

**A Cultural Geography
of Northern Foxe Basin,
N.W.T.**

By Keith J. Crowe

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BASIN, N.W.T.

by

KEITH J. CROWE

This report was originally submitted as a masters thesis in geography at the University of British Columbia, and is being reproduced in its present form as a contribution to our knowledge of the North. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to the Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

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Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION		ix
	Location of the Northern Foxe Basin Region	ix
	Previous Studies of the Region	ix
	Nature of Scope of the Study	xi
	Method and Chapter Outline	x
Chapter		
I	SETTLEMENT AND REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT	1
	Physiography	1
	Oceanography	2
	Ice Conditions	2
	Wildlife	5
	Concentricity of Settlement	8
	Boundaries of Settlement	9
	Summary	9
	Footnotes	12
II	SEQUENT OCCUPANCY FROM PREHISTORIC TIME TO EARLY CONTACT	13
	Time Before Man	13
	Pre-Dorset People	16
	Dorset People	18
	Thule (Eskimo) People	21
	Pre-contact Eskimos	22
	Summary	28
	Footnotes	31
III	CHANGES IN POPULATION AND LOCATION, 1823 – 1966	33
	Population Size	33
	Population Distribution	39
	Footnotes	43
IV	THE CAMP SYSTEM – ECONOMIC AND ECOLOGICAL DIVISION WITHIN THE REGION	45
	Ussuakjuk, a Case Study	51
	Footnotes	64
V	THE ATROPHY OF AN ECOLOGY	65
	Agents of Contact 1822–1960	65
	The Changing Resource Base	68
	Technological Change	71
	Subsistence to Subsidy	74

	Society and Settlement	78
	Religion	81
	Authority	83
	Summary	84
	Footnotes	86
VI	NEW COMMUNITIES, 1968	89
	Iglolik	89
	Hall Beach	91
	DEWline Sites	91
	Rental Housing Scheme of the Federal Government	93
	Transformation of the Settlement Pattern	95
	Agencies of Tutelage	97
	The Eskimo Position	106
	Footnotes	113
VII	SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS	115
	Footnotes	118
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	119
	APPENDIX Glossary of Eskimo Words	127

MAPS

1.	Location of Northern Foxe Basin Region	xii
2.	Northern Foxe Basin, Physical Features	3
3.	Game Distribution	7
4.	Maximum Post-Glacial Marine Submergence	14
5.	Jens Munk Archeological Site	17
6.	Pre-Dorset and Dorset Sites	20
7.	Thule and Pre-Parry Eskimo Sites	23
8.	Foxe Basin and Neighbouring Modern Centres	25
9.	Changes in Pattern of Settlement, 1921-1968	40
10.	Approximate Camp Areas, 1930-1966	46

11.	The Country of the Ussuakjuk People	52
12.	Wintering Sites of an Iglulingmiuk, 1935-1968	80
13.	Settlement by Religious Affiliation, 1965	82
14.	Sketch Map of Iglolik	90
15.	Sketch Map of Hall Beach	92

FIGURES

1.	Comparative Uplift of North-West and North-East Foxe Basin	15
2.	Melville-Borden Eskimos, Population Trends, 1822-1967	34
3.	Population Pyramid, Ussuakjuk, 1965	54
4.	Plan of Krisik's Karngmak	57
5.	Annual Cycle, Ussuakjuk Camp	60
6.	Approximate Atrophy and Adoption in Technology	70
7.	Items of Technology in use at Ussuakjuk, 1965	73
8.	Average Prices Paid to Iglulingmiut, Fur and Ivory, 1920-67	75
9.	Sources of Income, Eskimos of Northern Foxe Basin	76
10.	Community Organizations, Iglolik, 1967-1968	98

TABLES

1.	Game Species Killed by One Hunter, 1962-1966	77
2.	Family Movements, According to Locations, 1969-1965	79
3.	Houses Provided for Eskimos by Federal Government 1962-1967	94
4.	Comparative populations, Kadlunat and Eskimos, by Agencies and Centres, March 1968	109

PLATES

1. Escarpment, Jens Munk Island	4
2. The Offshore Lead, Parry Bay, in May	4
3. Male Walrus Killed on Loose Ice	11
4. Polar Bear Skins Drying, Igloolik	11
5. Thule Dancing-Ring, North Ooglit Island, 1965	27
6. Thule House Ruin, North Ooglit Island, 1965	27
7. Eskimo Women of Igloolik, drawn by G.F. Lyon, 1882	36
8. Interior of Kaernerk's Karngmak, 1963	38
9. Interior of Aivilingmiut Snowhouse, 1921	38
10. Skinning a Caribou, 1962	49
11. Hauling Walrus from Shore Lead	49
12. Spearing Fish at Weir, 1962	67
13. Javagiak at Hall Beach with Bladder-Darts, 1966	67
14. Merkoktuit and Serparpik at Pingerkalik, May 1926	85
15. Kadlutsiak with her Son Samuelli at Ussuakjuk, 1963	85
16. Delegates to the Housing Conference, Igloolik, 1967	96
17. One-bedroom House of Type Built 1965-1966	96
18. Three-bedroom Rental House	104
19. Panoramic View of Igloolik Looking Seaward, March 1968	111
20. Panoramic View of Hall Beach Looking Inland, April 1968	111

INTRODUCTION

Location of the Northern Foxe Basin Region

This study concerns the region situated between the 67th and 71st parallels of latitude north; the 74th and 89th meridians of longitude west. The main population centre, Igloolik, is about 1,750 miles north of Toronto, Ontario.

Map 1 shows the location of the region in relation to southern Ontario. Map 8 shows adjacent regions and centres of population, to which occasional reference is made in the text.

The boundaries of the northern Foxe Basin region coincide closely with those of the Igloolik Administrative Area, an administrative unit of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. This coincidence of regional boundaries facilitated the gathering of statistical data.

The region has two nodal communities, located approximately in the centre of the region. The two communities are Hall Beach, adjacent to a DEWline station and airport, and Igloolik, the administrative capital, 60 miles to the north.

Previous Studies of the Region

The physiography and biology of northern Foxe Basin have been well documented in articles, monographs and reports during the past thirty years. The eclectic accounts of Parry, 1821-23, and the multi-disciplinary reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, give detailed insight into the entire regional ecology during early contact.

Meldgaard's work in archeology between 1954 and 1965 has provided a history of prehistoric sequent occupancy. Damas' study of Eskimo kinship 1960-61, contains much data on the size and distribution of population in northern Foxe Basin.

An economic survey of the region by Anders, in 1965, completes the list of substantive works. All studies in physical and social science precede the sudden termination, in 1966, of the traditional settlement pattern.

Nature and Scope of the Study

Northern Foxe Basin is a shallow sea containing a large walrus herd and other sea mammals. For about 4,000 years its coasts were settled by people of successive hunting cultures. During the long history of sequent occupancy there has been a striking continuity in the cultural landscape, cultural history and cultural ecology of the region.

Despite accelerating social and economic change, the general isolation of the region permitted a pattern of dispersed hunting settlement to persist until 1966. In that year the provision of government housing in two nodal communities gave the *coup de grace* to the ancient settlement pattern.

This study attempts to build upon existing knowledge of northern Foxe Basin, examining the symbiosis of people and land throughout known history, with locations as the dependent variable. Two principal problems provided the themes of the thesis. The first is continuity in size and shape of settlement during changes in the physical and cultural environment. The second is the effects of complete social and spatial change since 1966.

The region has marked characteristics and long history. It is an excellent theatre for the study of interaction between people, their culture and their regional resources. Although it is important that the region be studied as a contribution to knowledge, there is a need for the application of social science to regional problems.

There are almost a thousand Eskimo inhabitants of northern Foxe Basin. They have lived collectively through radical change in their society and ecology. It is hoped that this thesis will facilitate understanding of the Iglulingmiut and their land. Only through deep understanding of their past can rational guidance be given for their future.

Method and Chapter Outline

The study is based on field work done by the writer while engaged in an "Area Economic Survey" for the Industrial Division, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, during the summer of 1965. A subsequent field trip was made to northern Foxe Basin in July 1966.

Other data has been gathered by research in the libraries of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa. Sustained correspondence has been maintained with residents of the region since completion of the field work. The writer has also drawn upon data and experience gathered during four years of residence and six years of travel in the Arctic.

Most of the field enquiry was conducted in the Eskimo language, and a brief glossary of Eskimo terms is included as an appendix to the thesis. The orthography used is not an attempt to improve on any existing system, but seeks to represent Eskimo sounds as accurately as possible to readers whose first language is English.

The contents of the thesis by chapters are as follows:

Chapter I – The core, periphery and limits of the region are identified in terms of potential for settlement by hunters. The criteria are drawn from the symbiotic relationship of climate, landforms, marine conditions, wildlife and human technology.

Chapter II – Archeological and glaciological findings are used and compared in tracing the post-glacial emergence of the region. The characteristics of settlement are examined during sequent occupancy through prehistoric time and first contact.

Chapter III – Major patterns of growth and distribution of the Eskimo population are analysed for the period of gradual contact and the increased contact of recent decades. Fluctuations in size and distribution of population are related to intrusion by non-Eskimo influences into the regional ecology.

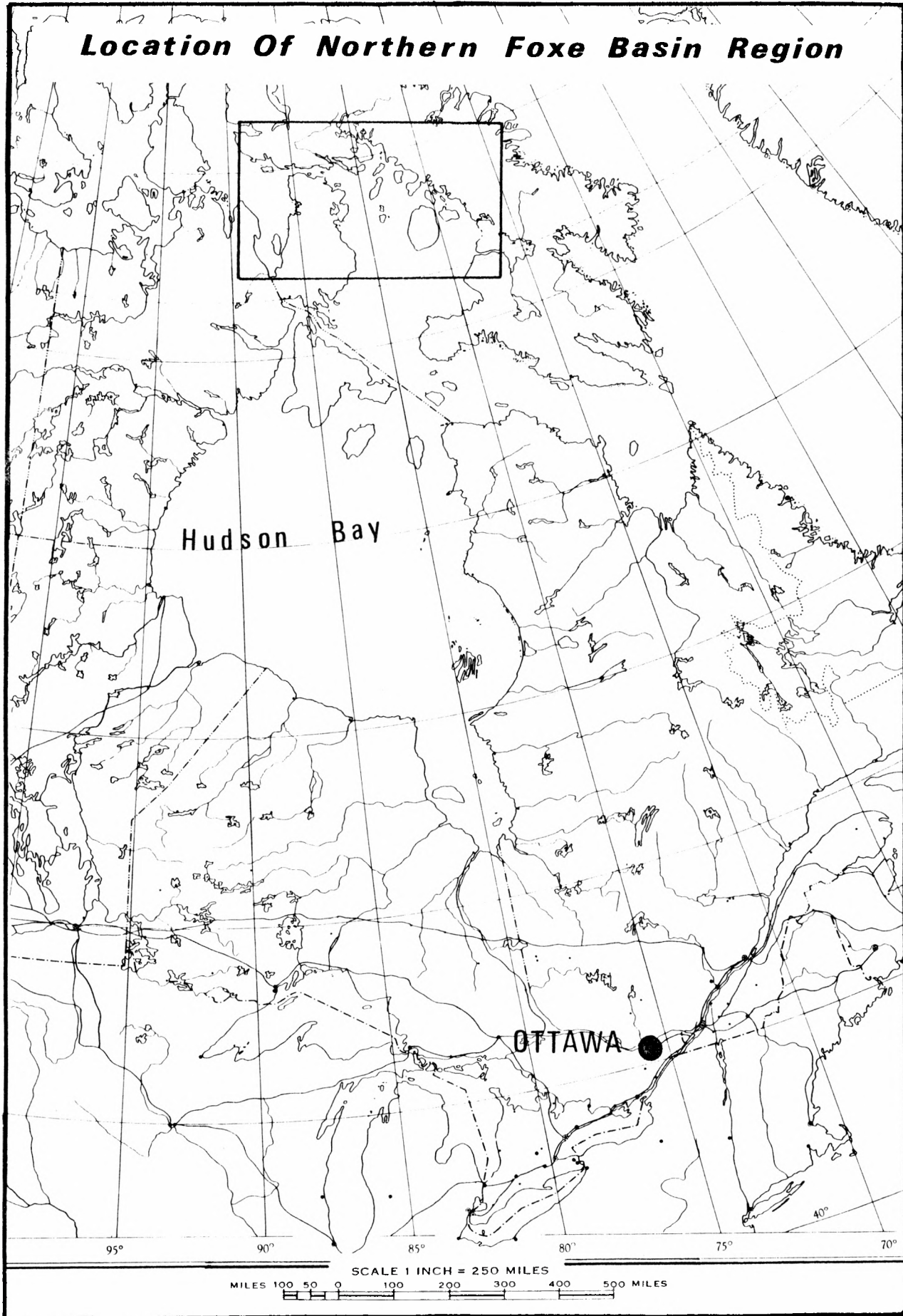
Chapter IV – The eastern Arctic camp system of settlement by social and economic units is examined in the context of northern Foxe Basin. The annual cycle of one typical camp group is described in detail, as a record, and to provide a basis for understanding of succeeding chapters.

Chapter V – The workings of the process of change are traced through the spheres of technology, resource use, economy and social organization, using the yardstick of the settlement pattern. Accumulative change is shown to have led up to the centripetal movement of 1966.

Chapter VI – Igloolik and Hall Beach are studied as service centres whose roles changed from regional service to a dispersed population, to tutelage centres for a nodal population. The adaptation of Eskimo hunting society is discussed in the context of a subsidized regional economy.

Chapter VII – The theme of long continuity broken by sudden change is summarized, and recommendations are made for a use of human and other regional resources that will benefit the Eskimo population.

Location Of Northern Foxe Basin Region



CHAPTER I

SETTLEMENT AND THE REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT

In the Arctic there are none of the conditions which have made for protracted settlement elsewhere in the world – no cases, no intersection of important trade routes, no fertile deltas. The hunters of what is now the Canadian Arctic, like hunting peoples everywhere, made little demand upon the stone, earth and vegetation of their land. They scattered for the most part, moving with the seasons and the game they hunted. The story of their occupation of various regions is written sparingly in little piles of weathered stone and in buried artifacts.

The northern Foxe Basin region contains evidence of continued human occupancy over some forty centuries.¹ People of several neo-Eskimo and Eskimo cultures have succeeded each other at favourite sites along an arc of the Foxe Basin coast. Few, if any Arctic regions have such an ancient and definite pattern of human settlement. This chapter shows the principal physical and biotic conditions which permitted and shaped man's occupancy.

Physiography

Some thirty physiographic divisions have been identified within the region, but these have little significance for discussion of the regional ecology.² The divisions do however, indicate the physiographic variety of the region, from the pond-strewn coastal lowlands to the lofty fiords of the northeast and the bouldered uplands of Melville Peninsula.

The islands of Foxe Basin – more than one hundred – are almost all in the northern half of the basin. Most of them average less than a hundred feet in elevation, and are gravelly, with sparse vegetation. The more central islands are difficult to reach by sea because of heavy floating ice at all seasons. The largest of them, Prince Charles Island, is about 6,000 square miles in area, but it is so flat and low that it was unknown to cartographers until 1948.³ Only a few Eskimos are known to have visited the island,⁴ and probably most of it did not emerge from the sea until the end of the Dorset period.⁵

The land mass of the region is an approximate horseshoe some 700 miles in length, comprised of Melville Peninsula and the western slope of Baffin Island. The horseshoe begins at the Barrow River in the south west, and ends in the vicinity of Wordie Bay in the south-east. About two-thirds of the region is glaciated plateau and upland, between 500 and 1,500 feet above sea-level. The curve of this upland around the shallow water of Foxe Basin is the essence of the regional character. From a crescent of coastal settlements, hunters of successive cultures worked the resources of sea, land and river.

Oceanography

The maximum depth of water recorded in northern Foxe Basin is about 550 feet, at the mouth of Gifford Fiord. Excluding this extreme, the average depth is less than 150 feet, decreasing annually due to continuing isostatic uplift.⁶ The shallow marine water is ideal for molluscs, and for the walrus and bearded seal that feed upon them. The attractiveness of the Foxe Basin waters to these two marine mammals has been a prime factor in determining the pattern of human settlement.

There are two important sea-currents, one flowing eastward through Fury and Hecla Strait into Foxe Basin. It moves south close to the east coast of Melville Peninsula at about four knots. A counter-clockwise current circles in northern Foxe Basin, and together with wind and tide, it moves pack-ice at all seasons among the islands. Where the western arc of the current joins the one from Fury and Hecla Strait, an open lead is maintained throughout the year close to shore, and about one hundred miles long. This lead, giving access to walrus and seal for shore based hunters, is the true focus of settlement within the region.

Ice Conditions

During the summer months loose ice moves eastward through Fury and Hecla Strait into Foxe Basin, where much of it stays. It is perhaps an equal asset and liability to hunters and marine mammals. Foxes and people are said to have used wind-bown ice to reach the islands.⁷ Bearded seals and walrus use ice pans on which to rest, and the heavy ice cover of the Basin, averaging between 20 per cent and 70 per cent according to the mildness of the summer⁸ has protected the walrus herd from over-exploitation.

Heavy masses of ice are carried against the land near Cape Penrhyn by the south-setting current, breaking off the landfast ice and making hunting or travelling difficult. Other aggregations of rough ice may run aground and freeze in the bays, spoiling the environment for both seals and men. The shoreward movement of ice masses in the Cape Penrhyn area has helped to discourage settlement and to make the area a regional margin.

An increase in year-round ice cover during the cold cycle of the eighteenth century may have reduced the number of whales frequenting northern Foxe Basin, and thus have brought about the decline of the whale-based Thule culture.⁹ In this century the pack-ice of the region has impeded navigation, and supply ships were unable to reach the Igloolik Hudson's Bay post from 1941 to 1946. The post had to be closed, and this had a marked effect on the settlement pattern of the region.

The landfast ice, at its May maximum, extends from the coast almost everywhere seaward up to ten miles. For seven months of the year it offers the easiest and fastest sled routes between settlements around the coastal crescent. All winter long, walrus and seal can be hunted at the edge of the fast ice and, in spring, seals are taken at breathing or basking holes closer to land. Until the 1940's, the Eskimos of northern Foxe Basin built villages of snow houses on the fast ice, near to the edge of the ice — often called the "floe edge" hunting ground.

NORTHERN FOXE BASIN PHYSICAL FEATURES

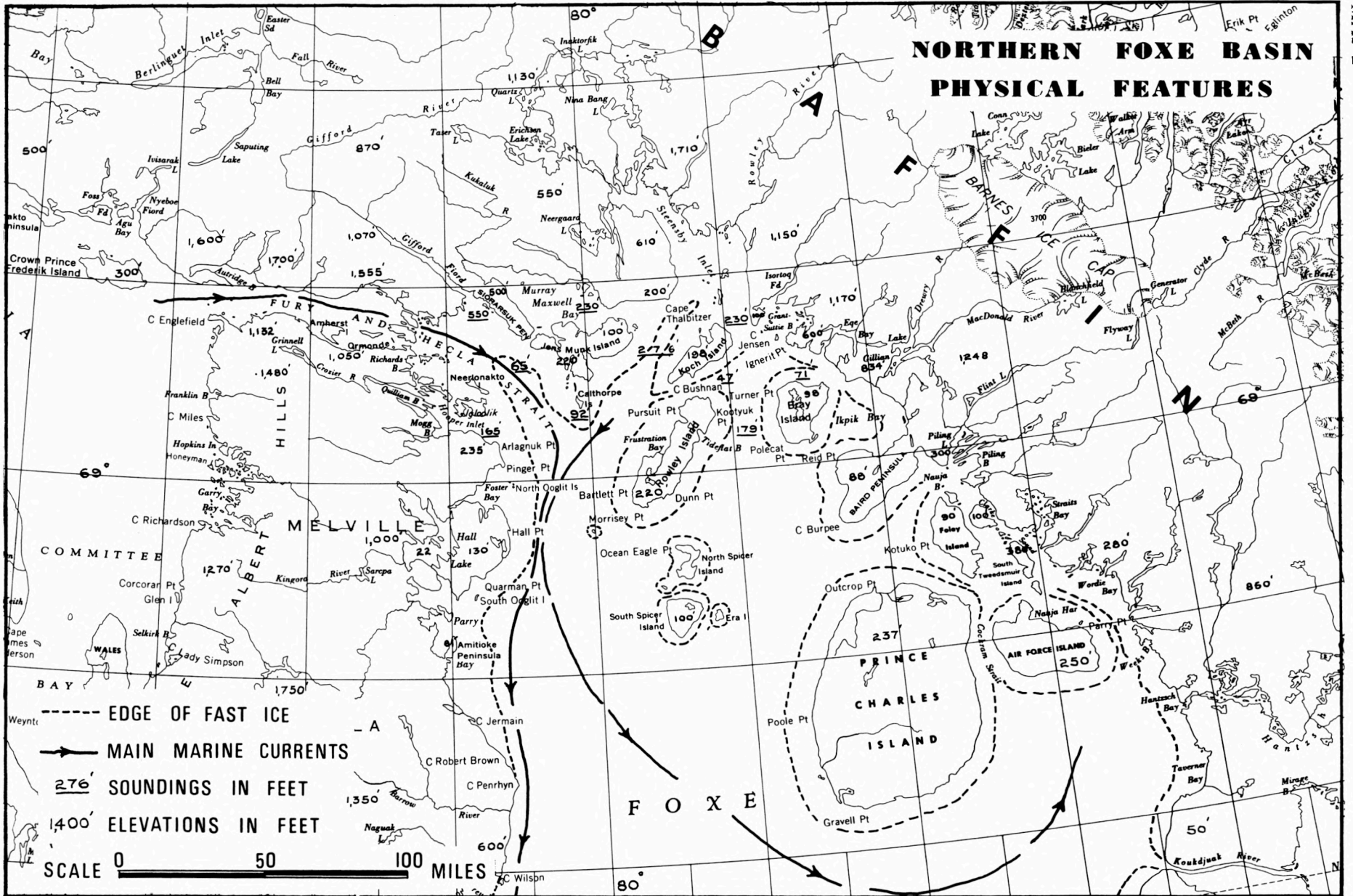




PLATE 1 – Escarpment, Jens Munk Island (photo, G. Anders) 1965



PLATE 2 – The offshore lead in May, Parry Bay, (photo T. Fujiki) Asahi Shimbun 1963

Wildlife

In terms of availability of game, and variety of species, the region has been excellent for hunters of several cultures, judging from the evidence of ancient middens and more recent records. The number of Greenland whale skulls around Thule sites indicate that these whales were common to the region. A probable change in ice conditions and subsequent depredation by commercial whalers in southern Foxe Basin have made Greenland whales rare, but all other main species have survived in northern Foxe Basin.

Walrus were probably important even to the Thule whale hunters, and have been a constant in determining settlement by people of all cultures. Although walrus were dangerous prey, they were relatively easy to stalk, and when taken they offered large quantities of meat, fat for lamps, ivory for tools and skins for roofing or dog-food. Increased boat-traffic and hunting pressure have driven the walrus from Richards Bay and other former haunts, eastward to the less accessible islands. The existing herd is estimated at from four to five thousand.¹⁰

Landfast ice is most important to the ringed seal population. In sheltered bays, and in areas of low tidal range, the landfast ice is of even thickness and long duration. Here the female seals can make birth lairs, where the young seals can grow under optimum conditions. The Baffin Island coast of northern Foxe Basin has many bays, and in the west, at least, the daily tidal range is four feet. If McLaren's summer and winter availability indices are combined, the northern Foxe Basin environment for ringed seal ranks second among regions of the eastern Arctic.¹¹

Although ringed seal prefer to avoid contact with walrus, and stay closer to the fast ice, they are an important resource in the core area. Their numbers beyond this area have permitted settlement away from the core, as at Agu Bay where there are no walrus. Ringed seal are ubiquitous in the region, but are now most numerous in the under-exploited area of Fury and Hecla Strait, where groups of up to eight surround the many breathing holes in spring.

The practice of sealing at "blow-holes", where fast tidal currents keep open water all winter, has affected the settlement pattern. Such holes permitted settlement away from the main floe edge, though starvation might result if the holes were to freeze over during a severe winter. They exist at the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait, the western entrance to Murray Maxwell Bay, and in the peripheral locations of Berlinguet Inlet and Clarke Sound

Caribou still range over most of the region away from the administrative centres. Until this century they were speared as they swam to Jens Munk Island from Siorarsuk Peninsula,¹² and the *talun* stone hunting blinds may still be seen at the base of Amitioke Peninsula, or the head of Steensby Inlet. Caribou are said to have abandoned Rowley Island after a winter of heavy, crusted snow early in the 19th century, and never returned.¹³

The meat of the caribou is preferred by most Eskimos to any other kind, and in a region where the annual mean wind chill is approximately that of Saskatoon in

January, caribou skin clothing was necessary to the survival of hunting people.¹⁴ Because of the mobility of caribou, and (until recently) their wide distribution, this resource did not “pull” settlement away from the coastal core. The one possible exception is the Piling Bay Area, inhabited during at least two centuries by groups who relied heavily on caribou meat, and whose fortunes varied drastically with the movements of the herds.

The bearded seal or *ukjuk* thrives in shallow, mollusc-bearing water and amid floating ice – conditions which exist in northern Foxe Basin, particularly in the core area. Bearded seal are important out of proportion to their numbers as a source of extremely strong skin line, boot-leather, meat and fat. During 1965 about 150 bearded seal were shot in the region,¹⁵ and they have been yet another important element in the total game resource that supported human settlement. Parry noted that during the dark winter months bearded seal, hunted at breathing holes or the floe edge, were the principal source of meat for the Eskimos of Igloolik.¹⁶

There are lake trout in several lakes within the region, and tom cod are jigged by children in spring through the sea ice. Neither of these species, however, has any real place in the hunting ecology compared to Arctic char. Char are distributed throughout the region, with some noteworthy exceptions. The Barrow River, for instance, is barred to migrating char by a 90 foot fall near the sea, and this increases the marginal character of that area for settlement. Because of the general availability of char, the spring and summer fishing did not disrupt the settlement pattern, though in certain marginal areas fishing was done to create winter stocks. At the Mogg Bay, Saputing and other fish weirs, a thousand fish might be speared in one day and cached for human or dog-food.¹⁷

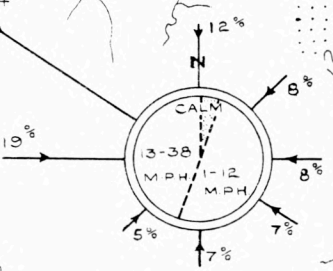
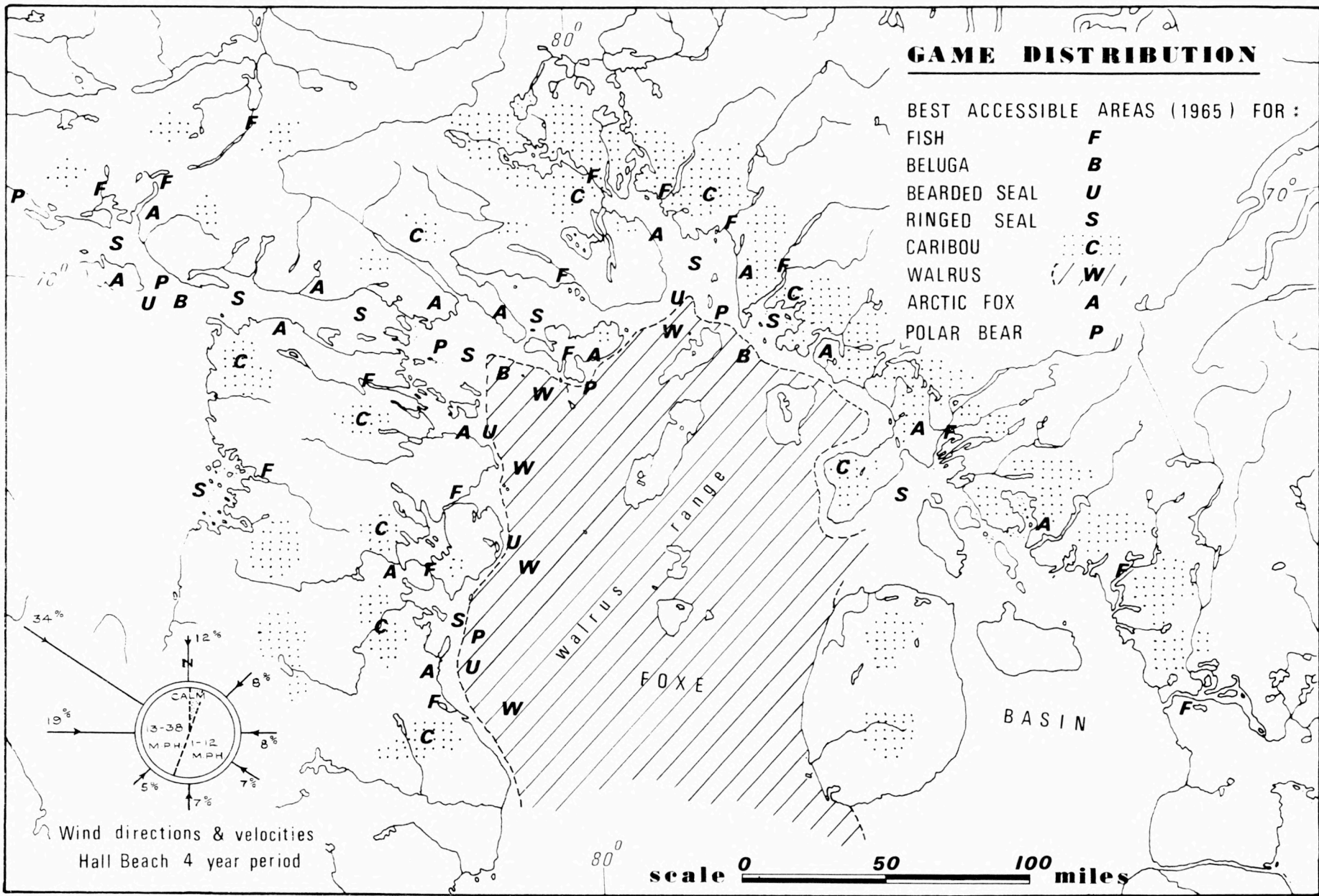
Needles of fox-bone have been found in the houses of the earliest inhabitants of the region, and the skins were used for clothing prior to the era of commercial trapping. Because of the even distribution of foxes within the region, and the adherence of the Iglulingmiut Eskimos to hunting rather than trapping, fox-trapping brought no appreciable change in the land-use and settlement pattern.

Polar bears are still ubiquitous along the coast of the region, though rarely seen near the two main centres, Hall Beach and Igloolik. Because of their relatively small numbers and their mobility, they were not generally a factor in the location of settlement, but have always been important as prestige game, and as a source of meat, clothing or bedding. The Agu Bay hunters, being on the verge of country with a large polar bear population, traded an average of fifteen skins a year during the mid-1960's. This was about half the regional total, and at a time when sealskin prices were low, it made polar bear an important factor in the survival of the Agu settlement.¹⁸

Although ptarmigan and sea birds provided a welcome change of diet, and formerly skins for clothing, they are ubiquitous within the region and were not a locational factor during the trapping era, with one possible exception. The area at the mouth of Gifford Fiord was settled after 1930 by a small group of indifferent hunters, and being rather far away from the best walrus hunting this group made exceptionally heavy use of sea birds in their diet.¹⁹

GAME DISTRIBUTION

- BEST ACCESSIBLE AREAS (1965) FOR :
- FISH **F**
 - BELUGA **B**
 - BEARDED SEAL **U**
 - RINGED SEAL **S**
 - CARIBOU **C**
 - WALRUS **W**
 - ARCTIC FOX **A**
 - POLAR BEAR **P**



Wind directions & velocities
Hall Beach 4 year period

scale 0 50 100 miles

Hares, weasels, wolverines, wolves and the ground squirrels of Melville Peninsula all added variety to diet or clothing, but they were minor species in relation to long-term survival and to location of settlement.

Concentricity of Settlement

The area from Siorarsuk Peninsula in the north (see Map 2) to Cape Jermain in the south has an accumulation of characteristics favourable to settlement by human hunters. The prevailing westerly wind and the south-setting sea current maintain a long open lead close to the land, attractive to walrus, bearded seal and ringed seal. Sea birds arrive early at the lead, and in summer they are plentiful on the ponds of the coastal lowland. Caribou were formerly taken all along the coast and can still be hunted a day or two's journey inland.

The gently sloping beaches of limestone shingle are ideal for hauling out boats, for pitching tents or digging storage pits. The beaches rise high enough from the sea on eastern Melville Peninsula to give a leeward location for houses or tents. The low tidal range and offshore wind usually gives smooth fast ice, and with the low relief, there is little deposit of deep, soft snow by eddying winds.

Moving out from the "core area", the area of next importance for settlement has been the north-eastern part of Foxe Basin, around the mouth of Steensby Inlet. Here the ice conditions are less favourable for sea travel and walrus hunting, but seal and walrus can be taken, and caribou can still be hunted at the coast. The head of Steensby Inlet was a favourite area for summer fishing and caribou hunting, and a winter sled route passed through, linking the Eclipse Sound and Foxe Basin regions.

Fury and Hecla Strait, with its winter "blow-holes" and excellent spring sealing, has several settlement sites. Lt. Reid of Parry's party saw two old houses in Whyte Inlet in 1823,²⁰ and during this century Eskimo families have wintered in various parts of the strait. Parry noted however that the strait was rarely inhabited in summer, and this has been true or more recent settlement. The area on the whole has been an important seasonal adjunct to the Igloodik "core", rather than a viable all-year area.

The Piling Bay area supported a large peripheral settlement during Parry's visit, and has been occupied intermittently since. Because sea-mammal hunting is often hampered by adverse ice, wind and tide conditions, settlement at Piling was always based on fish and caribou to a degree higher than elsewhere in the region. Fluctuations in the availability of caribou, coupled with poor sealing conditions, have brought frequent starvation to the Piling communities.

The Agu Bay area is outside the crescent of settlement in northern Foxe Basin, but during the period of known human occupation it has been economically and ethnographically a part of the region. Because of good sealing and an adequate balance of other resources, this area can be classed in the "second degree" of importance for settlement, despite the lack of walrus.

Two other small settlement sites have been occupied, at least during recorded time, but both are at a stage still further removed in permanence and isolation from the

core area. Garry Bay, with its islands and indentations, offers an area of sheltered fast ice in the otherwise bleak west coast of Melville Peninsula. The ice and summer water of Garry Bay are protected from the constant pack ice of Committee Bay, and from the onshore winds. Fishing is good in the rivers that drain to the bay, and caribou are plentiful inland. Summer camps and occasional year-round settlements have been made in various locations within the Bay.

The second “third degree” location is on the very margin of the region, on the kayak or sled route which follows a series of long narrow lakes from Agu Bay to the head of Admiralty Inlet. Tremblay found a small group of Eskimos who had wintered here, relying heavily on fish, some caribou and occasional seal from the blow-hole in Eclipse Sound.²¹

The Boundaries of Settlement

On Melville Peninsula the rugged Barrow Peninsula with its deeply-incised Barrow River and its ice-battered coast, forms the southern boundary of settlement in the region. Traffic between the region and Repulse Bay moved by sled or boat along the coast, or inland by sled between Parry Bay and Lyon Inlet.

The extreme westerly boundary of the region is the flat Berlinguet Plain, beyond Agu Bay. The plain is dotted with many shallow ponds among moraine ridges, and there are few caribou. The coast is exposed to the prevailing wind, with few indentations to permit development of fast ice.

The hills of Baffin Island, traversed only by occasional caribou hunters, form the northern and eastern boundary of the region. Sled routes pass through the hills along the Gifford River, the head of Steensby Inlet, and Rowley River.

South of Piling Bay the conditions for sea-mammal hunting become very poor, with miles of offshore shallows and a tidal range of over 25 feet.²² The plain inland is flat and swampy in summer, bleak and exposed in winter. Wordie Bay constitutes the limit even of seasonal settlement, but there are old routes by sea and land from there to Netsilling Lake, and thence to Cumberland Sound.

Summary

The shallow water and prevailing currents in northern Foxe Basin have made a very favourable environment for bearded seal, walrus and, formerly, the Greenland whale. Conditions for ringed seal, caribou and other game have also been good, and the combination of positive location factors has permitted sustained, relatively dense human settlement by hunters in a “core area” from the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait to Parry Bay.

Away from the core area the variety of game species decreases, and general hunting conditions are less favourable. A second degree of settlement with smaller numbers and with local specialization is discernible in such areas as Agu Bay, Steensby Inlet and Piling Bay.

Certain isolated areas offer enough advantages in terms of game available and favourable ice conditions to permit a third degree of small and sporadic settlement, as at Garry Bay.

Permanent settlement by peoples of prehistoric cultures and by modern hunters alike does not appear to have been possible away from the coast, and the inland hills have constituted a boundary due to lack of resources, rather than as a physiographic obstacle. The real barrier to expansion of settlement within the region has been the variety of adverse ice conditions found in eastern Foxe Basin; around Cape Penrhyn on eastern Melville Peninsula, along the west coast of the Peninsula and the east coast of the Gulf of Boothia.



PLATE 3 – G. Anders & J. Angutootuk with
Mole wolverus killed on loose ice.
(photo, K. Crowe) 1965



PLATE 4 – Polar Bear skins drying, Igloolik.
(photo, K. Crowe) 1966

Footnotes

¹J. Meldgaard, "Prehistoric Culture Sequence", *Selected papers of the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Philadelphia, 1956.

²J. Brian Bird, M. Marsden et al, McGill University, Montreal, Collated reports for the *Band Corporation*, numbers RM 2837 – PR and RM 2706-1-PR, January 1963

³J.K. Fraser, "Discovery of Two Islands in Eastern Foxe Basin *Arctic Circular*, 1-3, 1948 50, p. 73.

