

AMERICAN WHALING INDUSTRY
AND THE AIVILINGMIUT

THE INFLUENCE
of the
AMERICAN WHALING INDUSTRY
on the
AIVILINGMIUT, 1860-1919

By
SAMUEL ROBINSON, B.A.

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AUTHOR: SAMUEL ISAAC ROBINSON, B.A. (McMASTER UNIVERSITY)

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR DAVID DAMAS

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ABSTRACT

The resources of archaeological research, historical documents, and ethnographic literature are combined to present an analysis of the nature and effects of contact between American whaling vessels and a group of Hudson Bay Eskimos. The meeting in 1860 of American whalers and the Aivilingmiut, a subgrouping of the Iglulik Eskimos, is shown to be essentially a contact situation. First, there is a reconstruction of the aboriginal subsistence and settlement patterns of the Aivilingmiut, based on the accounts of Boas and Mathiassen. Next, an investigation is made of the nature of the interactions of the Aivilingmiut and the whalers between 1860 and 1919. The focus is on the economic and social relationships which developed between the two groups. A particular emphasis is placed on the introduction of items of western technology into the material culture of the Aivilingmiut. The data on the historical events are drawn largely from the logbooks of American whaling vessels which wintered in the Chesterfield Inlet, Cape Fullerton and Repulse Bay areas of Hudson Bay. Various changes appear in the subsistence and settlement patterns of the Aivilingmiut when contrasted with the reconstructed aboriginal patterns. These changes are correlated with the economic and social relationships which developed between the Aivilingmiut and the whalers, and with the innovations in Aivilik material culture. The principal changes in subsistence and settlement patterns which, it is suggested, resulted from the interaction of the Aivilingmiut and the whalers, are 1) the seal and walrus hunts were diminished in terms of the manpower devoted to them, but were held nearly stable in terms of time expended. Due to technological innovations,

productivity increased; 2) the caribou and whale hunts were considerably intensified. The caribou hunt was intensified mainly in terms of its productivity; while the whale hunt was intensified both in terms of the time and manpower devoted to it, and in terms of its contribution to the subsistence of the Aivilingmiut; 3) during the presence of the whalers in Hudson Bay, the Aivilingmiut manifested a stronger terrestrial orientation in their subsistence activities than had been the case aboriginally; 4) settlement patterns were radically altered by a southward population drift. The 'southern' Aivilingmiut, as spoken of by Boas and Mathiassen, did not exist as an entity until contact with the whalers drew the Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut south of their aboriginal territory; 5) settlement patterns came to bear progressively less relation to subsistence activities as the relationships between the Aivilingmiut and the whalers became intensified; 6) a year-round semi-sedentary settlement pattern emerged during the whaling era. There was a gradual erosion of a seasonally divided society, characterized by winter aggregation and summer dispersion, and the development of a more unitary pattern; 7) a large-scale depletion in game resources along the northwest coast of Hudson Bay led to the removal of the Aivilingmiut to Southampton Island near the end of the whaling era.

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Unworthy a tribute as the may be, I wish to honour the memory of my father, David Alkin Robinson Q.C., 1902-1973.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The Aivilingmiut are one of the sub-groupings of the Iglulik Eskimos. Mathiassen (1928:1) uses the term 'Iglulik' to refer not only to the:

Iglulingmiut group proper, but also the Aivilingmiut, who live more to the south, and the inhabitants of northern Baffin Land, Tununermiut, these groups... being in reality so closely related that they must be regarded as forming one Eskimo tribe with in all essentials a uniform culture.

OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS

In part, this thesis will (1) describe the historical details of a widening cultural gap, directly attributable to the American whalers, that occurred between the Aivilingmiut and their fellow Iglulik Eskimos after 1860. Among Eskimos in Hudson Bay, it was the Aivilingmiut who were most influenced by the presence of the American whaling fleet between 1860 and 1919. In this thesis I am also concerned (2) to describe the general tenor of relations between the Aivilingmiut and the American whalers; (3) to document the introduction of items of western technology into the material culture of the Aivilingmiut; (4) to delineate the several ways in which Aivilingmiut subsistence and settlement patterns changed as a result of the influence of the American whalers. To accomplish this last objective, I have first described the Aivilingmiut subsistence and settlement cycles as they might have been before the time of contact with the whalers;

(5) to show that the 'southern' Aivilingmiut, referred to by Mathiassen (1928:27), did not exist as an entity until the whalers came to Hudson Bay and attracted the Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut into more southerly regions; (6) to indicate the types of ethnographic data that can be derived from logbooks of whalers in Hudson Bay in the 19th century.

