	+	+
b. Trade goods should appear in greater numbers.	+	+
8. Depth should increase. Greater group movement should be observed in "core regions."		+
9. The degree of internal differentiation should increase. The Boothia Peninsula, King William Island/northern Adelaide Peninsula areas should become a "core region" due to the spatially restricted presence of large quantities of exotic material and manufactured goods at Victoria Harbour, Boothia Peninsula, and the King William Island/Adelaide Peninsula area. Western Victoria/Banks Island area should become a "minor core region" due to the presence of materials and manufactured goods at Mercy Bay, Banks Island. Northwestern Hudson Bay should become a "core region" from approximately 1860, due to the increased interaction with the whaling industry.		
a. Trade goods exist in greater quantities in core regions.	+	+
b. Increased social complexity and change in groups within core regions is seen.	+	+

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

Table 3. Summary for Predictions for the Late Contact Periphery.

noted above, long-term intersocietal interaction was experienced by each Inuit group through contact with the wintering expeditions of Parry-Iglulik (1821-1823), Ross-Netsilik (1830-1831), and Collinson-Copper (1851-1853). These contact situations afforded the Inuit extensive psycho/social interaction which undoubtedly prompted the transference of ideas as well as trade items. These were seminal events in the culture history of these Inuit groups, a fact attested to by the strength of oral tradition over time and space (e.g., Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1929, 1931, 1932; Condon 1996). However, it was contact with the whaling industry in northwestern Hudson Bay that contributed in such a massive way to direct social interaction and the increase in breadth and depth at this time. Of salient importance in reference to world-system depth, was the breaking down of group boundaries through the growing movement of Inuit, primarily migrant Netsilik, from their own territories to the" core region" of northwestern Hudson Bay.

The presence of the whaling industry was the major determining factor in the increase of internal differentiation between those Inuit groups that interacted with the whalers and those that did not. Interaction in and around Pond Inlet and northwestern Hudson Bay from 1860 onwards brought about changes (some radical) in Inuit subsistence cycles and material culture. Here too, the transference of ideas would have been strongest.

Internal differentiation also increased among the Netsilik, of the Boothia Peninsula, King William Island/northern Adelaide Peninsula area from approximately 1833 until the later stages of this period, due to their post-abandonment utilization of large amounts of Ross and Franklin expedition

materials. These materials provided the Netsilik with conspicuous wealth and placed them in a key geographical position from which to enjoy trade paramountcy for many years. Changes in intra- and intergroup boundaries also occurred in this region.

The Kanghiryuatjagmiut and Kanghiryuarmiut seemed to have enjoyed the same position in the "minor core region" of western Victoria Island, due to the presence of tons of Royal Navy stores and materials which they "mined" at Mercy Bay, northern Banks Island from approximately 1853 to about 1890. These groups were also the recipients of a significant amount of exotic materials due to their interaction with H.M.S. *Enterprise* at Winter Cove in 1851-1852. Finally, evidence presented herein suggests that the Kogluktogmiut of the Coppermine River may have also enjoyed an enhanced intra- and intergroup trading position from approximately 1826 to 1850 due to the post-abandonment utilization of wood from several sizable expedition boats.

It should also be noted while discussing internal differentiation among these groups, that most European observers interacting with the Copper Inuit from 1821 to 1852 (e.g., Franklin 1823, 1828; Dease and Simpson 1839; Simpson 1843; Richardson 1851a, 1851b; M'Clure 1857; Armstrong 1857; Collinson 1889; Rae 1953; Miertsching 1967) commented on the dearth of manufactured European trade goods found in Inuit tool kits and possessions during initial contact situations. Alternatively, most of these individuals did remark on the abundance of native materials such as bone and copper (e.g., Franklin 1823:181; Simpson 1843:264; Richardson 1851a:353-354; M'Clure 1857:186; Armstrong 1857:339; Collinson 1889:206-207, 284; Rae 1953:197;

Miertsching 1967:114-117). These observations suggest that prior to contact with European expeditions - starting in 1821 and continuing to 1853 - the Copper Inuit received little, if any, manufactured trade goods from the Bering Straits route, or, from the Akilinik axis on the Thelon River. It was only after 1821 that Copper Inuit groups along the southern littoral of Coronation Gulf received trade goods and manufactured materials (other than small amounts of smelted metal from southern Greenland) through indirect and direct contact with the world-system. After 1821, Inuit groups on neighboring Victoria Island, may have received small amounts of expedition materials and goods through cross-Coronation Gulf intergroup trade during winter sealing. However, it is more probable, given the evidence presented in this study, that they acquired their first significant amounts of trade goods and manufactured materials *only* after direct contact and interaction with H.M.S. *Investigator* and H.M.S. *Enterprise* in the early 1850s. Agents of the world-system therefore, and not trade links to the mainland interior, seem to have been almost wholly responsible for the presence of trade goods and manufactured materials on Victoria Island from approximately 1821 to 1890 (c.f., Stefansson 1914:7).