⁴Mr. Jack Uyara of Igloolik told the writer that a hunter was blown to Prince Charles Island on Floating ice, and Mr. Noah Piugatuk relates that his grandfather hunted caribou there.

⁵With an average isostatic uplift of about 3 feet per century (elaborated in Chapter 3), and a mean height of less than 50 feet above sea level, the greater part of the island probably emerged after 200 A.D.

⁶E.M. Grainger and J.G. Hunter, Station List 1955 – 1958, *Calamus Series* No. 20, Montreal, Fisheries Research Board of Canada, 1963.

⁷Peter Freuchen, "Mammals", *Report of the 5th Thule Expedition*, 1921-24, Copenhagen, Vol. 2 Nos. 5 and 6, 1935, p. 61; G.M. Rousseliero, *Eskimo*, December 1955, Vol. 38, p. 18.

⁸Canadian Hydrographic Service, *Pilot of Arctic Canada*, 1959, Queen's Printer, Figures 7 and 8; also Department of Transport Meteorological Branch Aerial Ice Observation Booklet C-1-R 4080, *ICE – 15*, July 28, 1964.

⁹For specific reference to the "Little Ice Age", see W.E. Taylor Jr., "An Archeological Perspective on Eskimo Economy", *Antiquity*, Vol. 15, 1966, p 117.

¹⁰A.W. Mansfield, "The Walrus in Canada's Arctic", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 72, March 1966, p. 90.

¹¹I.A. McLaren, "The Economics of Seals in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, Montreal, Fisheries Research Board of Canada, Arctic Unit Circular No. 1, November 1958, p. 32 and 33.

¹²T. Mathiassen, *Report on the Expedition*, Report of the 5th Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Copenhagen, Vol. No. 1, 1927, p. 55.

¹³Fraser, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁴M.K. Thomas, and D.W. Boyd, "Wind Chill in Northern Canada" *The Canadian Geographer*, No. 10, 1957, p. 35.

¹⁵G. Anders, *Northern Foxe Basin, An Area Economic Survey*, Ottawa, Industrial Division, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1965, p. 40.

¹⁶W.E. Parry, *Journal of Second Voyage for Discovery of a North-West Passage*, London, Murray, 1824, Appendix, p. 337.

¹⁷P. Schulte, *The Flying Priest Over the Arctic*, New York, Harper, 1940, p. 261.

¹⁸W. Donahue, R.C.M.P. Game Reports, Igloolik, 1965 to 1968.

¹⁹The tendency of this group, well-known in the region, was noted by W.G. Ross in "The Igloolik Eskimo", *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, No. 76, 1960, p. 161.

²⁰Parry, op. cit., p. 381.

²¹A Tremblay, *Cruise of the Minnie Maud*, Quebec 1921, p. 95.

²²N.J. Campbell & A.E. Collins, "Recent Oceanographic Activities of the Atlantic Oceanographic Group in the Eastern Arctic", *Progress Report* No. 69 of the Atlantic Coastal Station, Ottawa, Fisheries Research Board of Canada, May 1958, p. 33.

CHAPTER II

SEQUENT OCCUPANCY FROM PREHISTORIC TIME TO EARLY CONTACT

The known history of human occupancy in northern Foxe Basin goes back about four thousand years. Up to the time when Europeans first arrived, the region had supported three distinct cultures and a fourth was developing.

Melville Peninsula was in all likelihood a main route for migrations that peopled northern Baffin Island, Ellesmere Island and Greenland. The major movements, emanating from the southwest, brought new cultures to northern Foxe Basin, but each culture group adhered quite closely to a pattern of settlement having its focus around the north-west coast and the walrus herd.

The known evidence of artifacts, bones and dwellings, like the accuracy of folklore, decreases as we go back in time. The earliest inhabitants of the region may have been as advanced, as numerous and as widespread as the Eskimos met by Parry but we have insufficient data to prove this. The existing evidence indicates a slight spread of settlement away from the core with each succeeding culture, and a general progression in material culture.

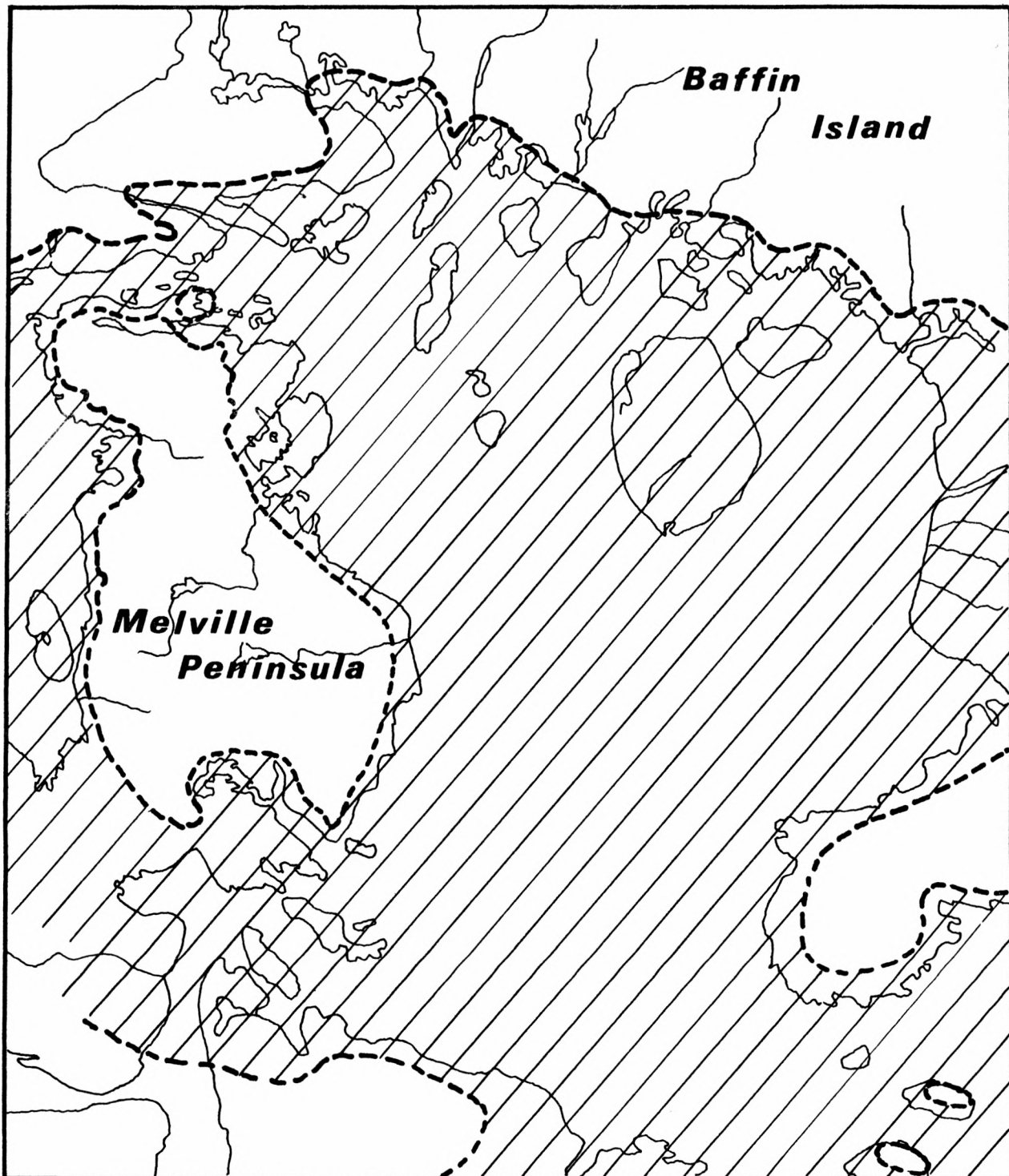
Whether or not such expansion and evolution took place, the outstanding feature of early human settlement in northern Foxe Basin appears to be continuity in numbers, distribution, and in broad terms, of culture. This chapter will attempt to show how human occupancy, based on relatively constant resources, progressed over changes in time, climate and to a lesser extent, land forms.

The Time Before Man

The end moraine systems of Baffin Island and Melville Peninsula demarcate the ice sheet of the late Wisconsin Period which, in its Cockburn Phase some 9,000 to 10,000 years ago, centred over Foxe Basin.¹ Gradually the centre of ice dispersal moved east to Baffin Island and, some 8,000 years ago, the sea inundated the Basin to a depth, in the north-west, of about 500 feet.²

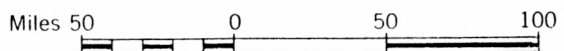
The waning ice persisted longer on Baffin Island and projected into the waters of Foxe Basin on the eastern side. It then retreated to the heads of the fiords and bays of the Baffin Island coast.³ It is probable that final deglaciation of the eastern littoral took place about 5,000 to 6,000 years ago. Ice lobes resisted in the encroachment of the sea, so that maximum marine submergence was approximately 350 feet, considerably less than on Melville Peninsula.⁴

J.D. Ives has used the radiocarbon dates of five marine mollusc samples to draw a preliminary curve of post-glacial land uplift in north-east Foxe Basin, beginning $6,725 \pm 250$ years before the present. The mollusc dates indicate rapid uplift of about 25 feet



MAXIMUM POST-GLACIAL MARINE
SUBMERGENCE, FOXE BASIN N.W.T.

after Ives & Andrews 1963, Sim 1960.



**COMPARATIVE UPLIFT OF
NORTHWEST (dotted) &
NORTHEAST FOXE BASIN**

FEET
ABOVE
PRESENT
HIGH
TIDE
LEVEL

from radio-carbon dates,
Meldgaard & Ives

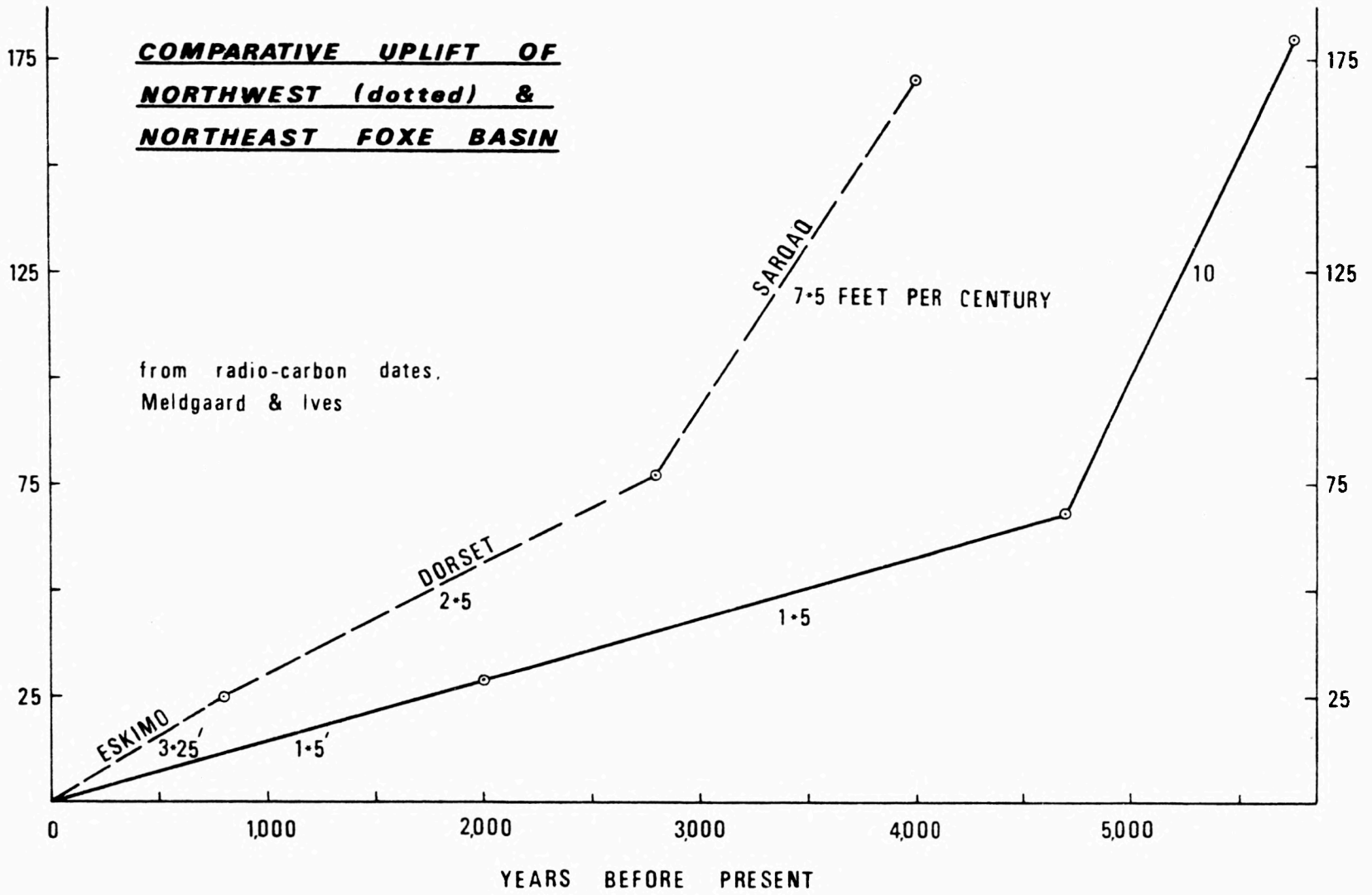


FIGURE 1

per century, slowing to a rate of approximately 1.5 feet per century over the past 4,000 years, but still continuing.⁵

A similar pattern of emergence is shown for northwest Foxe Basin by Meldgaard, who has examined radio-carbon dates for artifacts left by three successive cultures.⁶ Meldgaard's figures show a total uplift for the pre-Dorset period of some 7.5 feet per century, slowing during the Dorset culture to some 2.5 feet per century, and accelerating slightly in the Thule-modern period to a rate of about 3.25 feet. The graph (Fig. 1) shows an apparent anomaly, as the area first deglaciated, the north-western Foxe Basin, is shown to have emerged almost 2,000 years later than the north east.

Much more definite field evidence is needed, as Ives has stressed,⁷ before the postglacial prehistory of the region is known with any degree of certainty. With the present evidence, however, of perched boulders; undisturbed ground-marine; strand lines; molluscs; bones and artifacts, a comprehensive picture can be made of man occupying an emerging land.

Today the houses of the prehistoric inhabitants have risen well above and away from the sea they once bordered. The Eskimos name for Hall Lake, as Mathiessen pointed out in 1922, is *Tasiuyak*, meaning "looks like a lake", a common name for marine inlets with narrow entrances.⁸ The river flowing from the lake is called *Ikerasak*, meaning a tidal strait. Eskimo tradition asserts that a kayak could at one time be paddled into Hall Lake through the strait.

Henry Collins, writing in 1956, expressed his belief that new discoveries in the study of marine submergence would resolve an apparent conflict with archeological theory concerning the Hudson Bay littoral, and would substantiate an earlier date for the arrival of pre-Dorset man.⁹ If we include the Foxe Basin within the Hudson Bay littoral, then the correlation of evidence from glaciology and archeology has proven Collins to be right. The distinctive raised beaches of northern Foxe Basin are in effect chronological steps, yielding evidence that early man, preceded by animal life, followed the retreat of the glaciers and took up residence around a new sea.

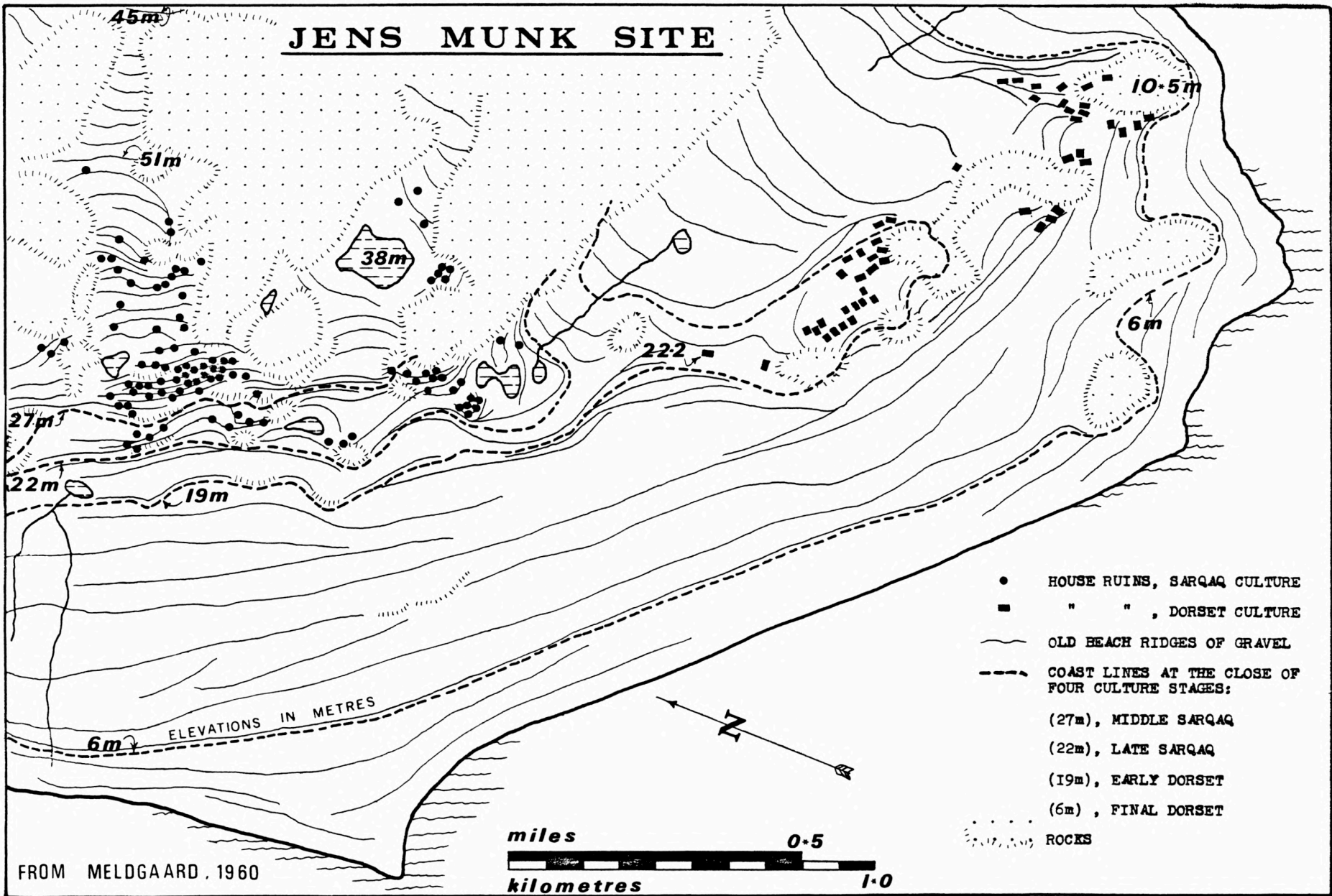
The Pre-Dorset People

Our knowledge of the earliest human inhabitants of the region derives almost entirely from the work of Jorgen Meldgaard. He has called the pre-Dorset culture of northern Foxe Basin the Sarqaq culture, after similar discoveries in western Greenland.¹⁰

The remnants of Sarqaq material culture indicate origins in the west and affinities with the older Alaskan and Siberian mesolithic cultures.¹¹ Radio-carbon dating of bones and artifacts shows that they probably arrived in the region about 2,000 B.C., to build three, perhaps four, settlements on tiny emerging islands or on points of land.

From their earliest houses the Sarqaq hunters probably looked out over waters about 150 feet deeper than they are today. As the land rose, succeeding generations built houses at lower elevations, close to the sea. (Map 5) Although no evidence of Sarqaq boats or sleds has been found, the obvious preference of these hunters for a waterside location makes it likely that ice and water transport were both used.

JENS MUNK SITE



MAP 5

FROM MELDGAARD, 1960

Flint, soapstone and iron pyrites are all to be found in northern Foxe Basin, and were used by the Sarqaq people. Flint was used for shaping bone tools, and for weapon points. Pyrites were probably used, as in later cultures, for making fire for the round, oil-burning lamps of soapstone. The Sarqaq houses had central fireplaces of flat stone, perhaps an indication of relatively mild conditions which permitted the use of turf or brush as fuel.

The middens of Sarqaq settlements contain bones of animals common to the region now. With bows and arrows, with harpoons very much like contemporary ones, and with the probable help of dogs, the Sarqaq hunters killed caribou, seal, fox and walrus.¹² Meldgaard believes that walrus were important in the Sarqaq economy,¹³ and the three proven sites are grouped around what even today, is the best area for walrus hunting.

The largest known settlement of Sarqaq time is on Jens Munk Island, where 108 houses are grouped within a radius of one half mile. (see Map 5) All the houses are on the westward slope of a point, looking seaward, and the number of contiguous houses at lower levels indicates a large community in terms of an Arctic hunting ecology. Such a concentration of population was probably made possible by plentiful game resources, and perhaps by co-operative social organization.

The two other proven settlements on Igloodik Island and South Calthorpe Island are smaller, and do not cover a full time-span of the culture as the Jens Munk site does. Without more exhaustive research and radio-carbon dating it is impossible to say which houses were occupied contemporaneously at each level, and for how long each house was occupied before it became too noisome and too far from the sea.

The size of houses, the general pattern of settlement and the technology of the Sarqaq do not appear to differ greatly from those of succeeding cultures right up to the present century. If a technology and resource base general to the history of the region are assumed, and the possible number of Sarqaq houses occupied contemporaneously is considered, a very tentative estimate would put the maximum Sarqaq population of northern Foxe Basin at about 200.

The fate of the Sarqaq people is not known. According to the archeological evidence there may have been a break in occupancy of the region between the Sarqaq people and their Dorset culture successors, but less than 100 years. Whether physical contact between the two people was made or not, little of the Sarqaq culture appears to have been transmitted to the Dorset people. The decline in workmanship of Sarqaq implements towards the end of their period may have been the result of isolation and stagnation.¹⁴

The Dorset People

The Dorset culture may have evolved with the aid of new ideas and techniques diffused from Alaska, or from the prehistoric Indian cultures of the Great Lakes. Archeologists are not yet agreed on the origins, but whether by evolution, diffusion or migration a new way of life replaced the Sarqaq culture in northern Foxe Basin about 800 B.C.¹⁵

Certain elements of the Sarqaq culture, such as the needle, stone lamp, harpoon head and micro-blade appear in the Dorset culture, but in different forms, are probably indigenous. The bow and arrow do not appear in Dorset technology, perhaps another indication of a complete culture break. Other elements were Dorset innovations, including the barbed fish-spear, sledge shoe of countersunk bone, snowknife, some points of native iron and ice-creeper tied underfoot.¹⁶ The number of artifacts developed for hunting over ice and snow indicates an adaptation to the increasingly cold climate of Dorset period.

The Dorset hunters experimented with cutting tools of slate, but returned to the use of flint for gouging holes and shaping points. The sites are rich in carvings, personal ornaments and evidence of shamanistic religion, none of which appear in the Sarqaq remains. The explanation may lie in the greater degree of decay in Sarqaq artifacts, but it may also indicate a superior exploitation of resources which permitted artistic and religious development.

Eskimo legends go back to the later stages of Dorset culture, and in many details substantiate the archeological findings. The stories describe the Dorset people as *Toonit*, a physically powerful people living in rectangular stone houses with frontal fireplaces, or in walled skin tents. The *Toonit* hunted caribou, using bone-tipped spears, and harpooned seal at breathing-holes, crouching for warmth over small oil lamps. Having no dogs, they hauled walrus on short sleds, but despite their strength they were less truculent than the Thule encroachers.

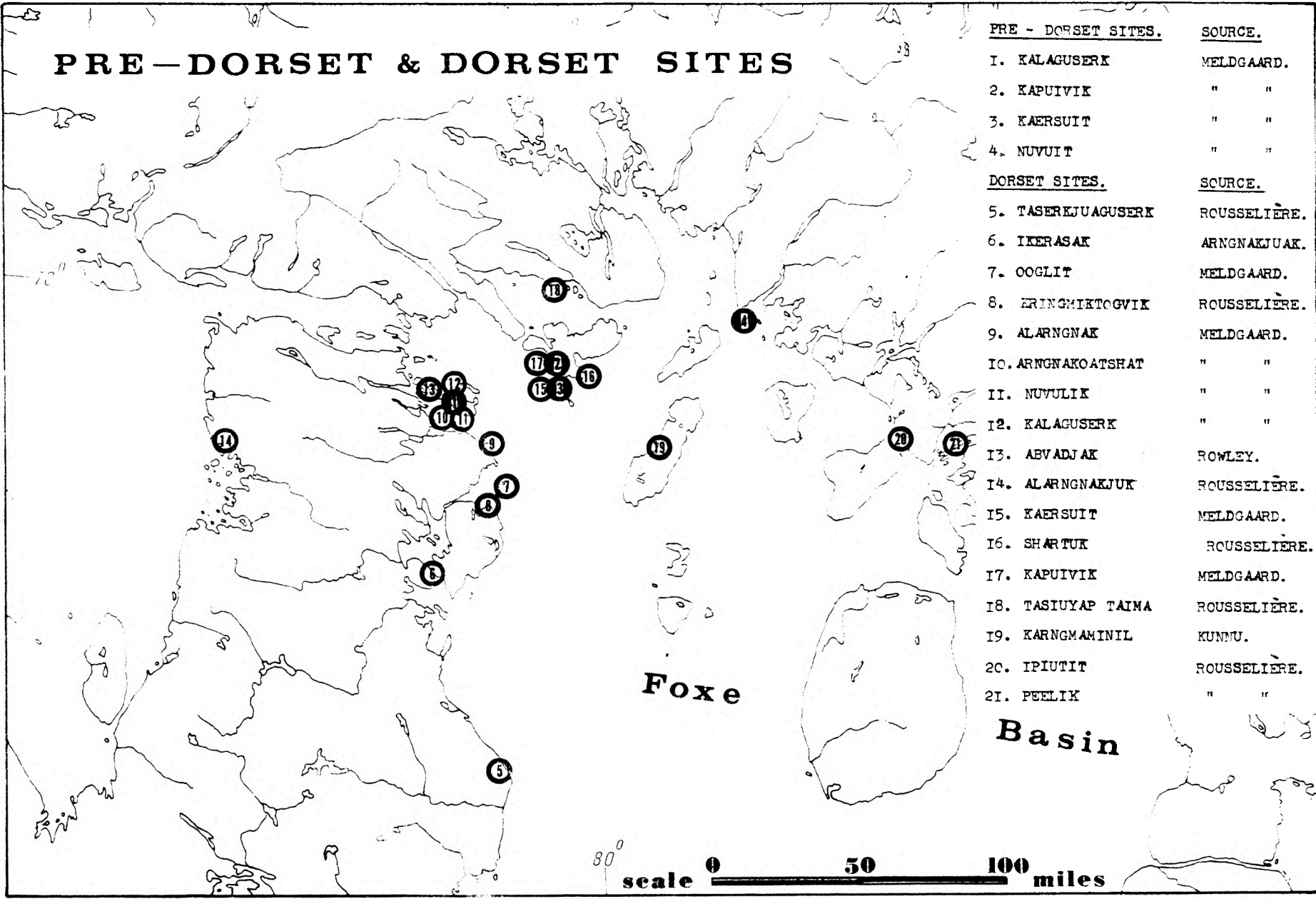
Nine Dorset sites have been proven in northern Foxe Basin, and as many others are identified in current Eskimo folk lore. Most of them are grouped around the core walrus-hunting area, and each Sarqaq settlement has an adjacent Dorset settlement at a lower elevation.

Generalizations have been made of the impact by the organized and technically superior Thule people upon the Dorset inhabitants of northern Foxe Basin.¹⁷ The size of the largest Dorset settlements, however, calls for caution against assuming that the Dorset people lacked numbers and social organization. At Alarngnak, for instance, the largest prehistoric settlement known in the eastern Arctic,¹⁸ 208 houses have been found, indicating an average construction rate of 11 or 12 per century. The largest Thule settlement in the region, at Quarman Point, has only 12 houses.

For the Dorset culture, as with the Sarqaq, the degree of population movement between settlement sites, and the length of occupancy of individual houses, are unknown quantities. Acknowledging that the Dorset period was longer by some eight centuries, the size and extent of Dorset settlement still appears greater than that of the Sarqaq period. The social organization portrayed in Dorset art and religious symbols appears to have been better-developed than in the previous culture, and the maximum population during the Dorset period may tentatively be estimated between 250 and 300.

The Dorset people may have had to reduce the size of their settlements as they adapted to the increasing cold of their period. The houses at *Alarngnak* become smaller towards the end of the occupation, and modifications appear, probably to meet the

PRE-DORSET & DORSET SITES



<u>PRE - DORSET SITES.</u>	<u>SOURCE.</u>
1. KALAGUSERK	MELDGAARD.
2. KAPUIVIK	" "
3. KAERSUIT	" "
4. NUVUIT	" "
<u>DORSET SITES.</u>	<u>SOURCE.</u>
5. TASEREJUAGUSERK	ROUSSELIÈRE.
6. IKERASAK	ARNGNAKJUAQ.
7. OONGLIT	MELDGAARD.
8. ERINGMIKTOGVIK	ROUSSELIÈRE.
9. ALARNGNAK	MELDGAARD.
10. ARNGNAKOATSHAT	" "
11. NUVULIK	" "
12. KALAGUSERK	" "
13. ABVADJAK	ROWLEY.
14. ALARNGNAKJUK	ROUSSELIÈRE.
15. KAERSUIT	MELDGAARD.
16. SHARTUK	ROUSSELIÈRE.
17. KAPUIVIK	MELDGAARD.
18. TASIUYAP TAIMA	ROUSSELIÈRE.
19. KARNGMAMINIL	KUNMU.
20. IPIUTIT	ROUSSELIÈRE.
21. PEELIK	" "

Basin

Foxe

80°
 scale 0 50 100 miles

demands of a colder climate.¹⁹ Perhaps at this time there was some dispersment out from the core area, though this may have been a result of pressure from the Thule people.

During the closing centuries of the Dorset period, despite a general trend towards increasing severity of the climate, a temporary amelioration occurred, about 900 to 1100 A.D.²⁰ Immigrants of Alaskan origin moved during the period of relative mildness, and between 1100 and 1200 A.D. arrived in northern Foxe Basin. These were the direct ancestors of the modern Eskimo. Both folklore and archeology show that the new-comers were able to displace or absorb the Dorset people. After some co-existence and cultural exchange, the Dorset culture ceased to exist in the region by about 1300 A.D.

The Thule (Eskimo) People

The Eskimos of Igloolik refer to the Thule stone houses as those of their *shivudleet*, or ancestors, and the Eskimo words written down by Middleton at Wager Bay in 1742 are still in use, indicating roots back into the Thule period.²¹

The Thule people had to adapt their culture to an increasingly severe climate in northern Foxe Basin, and appear to have learned the use of snowknives and snowhouses from the Dorset hunters. The original Thule technology was rich in itself, including the use of kayak and umiak, harpoon float and drogue for whale and walrus, bow and arrow, bow-drill, bird-dart and bolas. Mathiassen found implements of native copper and meteoric iron in the Thule houses of Repulse Bay,²² probably carried from further west.

The Thule settlements are easily discerned by a traveller in northern Foxe Basin. The whale-rib rafters of their houses were taken by later Eskimos for use as sled-shoeing, but the walls of stone and turf still show on the skyline. Great whale skulls litter the ground near the houses, looking incongruous where the emergence of the land has placed them hundreds of yards inland.

Exploitation of the Greenland whale resource did not bring about any change in the regional pattern of settlement. The Thule people built close to the old Sarqaq and Dorset villages, staying close to the east coast of Melville Peninsula, where the year-round open water probably exceeded that of the present day.

Despite the emphasis on whale hunting, the Eskimo, as Taylor has pointed out, was "rarely a neat specialist, hemmed into a murderously narrow ecological niche".²³ The Thule middens and artifacts show that they harvested all game resources to some degree. Walrus, seal, caribou, fish and birds were all exploited. The possession of dogteams must, as with later Eskimos, have facilitated the pursuit of different species for considerable distances from the permanent settlements.

The rapid spread of the Thule culture through the Arctic was probably due in large measure to dogteam transportation. As with their Eskimo descendants, the Thule people probably maintained more frequent communications with other regions than had been possible for the older cultures. This factor complicates estimates of the

population of northern Foxe Basin during Thule time, for as at the time of Parry's visit, a high proportion of the population might have moved between Foxe Basin, Repulse Bay and Eclipse Sound.

The eleven Thule villages of northern Foxe Basin are small. During four or more centuries of Thule culture, no single site accumulated more than twelve houses, and the average is about six. It seems doubtful that the Thule population of the region ever exceeded 250.

The Thule culture of northern Foxe Basin changed by degree from the "classic" umiak - and whale-hunting model to a form transitional between Thule and Central Eskimo culture. Damas has suggested that an almost total lack of wood for umiaks probably accounted for the dispersal from sedentary Thule villages,²⁴ but this prompts one to ask how whale hunting was carried on during the centuries prior to dispersion. There has been tacit agreement among writers that the Greenland whale itself disappeared from northern Foxe Basin,²⁵ but Eskimo stories are told of whales hunted from kayaks before Parry's visit, and at the beginning of the present century.²⁶ Greenland whales have been sighted in the region every few years during this century and a small number have been killed.

The essential transition from Thule to modified Central Eskimo culture appears to have been made during a period of extreme cold in the 17th century. The heavy ice cover that no doubt resulted may have forced many whales to leave the waters of the region, and would, in any case, have made the use of skin umiaks difficult and hazardous. The decreasing depth of the sea may have been another factor in the decline in numbers of Greenland whales.

The Pre-Contact Eskimos

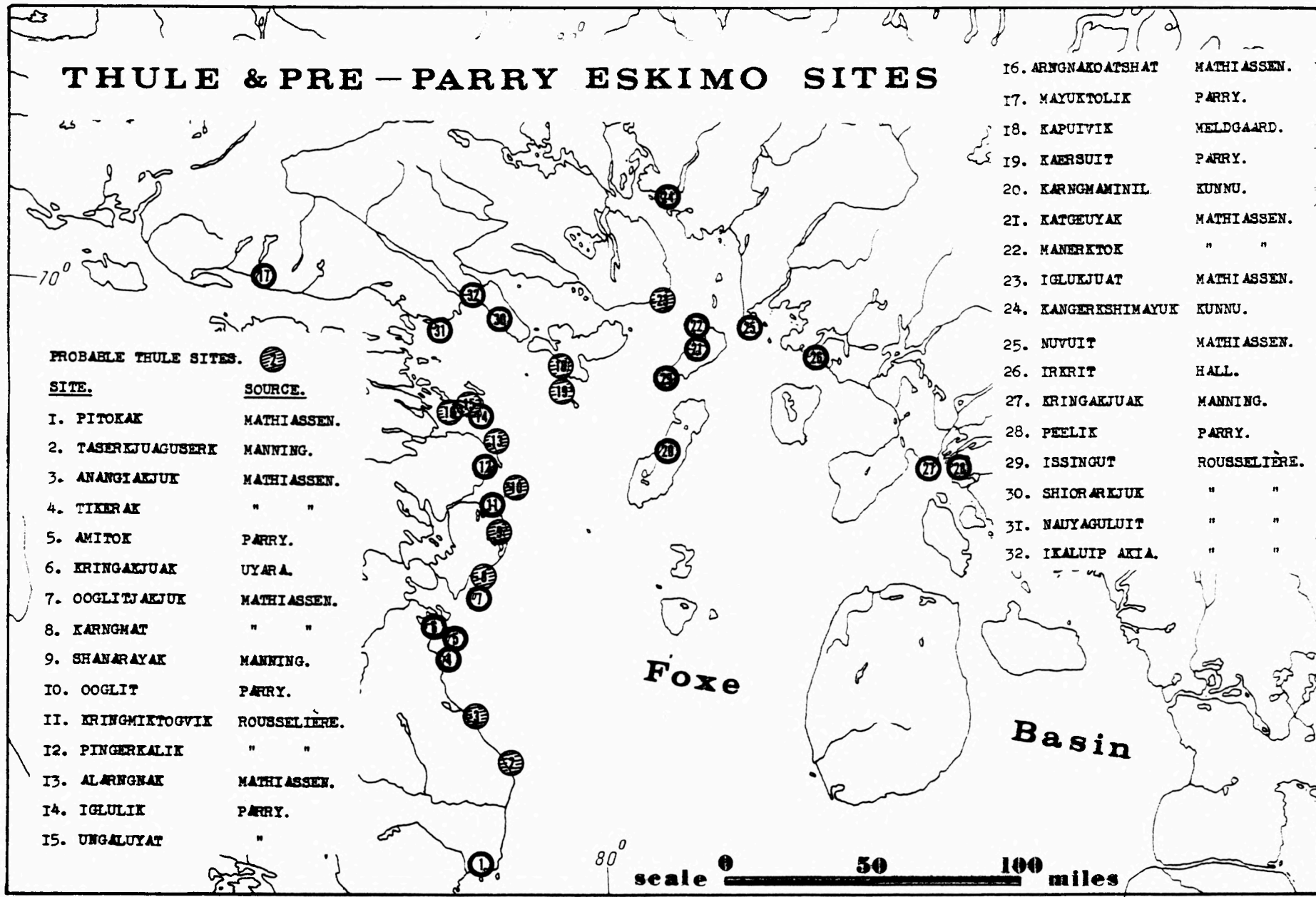
The Eskimos that Parry met in Foxe Basin in 1822 still occupied the old Thule houses occasionally, and built similar ones. The Thule kayak and heavy harpoon were used in the walrus hunt, and the material culture thus sustained was richer than that of other Central Eskimo groups, particularly those further west.