ETHNOHISTORICAL RESEARCH

This is basically an ethnohistorical thesis. Lantis, Ackerman, VanStone, Townsend, and McClellan, the contributing authors to Lantis's Ethnohistory in Southwestern Alaska and the Southern Yukon (1970), seem to agree that ethnohistory is a methodology which combines three sub-disciplines: (1) archaeology (2) the analysis of written historical documents or oral testimony and (3) ethnographic research.

Ethnohistorical research may be directed toward (a) establishing the aboriginal baseline culture; and/or (b) delineating culture change in the past, usually from the time of contact. "Thus the 'history' can be either synchronic or diachronic" (Lantis 1970:5).

This thesis I think makes no new contribution toward understanding any patterns in aboriginal Aivilingmiut culture. I do include a chapter, based on Boas (1888) and Mathiassen (1928), which reconstructs as well as possible the aboriginal baseline of subsistence and settlement patterns. But essentially, this

thesis is diachronic, concentrating on changes that occurred in the latter half of the 19th century as a result of the intervention of Euro-Americans into Aivilingmiut life.

I have utilized in varying degrees the three sub-categories covered by ethnohistorical methodology. My greatest reliance has been on historical documents, principally the logbooks of New England whaling vessels. These have been supplemented by the accounts of such explorers as Parry (1824), Lyon (1824), Rae (1850) and Hall (Nourse 1879). Secondly, I have used such ethnographic sources as Boas (1888), Mathiassen (1928) and Rasmussen (1930). Many of Captain George Comer's accounts, to be found in his logbooks and journals, are ethnographic accounts of good quality. Thirdly, I have utilized, less than the other two categories, archaeological researches, such as those of Mathiassen (1928), Manning (1943), Taylor (1968), Merbs (1969, 1971), and McCartney (1972).

Ethnohistory is a fairly recent aspect of anthropological inquiry, especially in studies of Hudson Bay Eskimos. The number of studies seem as yet too small to establish any hard and fast methodological guidelines. Lantis (1970) and the contributors to her book, however, outline some of the insights that have arisen in their ethnohistorical researches. Lantis (ibid. 135) suggests that historical records should be reviewed before embarking on fieldwork, as a foundation to studies of present institutions and processes:

Assumptions often are made regarding the types of changes and especially the rate of change today as if these were very different from the past, without evidence of the past ...that is, one may think that a change is new when it is really a new phase in an old process. Or one may take as a fundamental and long enduring characteristic of a people what is actually recent.

VanStone (1970:64) has pointed out some of the benefits of ethnohistorical research:

With reference to the ethnographic dimension of the research, it is most important to note that the type of fieldwork carried out in the past is not possible today. A picture of the aboriginal culture or the early period of contact with Europeans may not be adequately reconstructed through work with informants alone....Hence the need for the primary sources: The archaeological and documentary records.

VanStone (ibid. 51) has also observed of Alaskan Eskimo studies, but with equal applicability in studies of Hudson Bay Eskimos, that present day Eskimo culture:

...is meaningful to the student of culture per se-- its form, its dynamics--only in terms of what can be learned about the earlier periods of its continuum.... My own interests along these lines developed as a result of experience in contemporary Eskimo and Indian communities and the growing realization that the nineteenth century was the decisive period as far as understanding culture change is concerned.