Marginal Periphery

During this period (Table 4), increased world-system breadth is indicated by the profound growth in interaction between Iglulik and Netsilik groups and the whaling industry. At this time, Pond Inlet had evolved into a "minor core region" through regularized social interaction and material trade, while the process of incipient articulation, begun in northwestern Hudson Bay in 1860, continued unabated. Interaction between Copper Inuit and agents of the world-

Prediction	Archaeo-logical Data	Ethnographic, Ethnohistoric Data
10. Breadth should increase. Greater interaction with agents of the Euroamerican economy should occur.		+
11. Depth should increase. a. Population grows in "core region." b. Subsistence practices should show adaptations developed to obtain commodities for export to the Euroamerican economy.		+ +
12. Internal differentiation should continue to increase through expanding contact with agents of the world-economy. Northwestern Hudson Bay is seen as a "core region." The Pond Inlet area is seen as a "minor core region." a. Increased social complexity overall. Increasing mobility with some migration to "core region." b. Groups located in "core region" and "minor core region" should exhibit a greater degree of cultural complexity than other groups.		+ +

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

Table 4. Summary of Predictions for the Marginal Periphery.

system is negligible through the first twenty-five years of the Marginal Periphery. Thereafter, growing interaction with traders produced rapid articulation.

The continuing growth of a migrant labor population in the "core region" of northwestern Hudson Bay was indicative of increasing world-system depth. This labor force may have been composed of as much as forty-percent of the Netsilik, as well as significant numbers from Iglulik groups. The most telling factor in the increase of world-system depth was the gradual and inexorable shift among Inuit groups from an annual cycle governed solely by subsistence to one that exhibited adaptations through which Inuit increasingly participated in the exchange economy of the fur trade.

Internal differentiation increased significantly within the Marginal Periphery, again primarily through interaction with the whaling industry at Pond Inlet and northwestern Hudson Bay. In these locales, growing social complexity manifested itself in regular psycho/social interaction with agents of the world-system, changes in subsistence practices and group boundaries, and finally, participation in an exchange economy.

Conclusion

The indigenous societies of the central Canadian Arctic maintained tenuous though constant indirect contact with the world-system in the form of intra- and intergroup material trade systems from some time prior to the appearance of Thule societies at approximately 1000 A.D. to 1717 A.D. The first indication of the acceleration of the process of this articulation occurred within the Early Contact Periphery when the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Churchill in 1717. Fort Churchill was *the* central trade entrepot and conduit for the Netsilik and Iglulik. Thereafter, until approximately 1860, large amounts of manufactured items reached the central Canadian Arctic on a regular basis facilitated by intermediaries through a well established trading system. The Copper Inuit seem to have received little in the way of manufactured trade goods and materials until indirect and direct contact situations were initiated with European expeditions in 1821.

Both indirect and direct contact was greatly accelerated within the Late Contact Periphery. Direct contact between the whaling industry and the Iglulik at Pond Inlet gradually increased from approximately 1820 until it became a "minor core region" around 1880. At that point, the incipient dependency of the Iglulik was apparent. Direct contact between the Iglulik (and later, migrant Netsilik) and the whaling industry in northwestern Hudson Bay, a "core region," was constant and significant from 1860 to 1915. Embryonic dependency on the part of Inuit groups interacting with the whaling industry within this region was obvious by 1870, and imminent, once whalers initiated efforts to involve the Inuit in the exchange system of the fur trade around 1880.

The arrival of European and Euroamerican expeditions in the central Canadian Arctic prompted changes within some groups, most notably through the post-abandonment utilization of large amounts of expedition materials and manufactured objects. Social interaction occurred on a number of expeditions and while not as significant a factor in cultural change as the long-term direct contact that transpired with the whaling industry, it nevertheless introduced Inuit to new ideas as well as material goods. There can be little doubt that "ideas" moved through intergroup trading systems as quickly as trade items.

While the partial articulation of the Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit within the capitalist world-system was assured by 1880, and the Copper Inuit by 1910, these groups did "mediate" and "harness" systemic components to their advantage. Still, if the number of Inuit who interacted with agents of the capitalist world economy within the Late Contact Periphery and Marginal Periphery is any indication, the full articulation of the Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit was a foregone conclusion. As a hypothetical example, in 1885, one Netsilik family might have had a grandfather and grandmother who traded with the Ross expedition in 1830. Their son could have migrated across the Rae Isthmus in 1860 to interact with whalers. By 1885, that Inuk's offspring might have been carrying firearms and participating in the early stages of the fur trade. Within some Iglulik and Netsilik groups, there was a continuum of direct interaction with agents of the world-system that began as early as 1820-1830. By 1900, four to five generations of the Iglulik in and around Pond Inlet had been *regularly* interacting with Europeans and Euroamericans for eighty years or more. It only remained for enough firearms to appear, along with the concept

of an exchange system, in order to insure full articulation within the capitalist world economy. At that time, about 1920, the historic Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic were drawn into the Dependent Periphery of the world capitalist system through their participation in the fur trade.

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