The people of northern Foxe Basin were part of a larger linguistic and cultural group inhabiting the regions now known as Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Repulse Bay and Wager Bay. Although any one group would be identified by its region of residence, travel between the regions was very frequent, and most of the adults known to Parry had lived in several or all of the main locations.

Ungerdlak of Repulse Bay, who had met Parry, was able in 1866 to draw for Hall a most accurate map of north-eastern Foxe Basin.²⁷ The members of the whole linguistic and cultural group did not, and do not have a collective name with which to identify themselves. For the purposes of clarity in this thesis, the entire linguistic and cultural group will be referred to as the Melville Borden group, and the people who inhabit northern Foxe Basin will be called the Iglulingmiut.

The term 'pre-contact' must be used with qualification in the case of the Iglulingmiut. During the eighteenth century at least six separate voyages had been

THULE & PRE-PARRY ESKIMO SITES



PROBABLE THULE SITES.	
SITE.	SOURCE.
1. PITOKAK	MATHIASSEN.
2. TASERKJUAGUSERK	MANNING.
3. ANANGIAEKJUK	MATHIASSEN.
4. TIKERAK	" "
5. AMITOK	PARRY.
6. KRINGAEJUAK	UYARA.
7. OONGLITJAEJUK	MATHIASSEN.
8. KARNGMAT	" "
9. SHANARAYAK	MANNING.
10. OONGLIT	PARRY.
11. KRINGMIKTOGVIK	ROUSSELIERE.
12. PINGEKALIK	" "
13. ALARNGNAK	MATHIASSEN.
14. IGLULIK	PARRY.
15. UNGALUYAT	" "

16. ARNGNAKOATSHAT	MATHIASSEN.
17. MAYUKTOLIK	PARRY.
18. KAPUIVIK	WELDGAARD.
19. KAERSUIT	PARRY.
20. KARNGMAMINIL	KUNNU.
21. KATGEUYAK	MATHIASSEN.
22. MANERIKTOK	" "
23. IGLULJUAT	MATHIASSEN.
24. KANGERKSHIMAYUK	KUNNU.
25. NUVUIT	MATHIASSEN.
26. IRKRIT	HALL.
27. KRINGAEJUAK	MANNING.
28. PEELIK	PARRY.
29. ISSINGUT	ROUSSELIERE.
30. SHIORAEKJUK	" "
31. NAUYAGULUIT	" "
32. IKALUIP AKIA.	" "

Foxe

Basin

scale 0 50 100 miles

made to the south-western border of the region by captains of the British Navy and the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁸ Parry found files, copper kettles and an axe in use by Eskimos – obtained, he thought, from the trading post at Churchill. He saw a woman's knife made from a sawblade marked "Wild and Sorby",²⁹ and on the Calthorpe Islands he found glass beads in a stone house. Eskimo visitors to Igloolik from Pond Inlet rode a sleigh with cross-pieces made of barrel staves, obtained from whalers sailing out of Leith or Hull.

Most of the manufactured articles that preceded Parry however, were acquired indirectly, and his was the first European group to make prolonged contact with the Iglulingmiut. His armourer made knives for them, and they were introduced to a variety of novelties, including flogging and pet cats.³⁰ In general, however, Parry's disciplined crews made little impact upon native culture, compared to the whalers a few decades later.

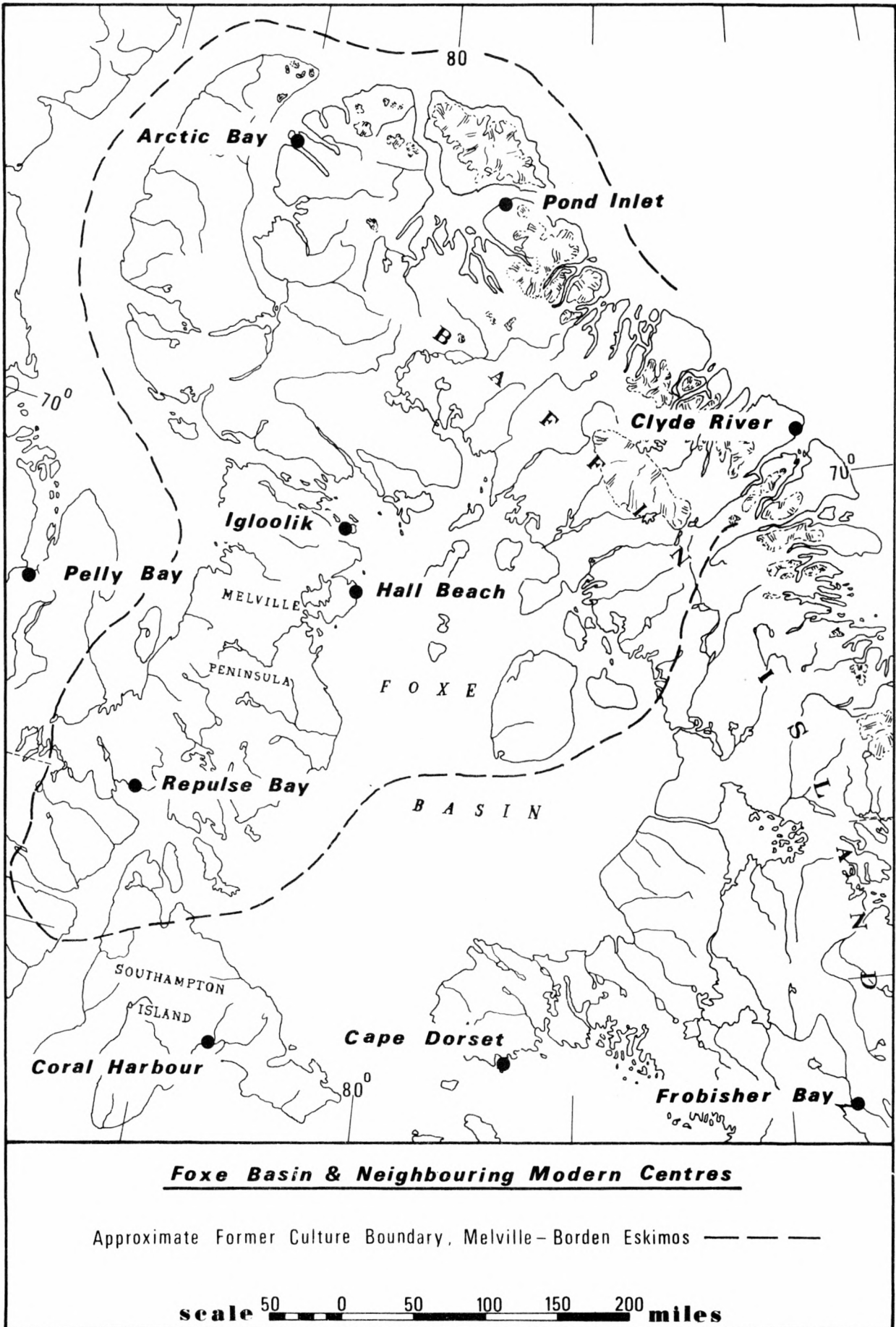
The Iglulingmiut used a complex technology to exploit every resource in their region. Large dog-teams were rare in the Arctic prior to the introduction of rifles, but Lyon noted teams of eight to ten dogs in excellent condition.³¹ The dogs were fed largely on walrus hide, which had few other uses, and the meat was thus conserved for human consumption.

The sleds of the Iglulingmiut were about eight feet long – the maximum possible, made of whalebone and the few pieces of driftwood that reached the region through barter. Parry notes that umiaks were known to the Iglulingmiut, but were not used,³² perhaps because of the lack of wood.

Two kinds of kayak were used by the Eskimos of the region. One was an inland type, resembling the present day Keewatin kayak of caribou skin. These were used on inland lakes and rivers, for travel and for spearing swimming caribou. The inland type was already passing out of use – due perhaps to the atrophy of a Barren ground heritage no longer necessary to a people possessing rich sea resources, and with few navigable inland waterways.

Taboos governed the use of kayaks, and a special jacket of eider-duck skin was worn by the paddlers. The bird-dart was thrown from kayaks using a throwing-board, and the heavy whaling harpoon was used for walrus, thrown from a greater distance. Kayaks were often lashed together in groups during the pursuit of whale and walrus.

The Iglulingmiut had perfected a technique still used in the region, of hunting walrus as they broke through new thin ice to breathe while feeding. The unique regional character of this way of hunting is illustrated by the story of a murderer who fled from vengeance at Pond Inlet near the end of the 18th century, taking several families with him. They travelled via the Steensby Inlet route and built winter homes at Issingut, in the south-west point of Koch Island. Although one woman who had lived at Igloolik explained the technique of hunting walrus through thin ice, the men were reluctant to try it. Most of the party starved and the site has not been occupied since.³³



Bows and arrows were used, traps of stone and bone, and a variety of lances and harpoons for different game or conditions. Dogs carried packs during the summer expeditions inland for caribou. Musk ox had formerly occupied Melville Peninsula, but had been exterminated or driven south of Rae Isthmus. Caribou, geese and bears were all killed close to Iglulik during Parry's visit. In general, game resources were more than adequate for the Iglulingmiut, and Parry, like later visitors, noted gluttony as the chief vice of the people, the men in particular eating to the point of insensibility.³⁴

The Eskimos of northern Foxe Basin had three main villages, in addition to many seasonal campsites. The two largest were the village at Iglulik (several miles east of the modern settlement of Igloodik) and Pingerkalik, a few hours journey away. Both villages had permanent houses with skin roofs, but early in the new year the populations moved to snowhouses on the fast ice for walrus hunting. Parry described one house made completely of ice blocks, built shortly after freeze up.³⁵

With the mobility characteristic of the pre-contact Eskimos, most of the Iglulingmiut moved to Repulse Bay when Parry first arrived there during the summer of 1821. He counted 219 Eskimos during the winter of 1821-22, a figure which included most of the Iglulingmiut and the Aivilingmiut of Repulse Bay. The following winter was spent by Parry and his men aboard the ships *Fury* and *Hecla*, frozen into the ice of Turton Bay, Igloodik Island.

At Iglulik 155 Eskimos lived all winter near Parry's ships. During that time there were 9 births and 18 deaths.³⁶ Ten visitors came from the settlement at Piling Bay – the third major settlement of the region. From Parry's notes and from the subsequent pattern of population at Piling Bay, it is probable that about six families, or 30 people, lived there. The total Iglulingmiut population in the spring of 1823 would therefore be about 175.

The remains of the older cultures indicate a former population considerably greater than that of the Iglulingmiut of Parry's time. Certainly the resources of the region could support more people, and the causes of underpopulation appear to have been cultural. The Iglulingmiut were part of a kinship group embracing several regions and were not bound to northern Foxe Basin by any particular local loyalty. There was no trading post or other regional focus other than the attraction of the core walrus-hunting area. The people came and went from and to the villages of their relatives north and south, and in any one year the population might gain or lose 20 per cent by the movement of a few families.

Damas has suggested that the low ratio of children to adults among the Iglulingmiut in 1823 may reflect infanticide as well as low fecundity among the women.³⁷ Parry did not record any knowledge of infanticide, but blamed the lack of increase on deaths due to visceral troubles brought on by gluttony. Since he and Lyon make repeated reference to the gorging of meat among the Iglulingmiut, his observations regarding the lack of population increase may well be accurate. It is a reflection of the relative wealth of resources in northern Foxe Basin that Eskimos, so often associated with privation, should, literally, have eaten themselves to death!



PLATE 5 – Thule Dancing ring, North Ooglik Island.
(photo. K. Crowe) 1965



PLATE 6 – Thule House ruin, North Ooglik Island.
(photo, K. Crowe) 1965

From the northern to the southern margins of the Melville-Borden cultural area was about 600 miles, travelled frequently by members of the group. Small groups of the Melville-Borden people lived at Wager Bay, at the head of Committee Bay and in the Clyde Inlet area on the east coast of Baffin Island.

The Clyde Inlet people were known to the Iglulingmiut as the “Searlermiut”, Parry’s spelling of the name that meant “people of the place opposite”. Manning has proposed that this term designated the people of Bray and Rowley Islands, which lie in the same easterly direction from Igloodik, and are both called *Shadlerk* in Eskimo.³⁸ The islands were occasionally inhabited by Iglulingmiut, however, and it is unlikely that any people so little known as the “Searlermiut” could have lived there.

The settlement pattern of the Iglulingmiut followed closely that of the three previous cultures, with noticeable concentration around the core area. Despite the apparent drop in population from that of earlier cultures, the Iglulingmiut during the early 19th century expanded settlement well beyond the core, to an extent greater than the Dorset expansion. The evolution of small group hunting rather than Thule type communal hunting, and the mobility afforded by dogteams, may have permitted small family groups to experiment with new locations within the region.

The Iglulingmiut maintained links with people beyond the Melville-Borden cultural territory. Legends like that of *Ayuki* describe journeys and feuds as far as Chesterfield Inlet. The *Itkrelit* or Chipewyan Indians, were known to the Iglulingmiut, and an uneasy relationship was maintained with the Netsilingmiut Eskimos whose country bordered the Melville-Borden territory west of Committee Bay. The Netsilingmiut, who later moved east and into Melville-Borden land, were feared for their truculence and propensity for witchcraft.

Boas recorded stories among the Eskimos of Cumberland Sound that reflect a generally friendly relationship with the Iglulingmiut, and illustrate the marginal character of the country between the territories of the two groups. From the “outpost” settlement at Mirage Bay on Netsilling Lake, parties travelled to northern Foxe Basin on four occasions during the 19th century, and one group spent three prosperous years in the Piling Bay area. Kutukuk, a leader from the Netsilling settlement, visited Bray Island by kayak about 1870 and found an occupied stone house.

Two of the expeditions suffered from hunger, but one woman, Amarak, who Boas reports died of starvation, reached Igloodik. There she married an Iglulingmiut, Inukee, and told her story to Hall in 1867. The 300-mile journey of her party by umiak from Netsilling to Ikpik Bay via the Koukdjouak River, had taken eight days, with poor going over extensive tide-flats. The umiaks were portaged over the isthmus of Baird Peninsula.³⁹

Summary

A study of the sequent occupancy of northern Foxe Basin by pre-contact peoples reveals two salient features. First is the variety and richness, judged by Arctic standards, of game resources, with the walrus herd as a prime factor. Second is the

temporal and spatial continuity in human settlement, made possible by the stability of the game resources.

The pattern of concentrated settlement around the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait and the north-east coast of Melville Peninsula, indicates that sea mammals were plentiful, and conditions for human hunters were favourable throughout 4,000 years of the regional ecology. The pattern survived physical changes in the depth of the sea, changes in climate and ice conditions. It remained essentially the same despite the different technologies employed by successive cultural groups, and perhaps because of the adaptations made by each group to physical change of the environment.

It is not known whether the Sarqaq or Dorset people maintained the extensive extra-regional contacts of the pre-contact Eskimo, but it is apparent that movement of population did not blur the outlines of the region. Travel between regions was made along a few principal routes which pierced in each case a "no-man's-land" of scanty game resources or poor hunting conditions.

Besides continuity in areal pattern, it appears that the size of the human population of northern Foxe Basin remained roughly the same during sequent occupation. Any serious quantitative study would require far more research, but from the present evidence it seems that the ecological balance of the region, using non-mechanical technology, favoured a population of 200 to 250.

During the hundred years after Parry's visit to northern Foxe Basin, the more accessible outer regions of the Melville-Borden territory underwent extensive changes, due largely to the visits of whaling crews. The technological and demographic changes affected northern Foxe Basin, but in the relative isolation of the region the culture observed by Parry continued without essential change, and the ancient settlement pattern persisted.



PLATE 7 – Eskimo women of Igloodik, drawn by G.F. Lyon, 1822. From an engraving in the Public Archives of Canada.

Footnotes

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- ²⁶G.M. Rousselière, *Eskimo*, December 1955, p. 18.
- ²⁷J.E. Nourse, (Ed) *Narrative of the 2nd Arctic Expedition Made by Charles Francis Hall*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1879.

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CHAPTER III

CHANGES IN POPULATION AND LOCATION, 1823 – 1966

Between Parry's departure from Foxe Basin in 1823 and the introduction of the low-rental housing scheme for Eskimos in 1966, the Iglulingmiut were affected by changes in economic activity, religion and government. Direct contact with the industrial world was slight during the 19th century, and for the first half of the 20th century, the old settlement pattern, based on a hunting ecology, persisted.

A concise analysis of one and a half centuries of socio-economic change is difficult even in the relative simplicity of an Arctic region. The measurable stages and effects of transition must be reconciled with the causal process itself as it works at different rates, and in different related spheres such as custom, trade and technology.

This chapter will examine the two most measurable aspects of total change – population size and distribution.

Population Size

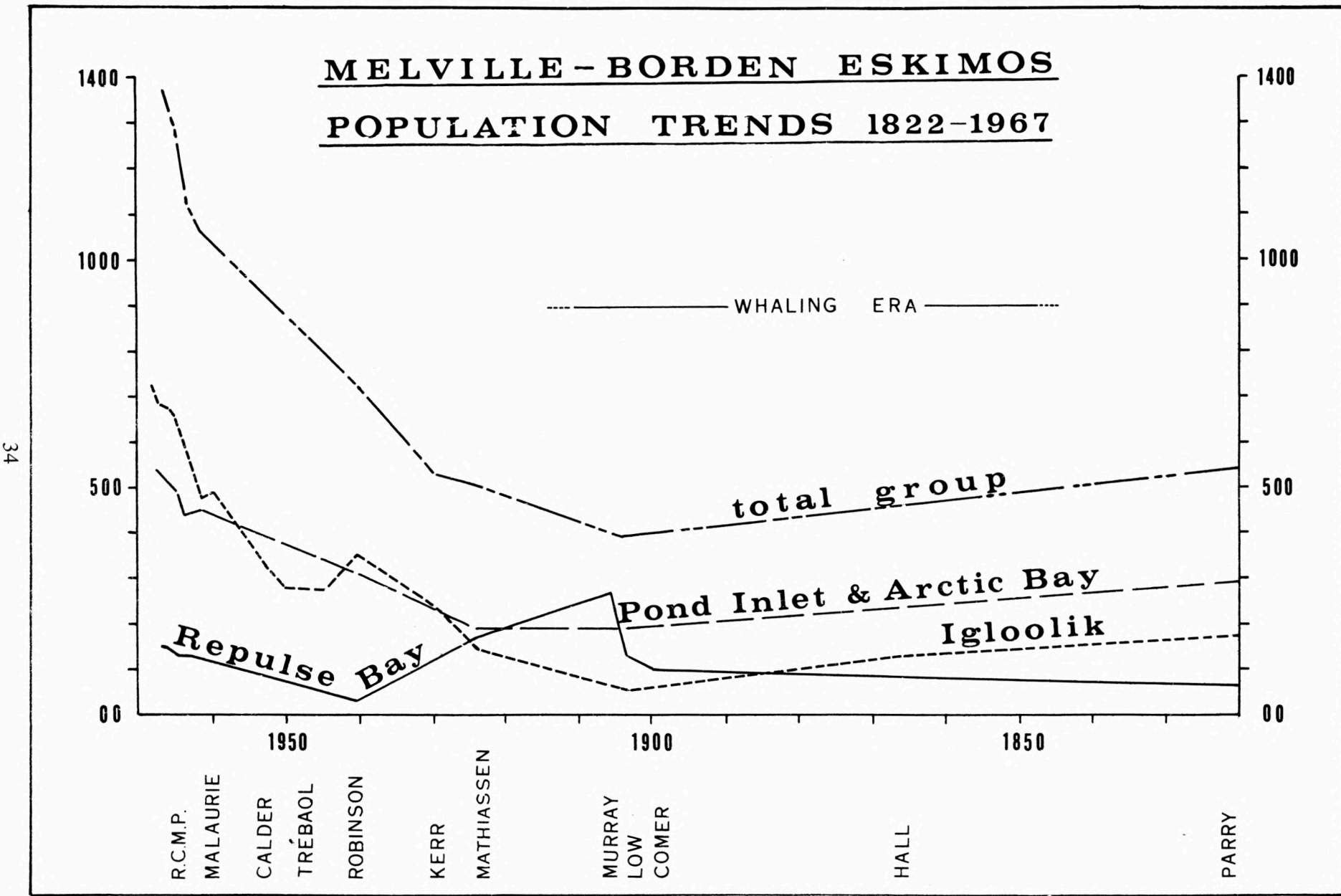
Although the marine "core" and the physical margins of northern Foxe Basin retain a fixed regional character, the Eskimo population between 1823 and 1965 moved across the regional boundaries. The significance of population changes within the northern Foxe Basin region can only be studied in the context of the Melville-Borden Eskimo group territory.

Manning has deduced from Parry's notes that in 1823 the total Melville-Borden population was about 540.¹ Parry's estimate of the northern groups was tentative, and the addition of the small Piling Bay settlement, omitted by him, does not call for a revision of Manning's figure.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Hall saw 42 women at Iglulik, and counted 23 snowhouses.² The text indicates that he counted only women, but if the ratio of adults to children (2 to 1) and males to females (1 to 1.11) noted by Parry is added, a total of 126 seems likely. This shows a decline since Parry's count.

The whaling ships then at Repulse Bay probably drew population away from northern Foxe Basin. Hall refers to the inducements of employment and trade offered to Eskimo families by the whalers.³ He also mentions the availability of liquor which contributed to a general decline in the Eskimo population by the end of the century. Diseases introduced by the whalers were another probable cause of population decline, and Rae recorded the death by influenza of 21 Eskimos at Iglulik, as early as 1846.⁴

FIGURE 2



One whaling captain, Captain Comer, was greatly interested in the affairs and well-being of the Eskimos. His detailed count of 1898 reports 102 Aivilingmiut, the Repulse Bay branch of the Melville-Borden group. This total includes eight of the so-called Kinipitungmiut of Chesterfield Inlet.⁵ The inclusion shows the general fluidity of dialect and kin-group boundaries, particularly in the presence of extrinsic factors such as the whalers.

The reports made by Low on the first government patrol were compiled from the logs of various whaling captains, and these were some times contradictory. Low's figures for 1903 show 144 Eskimos at Pond Inlet, 40 at Arctic Bay, 138 between Fullerton and Repulse Bay, and 60 at Igloolik.⁶ Captain Comer confirmed the Igloolik count, and added that this group was not increasing. If, as seems likely from Comer's notes, there was only one settlement in northern Foxe Basin, then the region had lost population to a degree not indicated during prehistoric time. (see Fig. 2)

Low noted that a branch of the Melville-Borden group, the Sinermiut of Committee Bay, had been absorbed into the Netsilik people, who were spreading east. He observed disproportionate death-rate among the Eskimos for children fathered by the whalers, due perhaps to neglect. He also noted the probable contribution of syphilis to a decline in numbers of the Melville-Borden group.

The R.N.W.M.P. reports for 1906 mention the abandonment of a Scottish whaling station at Igloolik, but Eskimos who lived in the area at that time do not remember any depot in northern Foxe Basin, and the report probably refers incorrectly to a station abandoned about that time near Maluksitak, Lyon Inlet. Constable Sellers reported 125 Igloolik people trading to Captain Mutch at Pond Inlet – double the figure given by Comer for 1903.⁷ Sellers probably included the Arctic Bay group in this count, and rather than assume a large migration to northern Foxe Basin between 1903 and 1906, it seems reasonable to accept Comer's figures.

Sellers describes the Igloolik people as being of lighter build, lighter complexion and more European in features than other Eskimos, but such impressions vary according to the individuals seen, the clothing of the season, and the predisposition of the observer.

Captain Murray, a whaler, reported to the R.N.W.M.P a total of 271 Eskimos who were invited aboard his ship near Repulse Bay, at Christmas in 1906.⁸ The total included 9 people from Fullerton, and 20 who had been exiled to Vansittart Island for cannibalism during a famine at Wager Bay. Murray also mentions 40 Netsilik Eskimos camped at Maluksitak. He described them as a bold and sturdy people – characteristics that were probable factors in their intrusion into Melville-Borden territory.

The estimates of population made by Arthur Tremblay in 1913 for the Melville-Borden group are unrealistic,⁹ but he witnessed the April exodus from Igloolik of people to trade at Pond Inlet or in a few cases, at Repulse Bay. Mathiassen saw the same seasonal movement, and made the first serious count of population for the four regions.

Mathiassen's party counted 165 Avilingmiut at Repulse Bay, 146 Iglulingmiut in Foxe Basin, and a combined total for Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay of 193.¹⁰ Damas was able to corroborate Mathiassen's count during his kinship study of the Iglulingmiut,¹¹ and a comparison with Parry's figure is interesting.

The proportion of children in the Melville-Borden population was considerably lower in 1922 than in 1822, roughly 1 child to 2 adults. This would appear to support Mathiassen's belief that drink, syphilis and social disorientation during the whaling 'boom' had caused a decrease in the whole group population. The figures cited by Low, Comer and the R.N.W.M.P. indicate that there had been such a decline, but by the time of Mathiassen's census the Melville-Borden population was, in general, increasing (see Fig. 2) Mathiassen's figures both for the Iglulingmiut and the total group are slightly less than Parry's.

A Hudson's Bay Company post was built on Southampton Island in the 1920's, and Eskimos from many regions were induced to migrate there. Several families from Igloolik went to Southampton Island, but Aivilingmiut migrants to northern Foxe Basin more than made up this loss of population. Today there is little contact between the ex-Iglulingmiut of Southampton Island and their relatives in the home region.¹²

The patrols of the R.C.M.P. in 1927 and 1929 produced no full census of northern Foxe Basin, though Inspector Wilcox counted 83 people in two of several settlements mentioned,¹³ and saw huge quantities of meat cached. Constable Margetts, in 1929, commented that the natives of Foxe Basin and Admiralty Inlet came to the Pond Inlet post only once a year because of travelling conditions.¹⁴

The 1931 Canadian census is vague for Foxe Basin, but Mr. W. Kerr of Ottawa made the police patrol in 1930, and counted some 55 snowhouses in three settlements of northern Foxe Basin.¹⁵ This indicates a population of between 220 and 260, and the continuing increase within the region reflects a probable recovery from the extraneous pull factor of whaling fleets.

In 1939 the Hudson's Bay Company opened a trading post at Igloolik, at the mouth of Turton Bay, where Parry had wintered. The migration of several families to northern Foxe Basin from Repulse Bay, Chesterfield Inlet and Arctic Bay was probably a response to the opening of a store in a resource-rich region.¹⁶ The 1941 census, which Robinson has questioned, shows 709 people in the Melville-Borden total, and 349 Iglulingmiut.¹⁷

The trading post closed in 1943 due to adverse ice conditions, and did not reopen until 1947. A population count made by the Roman Catholic missionary at Igloolik in June 1945 showed five main groups totalling 238 people. Another count made on August 31, 1949 showed 301 people in eleven settlements.¹⁸ The apparent sharp drop in population from 1941 to 1945 shown in Fig. 2, and the slow rise from 1945 to 1949, were probably due to the closure of the store. The compensating rise in population elsewhere in the Melville-Borden territory seems to confirm this.

The 1949 figure included 99 Eskimos who had immigrated to northern Foxe Basin after 1922. Damas has pointed out that apart from immigration the indigenous

population of Iglulingmiut almost doubled between 1922 and 1949. He attributes most of this increase to the medical help given by the missionaries and traders, together with the isolation of the region, which may have inhibited the spread of contagious diseases.¹⁹ The period between 1922 and 1949 was one of return to regional ecology, though with new elements, and in that sense can be compared to the time of Parry's visit. In addition to the positive factors mentioned by Damas, it is possible that the atrophy of the limiting practices of overeating, and perhaps infanticide, also contributed to the increase in population.

More families moved into northern Foxe Basin after the store was re-established. Motor driven whaleboats made walrus hunting safer and easier. The walrus of Repulse Bay had been decimated during the whaling era, and for the Aivilingmiut, whose name means "people of the walrus area", the good hunting in northern Foxe Basin may have been a strong pull factor. In 1959-60 Malaurie recorded a total of 491 people in northern Foxe Basin, comprising 106 families.²⁰

The Netsilingmiut had begun to move into Repulse Bay during the whaling period, and having little or no experience in walrus hunting, the loss of that resource would probably not prevent them from continued migration. The 1967 R.C.M.P. disc list shows Netsilingmiut migrants to be the majority of 151 people at Repulse Bay. Excluding the Netsilingmiut enclave, the total Melville-Borden population in 1967 was 1,373 including 680 Iglulingmiut.

Whaling fleets wintered in the north of the Melville-Borden territory in Eclipse Sound, and in the south, in Roes Welcome Sound. The latter fleet was the most numerous and had the greatest effect upon the Eskimo population, both in terms of numbers and migration.

The whalers offered employment, trade and novelty. They disrupted the various regional ecologies and the seasonal rhythms of the Eskimos. Once the centripetal force of the whaling fleet disappeared, there was a gradual reversion to a balanced population within various regions of the Melville-Borden territory. New centripetal forces appeared however, none as dramatic in effect as the whaling fleet, but they were to bring about a new degree of regional identity and hegemony.

The Roman Catholic mission at Igloolik began in 1931, and as it became established within the social patterns of its convert families, became an increasingly strong centripetal force in settlement. Such a force could not sustain settlement, but it was facilitated by plentiful resources and the complementary forces of a trading post and later, government administration.

The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Igloolik in 1939 marked the beginning of a new kind of regional identity. The post, complemented by the mission, became a service centre for the Iglulingmiut. The attraction of a service centre in a region with ample game resources brought some immigration to northern Foxe Basin, and the growth of similar service centres in other regions reduced the degree of inter-regional movement that had been common.



PLATE 8 – Interior of Kaerner's Karngmak, 1963.
(photo, T. Fujiki) Asahi Shimbun



PLATE 9 – Interior of Aivilingmiut Snowhouse, 1921.
(photo, Public Archives of Canada)

After 1956 new elements were added to the centripetal quality of the service centre. The DEWline station was the nucleus for a centre at Hall Beach, the nursing stations, administrative offices and the Anglican Missions became additional focal influences within the old regional hunting and settlement pattern.

In northern Foxe Basin immigration and natural increase played an approximately equal part in determining the growth of population between 1920 and 1950. By 1950 the main immigration had ended, and natural increase became the single impressive factor. By natural increase alone the regional population doubled in the 15 years from 1950 to 1965.

The story of decimation of population through introduced disease and vices is familiar from the western Arctic and the Pacific. Since about 1900 the decimation phase in northern Foxe Basin has been replaced by processes similar to those observed in developing countries.

Infanticide and gorging, if they were in fact controls on population growth, were gradually abandoned in the face of new moral and ethical codes. Despite the general richness of game resources, occasional deaths by starvation had been a control element in northern Foxe Basin, particularly in peripheral areas.²¹ With improved communications and welfare facilities, the incidence of starvation decreased, ending in 1948.

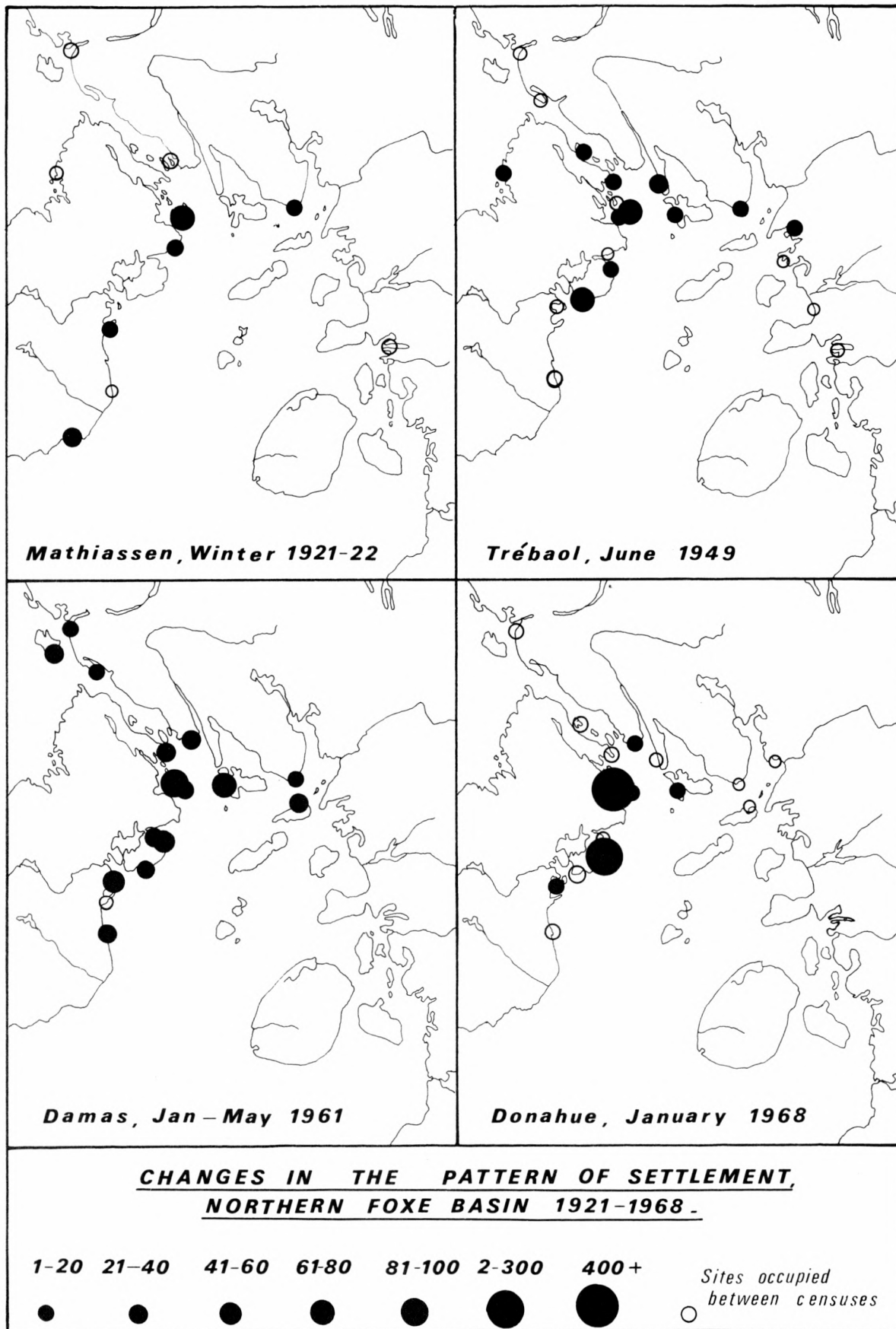
Both Parry in 1822²² and Mathiassen in 1923²³ commented on the low number of births among the Iglulingmiut, and the high proportion of infant deaths. In view of the present degree of fecundity it seems likely that infanticide, concealed from observers, rather than a low rate of fertility, was responsible. Poor diet lowers fertility, but this does not appear to have been a factor in northern Foxe Basin, and both Parry²⁴ and Rousselière²⁵ related old age among the Iglulingmiut to an abundance of meat.

In addition to the medical care given by the missionary and the trader during the 1930's, 40's and 50's, the hospital at Chesterfield Inlet cared for patients from northern Foxe Basin, and the first evacuation by air was made in 1938.²⁶ Deaths by accident, disease and childbirth were reduced by the use of these facilities, and the nurses now resident at Hall Beach have further reduced the medical limits on population growth.

The Eskimo custom of breast-feeding children for several years has been changed by the increased use of bottle-feeding, permitting more frequent conceptions. Public health teaching and medical care have reduced infant mortality, and children, like old and disabled people, have become assets as recipients of allowances.

Population Distribution

Reliable censuses of the Eskimo population of northern Foxe Basin were few until the mid-point of the present century. Four censuses that are accurate with respect to numbers and location have been juxtaposed on Map 9, but they are not separated by equal periods of time. The following summary is intended to amplify the movements of population that are apparent from the maps. The information on sites occupied



between censuses was obtained from a variety of written accounts, and from Eskimos of the region.

1822 - 1922. A century elapsed between the censuses of Parry and Mathiassen, but as we have seen, the population of northern Foxe Basin at each count was about the same. The Iglulik site, being the best all-round location, continued to have the largest village. The Pingerkalik site immediately south of Iglulik, had settlement as in Parry's time.

No comment seems necessary on the Steensby Inlet and Parry Bay settlements, since these were favourite sites before Parry's time, only slightly less strategic in terms of walrus and other game than the Iglulik area.

The Piling Bay settlement was not occupied between 1870 and 1922, perhaps because of its uncertain hunting conditions and history of starvation.²⁷ The "blow-hole" at the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait had attracted settlement, but was again deserted. Garry Bay, an isolated but fairly attractive site, had been settled, and Tremblay recorded settlement at Agu Bay in 1911 and 1913.²⁸

The move to Agu Bay, which was to become more permanent, represents a distinct break in the pre-contact pattern, and may have been a result of the acquisition of rifles, which facilitated sealing, enabling people to leave the relative security of the walrus area.

During the whaling era, which had only ended a few years before Mathiassen's census, movement between Iglulik and Repulse Bay was probably frequent. An overland sled trail meets the sea ice at the ancient Pitokak site in Freuchen Bay, for north of there the broken sea ice and the inland hills make travel difficult. The Pitokak settlement of 1922 was perhaps partly influenced by its proximity to the whaling fleet, and it was abandoned a few years later.

1922 - 1949. Between Mathiassen's and Trebaol's population counts, the subsistence hunting economy of the Iglulingmiut continued, and in fact regained some of the equilibrium lost during the whaling era. New elements entered the economy however, for now trading posts bought fox-skins and sold the whaleboats which became the nucleus for new hunting units, tied by kinship and function.

The increase in population along with modifications in the economy expanded settlement out from the core area. Several marginal sites were tried, and some 70 people wintered at Ingrerit in the north-east, in 1941.²⁹ In 1942 the police moved a group of Iglulingmiut away from Piling Bay, where they had wintered almost solely on the proceeds of caribou hunting. The police believed that people and dogs eating caribou meat alone would soon decimate the herds.³⁰ In 1949 there was death by starvation at the single-family camp of Kaershukat, north of Piling, and no further settlement of the eastern coast was attempted.³¹

The core area gained in population, and the Parry Bay settlement at Kabvialuk at the southern end of the great offshore lead, rivalled Igloodik in size. As will be

discussed in succeeding chapters, changes in leadership and other sociological factors were often as important as logistic and economic factors in determining the permanence and size of settlements.

1949 - 1961. The marginal east coast of Foxe Basin was uninhabited during this period, except for seasonal camps, and the steady growth of population was absorbed mainly in the hunting settlements of the core area, particularly its southern extremity.

The administrative centre of Igloolik by now exceeded in size the old Eskimo village several miles away, but as yet the smaller administrative centre of Hall Beach, near the DEWline radar site, had not attracted many families.

The Agu Bay settlement (which consisted of several seasonal camps in one area), had become permanent, based on a sealing economy and powered canoes rather than the walrus and whaleboat crew pattern of the settlements of Foxe Basin.

1961 - 1968. During this short period the total population increased by some 40 per cent, with a very small proportion of immigration. Until 1966 the pattern of settlement established during the 1950's continued, though with a slight loss to the administrative centres of Igloolik and Hall Beach.

The sealskin 'boom' of the early 1960's resulted in considerable investment in canoes and outboard motors and, in a few hunting settlements, in small mechanical snow vehicles. These items of technology loosened the hegemony of the whaleboat-owning leaders, and introduced a level of capitalization that the hunting economy could not maintain.

As social and economic pressures were steadily working towards the atrophy of hunting settlements, the government provided subsidized rental housing on a large scale at Igloolik and Hall Beach, precipitating a major movement of people to the administrative centres, and the virtual abandonment of all other settlements.

Footnotes

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- ⁵Franz Boas, *The Eskimos of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, Bulletin No. 15 of the American Museum of Natural History, 1901, p. 7. Mr. John Ayaruak of Rankin Inlet informed the author that the name Kinipitungmiut, "the wet people", was recorded through the misunderstanding by a whaling captain, and the false name was used later by Boas.
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- ¹⁰T. Mathiassen, *Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, Report of the 5th Thule Expedition 1921-24, Copenhagen, Vol. 6, No. 1.
- ¹¹D. Damas, *Iglulingmiut Kinship and Local Groupings*, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 196, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963, p. 23.
- ¹²Details of the Iglulingmiut movement are to be found in A. Thiberts "Le Journal Quotidien d'un Esquimau de l'Isle Southampton, 1926-27. *Anthropologica* No. 1, 1955, pp. 144-148, also his Journal de l'Esquimau Makik, Southampton Island 1925-1931", Vol. 2, No. 2, 1960, pp. 190 - 211, and Vol 3, No. 1, 1961, pp 95 - 110.
- ¹³Inspector Wilcox Patrol Report, Pond Inlet to Foxe Basin - 1927-28, *R.C.M.P. Reports*, p. 74.
- ¹⁴*Ibid*, Constable Margetts patrol Pond Inlet to Foxe Basin, February 16 to April 7, 1929, p. 77.
- ¹⁵W. Kerr, personal communication.
- ¹⁶Damas, *op. cit.*, p. 26-27.
- ¹⁷J.L. Robinson, "Eskimo Population in the Canadian Eastern Arctic", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Sept. 1944, p. 129.
- ¹⁸From the records of Mission St. Etienne, Igloolik.
- ¹⁹Damas, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- ²⁰Jean Malaurie, "Preliminary Report from an Anthropological Mission for Demographic and Economic Research carried out in Igloolik, N.W.T. District Canada", Ottawa, Unpublished manuscript, Northern Co-ordination & Research Centre, Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1962, p. 7.
- ²¹Starvation and at times cannibalism were known in:
- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1820 at Anangiakjuk (Igloolik) | Rousselière and Mathiassen |
| 1840 at Ipiutik (Peelik) | Boas |
| 1846 at Igloolik | Pae |
| 1873 at Tugak (Pond Inlet) | Tremblay |
| 1905 at Inuktokvik (Pond Inlet/Igloolik) | Freuchen and Tremblay |
| 1906 At Wager Bay | R.N.W.M.P. |
| 1922 at Shimig (Admiralty Inlet) | Tremblay and Freuchen |
| 1948 at Peelik | Rowley |
- ²²Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 492
- ²³Mathiassen, *op. cit.*, p. 15 - 21

²⁴Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

²⁵G.M. Rousselière, *Eskimo*, March 1957, p. 4.

²⁶P. Schulte, *The Flying Priest Over the Arctic*, New York, Harper, 1940, p. 242.

²⁷There was starvation at Ipiutit in 1840, and the last confirmation of settlement at Peelik, 1870, is in Freuchen, *Mammals*, Report of 5th Thule Expeditions 1921-24, Copenhagen, Vol. 2, Nos. 4 and 5, 1935, p. 127.

²⁸Tremblay, *op. cit.*

²⁹W.G. Ross, "The Igloolik Eskimos", *Scottish Geographical Journal*, No. 76, 1960, p. 160.

³⁰J.K. Fraser, "The Voyage of the C.G.M.V. Nauya to Foxe Basin in 1949", *Arctic Circular*, Sept. 1950, pp. 26-31.

³¹*Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

THE CAMP SYSTEM - ECONOMIC AND ECOLOGICAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE REGION

The preceding discussion of population growth and movement was concerned with the theatre of the Melville-Borden territory and the northern Foxe Basin region. If the scale of enquiry is made larger however, a series of sub-regions or areas can be identified in northern Foxe Basin. Those have some physical identity, but in the main they are distinguished as the hunting territories of particular Eskimo groups from the 1930's to the 1960's.

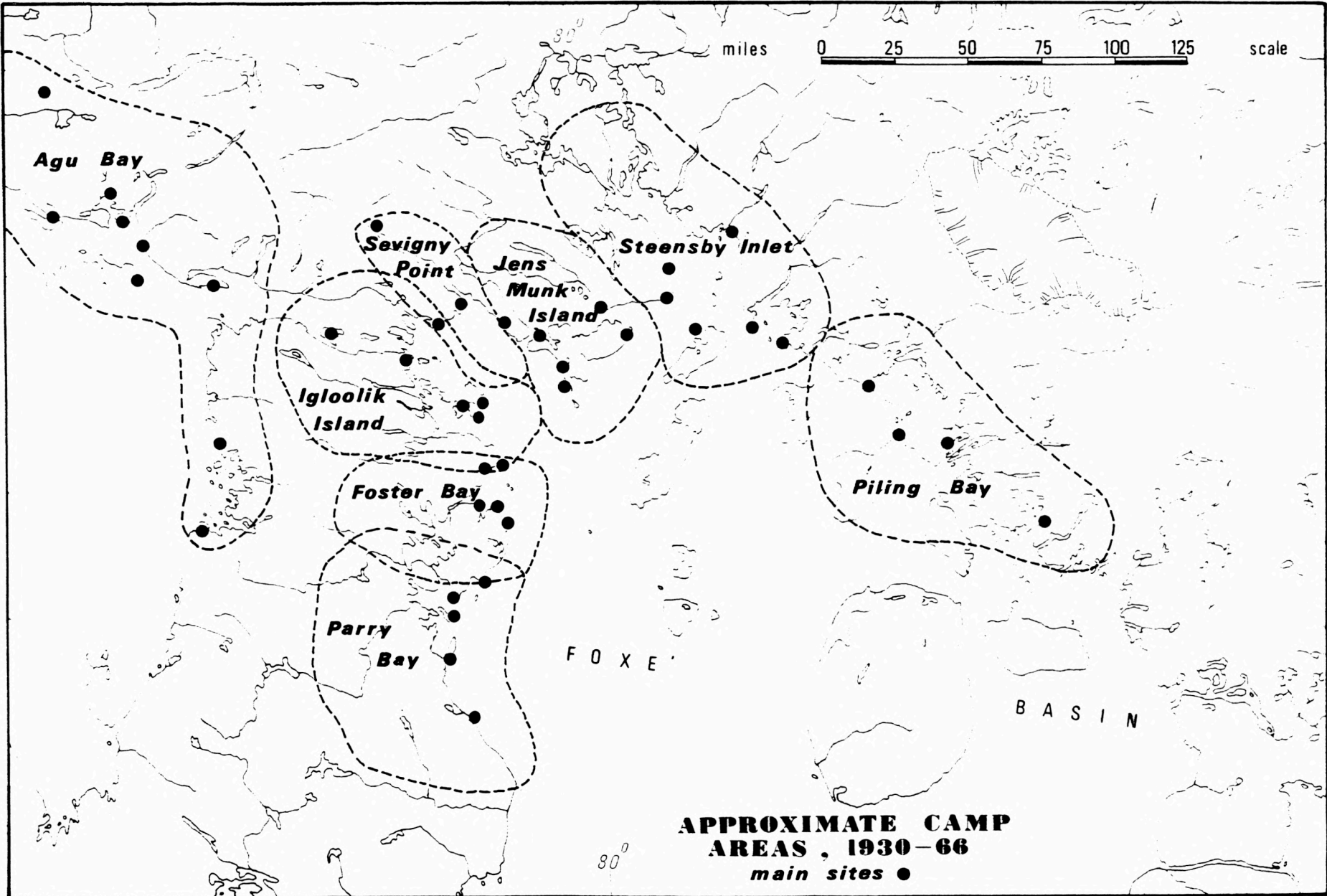
The division of Arctic regions into hunting and trapping areas by economic and kinship groups was common to the Canadian Eastern Arctic in the first half of this century. The areas and the social groupings often resembled or duplicated those of pre-contact time, but there were innovations in technology and economy. The settlement subdivisions and social groupings of the fur trading era were almost universally described by the label "the camp system".

The camp system governed the spatial and social activity of the Iglulingmiut during 35 years, and it shaped the ethos of Eskimos now grappling with new, semi-urban problems. For this reason alone it is worthy of examination. David Damas has studied the camps of Iglulingmiut with especial reference to kinship patterns,¹ but on the whole the camp system, now defunct, has received surprisingly little attention from social scientists.

The camp system varied in the Arctic from region to region, but in general the following criteria were common.

1. A membership of two to twelve nuclear families based on kinship and economic co-operation, often with a whaleboat as the co-operative focus.
2. A decision maker, the *Issumatak* or *Angayukak*, called by white men "the camp boss".
3. A blend of pre-contact subsistence hunting and a simple cash economy based on the fur trade.
4. A number of recognized but loosely defined hunting areas, served by a trading post.

W.G. Ross has suggested that the grouping of settlements in northern Foxe Basin is a result of innate understanding of conservation principles.² Whether innate, learned during centuries of hunting, or just common sense, the distribution of camps did place each settlement group in an area which offered a full range of animal species and a full cycle of seasonal activities.



Damas has proposed that access to the walrus resource brought certain camps in northern Foxe Basin to the status of villages, at a cultural level closely resembling the class Thule or Neo-Eskimo.³ Certainly the term 'camp' may be inappropriate for the villages Damas described in 1960 and 1961, with their stone and turf houses. The main village at the eastern end of Igloodik Island was home to several whaleboat units, and its influence "spilled over" into other camp areas.

In general, however, the camp system of northern Foxe Basin from 1930 to 1966 adhered fairly closely to the Eastern Arctic prototype. No rigid boundaries can be drawn for the camp areas but an approximate division of the region can be made, and Map 10 shows seven areas. The seven are similar to those proposed by Malaurie,⁴ and have been refined from the five described by Anders.⁵ The ephemeral Piling Bay settlement is added, but not described in the narrative. In each case the description of resources is based on conditions during the early 1960's and the population figures are those recorded by Damas, 1960-61.

Agu Bay. The Agu Bay area is the only one of the seven without walrus. Seals, necessary for lamp-fuel, are plentiful, and *maulirkpok* sealing at breathing-holes was continued longer in this area than others. Without the need for group walrus-hunting by boat or at the floe edge, the Agu Bay group separated during some winters to alternative sites in Agu Bay, Kimaktok Peninsula, Crown Prince Frederick Island and Dybol Harbour.

For caribou the Agu people moved mainly on to north-west Melville Peninsula, sometimes combining the move with spring or summer sealing in Garry Bay. Bear hunting, particularly in the uninhabited area north-west of Agu Bay, was an important source of income, and since foxes follow the bears, trapping was good. White whale, and occasionally narwhal, frequent the western end of Fury and Hecla Strait, and were a valuable source of dog-food to the Agu group. Fishing is good in the rivers of Agu and Garry Bays, and while bearded seal are not as plentiful as in the eastern end of the Strait, the Agu hunters were well supplied with skins for lines and boats.

The Agu Bay group were a loosely-knit kinship unit, mainly immigrants from Admiralty Inlet, where game was scarce. In 1960-61 they numbered 43. Though they had no whaleboat, this group enjoyed a favourable ratio of population to resources, and hardship was rare.

Igloodik Island. This area is the most complex of the seven. It includes the eastern half of Fury and Hecla Strait, where bearded-seal hunting is good in spring around the island of Shaglarkjuk (Amherst Island). The campsites of Kakalik and Maneetok, on the north and south shores respectively of the eastern end of the strait, are near the winter sealing 'hole' off Ormond Island, and both locations are favourable for seals and white whales in summer.

The east shore of Igloodik Island is a centuries-old vantage point for walrus hunting; bearded seal are numerous north and south of Igloodik Island, and this locality has a fair incidence of ringed seal, bears, white whale and birds.

A small lake on Igloolik Island is fished during the winter for lake trout, and there are substantial char runs in the rivers of Mogg and Quilliam Bay. Caribou were formerly found inland from the north shore of Fury and Hecla Strait, but from about 1950 caribou hunting was concentrated inland from Hooper Inlet on Melville Peninsula, and well beyond the area to Steensby Inlet. Caribou hunting was often combined with fox trapping, and despite the relative smallness of the area, it produced a disproportionately high percentage of the regional fox-fur take.⁷

Two main groups occupied the area during the trapping era 1930 - 1960, divided roughly along kinship and religious lines. The most numerous group was the Roman Catholic one, whose main winter camp was at Krikiltakjuk on the eastern end of Igloolik Island. This group, which included several whaleboat crews, occupied the sites in Fury and Hecla Strait.

The other group was Anglican, based at the Igloolik settlement. Immigrants to the region made up a large percentage of the group, and Anders appears incorrect in his suggestion that the Catholic camp at Krikiltakjuk constituted an attempt to gain a foothold in Anglican-dominated hunting ground.⁸ If anything, the reverse was true, and Anglicans were the latecomers.

The Anglican group, based furthest away from the winter floe edge, made less use of walrus, particularly after the walrus were depleted or driven from Hooper Inlet in the 1940's. Both the Catholic and Anglican groups included individual trappers and hunters who remained generally independent of the whaleboat crews, particularly when canoes and outboard motors became common. Both groups also included a high proportion of incompetent hunters and others, who, for various reasons, stayed near the welfare facilities of Igloolik.

In 1960-61 the total population of the Igloolik Island area was 163. At least two-thirds of these lived by hunting and trapping, and the resources of the area were being depleted.

Sevigny Point. This small area includes an old fishing site at the entrance to Gifford Fjord, and access to small caribou herds on either side of the Fjord. Summer sealing is good off Sevigny Point, and the area shares with the Igloolik area access to the winter sealing hole near Ormond Island. The potential for trapping, white whale and bearded seal hunting is good, but the area, squeezed in between two other longer-established camp areas, is small.

The area was rarely a site of permanent settlement until the 1950's, when migrants from Repulse Bay began to winter at Nauyaguluit (Sevigny Point). The winter floe edge and the northern limit of walrus were some 30 miles away, and the Sevigny Point group were frequently in need of meat and fat. Fish, geese and ducks were used more than in other areas, and although the camp-population was rarely higher than the 22 people counted in 1960-61, this area was only marginal in viability.

Cape Elwyn on Jens Munk Island, and the Calthorpe Islands were each occupied during all the prehistoric culture phases. A strong camp group settled in this area



PLATE 10 – Skinning Caribou.
(photo, D. Bisset) 1962

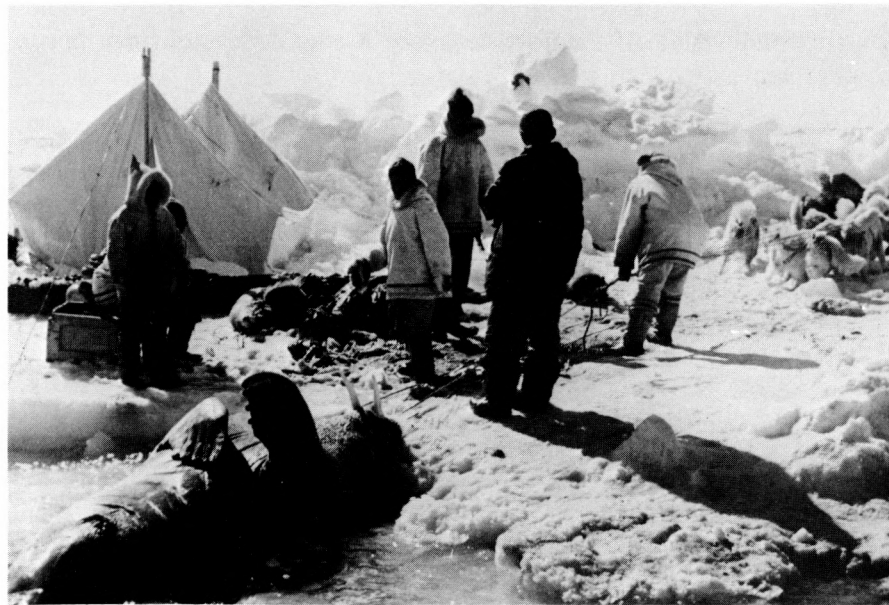


PLATE 11 – Hauling walrus from shore lead.
(photo T. Fujiki, Asahi Shimbun) 1963

during the 1940's. By kinship and hunting area this camp group was the most distinct and homogeneous of the region. The winter camp at Kapuivik on Cape Elwyn was close to the floe edge, and the spring walrus hunt was generally carried out by boat from the Kaersuit camp on the southernmost of the Calthorpe Islands.

The floe edge around the south and west of Jens Munk Island gives good sealing, and the narrows at the western entrance to Murray Maxwell Bay are open for sealing throughout some winters. Hunting at *aglus* for whitecoats, and *uktuk* hunting later in the spring, is especially good in the fast ice of Murray Maxwell Bay. White whale pass through the area in small groups, and bearded seal are plentiful enough for local needs. Large colonies of eider-duck and other sea birds nest on the islands of the area.

Caribou were occasionally killed on Jens Munk Island, but most hunts were made north of Murray Maxwell Bay and occasionally far to the southeast on Baird Peninsula, a relatively unexploited "no-man's-land". Fishing was done mainly in spring at the lake and river draining Skeoch Bay, and later in the summer at the mouths of rivers flowing into Murray Maxwell Bay. .

Fox trapping and caribou hunting journeys were made throughout the winter from Kapuivik, but in summer the group dispersed to three or four separate sites. Occasional winter trapping and sealing camps were made by members of the group on Sioraksuk Peninsula on the north shore of Murray Maxwell Bay. In 1960-61, the Jens Munk group had 63 people in two closely associated kin-groups, owning three large boats. With the possible exception of caribou, this area had a favourable ecological balance.

Steensby Inlet. The area of Steensby Inlet and the northeast coast of Foxe Basin as far south as Ege Bay has a history of occupation back to pre-Dorset time, and the Manerktok site, on an islet off the north coast of Koch Island, remained occupied from Mathiassen's census of 1922 to 1966.

The Iglukjuat camp group was established about 1945 when a group of hunters acquired a whaleboat.⁹ Iglukjuat is only 15 miles from Manerktok across the strait, and the two camps were closely associated.

Winter camps were occasionally made near the mouth of Rowley River, relying mainly on summer supplies of walrus and seal, or in Grant Suttie Bay, where the distance to the floe edge is about equal to that from Iglukjuat and Manerktok. In winter this area lacks the favourable current of the more westerly "walrus" camps, and open leads are less common, restricting the winter catch. The area is rarely completely ice-free in summer, and walrus follow the ice north of Koch Island; but the ice, currents and winds combine to make hunting by boat difficult.

Spring and winter sealing are adequate, and caribou, found mostly east of Steensby Inlet, are more numerous than in any other area. Wolves, associated with the caribou, were valuable for their skins as trade items. Bears, bearded seals, white whales, and foxes are common in the caribou country at the head of Steensby Inlet. The nearby Baffin Island coast has numerous good fish streams.

The Iglukjuat-Manerktok group numbered 37 in 1960-61. Their area is the least accessible from Igloolik due to moving ice throughout much of the year. These ice conditions have occasionally meant poor walrus hunting and resultant hardship for men and dogs. In general however, the game resources of the area are varied and abundant. The fortunes of the group declined largely through want of leadership.

Foster Bay. The territory and the group membership for this area were the most fluid of the seven. From the ancient Pingerkalik site of Parry's and Mathiassen's time, settlement moved to Akungnerk in Foster Bay. Following conversion to Christianity there was a division along denominational lines.

In 1960-61 the Foster Bay group was distributed among three main winter sites, Kringmiktogvik being the largest. The small camp of Nuksangnakjuk was some six miles west, and the "shanty town" of Napakut about six miles south, adjacent to the administrative centre of Hall Beach.

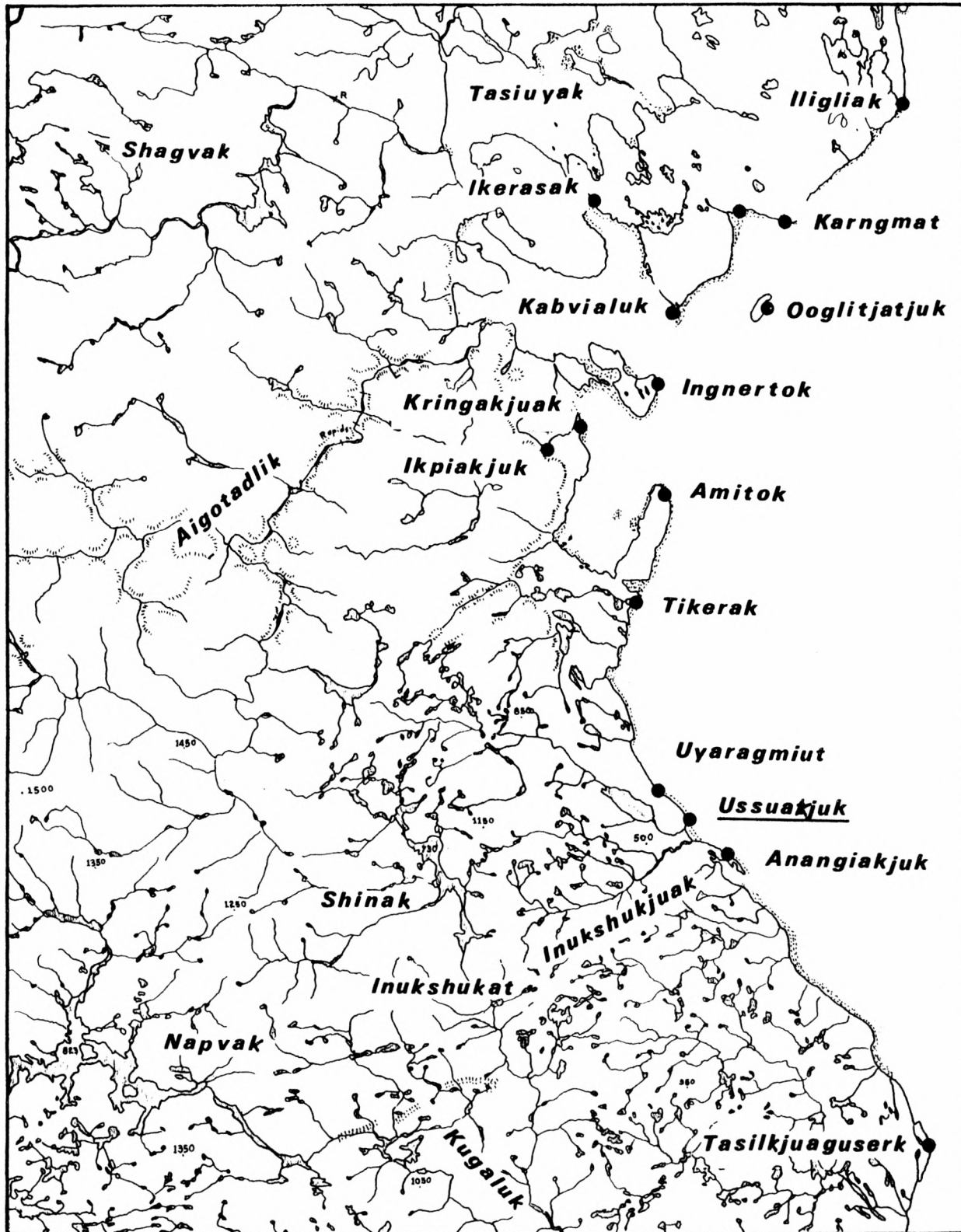
The Foster Bay group comprised both Anglicans and Catholics, linked by inter-religious marriages, but in general operating separate whaleboat units. The Catholic affiliations were primarily north with the Igloolik Island Catholics, while among the Anglicans there was interaction with the all-Anglican group to the south in the Parry Bay area.

The area had the best year-round walrus-hunting conditions of the region, offshore from Pingerkalik and Hall Beach. The North Ooglit Islands were an excellent spring outpost for walrus, ringed seal and bearded seal. The lake-dotted plain inland has many birds in summer, and caribou hunting was usually successfully north and west of Hall Lake. Fish were taken by net and spear in the Ikarktoriak and Shagvak rivers flowing into Foster Bay, and trap-lines generally ran inland around and north of Hall Lake.

Following the construction of the DEWline in 1955 and 1956, the Foster Bay area became the route for constant boat, dog-sled and snow-vehicle traffic between Igloolik and Hall Beach. The pressure on game resources increased, and the area became less viable as a distinct unit of human occupancy based on hunting and trapping. The population of its three winter-settlements in 1960-61 was 97.

Parry Bay. The study of this camp group has been expanded into a detailed essay in cultural geography, an intimate case study that may provide the reader with a deeper understanding of hunting life in northern Foxe Basin during the early 1960's. The insights may facilitate the reading of subsequent chapters and the account itself will record a discontinued way of life.

The statistics of population are taken from the actual R.C.M.P. disc list of 1965, but the seasonal activities have been generalized for the period 1960 to 1965. In order to preserve some privacy, the names of the group have been substituted for other Eskimo names coined by the writer. Some of these names may nevertheless be in use in the Eastern Arctic.



**THE COUNTRY OF THE
USSUAKJUK PEOPLE**

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 MILES

The Ussuakjuk camp group hunt along a coastline of about one hundred and fifty miles, sharing the northern part of their territory with another closely related group – the two groups, in fact, come together for the two summer months. The general area is one occupied during pre-contact and early contact time by the Amitogmiut, the group named after the Amitooke Peninsula (so misspelled on the maps). The Ussuakjuk winter camp group of recent years was founded by one energetic hunter who attracted a number of families. With marriage in and out of the group and for a variety of other reasons, the number and identity of families has changed by the year or season. The leader and one or two ‘core’ families have remained at Ussuakjuk, and the average population over some twenty years has been about thirty-five.

For most of the year the landscape, both sea and land, is white. In the Ussuakjuk area there are no high hills or cliffs to break the monotony, and like the yearly cycle of wildlife and seasons, the landscape is unmathematical. There are no straight lines, no right angles, no regular punctuations of time, space or sound. Hundreds of people within the region are known intimately – their bodies and mannerisms – the land too, is intimately known. In a world where there is apparently little to explore, speculation has little value, and in fact it is unmannerly to ask questions.

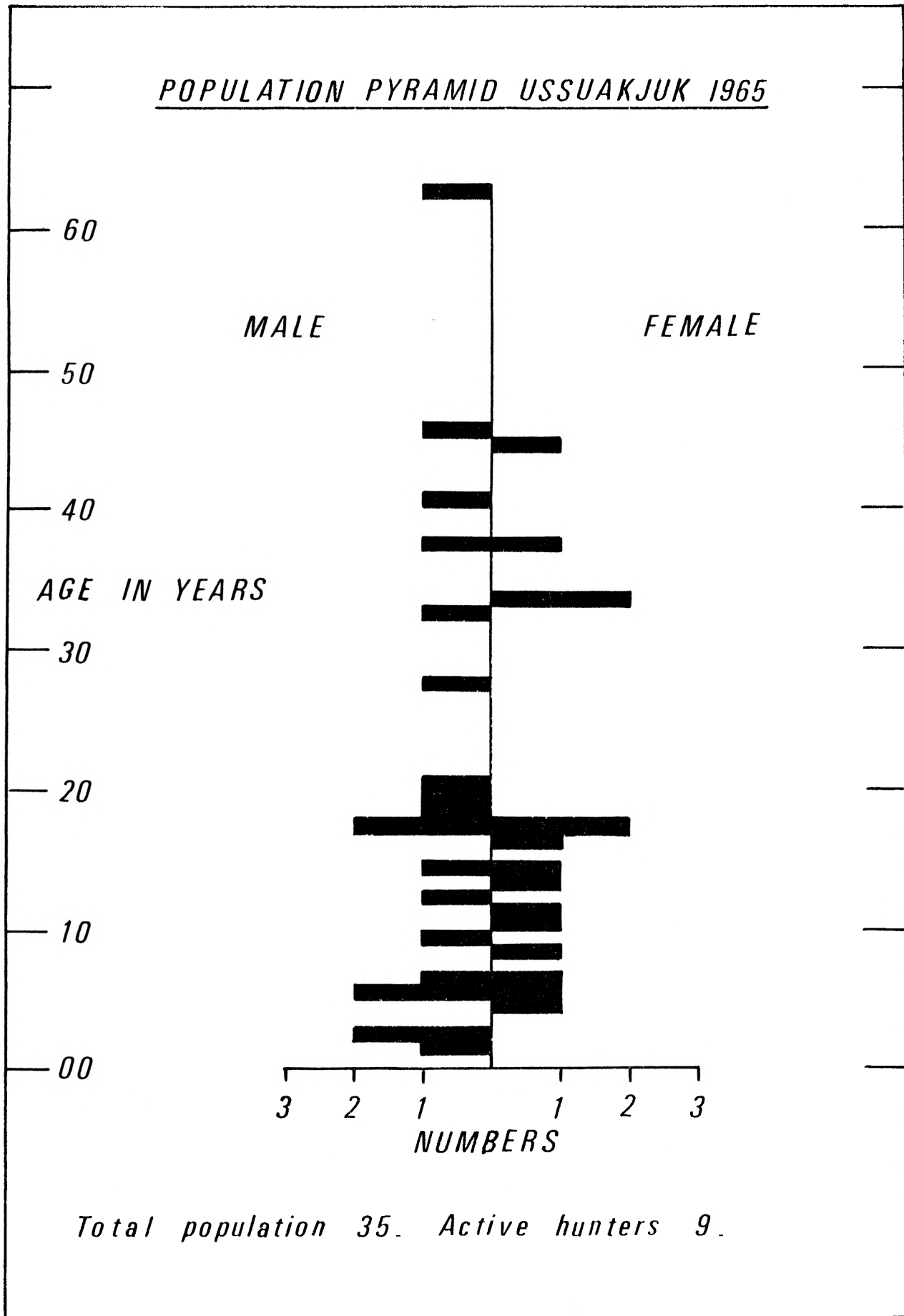
The winter village is on the point of land called Ussuakjuk or “little penis”, on the south shore of Parry Bay. There is a small hut for storing furs, and the houses are of scrap-wood obtained from the DEWline garbage dump. They are partially banked with peat, and by mid-winter will be almost buried in snow. The roofs are of canvas over a slightly arched wooden frame, with moss between. The walls are papered with newspaper and magazine paper stuck on with flour paste, and light comes from a small overhead window of plastic sheeting. A low bed-platform across the rear of the house, measuring about seven by thirteen feet, accommodates from six to ten people, lying naked under a variety of skin and cloth covers, in a prescribed order according to sex, age and degree of kinship to the family.

The houses are heated by blubber-lamps, by people and occasionally by primus stoves. During the dark days and nights, the blubber-lamp gives a light sufficient for much of the daily round, but for card-playing and more intricate sewing or carving, candles are used, and naphtha lamps when supplies are on hand. The air in the houses is usually thick with cigarette smoke and *kudlik* smoke, and there is incessant coughing. The houses grow cold during the night when the *kudlik* goes out, and ten of the people in the camp have spent months or years with tuberculosis in hospitals of the south.

Each house offers about twenty-five square feet of living space per person, and this in the coldest of climates. Privacy is impossible, everyone uses the cans that serve as chamber pots - even the young woman reading the scriptures during the Sunday gathering may call for the pot and carry on with the recital. The cramped space of tents and *karnngmat* dictates ways of sitting, of eating, sleeping and in some respects of thinking.

Only three of the Ussuakjuk children have been to school – one term at Igloolik. They cannot count beyond ten, and they remember little of their encounter with books that show father with briefcase, or with the awesome ‘please and thank you’ of

FIGURE 3



the *kadlunat*. The girls of the camp begin at an early age to assume household tasks, and expect to marry early. Unless they marry one of the few employed young men, they anticipate another tent or *karnngmat* with their place on the right as one enters, the traditional corner of the woman of the house. The boys learn the art of the hunt which is both living and recreation, the most worthy thing a man can do.

There are sewing machines, transistor radios and record-players at Ussuakjuk, but by the standards of most Canadians in 1965, material needs are few. Food is the overriding concern, it is the only truly communal property, if cigarettes are included. Tea is one of the few store food that must last for use each day between trading journeys. Sugar is still regarded and used as an exotic item – when Annanack returns from spending his pension cheques, an all-night gossip party ensues, and cup after cup is heaped with sugar, saturating the tea, until his whole bag is gone. The people still enjoy the shellfish from the stomachs of walrus, or the skin of hindflippers. New caribou-horn, the grubs of warble-fly, and the eyeballs of seals, are other delicacies. The order of food preferred by one of the group, Aipilee, is: caribou, char, eider-duck, seal, ptarmigan, bearded seal, bear, walrus.

No great shock of transition has come upon the people of Ussuakjuk so far. There are centuries behind the patterns of life in tiny houses or in great space outdoors. There are centuries behind the deep interdependence of people in an unmeasured world. The settlements have linear streets, houses with separate places for eating, sleeping, toilet, birth and death. The life of the settlements is regulated; with clock, calender, radio and balance-sheet. The move from Ussuakjuk to “urban” life will bring changes hard to articulate for the people, hard to identify for observers, but extremely important.

In this camp of thirty-five people, the relative youth of the family heads is reflected in the absence of second-generation families, for there are no married sons or sons-in-law to form an extended family unit under the authority of the oldest hunter. The number of active hunters is one per two-point-eight others – a favourable ratio. Three boys are of an age to marry, but their absence on bride service in other camps would be balanced by the arrival of the husbands of the three marriageable girls. The population of Ussuakjuk has a slightly higher ratio of adults to children under sixteen years old, than does that of the region as a whole.

In 1965, the population of the camp, by families, was as follows:

Family 1:	Papak	aged 40, family-head.
	Tukilaituk	37, wife
	Aivingoyak	20, son (In hospital with tuberculosis, 1964-65)
	Monamee	18, son
	Kilabvak	17, son
	Merkotikulu	14, son
	Pameolik	11, daughter
	Kudluguktok	6, daughter
	Tuktu	2, son

Papak is the camp leader, strong, active, humorous and acquisitive. He owned a whaleboat and engine, but lost it in the ice in 1964. He has ordered a similar boat through the government subsidy scheme, to be delivered in the fall. He has a canoe and an eighteen horse-power outboard motor; a winter house or *karnngmat*; a summer tent, and with his sons, two sleds and twenty dogs. He is one of the most successful fox trappers of the region, and has on his own initiative used seal nets for several years. His kinship connections with the area, his ability and character, plus the favourable number of grown sons in his family, are the factors making him the recognized *issumatak* or general leader of the Ussuakjuk group.

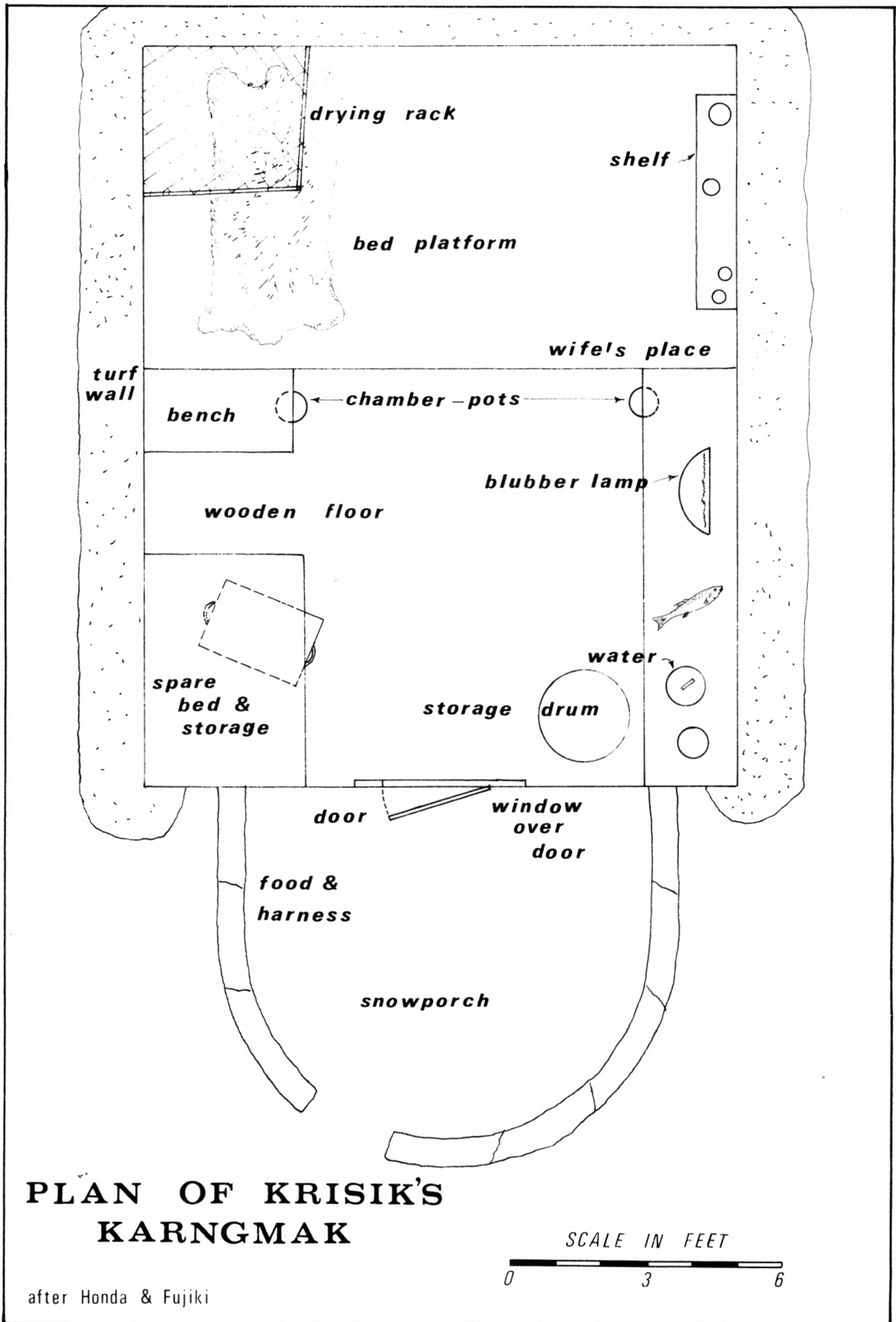
Family 2:	Krisik	aged 33, family head
	Uviluk	34, wife
	Immerkotailak	16, daughter
	Pakoyak	12, son
	Komoaktok	6, daughter
	Akpaliakjuk	5, son
	Inusilk	4, daughter

Krisik is second in prestige and authority; an average hunter, but a catechist and intellectual. This family is the only one of the group which has not lost children through tuberculosis or other disease. Krisik has a winter house, a summer tent, a sled and sixteen dogs. He prizes a metric tape measure, obtained from a DEWline employee, with which he pretends to measure walrus. His wife Uviluk is a sister of Papak, and this with more distant kinship ties, is the main reason for Krisik's membership of the group. As is sometimes the case, the daughter Komoaktok is singled out for especially favourable treatment by the parents, receiving the best choice of food, gifts and clothing.

Family 3:	Annanack	aged 62, family-head
	Papigaitok	17, foster-son
	Supuyuk	14, daughter

This family lives in Krisik's house, as Annanack is Krisik's adoptive father. The old man was partially disabled when he lost his toes due to frostbite, and he receives a monthly pension which is an important part of the group income, making up for Annanack's rather low status. He has few children, and even before his accident, was not a well-known hunter. He has been widowed twice – his second wife survived starvation and cannibalism in 1948, but died during the measles epidemic of 1962. She was the mother of Supuyuk. Within the dual household, Supuyuk performs certain duties for her father and stepbrother, but receives poor treatment from Uviluk, the woman of the house.

Family 4:	Ikalukjuak	aged 37, family-head
	Ningiuapik	33, wife
	Anahatuk	17, daughter
	Keenainak	13, daughter
	Pudlat,	10, daughter
	Tiriganeak	5, adopted son



Ala,	1, son
Ulimautalik	27, brother of Ikalukjuak

Ikalukjuak immigrated from Arctic Bay. His marriage to Tukilaituk's cousin gives him the status of brother-in-law to Papak, in Iglulingmiut terms. The succession of daughters in his family explains his adoption of a son. (The incidence of adoptions in the Ussuakjuk group is rather low by Eastern Arctic standards). Ikalukjuak is a cheerful man, and an excellent rifle-shot. He has a home-made skiff; a winter house; summer tent, sled and fourteen dogs.

Family 5:	Titanark	aged 45, family-head
	Pogutak	44, wife
	Pitsiolark	19, son
	Nauiyakvik	17, daughter
	Ameurut	9, son
	Ugaq	5, daughter
	Kagitak	6, adopted son
	Kasigiak	2, son

Titanark and his wife are both originally from Pond Inlet. He is in poor health, and having no capable sons of hunting age (Pitsiolark is mentally retarded), Titanark contributes little to the group hunting and trapping. He is a gifted mechanic, however, and owns an eighteen horse-power outboard motor. He has a sled, a summer tent and eleven dogs. His wife is an outgoing woman, one of a clan with high prestige, and despite the relative poverty of the family, her tent is host to visitors to the camp more often than that of Tukilaituk, who is less hospitable. This family wintered during 1964-65 in the *karnqmat* belonging to a relative, Mittuksalik, who had gone to live at Hall Beach.

The annual cycle of activity for the people of Ussuakjuk varies a little from year to year according to ice conditions, the number and health of the members of the group, the movements of wildlife, and the economy. The environment sets firm limits upon such variation, and the essentials – walrus; seal; caribou; fox; winter and summer, boat and sled remain the same. A typical year during the 1960's might be summarized as follows:

January. The group are living in *karnqmat* at Ussuakjuk. The days are entirely dark, or at least sunless; with ample walrus meat cached, there is little incentive to hunt at the floe edge several miles east. For the most part the men visit the caches at Tikerak to the north, and at Ingnertok, on their way to the traplines that extend along the eastern shore of Hall Lake. Papak has a line inland from Ussuakjuk to Sarepa Lake, where until 1963, when the site closed, he was sure of dog food at the garbage dump of a small DEWline site. He visits this line twice while the moonlight is good, and brings back caribou from caches made the previous fall. The women clean and sew skins taken recently or remaining from the fall hunt, and the men carve in stone or in ivory taken the year before last.

February. Trapping continues, and about mid-month a caribou hunt is made up the Jenness River, *Inukshukjuak*. The men spend two nights in snowhouses, and with two teams bring in fifteen caribou. All the hunters wear caribou clothing in this cold month, and the women stay indoors but for occasional visits. Even the children seldom play outdoors; they tumble from hut to hut in little groups, according to age.

March. The sun has returned, showing briefly each day, and the seals under the ice of the bay are hunted at their breathing holes, with several men and dogs, forcing the seal to use the one hole where the hunter waits. Later in the month, dogs are used to smell out the aglus under ice-slabs or drifted snow, where new-born seals can be taken. The wind has blown from the north-east for two days, bringing pack ice against the floe edge, and the men go out, finding walrus. Two walrus are killed, but the wind shifts, blowing the loose ice out to sea, and the party are almost set adrift. For the rest of the month the traps along the coast are the main focus of activity.

April. Light and darkness are equal now, but the cold is still enough to permit piaksaut or ice sheathing on the sled irons. Some sealing and walrus hunting is done at the floe edge, and a few Uktuk or basking seals are stalked and shot. A caribou hunt is made inland up the river that flows into Naulingiyakvik lake, and when the teams return, three of them travel north along the coast. Caribou meat is picked up at the farthest cache, near Ingermertok. It is the tastiest fall meat, to be sold to employed Eskimos at Igloodik. A few carvings are sold to DEWline employees at Hall Beach, and at the Hudson's Bay Company store at Igloodik for skins are traded. The family allowance for the whole camp, and Annanack's pension, have accumulated since the December trip, and the three teams return with good loads.

Only one woman accompanies the teams as far as Hall Beach, to see the nurse there and wait for the teams to return from Igloodik. Titanark and a few of the older boys stay behind at Ussuakjuk, where they hunt seal, close the traplines, and bring home a few of the eider-ducks that are arriving at the floe edge.

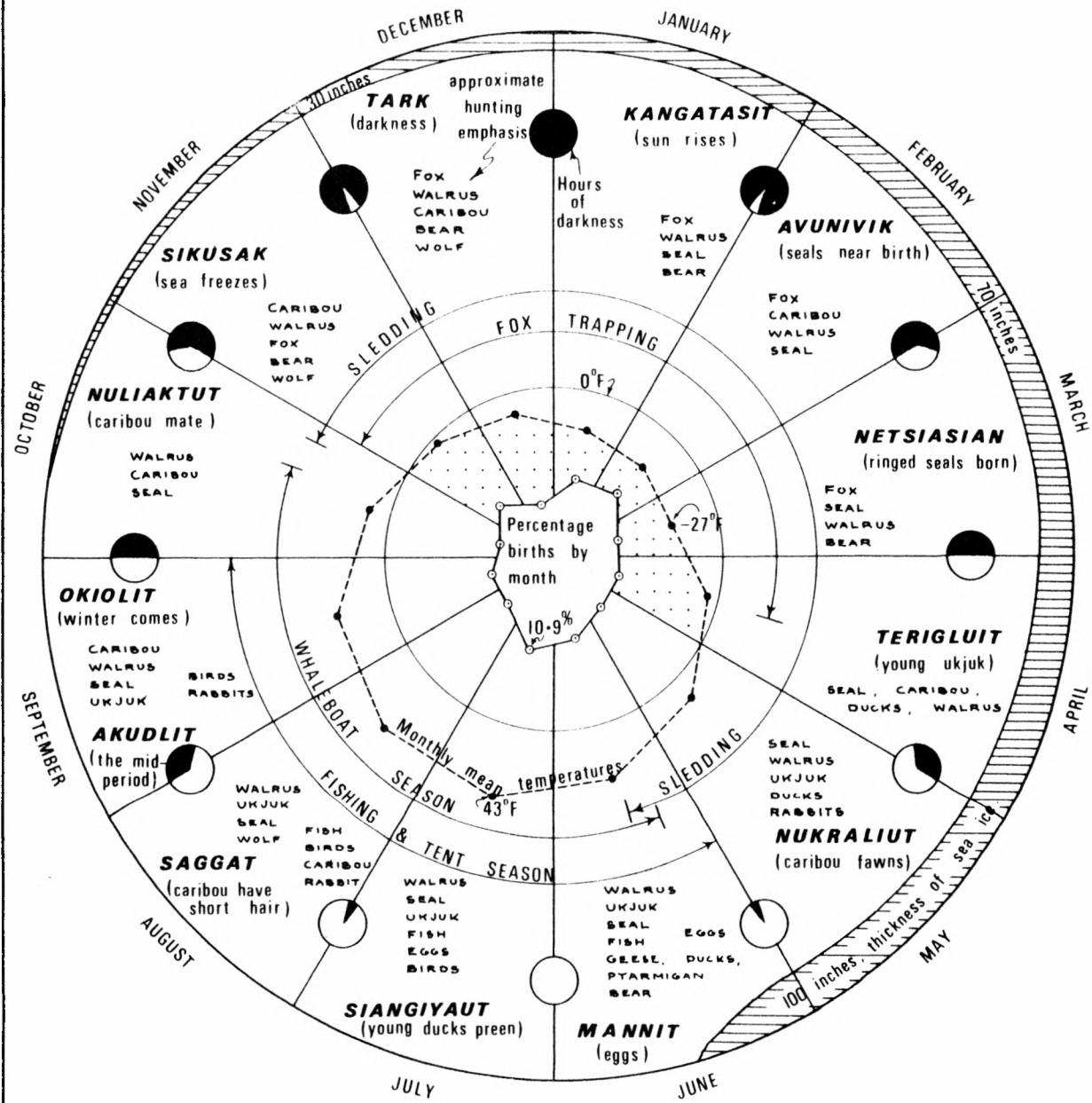
May. This the best month for uktuk sealing. Papak and Krisik prefer to stalk as do most Iglulingmiut hunters – creeping up to the seal with no cover. Ikalukjuak uses the screen often, but although he is usually successful, the Igloodik way is as good when done expertly. A three day walrus hunt is made, with the biggest canoe hauled on a sled to the floe edge (made indefinite by drifting ice). Five walrus and a female ukjuk with young are killed, and on the return journey Pakitjuk, the weak 'whipping dog' of Aipilee's team, is crushed under the sled and left to die.

Squawducks and sea-pigeons are massed along the floe edge, with other seabirds waiting for the coastal ponds to clear. Another caribou hunt is made towards the Barrow (Kugaluk) River, and Papak sets his seal net in a big crack in the ice of the bay, a mile from the camp. Ulimautalik and Monamee kill an adult bear that, like them, was stalking seals.

June. During this month Annanack and his foster-son make their usual journey by sled to Igloodik. The old man follows the custom of earlier time, and distributes most of his purchases to each household on his return. This is a busy month, but there is no

FIGURE 5

ANNUAL CYCLE USSUAKJUK CAMP



SOURCES.

THICKNESS OF ICE...DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT CIRCULARS # 3711, 3918, 4153, 3537.

MEAN MONTHLY TEMPERATURES...DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT MET'L BRANCH, HALL BEACH.

EBKIMO MONTHS...T.MATHIASSEN, THE MATERIAL CULTURE... 1928.

BIRTHS...FROM 1965 DISC LIST, ALL BIRTHS SINCE 1941. USSUAKJUK PATTERN IS ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THE REGIONAL ONE.

caribou hunting after the first week, for the snow is melting off the land, and the young caribou are being born. The seabirds are nesting around ponds, and the falcons, longspurs and other land birds have arrived.

Papak takes several seals in his net until the ice closes the crack completely, and he must hope to retrieve the net later. Basking seals are killed every day, and this is the time for the boys to learn the art. The floe edge has moved closer to camp, and walrus, ringed seal or bearded seal are brought home during a one day hunt. On one hunt, Ikalukjuak sees a dead walrus floating among the drift-ice. He retrieves it by harpooning it with a bladder-dart, and finds that it is one that he wounded two days ago.

By mid-June the ice is breaking up, and the whole camp moves by dogteam to the summer site at Tikerak, about twenty miles north. Normally the whaleboat is stored there during the winter, but it was lost in a storm last fall. At Tikerak the Ingnertok families join the Ussuakjuk group. Of the four families from Ingnertok, Kaerolik is Annanack's foster-son, Pititserak is a cousin of Papak through adoption, and his son has married an older woman, the recent widow of Kongasirut, an Ussuakjuk man who died of tuberculosis. She has four children, making the third family, and the fourth is that of Keenainak, who owns a canoe and outboard motor. The Ingnertok group this year totals twenty-three people, six of whom are active hunters. Kaerolik owns the whaleboat used by the group, and he is the leader in most respects, though Pititserak, who owns the engine, is close in seniority and authority.

The two camps work together during the summer hunt for walrus and sealmeat. Papak is usually the over-all leader, but this year he must be content to work with a canoe rather than a whaleboat. The char are running out of the lake behind Tikerak, and nets are set through the ice near camp. The children, who have been jigging for sculpins and tom-cod, now have bigger game, and some fish are speared for sport. The ptarmigan are moving in flocks inland, and there is always someone walking into camp with a white bundle of birds.

July. In this month, and in August, the wind sets from the north, completing the removal of shore ice. Newly separated ice is constantly moving south along the coast, but this flow may be interrupted at any time if the wind blows steadily from the east for a few days. This season of moving ice is the best time for walrus and bearded seal hunting and the hunters travel as far afield as the Kingukshat, or Manning Islands. In previous years caches were made at Quarman Point, but last year too much meat was taken by the men of Hall Beach, and this year's caches will be made close to home.

Fish-nets are set near the river mouth, and the red flesh of split fish is hanging everywhere in the camp. The eider-ducks are nesting and eggs are added to the larder. This is the time of year when most babies are born to the Iglulingmiut, and Krisik's wife has a son.

August. It is now three months since the main shopping trip to Igloodik. The whaleboat and two canoes are taken for the summer trading, and this time three women and five children go along, to visit at Hall Beach and Igloodik. Two young dogs go into the

whaleboat, promised to Kanangiank at Hall Beach. With visiting and hunting along the way, the round trip takes six days.

The men left behind hunt walrus and bearded seal until the wind takes all the ice far out to the east; then they concentrate on ringed seal, shot in open water. The ice is still well out when the trading party returns, and three canoes go up the Aigotadlik River as far as the rapids. From there the party goes inland with pack-dogs after caribou. Twelve caribou, including two bulls still with new horns in velvet, are killed, and all that cannot be carried back to the canoes is cached under stones.

September. The long days are ending, and the seabirds begin to gather along the coast, preparing for the flight south. The pack ice moves in again, and there is another intensive spell of walrus hunting. The coats of the caribou are now at their best for clothing, and another hunt is made with pack-dogs inland from the old campsite at Kringakjuak. As with all the hunts this year the caribou are seen in small bands, never more than twenty together. On this hunt twelve are killed, and most of the meat is cached, to be collected when sledding is resumed.

The supply-ships are at Hall Beach and Igloolik, but only Keenainak, who needs cash, goes to help with the unloading. Papak's new boat arrives, and is stored at Igloolik, to be launched there next summer. The other men continue to hunt, and as ice begins to form in the small bays, the two groups separate, the Ussuakjuk people returning by boat to their winter site. Some repairs are made to the *karnngmat*, and by the time the snow comes each family has settled in, with the women working on the skin clothing and bedding for the coming winter.

October. Just before the mating season of the caribou, another hunt is made on foot from Ussuakjuk, while the older men hunt walrus by boat. For about two weeks after the walrus hunt the ice forms in the bay, not thick enough to bear sled traffic, but too thick for boating from camp. The wind blows strongly at this time, and but for short caribou-hunts activity slows after a busy summer.

November. The bay ice is now thick enough to travel on, and about four miles offshore walrus are feeding, breaking through the new ice to breathe. The men practice the particularly local art of the region, harpooning and shooting the walrus as they break through. The trapping season opens, and the lines are set out along the coast, or up the inland routes where caribou may be seen. The snow is deep enough for sled travel, and the last caribou hunt of the year is made in from Anangiakjuk, south of the Jenness River.

December. There is no shortage of meat, for the summer hunt was good – unlike 1963, when winds kept the whole of Parry Bay blocked with ice, and the dogs had little food by spring. With caches full at Ussuakjuk and Tikerak, there are only two short trips to the floe edge early in the month. Papak and Titanark, while retrieving a walrus, are blown out to sea, and have a difficult time working their way back against the wind and the skim ice forming off the floe edge.

A few days before Christmas, Krisik, Papak, Kilabvak and Titanark take their teams to Igloolik to trade. Titanark's five-year-old daughter, Ugak, has an abscessed

tooth, and goes with the party to Hall Beach, looked after by her older sister Nauyuyakvik. Aipilee's sled is decrepit, and at Igloolik he makes a new one before returning home. Rather than make do with second-hand or scrap material, he buys the specially-sawed twenty-foot wooden runners and steel sheathing from the store, at a cost of over one hundred dollars. The party stay at Igloolik for the Christmas church service and the dancing, before setting out on the 140-mile journey home through the twilight that will end their year.

Footnotes

¹D. Damas, *Iglulingmiut Kinship and Local Groupings*, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 196, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963.

²W.G. Ross, "The Igloodik Eskimos", *Scottish Geographical Journal*, No. 76, 1960, p. 154.

³*op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴Jean Malaurie, "Preliminary Report from an Anthropological Mission for Demographic and Economic Research carried out in Igloodik. N.W.T. District Canada", Ottawa, unpublished manuscript, Northern Co-ordination & Research Centre, Northern Affairs & National Resources.

⁵G. Anders, *Northern Foxe Basin, An Area Economic Survey*, Ottawa, Industrial Division, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1965, pp. 57 – 67.

⁶*op. cit.*, pp. 71 – 97.

⁷Camp groups usually sold fur communally. Of 46 individual Eskimos selling furs in 1964, the 10 most successful were from the Igloodik Island area.

⁸*op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁹Damas, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁰K. Honda and T. Fujiki, *Report on the life of the Eskimos in the Canadian Arctic*, Tokyo, Asahi Shimbun, 1963, p. 73.

CHAPTER V

THE ATROPHY OF AN ECOLOGY

The history of human settlement in northern Foxe Basin prior to about 1800 has one principal constant - a general long-term equilibrium between people and the animal resources that sustained them. As Sonnenfeld has pointed out, the pre-rifle hunting technology of the Eskimos established its own limits of resource-use, a control as effective as that of the environment.¹

Two main elements of disequilibrium entered the ecology of northern Foxe Basin early in the 19th century. One was the adoption of manufactured (imported) items of technology, and the other, integration into an externally based cash economy. Technological innovation expanded production of fur and meat towards or beyond the limits of the resource base, and the increasing cost of consumer goods could not be met from the sale of hunting produce.

Compared to other Arctic regions such as Ungava or the Mackenzie Delta, the ecological balance of northern Foxe Basin survived for a long time — a century and a half after initial contact. To some observers the camp system of the 1930's to early 1960's appeared to be a valid and viable socio-economic system based on a regional ecology. Damas in his prediction for the future of camp settlement omits the "revolution of rising expectation"² and, in March 1956, the following note was given to an official visiting Igloolik from Ottawa:

"So far these people have not been greatly affected by the DEWline. Mr. — has purposely not encouraged them to take employment. This is one of the areas where very few problems arise. These people obtain all the country food they need and continue to live a quite primitive existence. Walrus have always been very numerous in this area, but it would be interesting to know if there are any reports of any decline in this resource in recent years"³

Despite the appearance of equilibrium, the hunting economy, settlement pattern and social structure were almost certainly doomed by the technological and economic elements mentioned earlier. The two preceding chapters have dealt with patterns easily discerned and measured — the decline and growth of population; the expansion and contraction of settlement, and a system of territorial sub-division. This chapter will examine more closely the process of change, with particular reference to settlement patterns. The analytical model requires an unreal fractioning of the universality that is change, but with the limitations of method in mind one can follow changes in the settlement pattern of Iglulingmiut via changes in their material and intellectual culture.

Agents of Contact, 1822 - 1960

The Iglulingmiut had contact with whalers outside their region, but for a century after Parry's departure, recorded visits to northern Foxe Basin by white man were few.

Hall reached Iglulik in 1867 and 1868, and Tremblay in 1913. The formidable ice packs discouraged whalers and whales from the region, and delayed contact well into the 20th century.

The whaling ships were mostly American and British, and Norwegian explorers posed a later threat to Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic Archipelago. Nominal title was acquired by Canada in 1880, and in 1903 the first arctic patrol was made by the S.S. *Neptune*.⁴

A police post was established at Fullerton on the south west margin of Melville-Borden Eskimo territory. Intermittent police patrols were made to southern Melville Peninsula until 1922, when the first Eastern Arctic Patrol was made. The Patrol of 1923 reached Pingerkalik in northern Foxe Basin with a crew of police, surveyors, doctors and administrators, but no permanent post was established. Lavoie and Tremblay of the *Arctic* patrol made longer contact in 1910 and 1913, sledging south from Arctic Bay.

The police post at Pond Inlet was established in 1922, and from there annual patrols visited northern Foxe Basin. Nokadlak, who killed a trader, was apprehended near Igloodik and tried at Pond Inlet. Captains Spicer and Comer sailed close to Hall Beach near the end of the 19th century, and the Danish 5th Thule Expedition spent three years, from 1921 to 1924, in south and north Foxe Basin. In 1927 and 1928 the Putnam and MacMillan expeditions ships visited the Hall Beach area briefly, and Father Bazin of the Abvadjak mission wrote of an unidentified schooner that visited Igloodik in 1933.⁵ The British-Canadian Arctic Expedition spent the years 1937 and 1938 in the region, and several members returned in 1939 to continue various projects. Another member, T.H. Manning, sailed with his wife around the entire Basin in 1940. Canon Turner of Moffet Inlet visited the region in 1938 and in 1941 by dogteam. In the latter year the Eskimo population were given identification discs, and entered the Canadian statistical scene.

Throughout the war there was little communication between northern Foxe Basin and the outside world. The Hudson's Bay Company and Roman Catholic Mission boats visited Igloodik intermittently during the late 30's, but from 1940 to 1947 no ship could navigate through the ice. The Roman Catholic mission pilot, Father Schulte, made mercy flights to Arctic Bay and Igloodik in 1938, to be followed by others during the war years, when the mission acquired a transceiver set. The Roman Catholic hospital at Chesterfield Inlet had been treating the Igloodik Eskimos since 1931, but ice conditions delayed until after 1945 the tuberculosis campaign of the federal health authorities – a campaign that helped to stem a high death-rate but had a disjunctive effect on Eskimo families when one or both members of married couples were taken to southern sanatoria for extended stays.

Between 1945 and 1955 a series of scientific expeditions were made to northern Foxe Basin, including the cruises of the research vessels *Nauya* and *Calanus*, and the sojourn of a medical party from Queens University. Two American ice-breakers in 1948 made the first large vessel passage of Fury and Hecla Strait from the Gulf of Boothia, and in 1956 the Canadian vessel *Labrador* made the passage westward.⁶



PLATE 12 – Spearing fish at weir, 1962
(photo D. Bisset)

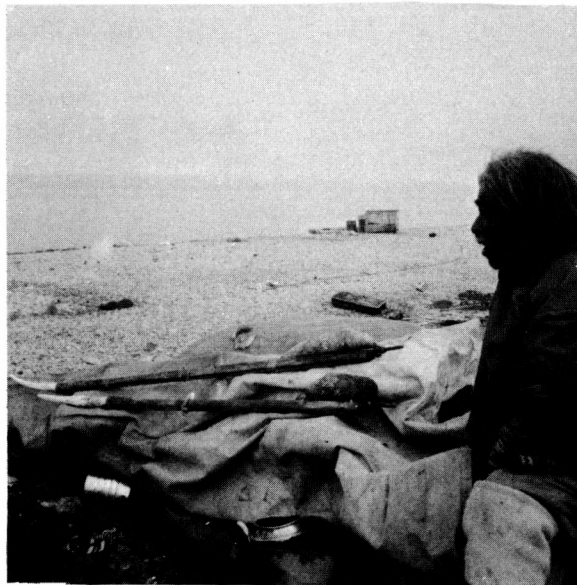


PLATE 13 – Javagiak at Hall Beach with bladder-darts 1966
(photo K. Crowe)

From 1822 to 1955, visitors to northern Foxe Basin from outside the Arctic were relatively few and infrequent. From 1931 to 1955 there were never more than three resident white men. The accumulative effect of the contacts may have had long-term sociological effects, but up to 1955 it had not appreciably affected the hunting ecology and the pattern of dispersed camp settlement.

In 1955, '56 and '57 the DEWline was built, creating six modern communities with airstrips from east to west across northern Foxe Basin. Several Eskimo families came to the region from the western Arctic as DEWline employees, bringing with them the attitudes and habits of the "more acculturated" Eskimo. After some instances of prostitution, the abuse of liquor and the illegal sale of ivory, Eskimos other than the few employees were banned from DEWline buildings, and in general the dispersed camp system was not immediately affected.

Despite the lack of immediate social or areal effect, the size, novelty and prodigious wealth of the DEWline must have had a great impact on the Iglulingmiut. Some fundamental change in the psyche of the Eskimo was inevitable. After 1960 the growth of two administrative communities at Hall Beach and Igloodik brought a great increase in cultural and economic contact, and the camp ecology went into swift decline.

The Changing Resource Base

Before the 19th century only the periphery of the region, particularly the southwest was affected by the use of rifles. The whaling captains employed their own riflemen and supplied Eskimos with rifles in order to obtain meat, furs and ivory. In 1867 the ship *Black Eagle* took on board at Repulse Bay 20 tons of walrus, musk-ox, and caribou meat.⁷ In 1903 the U.S.S. *Era* took 350 musk-ox hides, and the *Arctic* 150.⁸ Captain Comer, in 1905 took 38 musk-ox hides and 11 Greenland Whales.⁹

Although the slaughter of game by or for the whalers took place on the borders of northern Foxe Basin, the region was affected. By about 1930 the migration of caribou across Rae Isthmus had ended,¹⁰ and the shortage of game in Repulse Bay was a key factor in the emigration of Aivilingmiut of northern Foxe Basin.

Rifles were first acquired by the Iglulingmiut about 1840, but it was not until about 1936 that they had entirely displaced bows.¹¹ The whalers sold rifles for furs, and Superintendent Moodie of the R.N.W.M.P. cited a case where a ten-dollar gun was sold for \$750.00 worth of furs.¹² Use of rifles meant journeys beyond the region for ammunition until the Igloodik store was built, and bullets for musk loaders were occasionally made of soapstone.¹³

The new need for skins and ivory as articles of trade made for increased use of game resources. Eskimo hunters with rifles could and did kill more caribou than had been possible with spears and arrows. The caribou herds which remained on Melville Peninsula were greatly reduced,¹⁴ and in 1937 the Iglulingmiut were so short of caribou-skin clothing that families migrated to the marginal east coast of Foxe Basin, where caribou at least were plentiful¹⁵ In 1953 the Hudson's Bay Company imported skins to the region from Baker Lake for sale to Iglulingmiut,¹⁶ and had brought skins to Repulse Bay in the 1930's.

By 1925 steel-spring fox traps were fast replacing stone deadfalls and other primitive traps. Fox furs were replacing walrus ivory as a major item of trade, and had to be taken to Pond Inlet, Repulse Bay or Arctic Bay until 1939 (when the Igloodik store opened). Damas has pointed out that the Iglulingmiut never trapped as diligently as, say, the Holman Islanders, and that once the initial investment in whaleboats was made, the economic emphasis was on meat hunting.¹⁷

Despite its small role relative to some other regions, fox trapping became the economic base of Eskimo life from about 1920 to at least 1950. It was the *raison d'être* of the trading posts, and provided for the purchase of rifles, boats, stoves, canvas, tea, tobacco and an increasing number of other goods. Although fox trapping potential varied little within the region, the relatively scarce distribution of foxes required more dispersion of settlement than did sea-mammal hunting. The increased emphasis on winter trapping was a factor in the expansion of camp settlement during 1930's and 1940's.

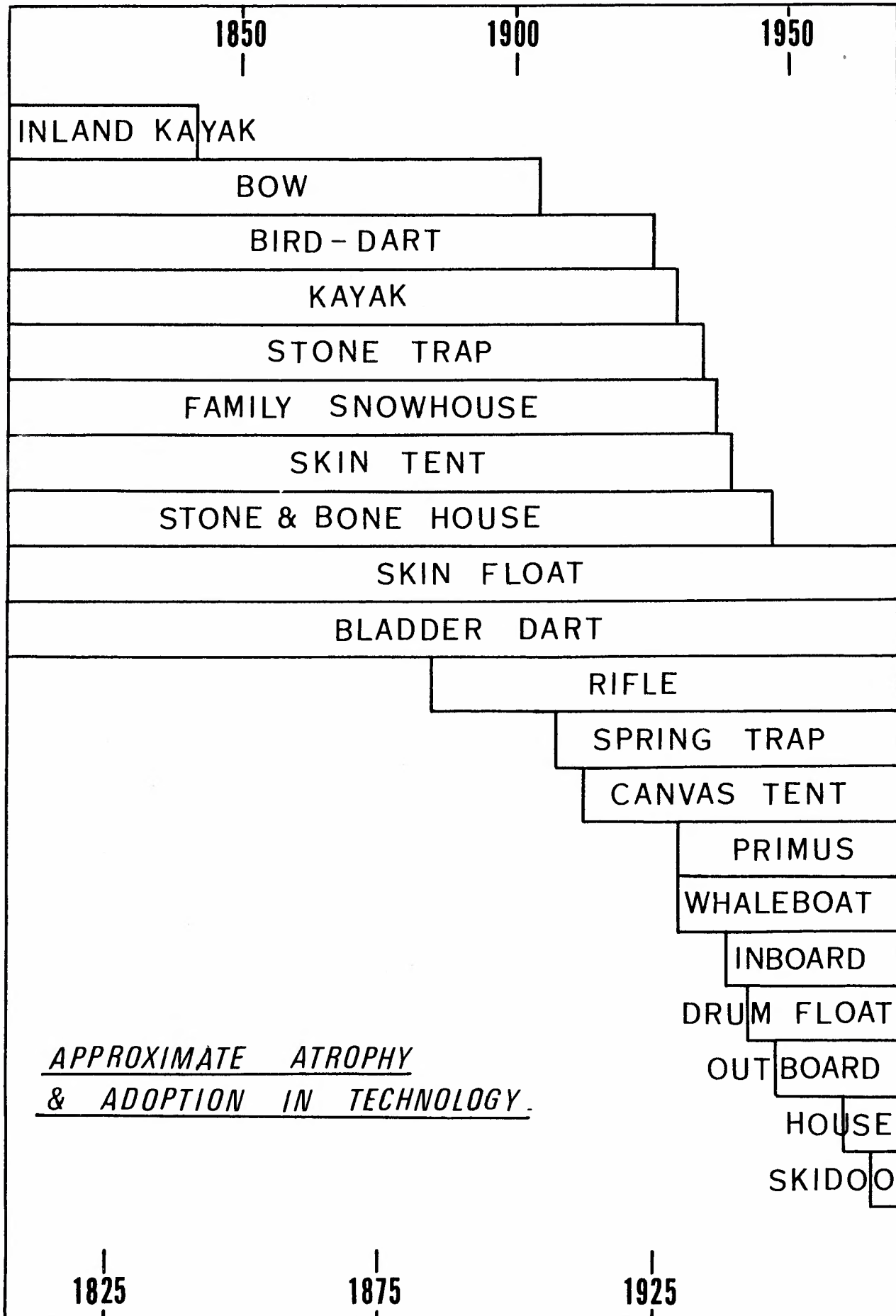
Despite some early experimentation with rifle-traps, *maulirkpok* scaling at breathing-holes declined in importance in favour of the shooting of *uktuk* seals basking on the ice. Increased yields of seal through the use of rifles may have been the chief factor permitting settlement of the Agu Bay area, where walrus are rare. Whether on the ice, at the floe edge or from boats, many more seals could be struck by rifle-fire than by harpoon, and the total yield of sealmeat or sealskin was raised. Losses by sinking or the escape of wounded seals increased greatly in the process. Anders has estimated that the regional seal potential was under-used by some 25 per cent in 1965.¹⁸ Full use, however, assumes an even distribution of hunting throughout the region, and Eskimo informants noted a general decline in the population of both ringed and bearded seals near the camps of the core area.

Although the sale of raw fur and ivory was limited by legislation after 1913, some killing of walrus for ivory continued, and in 1931 an act was passed on behalf of the Federal Department of Fisheries prohibiting the export of unworked ivory from the N.W.T. The Iglulingmiut resumed subsistence hunting for walrus, but the number of hunters increased, and the wastage of walrus that were shot without being harpooned was considerable. Freuchen commented on the waste of walrus in 1923,¹⁹ and in 1966 Mansfield estimated losses by sinking at 30 per cent of all kills.²⁰ The walrus whose numbers made boat-crossings in Hooper Inlet dangerous²¹ were driven from there or exterminated by 1948, and settlement on the island of Abvadjak ended as a result.

The main herd in northern Foxe Basin was protected to a considerable extent by floating ice. Anders' calculation of the permissible sustained yield²² differs from those of Loughrey and Mansfield,²³ who indicate over-predation since about 1956. Whether or not the ratio of human population to walrus population was favourable to hunters in theory, in fact the frequency of walrus in the main settlement areas decreased steadily after 1955 due to increased hunting pressure and boat traffic.

With the proceeds of fox trapping, hunters could buy rifles and boats, and with increased kills, particularly of walrus, could feed large dogteams, which in turn facilitated travel along traplines. No accurate count of dogs in northern Foxe Basin was

FIGURE 6



made prior to 1965, but teams increased in size from the 8 to 10 of Lyon's time to 16 or 17 in the 1920's and 1930's. As Damas has suggested, there may have been occasional division of teams between father and son as more wood became available for sleds. This would make team size a doubtful criterion of total dog population.²⁴ Despite epidemics in 1936 and 1949, the dog population probably had a long term increase, and in 1965 the writer counted about 730 dogs owned by 100 full-time hunting families.

The year round daily average of meat consumed by a sled dog was about 2 lbs, and the same was true of the Iglulingmiut until about 1965. This rule-of-thumb figure agrees with Bissett's estimate for the region in 1963²⁵ and with Usher's calculations for Coppermine-Holman Eskimos.²⁶ Bissett wrote that 85 to 90 per cent of Iglulingmiut food requirements were obtained through hunting walrus, seal and caribou. Using the 1965 population figures for people and dogs, the meat requirement for that year was 885,500 lbs. Anders' table shows 798,900 lbs. actually obtained. His figure shows a possible increase in the harvest of all species, up to a total of 988,900 lbs.²⁷

The above total regional sustained yield is based on total game reserves, and does not take into account accessibility to settlement at the time. It is based too, on resources that in 1965 were static, compared to a burgeoning human population. In terms of the ratio of people to meat available, the game resources of northern Foxe Basin were marginal by 1965. Several years before 1965 the need for cash input had made the subsistence economy into a subsidy economy.

Technological Change

In the pre-rifle days, groups of men, women and children cooperated at goose drives and caribou drives, or to frighten seals into rising at one central breathing hole. With the use of rifles, hunting became more and more a male specialty. The introduction of fishnets reduced the incidence of group fishing with spears at the *shaputit* dams.

Men with bigger dogteams and longer sleds could "work" a hunting area radially from a central camp, and the use of primus stoves meant that the stone kudlik lamp could be left, with its female tender, at the same camp. The decrease in the availability of caribou skins coupled with changes in fashion, meant that fewer women were equipped with skin travelling clothes. Dressed in duffle-cloth, they stayed home during the coldest months. The distinctive pouched boot of the Melville-Borden culture group was adapted for sled travel, for the woman could draw her foot up into the pouch for warmth while riding. This type of boot went out of use during the early 1930's.

The summer family expeditions inland with pack-dogs were replaced by marine expeditions in whaleboats to the islands to collect birds' eggs, but in general the changes in technology and clothing increased the sedentary role of women and children. From observations made by the writer in northern Foxe Basin and other Arctic regions, the misery experienced by underclad camp families may well have been one unarticulated reason for abandonment of the camp system. The substitution of manufactured clothing for caribou skin, enforced by circumstances or done by choice,

was probably a main reason for the abandonment of snowhouses as winter quarters on the sea ice.

Walrus hunting at sea had usually been carried out by men in kayaks lashed together for safety.²⁸ With the advent of wooden whaleboats, a new form of group hunt developed, under the leadership of one man who usually owned all or part of the boat. The boats increased yields of walrus meat, and ice permitting, could carry enough supplies in the fall to see a remote camp through the winter.

Whaleboats were a key element in the expansion of camp settlement during three decades. The first boats entered the region in the early 1920's.²⁹ During the 1940's the Jens Munk Island and Iglukjuet camps were established by families with newly acquired boats.³⁰ In the fall of 1965 there were 12 whaleboats or boats of similar size distributed in the camps of northern Foxe Basin, though three were unfit for use.

During the 1950's, canoes and outboard motors became a new technological element in northern Foxe Basin. By 1965 there were 38 canoes and 44 outboard motors owned by Eskimos in the region. Roughly half of these were operated from Hall Beach and Igloolik, the remainder from camp.

The innovative role of the powered canoe seems to have been overlooked by students of recent Arctic developments. The speed of the canoes powered by outboard motors, and the possibility of river navigation, greatly increased the daily range of hunters, at least under adequate ice and wind conditions. From one to three men can launch and land almost any canoe, and if carried on a sled to the floe edge, a canoe extends the boating season to 6 or 7 months (in Foxe Basin) compared to 3 months for whaleboats.

Powered canoes after about 1955 permitted individual hunting families or pairs of men to operate on an annual cycle independent of the whaleboat crew camps. A few full-time hunters began to live in this way, visiting various camp territories from their home bases at Igloolik or Hall Beach. Wage-earning Eskimos did the same on weekends and during holidays, or provided the capital and operating money for a relative to hunt full-time by canoe in exchange for meat.

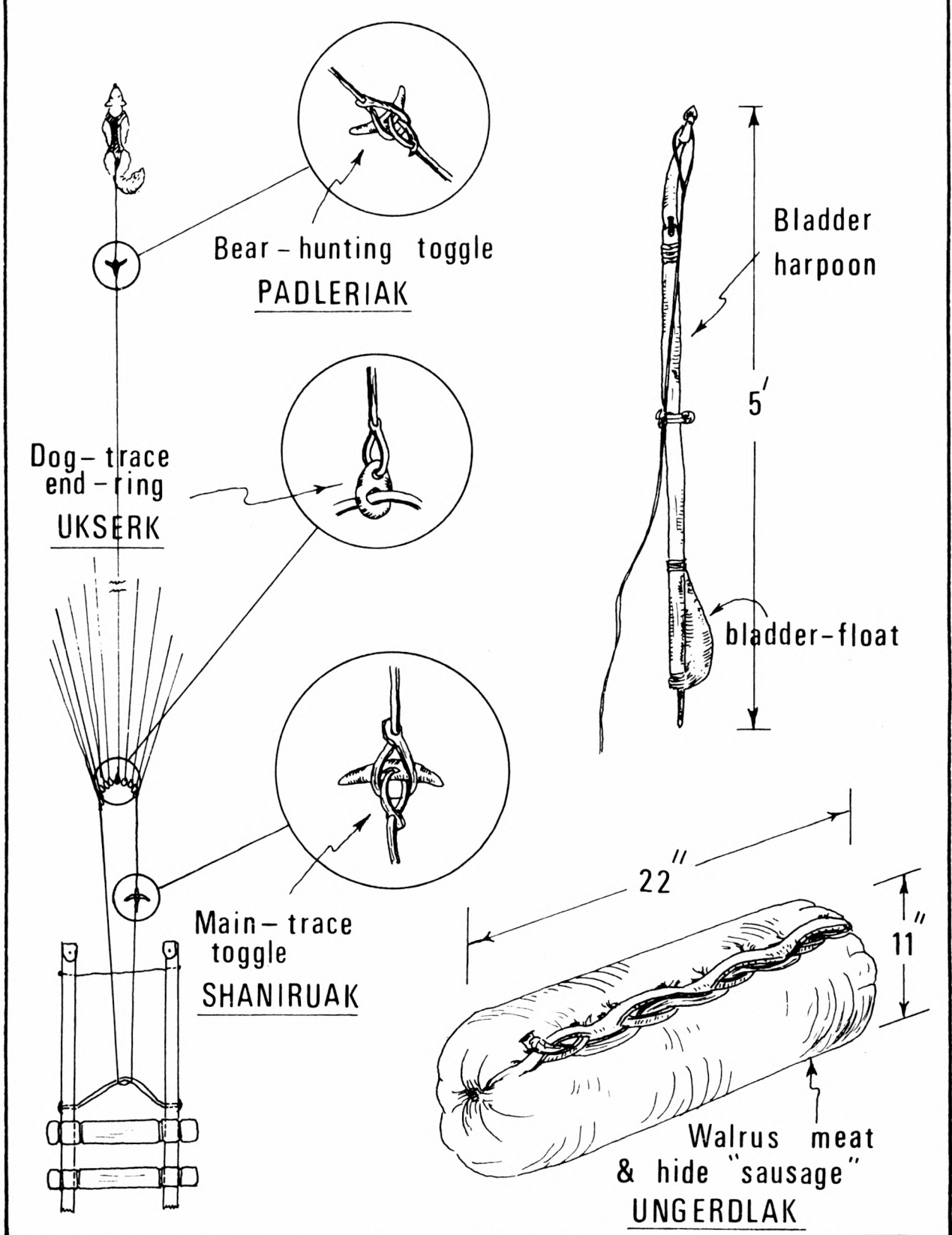
Anders has commented on the expense of canoe hunting in terms of gasoline used, shots wasted and time spent cruising.³¹ Heavy outboard motor traffic in any area also drives away seals, walrus and seabirds. The camp era ended too quickly for the full effects of powered canoes to be measured. It appears, however, that the high cost of canoe operation, the adverse effect of the motors on wildlife, and the challenge to the whaleboat-based communities would have been another powerful force for disequilibrium.

The mechanical sled, or "skidoo" as it usually called, after the first successful model, made its first appearance in northern Foxe Basin in 1963. By 1965 six skidoos were owned by Iglulingmiut, only one of them by a full-time hunter. The camps closed before the effect of skidoos upon hunting settlement could be assessed.

FIGURE 7

ITEMS OF TECHNOLOGY IN USE

AT USSUAKJUK, 1965



Modifications in housing had little or no effect on settlement until 1966. Canvas replaced skins as roofing or lining in *karnngmat* houses or snowhouses, but the *karnngmat* in particular survived as a house-form until the close of the camps. Scrap-wood, mainly from the DEWline, influenced house construction in favour of “whiteman’s style” housing, but again no location factor was involved.

Minor items of technology survived unchanged from Parry’s time, (see Figs. 6 and 7, Plates 12 and 13) and other artifacts were substituted, for example the ten-gallon drum in place of a sealskin-float. As with housing, these changes were minor in terms of the settlement pattern, but they illustrate the continuity of the hunting culture up to 1966.

Subsistence to Subsidy

The whaling era was characterized by instability in population movement, game harvesting and commodity prices. With the establishment of Hudson’s Bay Company trading posts during the 1920’s and 1930’s, the Iglulingmiut were able to return to a modified version of the ancient regional pattern of activity and settlement.

Rifles and whaleboats, the two most significant items in the “new” ecology, were easily acquired in terms of fox furs, the currency of the arctic in the early twentieth century. Damas has shown that in the mid-1920’s a whaleboat cost about 85 fox furs^{3 2} – relatively easy for a small group of hunters to trap. In the mid-1960’s the boat with its essential motor would cost about 230 furs.^{3 3}

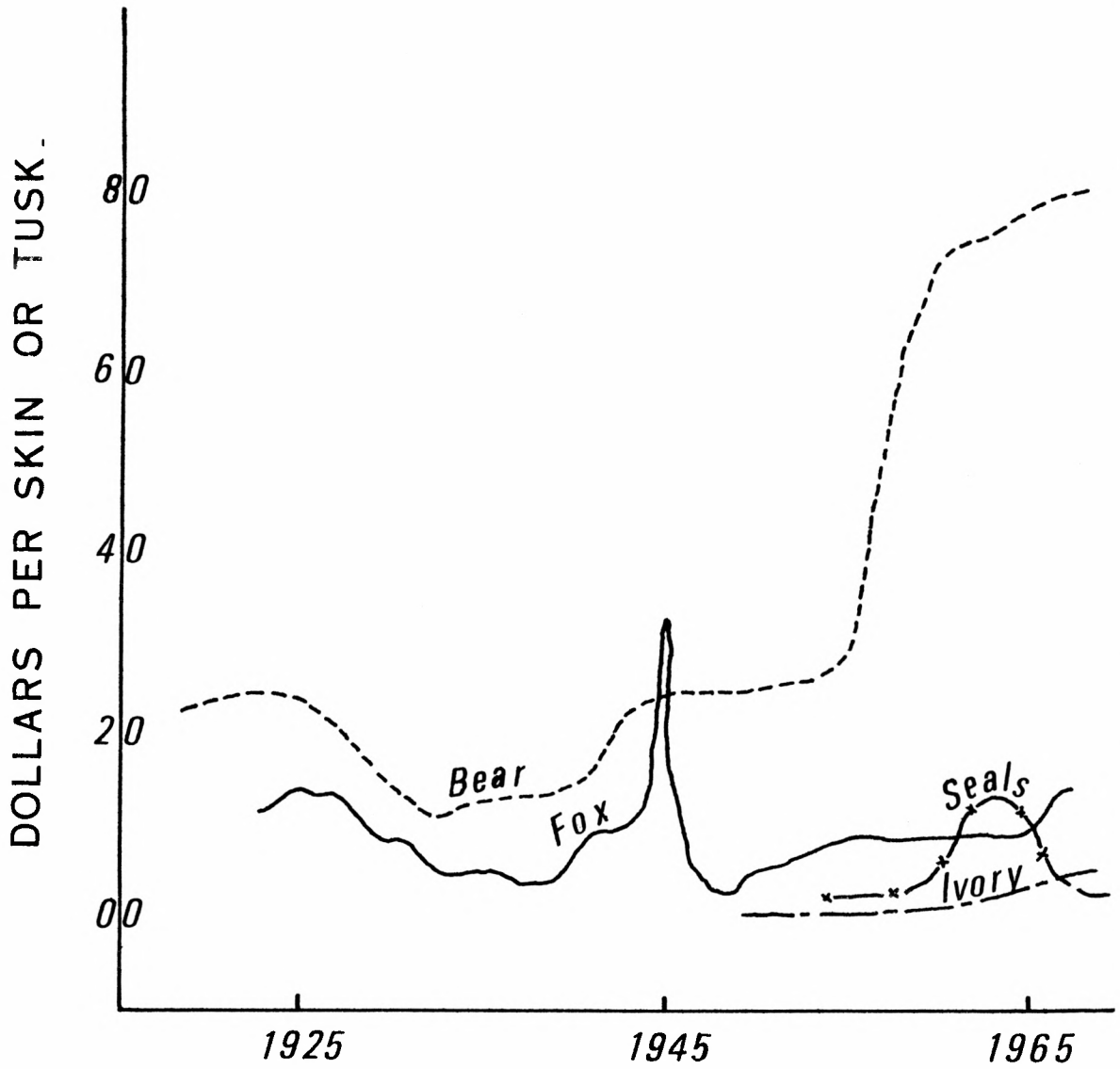
After the initial capital outlay for a boat, the Iglulingmiut before 1950 had low operational costs, and tended to settle the camp areas by hunting rather than trapping potential. Trapping was always a factor, however, and the post manager exerted what pressure he could to increase fur production. In 1945 Family Allowances were introduced, followed within a few years by other pensions and allowances. The camps now had regular sources of income which made them still more independent of trapline location and fur-price fluctuations. Old, disabled and very young Iglulingmiut now became assets to the hunting settlements rather than the liabilities that they had often been with an unsubsidized economy.

Until the 1950’s the demand for consumer goods was small. The trading post carried little except rifles, traps, ammunition, gasoline, tea, flour, tobacco, sled-timber, matches and cloth. The Iglulingmiut maintained a balance of payments in terms of fur exported and goods imported. Figure 9 shows no subsidy for 1940-41.

This state of equilibrium was threatened by a creeping increase in the use of consumer goods. From 1935 to 1966 an average of 44 children per year attended the Chesterfield school from Igloolik. From 1960 the federal hostel and day school at Igloolik had steadily expanded, and in the fall of 1964 the first students went to the vocational training school in Churchill, Manitoba. Even more than the inmates of hospitals, these students learned skills, tastes and aspirations incompatible with the traditional ones; their needs could not be met from the fur economy.

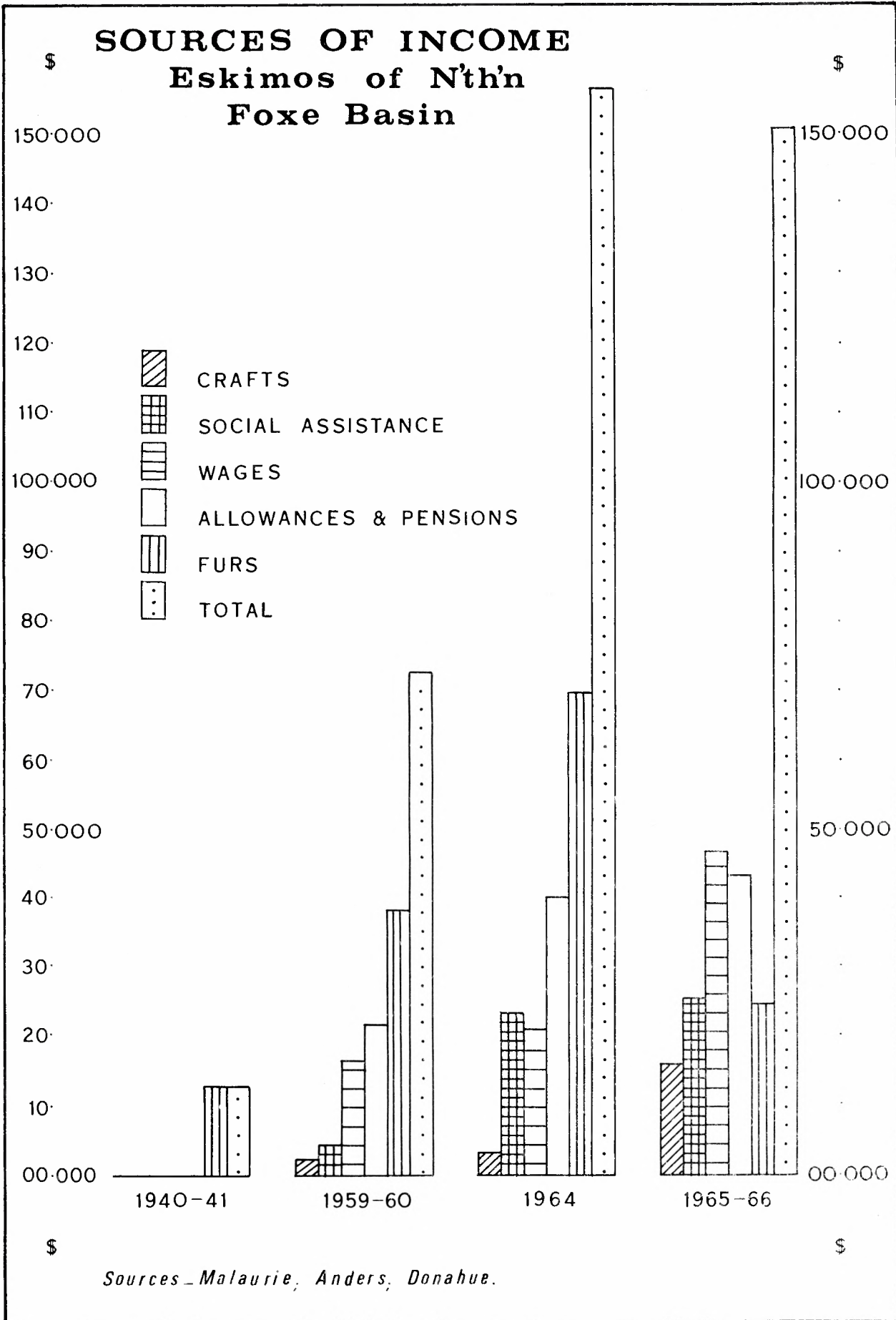
FIGURE 8

AVERAGE PRICES PAID TO IGLULINGMIUT.
FUR AND IVORY, 1920-1967.



Sources—Harrington, Cantley, Anders, Donahue.

FIGURE 9



In 1956, when the Iglulingmiut were being actively discouraged from taking DEWline employment in order to preserve their self-sufficient hunting way of life, almost half of their consumer needs were met by direct or indirect subsidy from government. The brief sealskin “boom” of 1962 to 1964 resulted in investment in both luxury goods and hunting equipment, such as bigger outboard motors. The end of the boom left the economy still further out of equilibrium.

One example may illustrate the situation of most full-time hunters and trappers in 1965:

Towkee has been fairly consistent in filling in game report forms for the R.C.M.P. Like most Eskimos of his generation, his numerical concepts are inexact, and during some months he forgot to fill in the form. Nevertheless the following table gives a fairly accurate picture of the resources of his camp area, and the emphasis dictated by his equipment, his group and his personal inclination.^{3 4}

Table 1 – Game Species Killed by One Hunter 1962-1966

Month	Caribou	Ukjuk	Jar seal	Fox	Wolf	Walrus	Bear	Whale
July 1/65	1	2	13	—	—	—	—	—
Aug	23	6	6	—	3	—	—	—
Sept	20	1	4	—	—	—	—	—
Oct	—	1	8	—	—	—	—	—
Nov	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dec	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
Jan	7	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Feb	11	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Mar	9	1	2	1	—	—	—	—
Apr	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
May	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
June 30/66	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	77	11	41	6	5	—	—	—

This hunter killed more than the regional average of caribou, as his camp is in the area nearest to caribou herds. He hunted with a small group consisting of his fifteen year old son and another married hunter. They had only a canoe with a small motor, and did no walrus hunting that year. The fox cycle that year was at a low point.^{3 5}

His total income for the year, with his son, is set out in the following tabulation:

Fur sales	\$550.00
Family Allowance	432.00
Social Assistance	277.00
Stevedoring	141.00
Total	\$1,400.00

The total of \$1,400 represents \$200 for each member of the family

In addition to living expenses of his family (seven including himself) the hunter was making payments on the canoe, which he purchased in 1965 following the wreck of his whaleboat. The loss of the whaleboat was a major misfortune, but not an uncommon one in the ice-filled waters of the region.

In 1965-66, poor fox trapping was general throughout the region, and the example given above is a fair representation of the economic dilemma of most camp Eskimos in northern Foxe Basin. The minimum yearly cash requirement for fuel; food; tobacco; ammunition and equipment-maintenance was about \$1,750 during the 1960's for a family of five living in camp.³⁶ The minimum per capita income needed was therefore \$350, much more than the actual average of \$205 from 1959 to 1965. Even if the Iglulingmiut had money enough for ammunition, meat and skins for subsistence living, this did not satisfy other tastes acquired or thrust upon them.

With better organized and more diligently – pursued trapping, the gap between regional “real” income and the cost of imported goods might have been closed briefly. This however, would have meant a decrease in meat-hunting for human consumption, and a corresponding increase in reliance on store-food and clothing. Thus the spiral would have taken another turn. Hunting and trapping from dispersed camp locations could not continue, but movement to the settlements of Hall Beach and Igloodik has not really solved the economic problem. Almost all the wages shown for 1964 and 1965 in Figure 9 were earned on the construction of Eskimo housing, a short term and subsidized source of income. The regional economy, apart from a minor output of crafts and furs, has become one of taking in its own washing.

Society and Settlement

Kinship. The isolation of northern Foxe Basin was disturbed slowly and late. Once the store at Igloodik was established, contact even with the other regions of the cultural-linguistic territory was reduced. The immigrants of the early fur-trade days joined the Iglulingmiut whole, and today there are few “foreign” Eskimos in the region compared to most others.

Iglulingmiut society is still distinct, functioning and shaped around a network of kinship ties. Damas discerned two important structural elements in the society, the *ungayuk* relationships of affection and co-operation, and the *narlaktok* relationships of seniority and obedience.³⁷ Within these two sets of roles there are universal and complex systems of marriage, adoption and economic activity.

All facets of the social system interrelate, and the part each person plays in society is defined in fairly exact terms. On the whole, status and role are determined by sex, age and ability, and in most situations an Iglulingmiut knows exactly who he or she can and should be familiar with, give orders to, or assist. The avoidance-relationships are still observed though to a lessening degree, and a woman interpreting for an adult educator in 1967 was loathe to pass on instruction to her adult brother.³⁸

Arranged marriage is still prevalent among the Iglulingmiut, and assisted suicide has been recent.³⁹ In keeping with the trend of social change in other folk societies,

technological innovation has been accepted more rapidly than new social forms. The recent termination of the camp era and the instruction of children in “Western ways”, particularly in boarding schools, will probably reduce the strength of kinship in the social and economic system.

A large family was an asset to any camp leader. Sons especially, ensured extra hands in the group economy, and all children might make useful alliances, through marriage, for reciprocal exchange between camps. Travellers or visitors moving within the region were sure of lodging, dog-food and other assistance from their extended or near kin. By 1962 however, some marriageable girls were reluctant to marry into camp families, preferring life in the administrative centres, and young men had to seek brides beyond the region.⁴⁰

Movement within the region between established camp areas – and occasionally to new “outpost” areas – was common throughout the camp settlement era, i.e. 1925–1965. These were some of the most common reasons for movement:

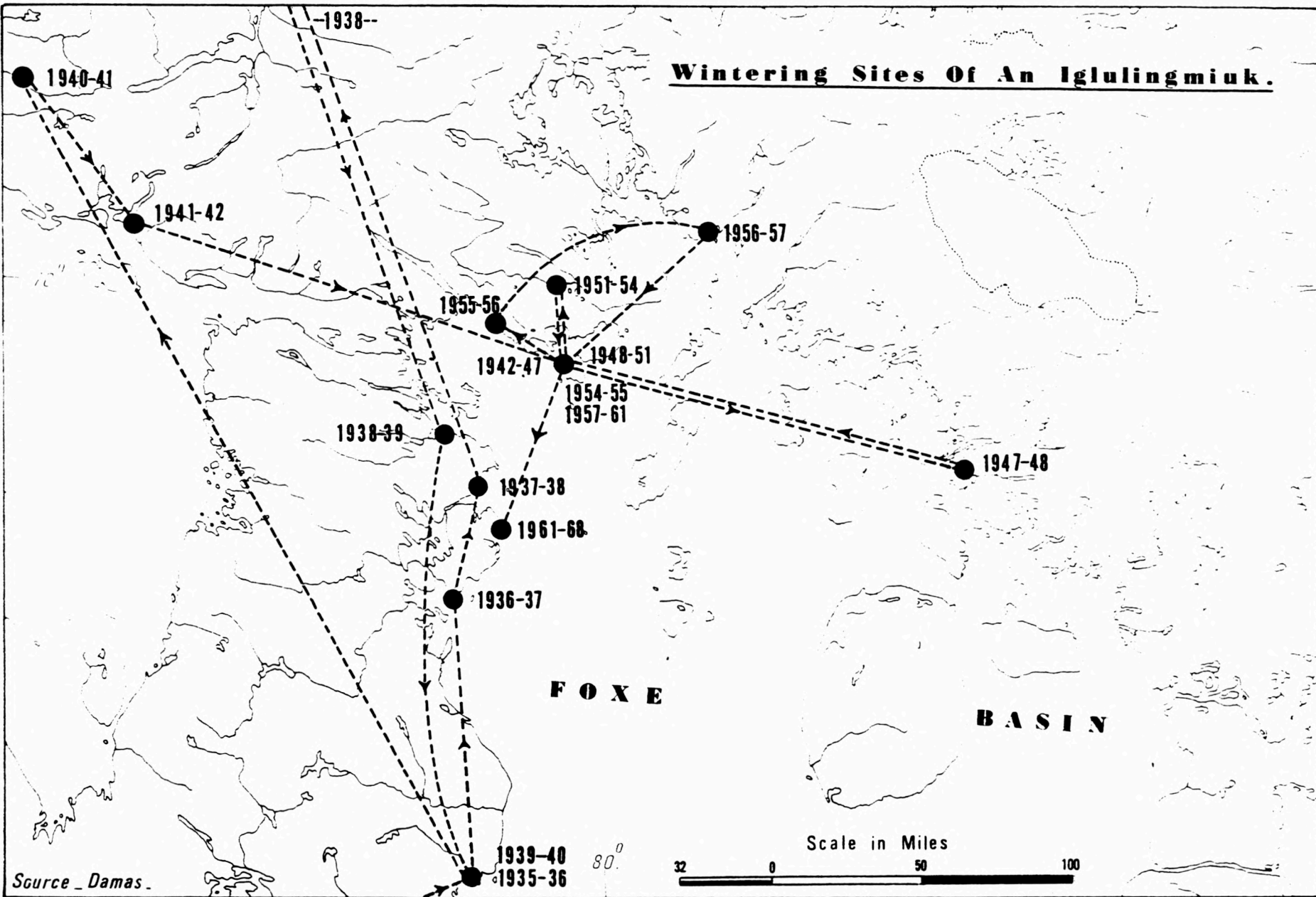
- 1 Customary bride-service of one or more years given by a young man to his wife’s immediate family.
- 2 Attachment to a strong leader, a wage earner, a boat crew or an older relative – sometimes on command.
- 3 Movement to better hunting and trapping.
- 4 Movement away from an area following hardship or disaster.
- 5 Grouping of related families, or dispersal through quarrels.
- 6 Wage-employment at DEWline sites or the two main settlements.
- 7 Loss of wife or husband.

Map 12 shows the movements of one immigrant family, perhaps more unsettled than most. The following table illustrates the degree of movement by Iglulingmiut families in general:

TABLE 2 – Family (Movements According to Locations shown on 1949 (Mission) and 1965 (RCMP) Censuses

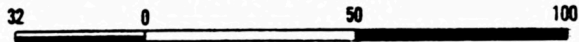
Family Movements	Anglican	Catholic	Total
Families shown on 1949 census	44	32	76
Stayed at same site 1949-65	6	9	15
Stayed in same general area	10	17	27
Moved to another area within region	24	10	34
Families added by marriage etc. since 1949	20	17	37
Families added since 1949 by immigration	13	8	21
Total families added 1949-65	33	25	58

Wintering Sites Of An Iglulingmiuk.



Source - Damas.

Scale in Miles



80°

The table shows the relatively sedentary nature of the “old Igloodik” Catholic families close to the core of the region. On the whole, however, mobility was high, and even the sedentary period mentioned by Damas from 1930 to 1940, was far from absolute.⁴¹ The families shown in the table averaged several moves between the two census dates.

Religion

Conversion to Christianity had a lasting effect upon the social organization and spatial distribution of the Iglulingmiut. In 1929 the Roman Catholic mission came to Pond Inlet, where the priest met the Abvadjak group from northern Foxe Basin. Conversions were made, and in 1931 Father Bazin moved to the island of Abvadjak to begin the regional mission. The influential woman Attagutarluk was baptized by him in 1931, her husband Itukshardjuak in 1940.⁴² Both Umik, the forerunner of the Anglican church in northern Foxe Basin, and Itukshardjuak, the Roman Catholic convert were strong leaders, and conversion of their adherents divided the Eskimo society into two distinct factions, a new and permanent separation of the Iglulingmiut.

The sheltered site at Ikpiakjuk, in Turton Bay on Igloodik Island, had not been used as a winter village since Dorset time, but the Roman Catholic mission was moved there from Abvadjak in 1937, so as to be closer to the main Eskimo hunting camps. The Anglican missionaries from Pond Inlet and Muffet Inlet paid intermittent visits to the region, and in 1959 the Reverend Noah Nassuk, an Iglulingmiut, became resident minister at Ikpiakjuk, (Igloodik).

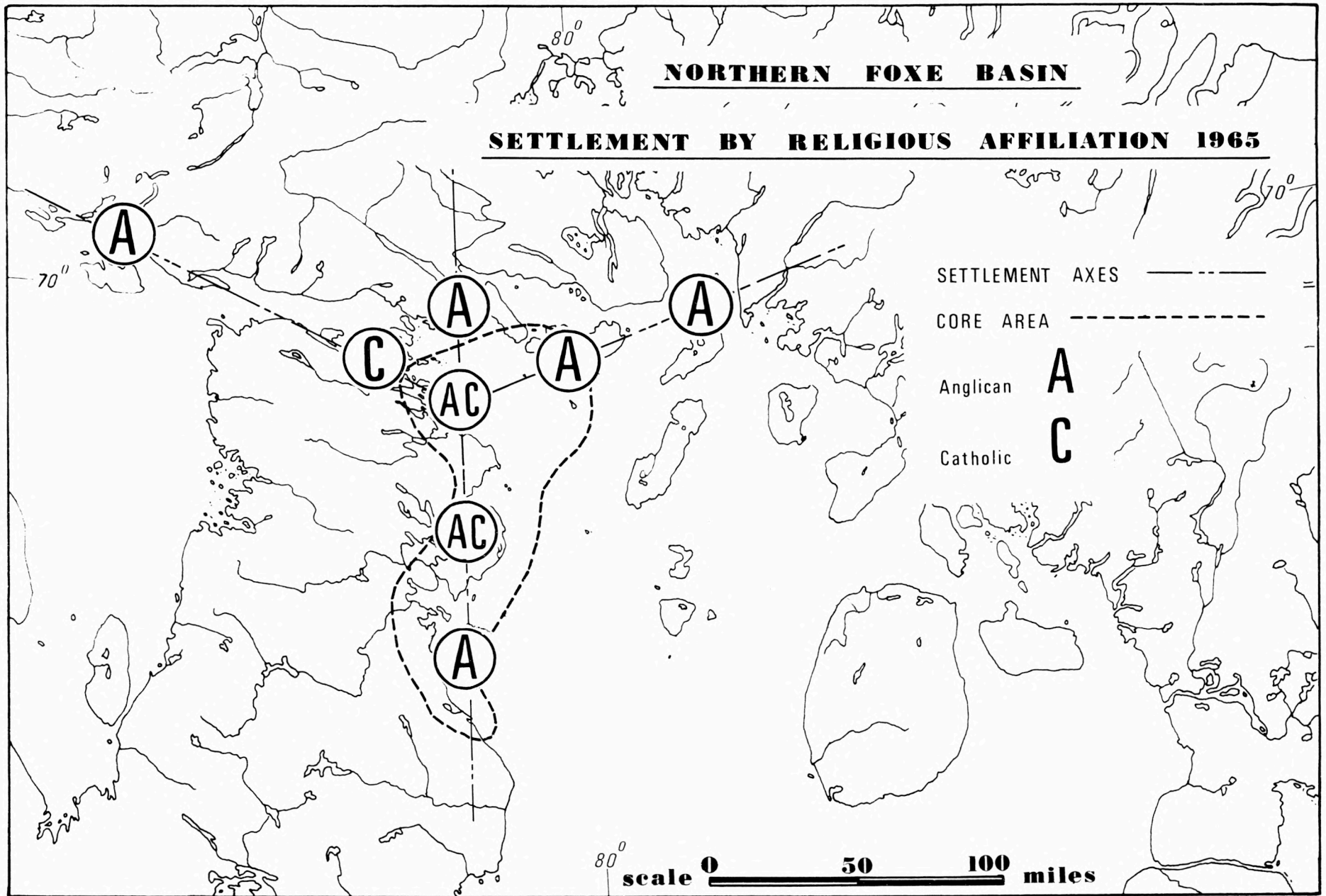
About 60 per cent of the Eskimo population of the region are Anglican, the remainder Catholic. Within the settlement, until the introduction of larger-scale rental housing, two nodes of population centred around the two missions. In the region at large, the principal settlements adhered to a pattern in which Catholic camps were closest to Ikpiakjuk, extending south to Hall Beach and west halfway up Fury and Hecla Strait. The Anglican camps were further out, along three radial arms from Ikpiakjuk to Agu, Iglukjuak and Ussuakjuk. (see Map 13) Immigration to the region adhered to the area described according to the religious persuasion of the migrants.

The reason for distribution of camps by religious adherence arose, in part, from the fact that the original Roman Catholic converts – a large and powerful family group – had, before conversion, occupied the Abvadjak and Igloodik area. Another, less important reason was that the Catholic missions have usually encouraged proximity to church and priest. The Anglican camps had a greater percentage of immigrants to the region, people who had to occupy peripheral hunting grounds. Decentralization was facilitated by the Anglican institution of native catechists, who conducted prayers in camp. This position was often, though not always held by the principal man, or *issumatak* of the camp.

Religious division affects the social and geographical mobility of the Eskimos. Religious endogamy is the rule, thus reducing by half the number of potential marriage alliances, and the number of camps at which a traveller can find kin, or a migrant can settle. The attendance of Catholic children at the boarding school of Chesterfield Inlet

NORTHERN FOXE BASIN

SETTLEMENT BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION 1965



from 1955 was an educational and geographical link with other regions not shared by the Anglican groups. While travelling with members of one persuasion in 1965, the author was often told anecdotes derogatory to the other group.

Despite the social and spatial limitations imposed upon the Iglulingmiut by religious division, things go more smoothly than in many other parts of the Arctic similarly split. A strong sense of regional identity and former kinship ties help to maintain cooperation between the two factions, and there are several firm friendships that ignore the religious difference. Local leadership of both groups has tended towards ecumenical rather than factional attitudes.

Authority

The Catholic missionaries were in residence in the region for twenty-four years before the DEWline came, and the Hudson's Bay Company post managers for thirteen years. The former had a slight centripetal effect on the pattern of population, the latter a more pronounced centrifugal effect, but neither posed a threat to the cultural security of the Eskimos – defined by Flucke as “the ability of the group to cope with its environment”.^{4 3}

Indeed, it was during the period when priest, trader and Eskimos lived together in isolation that native leadership and socio-economic organization reached the highest degree of the whole contact period. The “king” Itushardjuak made the major decisions for all members of his large village at Abvadjak, and was able to send meat when outlying communities such as the one at Steensby Inlet, were in need.^{4 4} His widow Attagutarluy continued the organization of group activity, keeping a record in syllabic script of each man's hunt, and “taxing” all – even the mission – to provide a communal working capital of food for people and dogs.^{4 5}

The degree of authority exercised by the “King and Queen,” or at least the number of people gathered under that authority, was not equalled in the other main aggregates, but the Eskimo society functioned well at the four levels of organization discerned by Damas – nuclear family, extended family, whaleboat crew and village.

At Hall Beach, employment with the nursing station, and later with the administrative post, was the nucleus of two quasi-camp groups, Catholic and Anglican respectively. In these two groups authority was shared in some respects by the two employing agencies, who by virtue of their functions became involved in economic, moral and locational decisions. Wage-earning at the two agencies, or DEWline employment, further changed the status system within the kin-group. Thus the young employee might live in a modern house and be primarily within an advanced exchange economy; his uncle might be wholly within the traditional subsistence economy, and new problems of status and cooperation arose.

A parallel situation emerged at Igloodik, where the Hudson's Bay Company recruited its help from the Anglican Eskimo group, and workers at the Catholic mission formed the nucleus of a second Catholic group. In 1960-61 the Anglican “camp” numbered 40 people, including employees of the Department of Northern Affairs,

Authority was shared with the two employing agencies who supplied some housing and fuel, and who were a source of wood and other articles. The Anglican group also used the Hudson's Bay Company boat for their hunts, bringing the store manager into the conduct of the hunt and the distribution of gains. The title *issumatak* was applied to the store manager, passing to the area administrator when he took control of welfare issues, statutory allowances and the mechanical plant. The title however, had a specific meaning embracing the Eskimo-white complex of the entire community. Within the Anglican Eskimo Kinship group the Anglican deacon was the *issumatak* and the life of the group was co-existent but essentially separate from that of the "establishment". Wage income was adjunctive to the "real" business of hunting and of sharing the catch.

The Roman Catholic group at Igloolik in 1961-62 numbered 54, and two boats were owned. Like the Anglicans, the Catholic kinship group included several pensioners, but had only one employed member, a part-time helper at the mission. This group was therefore closer to hunting-camp economy and authority than the neighbouring one, and more autonomous. The priest exercised some authority, but of a type closer to the native pattern than that of the other white residents, not being founded on control of material resources.

Summary

During the long period of limited contact prior to 1945, and during the DEWline construction phase, there was no profound change in the Igloolik region Eskimos as subsistence hunters, adhering to an ancient settlement-pattern, and in possession of a workable social system rooted firmly in tradition. Innovations in technology, economy, religion and the degree of control by official Canada were assimilated into or modified the traditional way of life, but did not appear to threaten its form or meaning. By the mid 1950's however, decreasing isolation, expanding population and growing consumer needs were making the hunting settlements untenable.

During the 1960's, the administrative and legal machinery of government made increasing inroads into native autonomy. Construction brought money into new prominence, and the employment disrupted seasonal groupings and hunting activities. Aircraft patrols to the camps extended the influence of the administrative centres, and more frequent visits to the centres from camps became necessary for medication, trading and travel out of the region. Improved medical care boosted the rate of population increase in the classic manner of underdeveloped countries, and together with more Eskimos, more southern Canadians took their places in the social fabric of the northern Foxe Basin. They came as residents for a few years, or as part of a bewildering succession of scientists, physical and social, of journalists and officials, each one an agent of change.

In these latter years of accelerated change, efforts were made to adapt Eskimo traditional structures to the demands of modern settlement life and to a cash economy. The Eskimo Council, the Community Development Fund, and the Co-operative were operating with some success in the two steadily growing centres, when the Rental Housing Scheme brought social revolution and the end of an era.



PLATE 14 – Merkhohtuit, leader of the Pingerkalik group, and his wife Serpapik, May 1926 (photo by L.T. Burwash, in I.A. & N.D. Library)



PLATE 15 – Kadlutsiak & her son Samuelli
May 1963
(photo T. Fujiki, Asahi Shimbun)

Footnotes

¹J. Sonnenfeld, "Changes in an Eskimo Hunting Technology, An Introduction to Implement Geography", *Annals of the A.A.G.*, No. 50(2), June 1960, p. 183.

²D. Damas, *Iglulingmiut Kinship and Local Groupings*, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 196, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963, p. 31.

³File 201-1, Northern Administration & Lands Branch, Ottawa, March 14, 1956.

⁴R.A.J. Phillips, "The Eastern Arctic Patrol", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, May 1957, p. 5.

⁵P. Schultze, *The Flying Priest Over the Arctic*, New York, Harper, 1940, p. 261.

⁶N.J. Campbell, and A.E. Collins, *Recent Oceanographic Activities Of the Atlantic Oceanographic Group in the Eastern Arctic*, Ottawa, Progress Report No. 69 of the Atlantic Coastal Station, Fisheries Research Board of Canada, May 1958.

⁷W.G. Ross, "American Whaling in Hudson Bay, The Voyage of the Black Eagle", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, December 1967, Vol. 75, No. 6, p. 203.

⁸J.D. Moodie, *R.N.W.M.P. Reports*, 1906-16, p. 6.

⁹L.E. Sellers, "Patrol, Fullerton to Lyons Inlet", *R.N.W.M.P. Reports*, 1906-16, p. 124.

¹⁰T. Manning, "Notes on the Coastal District of the Eastern Barren Grounds & Melville Peninsula from Igloodik to Cape Fullerton", *Geographical Journal*, February 1943, p. 103.

¹¹G. Rowley, personal communication.

¹²J.D. Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹³F. Boas, "The Eskimos of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay", *Bulletin 15 of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1901, p. 469.

¹⁴Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶G. Anders, *Northern Foxe Basin, An Area Economic Survey*, Ottawa, Industrial Division, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1965, p. 32.

¹⁷*op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁸*op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹⁹P. Freuchen, "Mammals", *Report of the 5th Thule Expedition, 1921-24*, Copenhagen, Vol. 2, Nos. 4 and 5, 1935, p. 242.

²⁰A.W. Mansfield, "The Walrus in Canada's Arctic", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXII, No. 3, March 1966, p. 95.

²¹Schultze, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

²²*op. cit.*, p. 134.

²³A.G. Loughrey, "Preliminary Investigation of the Atlantic Walrus", *Wildlife Management Bulletin No. 14*, Ottawa, Canadian Wildlife Service, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1954, p. 38. Loughrey's increment rate for management purposes is 15%; Mansfield's (*op. cit.*, p. 95), is 6½%, based on deeper research.

²⁴*op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁵D. Bisset, "Recent Changes in the Life of the Igloodik Eskimos", *The Albertan Geographer*, No. 1, 1964 – 65, p. 13.

²⁶P.J. Usher, *Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Coppermine – Holman Region, N.W.T.*, Ottawa, Northern Co-ordination & Research Centre-65-2, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1965, pp 188-190.

²⁷*op. cit.*, p. 134.

²⁸J. Uyara and other old Eskimos have witnessed this: personal communication.

²⁹W. Kerr, personal communication.

³⁰Damas, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³¹*op. cit.*, p. 83.

³²*op. cit.*, p. 24.

³³The estimate for the 1960's is based on prices used at Pengnirtung and Coral Harbour, and is supported by Jenness' study *Eskimo Administration in Canada*, Technical Paper No. 14, Arctic Institute of North America, 1964, p. 104.

³⁴The name of the informant is withheld to ensure a measure of privacy.

³⁵Personal communication.

³⁶Calculated with the author in 1967 by five classes of Eskimo students at Churchill, representing many Eastern Arctic regions, including Igloolik. The answers fell within a range of \$1,750 and \$1,850.

³⁷Damas, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³⁸M. St. Hiliare, personal communication.

³⁹The last case recorded was in 1962.

⁴⁰Jean Malaurie, "Preliminary Report from an Anthropological Mission for Demographic and Economic Research carried out in Igloolik, N.W.T. District Canada", Ottawa, Unpublished manuscript, Northern Co-ordination & Research Centre, Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1962, p. 7.

⁴¹*op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴²G.M. Rousselière, "Monica Ataguvtaluk, Queen of Igloolik", *Eskimo*, March 1950, Vol. 16, and September 1955. pp. 11-14.

⁴³A. F. Flucke, "Whither the Eskimo", *north*, Jan.—Feb. 1963, p. 18.

⁴⁴W. Kerr, personal communication.

⁴⁵G.M. Rousselière, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER VI

NEW COMMUNITIES, 1968

The modern settlement of Igloolik dates back to the 1930's, and the Hall Beach settlement to 1957, when the nursing station was built. Since 1962 the two communities have changed considerably due to new construction and a steady influx of Eskimos from the camps of the region. Some 400 Eskimos have come to live in Igloolik or Hall Beach during the past three years. Almost all of them have relatively modern housing, and both communities are essentially new in terms of size, character and functions.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the government housing scheme chiefly responsible for the emergence of the present villages; to discuss changes in the regional sybiosis, end to assess the effects of quasi-urban life upon the Iglulingmiut. The following overview is included to provide the setting in which socio-economic change is taking place:

Igloolik

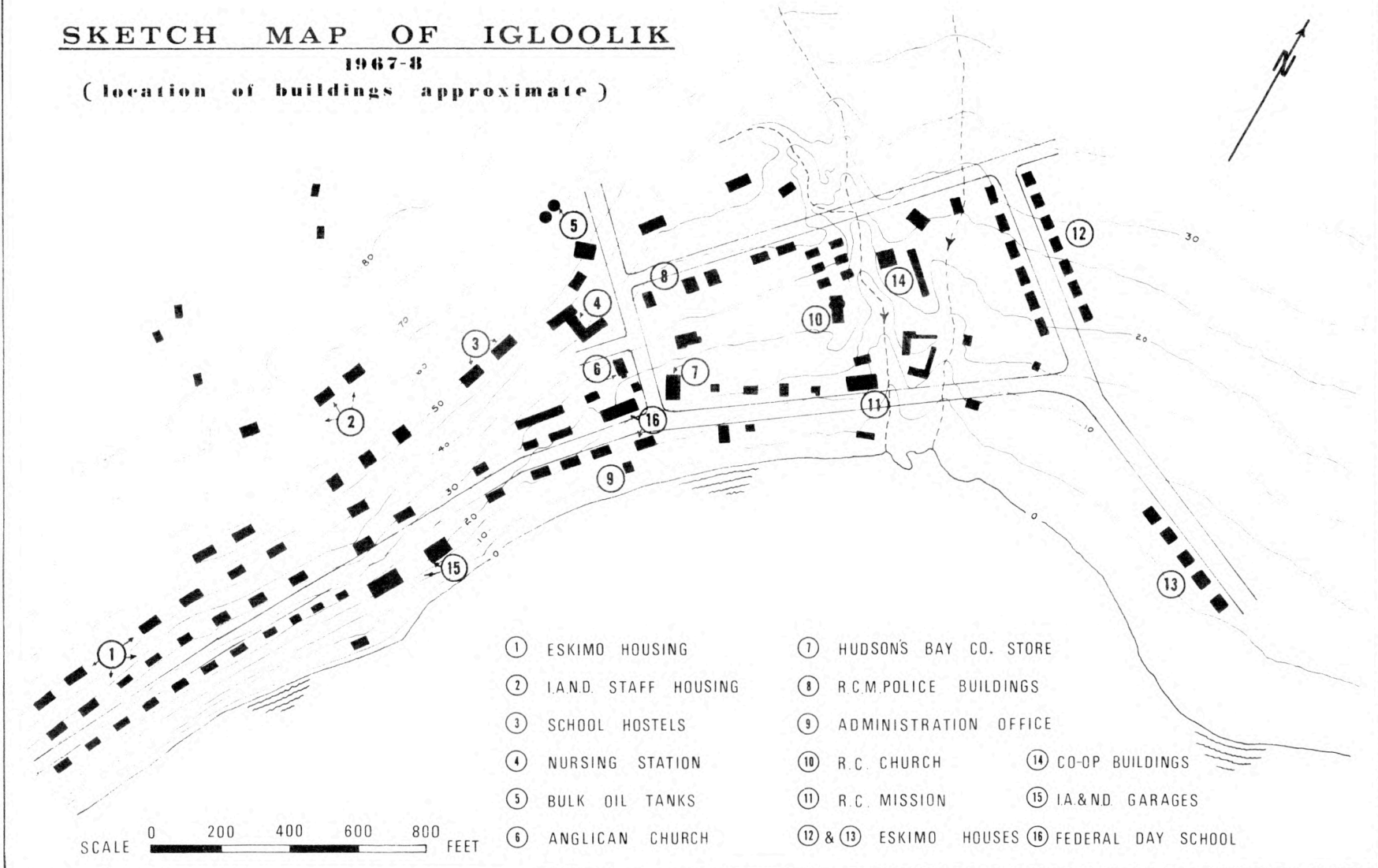
The village of Igloolik, as shown on the site-plan, borders a small bay on the north-west shores of Turton Bay, Igloolik Island. It is known in Eskimo as Ikpiakjuk. The gravel of former beaches rises evenly inland to some 800 feet in elevation at the widest part. A belt of marshy tundra separates the beach from a limestone escarpment that shelters the village from prevailing northwesterly winds.

The first buildings were located near the sea at the centre of the bay-shore, where the beach is widest and the gradient least. Subsequent construction has extended the village inland and along the beach to north and south. Most of the 100-odd buildings are on the coarse, well-drained shingle or gravel, with about 4,000 feet separating the northern and southern extremes of the village. The total population in March 1968 was about 430.¹

Electrical power is supplied to the whole community by diesel generators operated by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Bulk-oil storage tanks supply heating oil, and other spirit fuels are stored in drums. Garbage and sewage are taken onto the bay ice, or to a coastal dump during the summer months. Several small lakes within a radius of five miles are the source of most of the water and ice used. Tracked vehicles are used for camping and delivery purposes.

The bay provides shallow and sheltered anchorage for some two months of the year, though loose pack-ice is a threat at any time. Occasionally, as in 1967, ice conditions in Turton Bay and Hooper Inlet prevent supply ships from reaching Igloolik. Aircraft can land on the sea-ice close to the village from late November to

SKETCH MAP OF IGLOOLIK
1967-8
(location of buildings approximate)



- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| ① ESKIMO HOUSING | ⑦ HUDSONS BAY CO. STORE | |
| ② I.A.N.D. STAFF HOUSING | ⑧ R.C.M. POLICE BUILDINGS | |
| ③ SCHOOL HOSTELS | ⑨ ADMINISTRATION OFFICE | |
| ④ NURSING STATION | ⑩ R.C. CHURCH | ⑭ CO-OP BUILDINGS |
| ⑤ BULK OIL TANKS | ⑪ R.C. MISSION | ⑮ I.A.&ND GARAGES |
| ⑥ ANGLICAN CHURCH | ⑫ & ⑬ ESKIMO HOUSES | ⑯ FEDERAL DAY SCHOOL |

SCALE 0 200 400 600 800 FEET

06

mid-June, and a landing strip for light planes has been made one mile north of Igloolik, between the escarpment and the beach.

Mail, small freight and passenger traffic leave the region from Igloolik via Hall Beach, some 60 miles south. Transportation includes plane, snow vehicle, dogteam canoe and longliner. During breakup and freeze-up, a combination of land, ice and water transport may be used.

The Bell Telephone Company maintains a local telephone system and a regular radio telephone link to the outside world via the DEWline system. Telegrams are sent or received through the Hudson's Bay Company transceiver, and the Area Administrator maintains a regular radio schedule with the nursing station at Hall Beach. The RCMP and the Roman Catholic mission also have regular radio contact with their colleagues in other communities.

Hall Beach

The administrative and residential village of Hall Beach, called *Shanaravak* in Eskimo, is situated on a straight, unindented part of the east coast of Melville Peninsula. The community is linear in form, confined to a shingle beach that slopes up to a maximum elevation of about 30 feet, and ends some 400 feet inland at the commencement of a flat, marshy plain.

As at Igloolik, the shingle provides excellent building sites, but the Hall Beach location is much more bleak and exposed. The population in March 1968 was about 260, and a total of some 60 buildings extend roughly 3,000 feet along the beach. The conditions for small-boat landings and anchorage are good except in high winds, and early in spring canoes can easily be taken to the shore lead close by.

Electrical power is supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and a local telephone system is linked to the Fox Main DEWline base one mile south. Water and ice are taken from several small lakes close to the village. Sewage and garbage are disposed of as at Igloolik. Heating oil is delivered in barrels at present, but the construction of bulk oil storage is planned.

Small aircraft equipped with floats or skis use a lake near the Fox Main airstrip, which is itself suitable for most standard transport aircraft. Scheduled commercial passenger flights go to Montreal, and the Federal Electric Corporation flies DEWline staff regularly to Winnipeg.

DEWline Sites

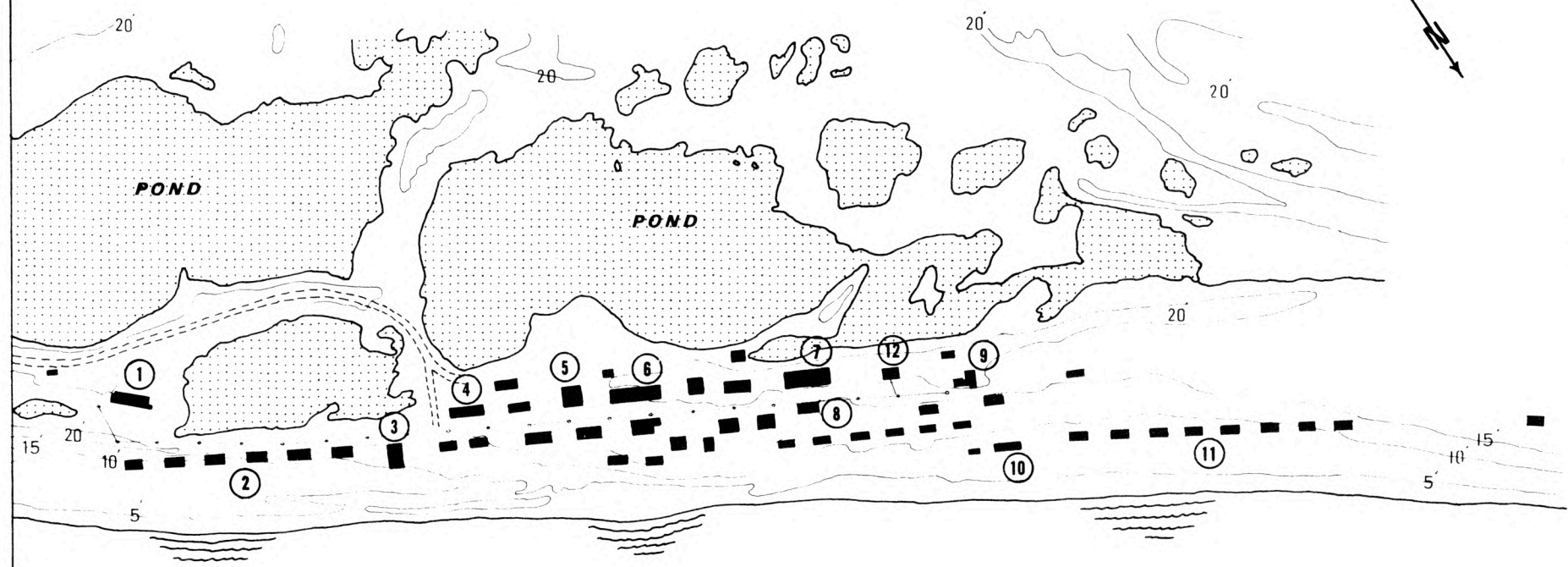
The Nordair passenger airline route between Resolute Bay and Frobisher Bay, via Hall Beach, is aligned roughly north-west and south-east. It is intersected at Hall Beach by the DEWline axis, east-north-east and west-south-west. The DEWline sites, from west to east, are:

Cape Sibbald	(Can. 5)	Rowley Island	(Fox 1)
Saropa Lake	(Cam. F) now closed	Bray Island	(Fox A) now closed
Hall Beach	(Fox Main)	Longstaff Bluff	(Fox 2)

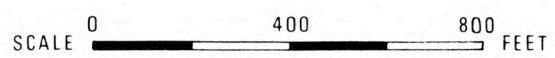
SKETCH MAP OF HALL BEACH

1967-8

(location of buildings approximate)



92



- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| ① MINING COY. BUILDING | ⑦ I.A. & N.D. WAREHOUSE |
| ② ESKIMO 3-BEDROOM HOUSES | ⑧ TRANSIENT CENTRE |
| ③ ANGLICAN CHURCH | ⑨ R.C. CHURCH |
| ④ NURSING STATION | ⑩ IGLOOLIK CO-OP BUILDING |
| ⑤ HUDSON'S BAY CO. STORE | ⑪ ESKIMO 3-BEDROOM HOUSES |
| ⑥ SCHOOL | ⑫ POWER HOUSE |

The outlying sites employ several Eskimo families, most of them Iglulingmiut or related Avalingmiut. There is little contact between these sites and the villages of Igloodik and Hall Beach. The Fox Main site in the regional DEWline headquarters, and the entrepôt for the entire region.

Fox Main site has both sea-docking and aircraft hangar facilities. The total establishment includes employees of the Nordair airline, Department of Transport radio and weather technicians, and employees of the American Federal Electric Corporation manning the DEWline. Numerous transients pass through Fox Main, but the staff of the various organizations usually totals about 100, almost exclusively male.

Some seven Eskimos are permanent employees at Fox Main site, and live there with their families in government-owned housing. Most of them are Iglulingmiut, and have strong social and economic ties with the people of Hall Beach and Igloodik.

The Kadlunat³ residents of Fox Main are self-contained in terms of entertainment and accommodation, living largely indoors in modules. A fair amount of social and business exchange takes place however, with the Kadlunat of Hall Beach, and the airport is a common ground. Although the two communities are distinct, Hall Beach exists because of the Fox Main site. The possession of facilities for heavy sea and air transport may make Hall Beach an eventual rival to Igloodik as the regional 'capital'.

Rental Housing Scheme of the Federal Government

In previous chapters the decreasing viability of the hunting and trapping economy has been stressed. When the market for sealskins collapsed after 1964, very little incentive was needed for Eskimo families to move to the "bright lights" of Hall Beach and Igloodik. That incentive was supplied by the implementation of a comprehensive housing scheme — a scheme that is perhaps equal to the federal day school programme in its massive potential for change.

Ever since government activity in the Canadian Arctic increased in the wake of the DEWline, there has been concern over the condition of Eskimo housing. Some of the comments made have focussed on the disparity between Eskimo snowhouses, tents and shacks on one hand, and the relatively good housing provided for non-Eskimo residents, on the other. Public health authorities concentrated on the absolute shortcomings of Eskimo housing, and a report published in 1960⁴ gave graphic illustration of a dreadful infant and neo-natal mortality rate, of tuberculosis and related diseases, all related closely to wretched housing. The shack dwellings built from construction waste were a particular threat to health, hygiene and human dignity.

Government action was taken to improve conditions and to counter criticism. Beginning in 1959, the federal government provided housing on a slowly increasing scale through a variety of financial arrangements. On October 12th, 1965, a bold new programme was approved allowing some 1,560 houses to be sent to Eskimo communities over a five-year period. The capital cost would be \$12,500,000, and the cost of operation and administration almost \$2,000,000.

The rental housing scheme incorporated all those habitable houses that were provided under previous schemes. It is designed to provide adequate housing for Eskimos who for the most part cannot pay for both the capital cost and the upkeep of a house. Rents are scaled according to the ability of the tenant to pay, and the rental agreement includes the provision of basic furniture, electricity, water or ice, fuel oil, disposal of sewage and garbage.

For those who do not want to rent indefinitely, the scheme has a built-in credit system towards eventual ownership, and there are mortgage and loan arrangements for Eskimos who want to purchase houses directly from government or private sources. With the exception of staff housing for Eskimo employees, the total number of houses provided for Eskimos at Hall Beach and Igloolik is as follows:⁵

Table 3 – Houses Provided for Eskimos by Federal Government, 1962-1967

Year	Design	Floor Area	Igloolik	Hall Beach
1962	Rigid-frame	192 sq. ft.	2	1
1962	No. 370	288 " "	4*	2
1963	No. 370	288 " "	1	1
1964	No. 370	288 " "	2	1
1965	No. 424	384 " "	29	10
1966	No. 439	700 " "	12	7
1966	No. 436	700 " "	12	7
1967	No. 439	700 " "	4	1
1967	No. 436	700 " "	4	1
Totals			70	31

*includes one house built a Nauyaguluit camp.

The housing scheme to date provides about 70 square feet per person. The standard is thus far below that of Canadian middle-class homes, but superlative in the light of previous conditions, and considering the heavy subsidy and the remoteness of the region.

The rental housing scheme has brought most of the Iglulingmiut quickly from a domestic environment of tiny dwellings of sod, canvas and paper, of seal-oil lamps and communal sleeping platforms, to one of separate rooms, electrical outlets, tables and chairs. As a tenant the Eskimo takes on new responsibilities and learns new concepts. The scale of his community increases tenfold in size and complexity.

Thus, an essential part of the housing scheme is the development of local government. To facilitate the emergence of representative local government the scheme provides for a gradual transfer of management from an administrator to an executive elected by the Eskimo tenants from among their number. The group will determine rents, carry out maintenance and negotiate the services. A Housing Association is formed as soon as houses are ordered, and the executive begins to work under the tutelage of the area administrator.

A program of adult education is part of the housing scheme, much of it paid for by a grant made by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. In the Igloolik region housing education began late in 1965, and continued until 1968. The programme included several phases, as follows:

- Phase 1. Explanation of the nature and intent of the housing scheme. Preliminary allocation of houses and election of housing-management officers.
- Phase 2. Education for families in housekeeping, hygiene, budgeting and general maintenance.
- Phase 3. Continuing guidance of the housing management committee.
- Phase 4. Training of local women to carry on the home – management teaching.

Although the education that was part of the “crash programme” is completed in all its phases, communal education continues in many ways. The housing scheme was the precipitant for drastic change in almost every aspect of Iglulingmiut life.

Transformation of the Settlement Pattern

The themes of culture area, cultural landscape, cultural history and cultural ecology have been explicit thus far in this study of northern Foxe Basin. These are the elements of cultural geography⁶ and they are predicated on a relationship, however sophisticated, between man and land.

Until the 1960's, the relationship between the Eskimos of northern Foxe Basin and their land was simple and profound. The physiographic region, the biotic region and the settled or cultural region were almost synonymous.

Igloolik, and to a lesser degree Hall Beach, were what Fried has called “outpost Service Settlements”.⁷ They served the camp population of the region much as a small town might serve the farmers around it. The Eskimo populated and harvested their region. Service settlements existed because of the people, who in turn lived according to regional resources. The families of Agu Bay and Ussuakjuk were at home in their camps, they looked “inward” at the central service settlements.

The movement of dispersed rural populations into regional centres is world-wide, and in most instances is strongly influenced by technological change in the use of regional resources. Despite such concentrations of population, however, the regions still exist as regions, producing for the urban centres and being served by them.

The two centres of northern Foxe Basin do not exist to process the resource-wealth of the region. The rental housing scheme is extraneous to the regional symbiosis, but in the absence of a viable economy, it is the only choice for the Eskimos. For the first time in their history they look “outward” at their region.

The lived-in and lived-from region is greatly reduced, perhaps to be extended again in new forms. For the present the cultural landscape and the stage for the enactment of Iglulingmiut affairs are confined almost entirely to two centres, and the coast between them.



PLATE 16 – Delegates to housing conference,
Igloolik, 1967
(photo R. Evons)



PLATE 17 – One-bedroom house, type built
1965-66
(photo K. Crowe)

Agencies of Tutelage

With the occupation of government-owned housing by Eskimos, and the decline in the native economy, the settlements of Igloolik and Hall Beach have changed in function. Until the mid-1960's they existed, to paraphrase one definition of an urban centre, "to provide goods and services to people who live outside the urban boundaries".⁸ Like all communities of the Eastern Arctic, much of the service given was paternalistic and controlled from outside the region, but the accent was on essential services rather than socio-economic change.

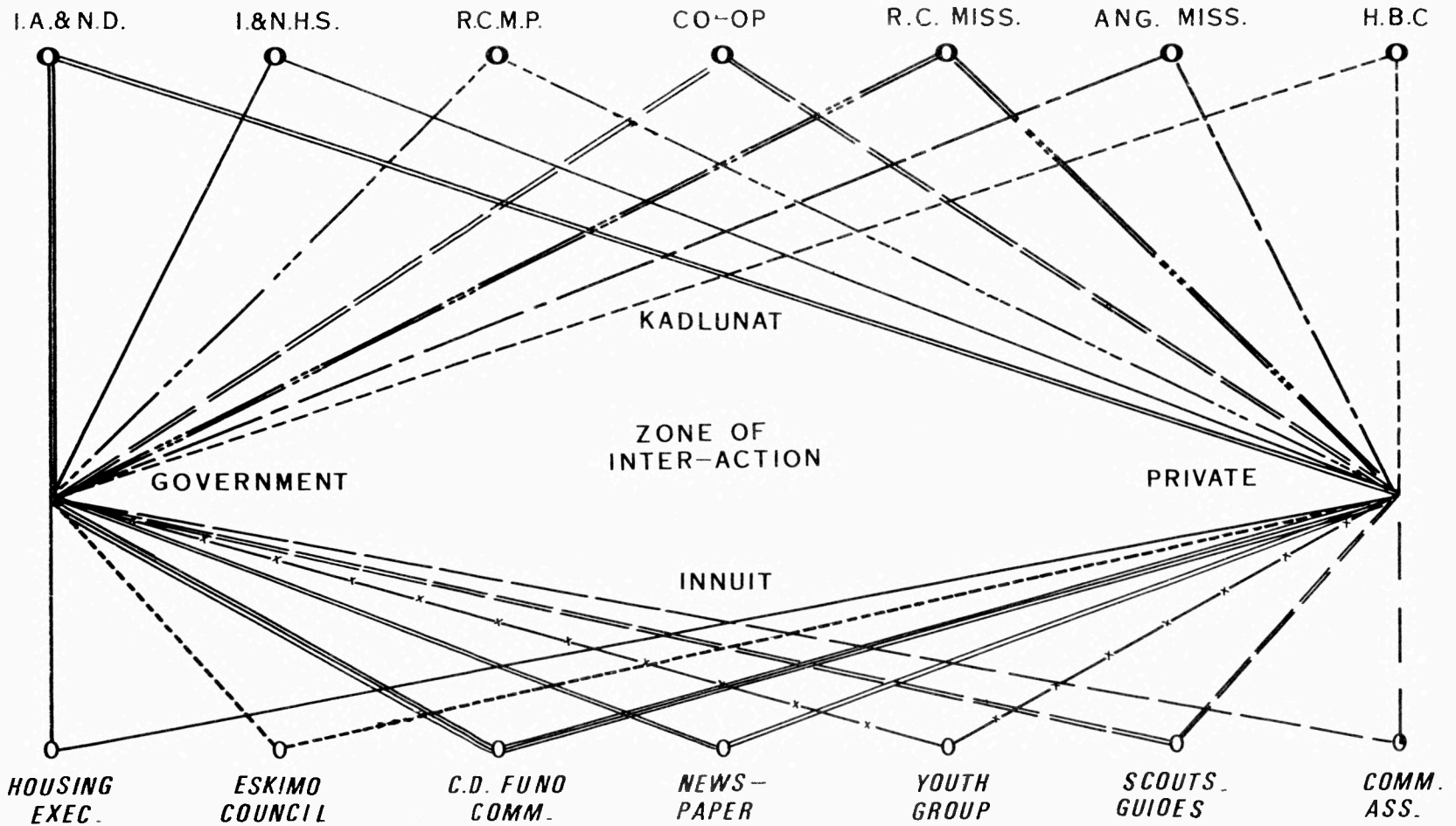
In their study of Eskimo life in Frobisher Bay, John and Irma Honigmann referred to "people under tutelage".⁹ The Eskimos of Igloolik and Hall Beach are more homogeneous in culture than those of Frobisher Bay, and their institutions are as yet stronger. Nevertheless they are very much a people under tutelage. The primary function of the new communities is the business of conscious social change.

Even a casual visitor to Igloolik and Hall Beach can discern a clear division of the community into the Iglulingmiut, who constitute the raw material of change, and half a dozen agencies or organizations that initiate and control much of it. The agencies are discussed here in terms of their particular roles, using an imaginary division of the community into a series of overlapping pyramids, the apex of each being an agency. Figure 10 illustrates the concept for Igloolik, but it is two-dimensional. It cannot convey the very important reciprocal action between the agencies, the role of Kadlunat wives and children, or a host of other tangible relationships.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

This Department, represented at Igloolik and Hall Beach by the combined establishment of its Northern Administration Branch, is a relative late-comer to the region, but it is the most pervasive and powerful of all the agencies. This situation is recognized in the use of the term *Angayukak* or chief, by Eskimos when referring to the administrator. The staff, headed by an area administrator, operates the schools, power-plants and Eskimo housing. It employs the greatest number of permanent and seasonal Eskimo workers. The movement of Eskimo patients and trainees in and out of the region is the responsibility of I.A.N.D., and a newly-appointed social worker administers social assistance and statutory allowances. The area administrator is also responsible for three types of organization which were conceived as vehicles for self government by Eskimos.

The area administrator and his staff handle the greater part of the cash-flow into the region. Their establishment is the chief medium of direct and incidental tutelage. Now that the Eskimo population is concentrated near the schools, school attendance is similar to that of southern Canada, including about fifty children at the boarding school at Chesterfield Inlet, and four at the vocational school, Churchill. In terms of Eskimo participation, there is no equivalent as yet of the southern home and school or parent-teachers associations. Several girls from the region have trained as classroom assistants, but there are no Eskimos with full teacher qualification. About six young adult Eskimos from the region took vocational training in various provinces during the winter of 1967-68.



Community Organizations . Igloolik 1967-68

A. The Housing Association. The tenants of government low-rental housing at Igloolik and Hall Beach comprise two housing associations, and the members elect an executive on the basis of one representative per ten houses. When incorporated, the executive has the legal power to collect rents, contract services, allocate and requisition housing and perform other management functions. The Hall Beach association is embryonic as yet, and the Igloolik executive is slowly taking up its duties.

The fruition of the Housing Association management-role will require a grasp of several new concepts such as rent and detailed accounting. It will also require a transfer of funds and equipment, since both are controlled at present by the government officers. In 1967 Igloolik was host to Eskimo delegates from several other regions, at a housing conference which lasted one week. The theme of education for housing occupancy and management, used the housing scheme at Igloolik as its model.

B. The Eskimo Council. A second organization sponsored and guided by the area Administrator is the Eskimo Council, an elected group intended to be a voice for Eskimo residents in community affairs. The council is not incorporated and wields relatively little power, but under the auspices of the Council of the Northwest Territories, local by-laws have been put into effect. One example concerned the perennial northern problem of dog-control. The Igloolik Council instituted a system of "ransoms", and anyone catching a wandering dog could keep it unless the owner paid a fee to the catcher.

The two Eskimo councils of Hall Beach and Igloolik were represented in April 1968 at a conference of all Baffin Region councils in Frobisher Bay. In keeping with the trend in such transitional communities as Fort Chimo and Frobisher Bay, it is likely that the present councils of northern Foxe Basin, constituted on an ethnic basis, will give way to councils representative of the entire community.

C. The Community Development Fund. In 1964 a Community Development Fund was set up by the (then) Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The fund provides money with which Eskimo councils, under the guidance of the administrator can plan and execute local projects of construction or economic development. The main purpose of the fund is to stimulate community development and Eskimo leadership, but it is also an ingredient of the subsidized economy.

A committee of the Eskimo council plans and executes projects in each community, but Igloolik, where the administrator is based and population is greatest, has been by far the most active in using the fund. In the fiscal year 1967-1968 Hall Beach and Igloolik were allocated \$1,000 and \$9,000 respectively, and a report for the period April 1966 to January 1967 showed the following projects at Igloolik:¹⁰

- 1 Community clean-up
- 2 Provision of summer water supply by pipe from lake
- 3 Repair of community dog food shed
- 4 Continuing garbage collection
- 5 Repair and upkeep of dog corrals and chains

- 6 Repair and maintenance of oil ranges in Eskimo housing
- 7 Relocation of dog corrals to sea-ice and back
- 8 Summer char fishing project for older men
- 9 Community walrus hunt, using co-op boat on contract
- 10 Extension of temporary power line
- 11 Salvage of crate lumber after cargo season
- 12 Winter ice supply
- 13 Winter fishing project

D. Indian and Northern Health Service. Another direct arm of federal government in the region is the Indian and Northern Health Service of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The service operates nursing stations at Hall Beach and Igloolik, and the clinics are as in southern Canada, tutelage as well as service centres. Eskimo culture has not been greatly concerned with health, hygiene or first-aid, and with a large Eskimo population now at hand, the nurses are kept busy by constant cases of impetigo and similar troubles. Ironically, the frequency of such ailments prevents the nurses from expanding their public health work.

The training of Eskimo community health workers should increase both the tutelage role of the nurses, and the participation of local Eskimos in the provision of health services. Although informal training has been given to Eskimo assistants in the nursing stations, there are no qualified nurses or technicians. Some Iglulingmiut Eskimo girls have recently taken vocational training and ward-aides, and may return to work in their home region.

E. The R.C.M.P. The third federal service is the Igloolik detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In common with most Arctic police posts, the duties of the officer in northern Foxe Basin have been diffuse. Crime was rare during the hunting-camp period, and deviance was usually controlled, condoned or concealed by Eskimo society. Much of the work of the police, and their educational role, was concerned with hunting and trapping, with the care of dogs and wildlife management.

In the new communities, the juxtaposition of Eskimo legal concepts and mores with those of urban Canada brings an increase in the tutelage role of the police. Early in 1968 the community newspaper – itself a product of the new era – published educational articles written by the police, on safety in boats, and on the illegal nature of trespass in vacant houses.¹¹

Dogteam travel and the need for interpreting services are now decreased, while social or community problems are intensified. In reflection of the change, the Eskimo special constable has not yet been replaced following retirement, and a Kadluna constable joined the detachment in 1967.

Non-Government Agencies of Tutelage

A. **The Hudson's Bay Company.** The Hudson's Bay company opened a new store at Hall Beach in 1967, making two within the region. The Igloolik store was originally built for the fur-trade. Fur sales to the Hudson's Bay Company still account for roughly one quarter of the Eskimo cash income, but most of the remainder originates from the federal government. Well over half of this heavily subsidized cash-flow moves through the two stores of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹²

As a business concern, the Hudson's Bay Company has no direct interest in education for social change, though some managers have permitted adult educators to use the stores for demonstrations of budgeting and buying. Much learning also takes place through the trading process, and through exposure of the Eskimos to an increasing variety of consumer goods.

Both stores employ Eskimo clerks and general workers. From the precedent set at Baker Lake it is probable that Eskimos completing school will be eligible for more senior positions. The point has often been made that a private trading company takes money out of regional circulation, and with it goes opportunity for Eskimo involvement. This is true, but the Hudson's Bay Company stores in Igloolik and Hall Beach are the most tangible examples to the Eskimos of the impersonal, competitive and efficient business world. Since the business world is a major part of the "Canadian fact" to be faced by Eskimos, the exemplary value of the Hudson's Bay Company should not be overlooked.

B. **The Roman Catholic Mission.** The Oblate priests of the Mission St. Etienne have been resident at or near Igloolik since 1931. Before the opening of the federal day school the priests taught some lay subjects, and prepared students for the boarding school at Chesterfield Inlet. The priests are fluent in the Eskimo language, and without the distraction of families of their own, have perhaps the most insight of all the Kadlunat residents into the Eskimo culture.

Eskimo parishioners contributed labour and skill to the building of a stone church at Igloolik – an example of how forces within the native culture can be harnessed or directed towards goals originating from outside the region and the traditional value system. In keeping with the general policy of the Oblate missionaries, the priest at Igloolik has been concerned with economic development, and initiated the Igloolik Co-operative.

C. **The Anglican Mission.** The Anglican mission at Igloolik is in the charge of an Eskimo minister, an Iglulingmiuk. An Eskimo relative is the catechist for the Hall Beach section of the parish, where a new church was built in 1967.

The leadership of the Anglican church in the region is strong, but the leaders are representatives of the contemporary Eskimo culture, and the tutelage given is aimed at cultural survival rather than the transformation implicit in the work of the Kedlunat agencies. The church women's group, and the election of church officers are two examples of participation by Eskimo parishioners. Like the Oblate mission, the

influence of the Anglican mission goes beyond the parish to the whole community, particularly the Eskimo community, where there is a common ground of language and kinship.

D. The Pentecostal Mission. A Pontecostal missionary began construction of a church at Hall Beach in 1968, but field work by the writer ended before the effects of a third mission could be noted.¹³

E. The Co-operative. The Igloolik Co-operative is different from the other agencies in that it is not the field unit of a definite organization based in southern Canada. The Co-op was initiated by the Oblate missionary with the endorsement of the Northern Administration Branch of the federal government. Its current membership includes both Anglican and Roman Catholic Eskimos, also several Kadlunat members who have left the region. The federal government continues to give guidance to the co-op, and the Co-operative Union of Canada has provided management training.

With the aid of government loans and some bargain purchases of surplus DEWline equipment, the co-operative has built up an impressive inventory of machinery, buildings and boats, though there were a series of tragic losses in the spring of 1968.¹⁴ The gross income of the co-operative comes from contracts for stevedoring, house-erection or municipal services; from boat rentals and charters; from the sale of furs and carvings; from retail store sales,¹⁵ a bakery and post-office.

The majority of co-op members are Catholic Eskimos, and the total membership is less than half the adult population of the region. Both these factors limit the role of the co-op in community affairs, but it is potentially the most effective vehicle of socio-economic transition for the Eskimo society. Through the co-operative at Igloolik and the one proposed by some Eskimos of Hall Beach, adult Eskimos could achieve a maximum participation in the two staple economic activities – the re-allocation of government funds, and the export of furs and handcrafts. The pan-Eskimo aspects of the co-operative movement are also important to socio-economic progress. The writer was present at a conference of Eskimo co-operatives in which delegates from Igloolik spent several days in an interchange of knowledge and ideas with representatives from eight other communities.¹⁶

The work of the co-operative includes trapping and hunting, and the use of familiar skills blended with the market economy is one of the educational strengths of the organization. Vallee¹⁷ and Fournier¹⁸ have commented on the parallels between co-operative ideology and structure, and the traditional kinship systems. The parallels are there, but a co-operative is a business, and the February 1968 issue of the Igloolik newspaper contained a plea for co-op members to pay their debts.

F. Newspaper. The newspaper, the *Midnight Sun* or *Nipishuilak*, is one of several now being published in the eastern Arctic. It was originated as a volunteer activity by teachers, with some expenses paid by the Community Development Fund. An Eskimo translator prepares all material for publication in English and Eskimo. Subscriptions are sold to make the paper financially independent.

Newsletters from neighbouring regions are published regularly, and the paper contains a miscellany of news, anecdotes, advertisements and official announcements. Despite the initial flavour of exhortation by the control agencies, the newspaper is increasingly a neutral forum of community opinion.

G. The Community Association. Another community endeavour that is relatively independent of ethnic and agency control is the Community Association. The manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store has been active in the association, and its functions were initially held in federal government buildings. The proceeds of various entertainments go to purchase facilities for the association, and the degree of Eskimo control and participation is high.

H. Scouts and Guides. The Scout and Guide movement has been active in Igloolik for several years, and as early as 1965 scouts attended a jamboree in Ontario. A scout troop was begun in Hall Beach in 1967. The leaders of the troops and packs may be from any of the Kadlunat agencies, but the continuity of the movement is hampered by the frequent changes of staff among the agencies. So far, no Eskimo adult has taken over a leadership role, but some have taught traditional skills such as snow-house construction, to scout classes – a change from the former father-and-son learning situation.

I. Youth Group. A youth group was begun in 1967 by Kadlunat residents of Igloolik to involve Eskimo young people who face boredom and lack of function in the new communities. The group is to some extent a transmitter of the 'pop' culture of southern Canada, but it involves young Eskimos in planning, and is important in its tutelage of the teenagers.

Summary

Seven major organizations have been reviewed, and seven minor organizations subsidiary to, or independent of, the major ones. These fourteen are the only formally – constituted interest groups in the two communities, and without exception they are from outside the regional Eskimo tradition. The communities where the Eskimo population outnumbers the Kadlunat by more than seventeen to one, not one of the fourteen organizations was created by Eskimos.

The Eskimo patterns of authority and function from pre-contact time up to the decline of the hunting and trapping camps, were equal in complexity and efficiency to the modern agencies of Igloolik and Hall Beach. They evolved, however, as answers to a specific regional life in which cause and effect worked wimplly, and the old wisdom was valuable. Under the new conditions imposed by urban life, the former patterns cannot survive intact.

It is not surprising, in view of the dramatic entry of the Iglulingmiut into "urban" life, that no formal, purely Eskimo power-structure has yet emerged. Among the existing agencies there is evidence of increasing participation by Eskimos. The Anglican mission is the best example, and the Co-operative is a close second.



PLATE 18 - 3-bedroom rental house.
(photo M. Halfpenny) 1968

A special index would have to be worked out in order to assess the relative degree of Eskimo control and participation for all activities. Among the subsidiary organizations, the Community Association, the newspaper, the Councils and the Housing Associations appear to represent a descending order of Eskimo participation.

The analysis of the success of Kadlunat-sponsored socio-economic groupings is a sociological matter, and deserves rigorous treatment. Certain principles however, do appear to have operated in northern Foxe Basin. The Anglican mission is the only formal structure completely "manned" by Eskimos. Its ideology and *raison d'être* are comprehensible. Its local leader qualifies by the traditional criteria of character, hunting ability and kinship links. The co-operative and economic obligations of membership are simple and discernible in terms of the traditional forms.

The Co-operative, as has been mentioned, is concerned with the exploitation of local resources, using traditional skills. Older people have been able to contribute knowledge and skills to field or handicraft work. The adult management group have learned to handle the mechanical equipment, and young adults with formal training have kept accounts. The general ideology of the co-op movement and the local economic activities are sensible in Eskimo terms, and there has been a strong core of leadership based on kinship and religious ties. The obvious present limitation of the co-operative is the lack of an Eskimo leader, or leaders, with adequate education, entrepreneurial skill and knowledge of the outside commercial world.

The Community Association and the newspaper deal essentially with day-to-day local business. They are detached from the partisan major agencies, and by scope and philosophy they permit Eskimo participation. A dance or film show can be planned and carried out, and the proceeds collected, without Kadlunat involvement. The newspaper gives Eskimos a unique opportunity to comment publicly on the new order, as when one elderly correspondent equated schooling with a loss of all sense of shame among girls.¹⁹ Both the association and the newspaper, however, are still dependent for their existence on Kadlunat supervision.

The Eskimo Council has been successful in dealing with some problems that have been community-wide, and amenable to solution using local resources. Dog control, and advice on the administration of social assistance, are two examples. The council is sanctioned in such matters by both the Kadlunat and Eskimo groups, and there is little technical or economic complexity.

The use of the Community Development Fund by a committee of the Council, and the operation of the Housing Association have serious handicaps as channels of tutelage and self-government. The ideological base of both schemes is complex in terms of Eskimo experience, and real economic control is exercised by unknown people outside the region. Both programmes operate under the veto power of the area administrator, whose duties require him to oscillate continually between an authoritarian management role and a permissive developmental one. The equipment available for either programme must be borrowed from Indian Affairs or rented from another agency.

The use of the Community Development Fund has given Eskimo leaders valuable experience and training in the planning and conduct of separate short-term projects, but it remains an adjunct to the area administrator's establishment, and cannot have separate existence under present conditions.

The housing management programme was planned as a slow, long-term process of evolution towards comprehensive local government by Eskimos. The scheme is too new for analysis in terms of success or failure, but if it is to have the enthusiastic and successful participation of Eskimos as tenants and managers, several changes in emphasis appear to be necessary.

The Eskimo Position

The proceeding account of the formal social and economic groupings concentrated deliberately on the educational and manipulative role of these power-groups vis-a-vis the Eskimos. But with a vigorous Eskimos majority in Igloodik and Hall Beach, there is obviously a busy social network apart from the councils, clubs and poster-decked waiting rooms.

The employed Eskimos of the days before the housing scheme did not form a special-status group in the way that Vallee observed in Baker Lake. The role of cultural-linguistic go-between was not highly developed, and they remained closely oriented to the land, with economic membership of hunting groups. Iglulingmiut society is still "camp" society transplanted, and hunting ability is still the ultimate measure of a man's status. Hunting continues from the village bases, even though it is diminishing in total.

The camp groups that have moved to Igloodik and Hall Beach during the past two years retain much of their former patterns of co-operation and leadership, but in the transitional atmosphere and reality of the villages, these groups appear to be disintegrating or realigning. Leadership exists in the ex-camp or extended family units. On a more inclusive scale it is exercised by older men who are senior in an *ilagiit* or large kindred group. At an even higher level of integration, the new communities have an informal group of "elders". This "council of elders" may be differently constituted for different problems, but in general it is representative of the entire Iglulingmiut people and their traditional law. In one instance, a group of older Eskimos visited one man to remonstrate with him for excessive drinking, and the man carried his bottles to the priest to be broken.²⁰

The elders have a variety of links with their kin on the formal councils, and in one or two instances are represented directly. Almost all questions of importance are relayed from the formal councils back through the various consultive levels of the "covert" or traditional authority structure, and the decisions thus reflect the total Eskimo community.

The following study illustrates some aspects of the leadership structure in three formal Kadlunat-sponsored organizations.²¹

Organization 1 Housing Executive Hall Beach

- A – Elected leader, aged 35. Self-taught in English and mechanics. A long-time DEWline employee, now employed by agency at Hall beach. Brother of B.
- B – Elected officer, aged 30. Self-taught in English and mechanical work. Son of influential camp and religious leader. Employed by a Kadlunat agency. Also officer of council.
- C – Elected officer, aged 43. Good average hunter, no formal education.

Organization 2 Co-operative Igloolik

- A – Elected leader, aged 42. A capable mechanic, hunter and carver. No formal education other than a course in mechanics. Originally an immigrant, with few kin-ties, but strong church affiliation.
- B – Elected second-in-command, aged 28. No formal education but well-travelled and competent in both “camp” and “settlement” skills. Strong kin-ties within settlement.
- C – Elected officer, aged 45. Enjoys prestige of physical strength, descent from a famous leader, and skill in hunting or travelling. No formal education.
- D – Elected officer, aged 41. No formal education, but is respected hunter and pilot, with close kin-ties to B and C.
- E – Elected officer, aged 40. No formal education. Former camp-leader, with kin-ties to B, C and D, and former camp-partner of C.
- F – Elected officer, aged 64. No formal education. Son of famous woman leader, and head of large kin-group. Related closely to all except A.

Organization 3 Eskimo Council Hall Beach

- A – Elected leader, aged 34. Self-taught in English, fair hunter and long-time employee of Kadlunat agency. Has extensive kin connections.
- B – Elected second-in-command, aged 58. No formal education. Former leader of camp group, known for astuteness.
- C – Elected officer, aged 45. Capable hunter, no formal education.
- D – Elected officer, aged 30. No formal education but self-taught in English and mechanical work. Son of influential leader who was formerly an elected officer. Employed by a Kadlunat agency.
- E – Elected officer, aged 36. No formal education. Formerly second in authority of a camp group. Capable hunter, strong church affiliation.

F – Elected officer, aged 30. No formal education. Is a capable hunter.

G – Elected officer, aged 38. No formal education. Was formerly leader of small camp group. Is also member of church council.

The three lists of elected officers represent two communities, and organizations with different functions in the economic sense or in relationships with Kadlunat. The constitution of each is likely to change from year to year, but despite these reservations, some patterns can be abstracted.

a) There is in all three a definite choice of men who are old enough to have proved themselves as parents and hunters, and who, though they have no formal education, have learned enough to “get along” with the Kadlunat. If the two older men are excluded from the calculation, the average age of the remainder of the three groups is 37.

b) Old men, while respected in traditional matters, are less apt to understand the new duties required of formal groups, and while there are several young men who have attended school, they are untried in traditional skills and low in seniority or maturity. Both the “elder statesmen” and the younger educated men are, in practice, consulted when necessary.

c) The Hall Beach Council has four Catholics to three Anglicans, and the Housing Executive is all Catholic, despite a majority of Anglicans in the community. This suggests that kinship and religious considerations come second to an ability in terms of modern management, or as a “cultural broker”.

d) The Co-operative officers have definite religious and kinship homogeneity, reflecting the Catholic majority in membership. Since the co-operative has a greater degree of choice in its activities than the council or housing executive, its officers may be chosen with less regard for interpretive ability vis-a-vis the Kadlunat agencies.

Of sixteen elected leaders shown in the preceding lists, only three have permanent wage employment. The sample is important, as it reflects the position of the Eskimo adults in terms of education, incomes and power. Table 4 shows some 33 permanently employed Eskimos at Igloolik, Hall Beach and Fox Main, compared to 125 Kadlunat. With a population ratio of roughly 5 Eskimos for each Kadluna, there are almost 4 Kadlunat employees for each employed Eskimo. In terms of comparative income the inversion of the ratio is increased. The total annual income of the Kadlunat, exclusive of fuel, lodging etc., is very roughly \$1,000,000, and that of the employed Eskimos about \$130,000.²²

With a few exceptions, the regional job-structure has absorbed as many as it can of the adult, unschooled Eskimo group. The first generation of school-educated Iglulingmiut is just entering the employment field, but even here there is no simple solution. Not all of the educated young adults return to the region from the schools “outside”, but those that do, find that most of the northern jobs require special training and experience well beyond their reach. In future, Eskimo students will no

doubt reach progressively higher levels of professional and technical training, but even if every permanent position in the region were filled immediately by Eskimos this would barely create full employment.

The future of education for the Iglulingmiut, and the economic future, are beyond the scope of this study. Projections are hazardous in the absence of comprehensive planning – in the three years that have elapsed since Anders' economic survey of the region, the closure of the hunting camps and the commencement of the rental housing scheme have negated most of his recommendations. None of the remainder have been implemented.^{2 3}

**Table 4 – Comparative Population, Kadlunat and Eskimo
by Agencies and Communities, March 1968 (approximate)**

Settlement	Agency	Employed Kadlurat	Employed Eskimo	Total Kadlunat	Total Eskimo
Igloolik	H.B.C.	2	3		
	R. C. M. P.	2	—		
	Anglican Church	3	1		
	R.C. Church	3	1		
	Co-op	—	2		
	I. A. & N. D.	8	7		
	I. & N.H. S.	2	2		
Totals		17	16	28	430
Hall Beach	H. B. C.	3	2		
	I. A. & N. D.	3	5		
	I. & N. H. S.	2	2		
Totals		8	9	10	230
Fox Main	F. E. C.				
	D. O. T.				
	Nordair				
Totals		100	8	100	38
Eskimo Camps		—	—	—	30
Total, excluding remote DEWline sites		125	33	138	728

The immediate problem, and probably for more than another decade, is the continuing adaptation of the whole Iglulingmiut people to life at the centre of their region, to imported forms of social organization, and to an economy that has a touch of Alice in Wonderland. In sum, this is a problem of acculturation.

One of the most valuable insights for analysis of the Eskimo position in cultural change is that of C.C. Hughes.²⁴ He has divided human techniques of adaptation to environment into “reactive” and “creative” strategies of control. The traditional Eskimo strategy, with a primitive technology in a severe environment, had to be one of reactive adaptation. The possession of firearms and other technological aids during several decades brought a slight increase in environmental control, but not enough to change the basic approach to life.

The concept of reactive adaptation is one important clue to the often-quoted pragmatism and fatalism of the Eskimo. In the context of acculturation and adaptation to life in Hall Beach and Igloolik, the concept helps to explain why adaptation proceeds quickly in some spheres and slowly in others. When a man becomes expert with a skidoo, it is an adaptive reaction to a single observable phenomena of immediate effect. The same man is unlikely to plan academic careers for his children, despite explanation of long-term benefits. The response cannot be justified in the immediate reactive context and Eskimo cultural experience.

Saul Arbes has recorded how one Eskimo community co-operative used their organized power to exert pressure for direct welfare assistance, thus using a creative long-range institution in a reactive or short-range way.²⁵ Despite the usefulness of the adaptation concept, it is patently insufficient to explain the spectrum of human motivation. If Eskimos are not involved with the future, neither are they embedded in their past. There are few crocodile tears for the old days, no institutions perpetuating history and as yet no revival movements of the type familiar in Indian reserve communities. It may be, as John and Irma Honigmann have argued, that such an orientation to the present is propitious for change.²⁶

It is important that the nature of traditional Iglulingmiut culture be understood, not for the purpose of preserving it in a limbo of sentiment, but to ensure that change is efficient and effective rather than utterly destructive. In the traditional culture may lie the clues to difficulties with an interpreter, to the alcoholism of a young Eskimo just out of school or the apparent irresponsibility of an elected executive.

A.F. Flucke, in “Whither the Eskimo”, listed eloquently the changes that Eskimos will almost certainly have to make in order to become the contributors to, rather than the wards of, government.²⁷ The list of changes includes a reversal of attitudes to play; learning; diet; hygiene; time and economy — almost every facet of life. Without questioning the inevitability of many such changes, it is worth pausing to consider what is being asked of the Eskimo people.

The changes listed above took western man about thirty thousand years, and the process continues. No primitive hunting people has successfully completed this transition during the recent century or so of modernization. No immigrant or victim of political brainwashing is required to undergo such a complete transformation. Full integration into modernity means that the Eskimos must pass as a people, even in their own homeland, through “culture shock”.



PLATE 19 – Panaramic view of Igloolik, Morch 1968, looking seaward (Phata W. Danahue)

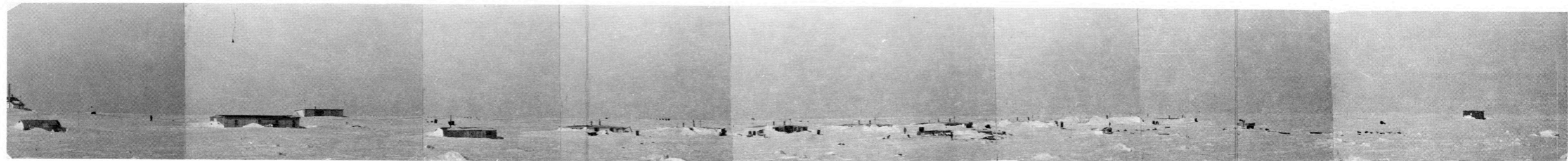
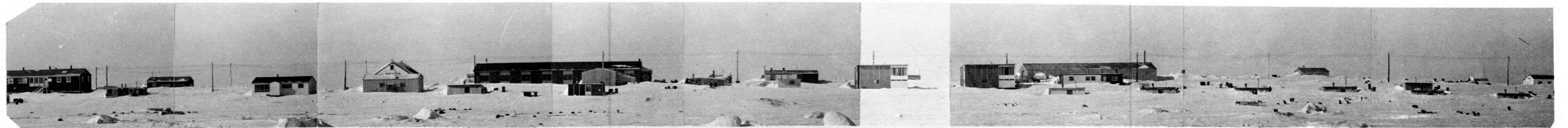
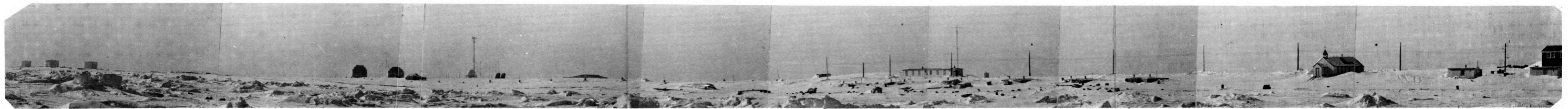


PLATE 20 – Panaramic view of Hall Beach, April 1968, looking inland from sea-ice. Dewline Installation appears upper left. Phata, L. Clark.

Footnotes

- ¹R.C.M.P. census of January 1968, amended.
- ²From Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development engineering files.
- ³Like Vallee, I have chosen to use the term 'Kadlunat', signifying those of the general southern Canadian way of life, rather than other labels such as 'non-Eskimo', or 'white'.
- ⁴*Eskimo Mortality and Housing*, Ottawa, Indian & Northern Health Services, Department of National Health & Welfare, and Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources, 1960.
- ⁵From Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development housing and engineering files, and from field count.
- ⁶P.L. Wagner and M.W. Mikesell, *Readings in Cultural Geography*, University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 1.
- ⁷J. Fried, "Settlement Types and Community Organization in Northern Canada", *Arctic*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 1963, p. 98.
- ⁸H.N. Mayer, 'Geography and Urbanism', Chapter in *Readings in Urban Geography*, H.M. Mayer & C.F. Kohn, University of Chicago Press, 1959, p. 7.
- ⁹John J. & Irma Honigmann, *Eskimo Townsmen*, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, University of Ottawa, 1965, p. 157.
- ¹⁰From the Community Development Fund file, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources.
- ¹¹*The Midnight Sun*, Igloolik, February and March 1968.
- ¹²Based on the annual reports by the Area Administrator and R.C.M. Police. Since two trading concerns are operating in the region, no figures for either business are disclosed in this report.
- ¹³M. Halfpenny, personal communication, May, 1968.
- ¹⁴On May 13, 1968, the Co-operative store and Post Office burned down, with most of the business files. Later that month, the president of the co-operative was drowned when the bulldozer he was driving broke through sea-ice.
- ¹⁵The co-operative store at Hall Beach closed late in 1967 because of the opening of the new Hudson's Bay Company store.
- ¹⁶At Frobisher Bay, March 1968.
- ¹⁷F.G. Vallee, "Notes on the Co-operative Movement and Community Organization in the Canadian Arctic", paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Section 'H', Montreal 30, 12, 64, p. 6.
- ¹⁸L. Fournier, "Arctic Co-operatives, Some Observations", *Eskimo*, Vol. 65, September 1963, p. 13.
- ¹⁹*The Midnight Sun*, February 1968.
- ²⁰B. Lewis, personal communication.
- ²¹The details of the three organizations are from the Co-operative files, Ottawa, May 1968, from Miss H. Halfpenny, personal communication May 1968, and the writer's personal knowledge of the people involved.
- ²²The details of Eskimo and Kadlunat salaries are from files in the case of federal government employees, and from estimates made on personal communication with other employing agencies or employees.
- ²³Anders, *op. cit.*, pp 121-130.
- ²⁴C.C. Hughes, "Observations on Community Change in the North: An Attempt at Summary", *Anthropologica*, Vol. V, No. 1, 1963, p. 76.
- ²⁵S.E. Arbcss, *Social Change and the Eskimo Co-operative at George River, Quebec*, Ottawa, Northern Co-ordination & Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources August 1966.

²⁶*op. cit.*, p. 240.

²⁷A.F. Flucke, "Whither the Eskimo", *north*, Jan.–Feb. 1963, p. 18.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapters have built upon the theme of northern Foxe Basin as a distinct region of human occupancy. Under conditions of primitive subsistence the region has supported a series of populations similar in culture and strikingly uniform in distribution.

The Iglulingmiut Eskimos retained the essential culture and distributional pattern of prehistoric times during one and a half centuries of cultural contact and economic change. By 1966, the "push" factor of a government housing scheme completed a significant change from dispersed to central population.

The Iglulingmiut possess of distinct culture, with a comprehensive kinship system of co-operative and social control, based on an ancient regional symbiosis. In the new settlements the traditional culture co-exists with forms imported from the southern Kadlunat world, and metamorphosis is taking place.

There is a high degree of pride and sense of cultural identity among the Iglulingmiut, and leadership is both strong and progressive within the limits of its comprehension. Relative to many other Arctic communities, Igloodik and Hall beach have been lucky in the stability and calibre of the Kadlunat population. Given a comprehensive and acceptable plan for the future of the region, the Iglulingmiut are equipped to survive change without demoralization.

It appears that planning by federal or territorial government will continue to be a prime factor in the lives of the Iglulingmiut for several decades at least. In view of the growing social and economic malaise of many Eskimo communities, it is axiomatic that such planning be guided by a new philosophy.

The government activities which have most profoundly affected the Eskimo social structure and ecology have been fragmentary. No comprehensive long-term plan has yet been articulated for the development of the Canadian Arctic, particularly with respect to its indigenous people.

Planning and action has been governed by logistical, administrative and political needs rather than those of the Eskimo population. The advice of competent social scientists and of experienced field workers has never received more than token consideration. The rental housing scheme, for all its virtues, was conceived and executed without regard for the economic and social matrices of the affected regions. There is abundant evidence from all over the world that where primitive or fold societies are in transition, the superimposition of one-dimensional "solutions" is disastrous.

In the light of preceding observations, several areas of action are recommended here to the federal or territorial governments. The action might be taken within a new plan of regional development, or within the current day to day operation of the communities.

1. Adult Education. Because of the significant and sudden termination of the regional camp economy, the adult Eskimos could benefit from a careful explanation, in their own language, of the present, and probable future, realities. If the nature of the shift from traditional to subsidized life were better understood, it is likely that the proven adaptive capacity of the Iglulingmiut could function more efficiently.

The economic alternatives of local development and relocation could be discussed, and community leaders of both sexes would benefit from carefully explained visits to southern Canada. Such experience would give them better understanding of the many extra-regional sources of change, and the type of world for which their children must be prepared.

The essential matter would be to make the Eskimo society as a whole more aware of its status in transitional and quasi-experimental communities.

2. Housing Management. Much of the potential for local government is lost to the present housing management groups because of confusion with the administrative complex. To give the housing scheme a district identity and credibility, the entire machinery of management – executive meetings, book-keeping, house allocation and maintenance, could be divorced unequivocally from the school, welfare and economic development functions.

Such separation would entail increased guidance and instruction, but it would permit Eskimo housing officers and employees to function in clear-out roles. An increase in Eskimo control of housing maintenance would probably bring a proportionate increase in costs, but present expenditures on direct welfare could be diverted into the healthier channels of employment and training.

3. Game Harvesting. Despite the worthwhile attempts made through the Community Development Fund and other local programmes, the abandonment of dispersed camps has left a gap between the potential and actual use of game resources. Without capital, many residents of Igloolik and Hall Beach are unable to secure sufficient game or fish. They have little skill in selecting a diet of store food, little preference for such a diet, and in most cases an inadequate income for purchasing food.¹

A community-wide programme of meat and fur harvesting could be sponsored and underwritten by government. The co-operative resources could be included on contract bases. Such a scheme could ensure an adequate diet for community residents, provide meaningful and familiar work for hunters now underemployed, and materials for handicrafts.

The process of planning, execution, storage, distribution and accounting could involve Eskimo adults over a wide range of age and education, approximating the

traditional hierarchy of meaningful roles. The programme might reduce welfare costs sufficiently to pay for itself. In any event, the long term benefits in terms of community morale would probably justify the attempts. Like the two other recommendations, the suggestion for game-harvesting is based on the idea of maximum involvement of Eskimos in the handling of government subsidy, minimum wastage of local human and animal resources, and the concept of a society changing in its own image.

Footnotes

¹Miss Monique St. Hilaire, Home Economist, conducted a survey of Eskimo family diets in Igloolik 1967 and 1968. Personal communication.

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APPENDIX

Glossary of Eskimo Words.

Several orthographies are in use for the representation of Eskimo words. Each reflects to some extent the mother-tongue of its originator, and may require the reader to learn new symbols. Without claiming any improvement on existing systems, I have attempted here to represent the sounds most accurately for the reader whose first language is English. Wherever my imperfect knowledge of the Eskimo language permits, I have included the meanings of words. The names of localities, lakes etc., begin with capitals, and personal names are underlined.

Abvadjak	.....	A site at the eastern end of the Coxe Islands.
aggiatjut	.....	'squaw ducks', people born in summertime.
aglu	.....	a seal's lair in the ice.
Agu	.....	'facing windward', a site in Foss Fjord, Agu Bay.
Aivilingmiut	.....	'people of the walrus-place', of Repulse Bay area.
Aigotadlik or Ayugotadlik	.....	a river flowing to Parry Bay.
akhitgit	.....	'ptarmigan', people born in wintertime.
Akimanerk	.....	Dybol Harbour.
Akudlerk	.....	'the middlemost', Committee Bay.
Akvisiokvik	.....	'whale hunting place', a few miles south of Pinger Point.
Alarngnak	.....	'the sort of place where one turns from the wind', Arlagnuk Point.
Alarngnakjuk	.....	'the little sort of place where one turns from the wind', site of Hopkins Inlet.
Angmarktaktok	.....	'receives or gets flints', north shore of Murray Maxwell Bay.
<i>Amarok</i>	.....	'wolf', a woman from Cumberland Sound.
amaut	.....	pouch and hood for baby-carrying parka.
Amitok	.....	'it is thin, narrow', Amitoke Peninsula.
Anangiakjuk	.....	'little dung-fly', Cape Jermain.
Anangilik	.....	'has dung-flies', site on east coast of Agu Bay.
Angmarkjuak	.....	'big flint', island in mouth of Steensby Inlet.
angayukak	.....	chief, leader.
angakok	.....	shaman.
Akungnerk	.....	camp on west side of Foster Bay.
Amauligarnerk.	.....	ball-game.
Arngnakoatshat	.....	'old women', a site at the southwest point of Igloodik Island.
<i>Attagutarluk</i>	.....	a leading Iglulingmiut woman, 'the Queen'
Atiaujarnerk	.....	a game resembling 'tag'.
Aukanakjuak	.....	'the big unfrozen place', a strait west of Oxmond Island.
Aukanakjuk	.....	'the little unfrozen place', strait between Jens Munk Island and Siorarsuk Peninsula.
<i>Ayuki</i>	.....	'undefeatable', Eskimo folk hero.
Iblaurarluk	.....	'big womb', an Eskimo of Rowley Island before Parry's visit.
Iglukjuat	.....	'big houses', site at Cape Thalbitser.
igunak	.....	Meat beginning to decompose.
Iglulingmiut	.....	the people of Iglulik.

Iglulik 'has houses', site at the eastern end of Igloodik Island.
 Ikaluit 'the fishes', site at Cape Griffith.
 Ikarktoriak 'crossing place', river and Lake draining Foster Bay.
 Ikerasak 'a strait' the Ikerasak River.
 Ikpiik 'a steep talus slope', a site near the mouth of River
 Ikpiikjuak 'a big talus slope', a lake south-west of Parry Bay
 Ikpigatjuut 'little steep talus slopes', site on west side of Steensby Inlet.
 Ikpiakjuk 'pocket, or bag', Eskimo name for Igloodik Bay.
 Ikpikheetukjuak 'the big place with few slopes', a river mouth in Steensby Inlet.
 Ilagiit large kin group.
 Illuilik 'inland or mainland', Prince Charles Island.
 Iligliak a point south of Hall Beach.
 Ingnerit 'pyrites, firestones', Ingnerit Point.
 Inuktogvik 'place of cannibalism', Inuktorfik Lake.
 Inukshukjuak 'the big stone man', Jenness River.
 Inukshukat 'stone man', head of Jenness River. (caribou cairns)
 Ingneritok 'strikes fire', Ingneritok Point.
 Ipiutit 'the handles', 'the strings', isthmuses of Baird and Amitioke Peninsula.
 Irkrit 'corners of the mouth', Ege Bay.
 Issingut 'appears smoky', south west point of Koch Island.
 issumatak Thinker, leader.
 Issuktok 'silty water', Isortoq Fiord.
 Itidjariak 'portage place', Point Elizabeth.
 Itkrelit 'people with lice-eggs', Chipewyan Indians.
 Ivisaraktok Ivisarak Lake.
 ivalu sinew, used for thread.
Itukshardjuak an Eskimo leader, 'the King'.
 Kabvialuk 'the big wolverine', point on north shore of Parry Bay.
 kadlunat 'eyebrow people', whitemen and people of modern culture.
 Kaersuit 'the rocks', South Calthorpe Islands.
 Kaershukat 'rocky', camp site, east coast of Ikpiik Bay.
 katgek a dance house.
 Katgeuyak 'looks like a dance house', site on north coast of Koch Island.
 Kaglilik 'has trousers', site on west side of Steensby Inlet.
 kartilik heavy harpoon with 'breaking' foreshaft.
 Kakalik 'has hills', camp on north-east coast of Fury and Hecla Strait.
 Kalaguserk 'the lesser hump, or sore', hill behind Igloodik.
 Kangerkshimayuk 'leads inland, or is truncated' mouth of Rowley River.
 Kapuivik 'harpooning place', Cape Elwyn.
 Karngmat 'houses of stone, turf and bone', at Quarman Point.
 Karngmaminil 'ancient houses', north-central Rowley Island.
 kau walrus hide.
 kayak one man skin boat.
 kiligvak string figure, of mammoth.
 Kimaktok 'ulu handle', Kimakto Peninsula.
 Kinipitungmiut name used by Low and party to describe the people of Chesterfield
 Inlet, early 1900's.
 Kingukshat or Kingmigashut Manning Islands.
 Kogarluk 'the big river', the Barrow River.
 Kokjuak 'the great river' Koukdjuak River and another flowing into
 Steensby Inlet.
 kraurut 'thing for the forehead', a bone or brass headband.

Kridlak 'a tear in clothing', Eskimo who led a party by dogteam from north
. Baffin to Greenland.
Kringmiktoqvik 'place where dogs died', Nugsanarsuk Point.
Kringakjuak 'big nose', a point in Parry Bay.
Krikilktakjuak 'great island'.
Krikilktakjuk 'little island', at east side of Igloolik Island, also Deer
. Island.
Krikilktarluk 'big island', Foley and Crown Prince Frederick Islands.
kudlik blubber lamp.
Maluksitak rocking stone near Cape Edwards, Lyon Inlet
Maneetok 'rough land', head of Richards Bay.
Manerktok 'gets moss for lampwick', Maneetok Island.
Maulirkpok hunts seals at breathing holes.
Mayuktolik 'place of going up' (fish), Whyte Inlet.
Mitilik 'has eider ducks', island of Seigny Point.
Napakut 'something erect', camp north of Hall Beach.
Napvak 'a crack' lake at head of Barrow River.
napariat handles of caribou horn, at rear of sled.
Narnguak 'like a stomach, a snowdrift', Naguaq Lake.
narlak tok obeys, listens.
Nauyaguluit 'the silly or bad seagulls', Seigny Point
Netsilik 'has seals', Ntsilling Lake. Also generic name for the people
. west of the Iglulingmiut.
nerrigak contents of caribou or other animals stomach.
Nigliviktuk site on east side of Jens Munk Island.
Nerglingnaktok 'likely to have Canada geese', Neerlonakto Island.
Nusmangnakjuk camp on south side of Foster Bay. (the map is in error here)
nugluktak game of putting rods into holes in bone.
Nuvuit 'points of land', Cape Jensen.
Nuvukjakjukulu 'the nice little point', on east coast of Agu Bay.
Okkosikshalik 'has stone for pots', Wager Bay.
ooglit islands or beaches where walrus haul out.
Ooglitjakjuk 'the little ooglit' South Ooglit Islands.
padleriak ivory toggle on dog harness, permitting quick release for bear hunting.
Peelik 'has something', Piling Lake.
Piakshaut Ice sheathing on sled runners.
Pingerkalik place of mounds, Pinger Point.
Pitotak 'old thing' camp near Cape Wilson.
Puyaktok 'greases', Eskimo murdered in 1906.
Sarqaq 'distant landscape', location in West Greenland, where pre-Dorset culture
. was found.
shaputit stone fish weirs.
Shadlerk 'the most opposite', Rowley, Bray and Southampton Islands.
Sharlerkjuak main trail to Repulse Bay from Parry Bay.
Shartuk 'thin or flat', east side of Cape Konig.
Shanarayak 'the apparent flank', shoreline of Hall Beach.
Shadlermiut 'people of the most opposite place', Rowley, Bray and Southampton
. Islands.
Shagvak rapids or falls, i.e. Saccpa Lake.
Shaglarkjuk Amherst Island
Shadliaguserk 'the secondary one facing', Liddon Island. (also called
. Shadlerjuak).

shaniruak large ivory toggle fastening dog-traces to main trace
 Shimig 'a plug', Ormond Island, and a small island in Easter Sound.
 Shinak 'sweet', a lake draining to the Barrow River.
 shivudleet ancestors.
Sigdjeriak 'shore bird', (Boas' spelling) woman from Cumberland Sound.
 Shiorarkjuk 'fine sand', Tern Island, and a camp in mid west side of
 Siorarsuk Peninsula.
 talun stone caribou ambushes.
 Taserkjuaguserk 'the lesser big lake', lake near Cape Penrhyn.
 Tasiuyap taima 'the end of what looks like a lake' inside coast of Murray
 Maxwell Bay.
 Tasiuyak 'looks like a lake', Hall Lake.
 Tariuyak 'appears to be sea', upper part of Steensby Inlet.
 Tikerak 'looks like an index finger', point at base of Amitioke Peninsula.
 Tikerakjuk 'looks like a little index finger', Tikerasuk Point.
 tivayuk wife-exchange dance.
 Toonit legendary pre-Eskimos, Dorset people.
 Toonitjuat the big Toonit.
 tuglerak stick for plaiting hair round.
 Tununerk 'place facing most away', Pond Inlet area.
 Tununerguserk 'lesser place facing most away', Arctic Bay area.
 ulu woman's knife.
 Uadlinerk Piling Bay area.
 umiak woman's boat of skins, (now any boat).
 umigeek stone trap (Freuchen's spelling).
 ungayuk is attached to, or fond of someone.
 uktuk a basking seal.
 ukjuk squareflipper or bearded seal.
 ukserk ivory fastener at end of dog trace.
 Ungaluyat 'looks like stone shelters', old site east side of Turton Bay.
 ungerdlat sausage-like bundles of walrus meat, wrapped in hide.
 Ussuatjuk 'little penis', point near Cape Jermain.
Uyara 'a stone' Mr. J. Uyara of Igloodik.
 Uyaragmiut 'people of stones' campsite near Cape Jermain.
 yapak modern Iglulingmiut woman's parka with pouch.