This thesis concentrates mainly on subsistence and settlement patterns, and material innovations and not the intellectual culture. Yet VanStone's concluding remarks (ibid. 66) best express the spirit in which this thesis was undertaken:

Given the virtual impossibility of reconstructing a complete aboriginal baseline against which to measure contemporary Eskimo culture, the next best thing is to provide a record of the early cultural acquisitions and losses and perhaps from these--incomplete as the record is--to delineate patterns and processes that help

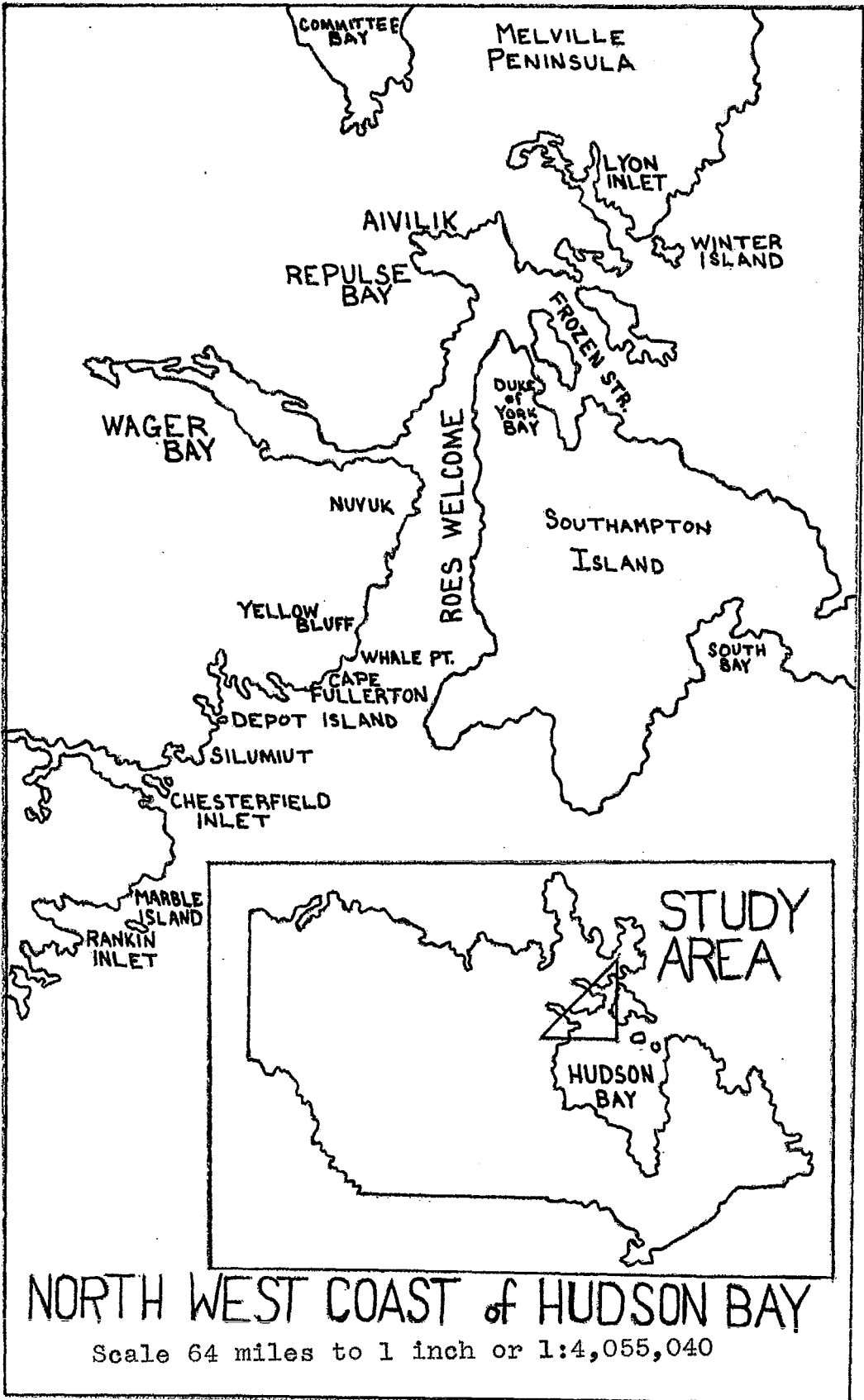
to make the present understandable. Despite the difficulties, I firmly believe that the time is rapidly approaching when it will be possible, by use of historical, ethnographic, and archaeological data, to make broad generalizations about the impact of Euro-Americans on Eskimos during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Obviously, the richness of archaeological sites, the abundance of historical documents, and the opportunities for productive ethnographic fieldwork varies from one locality to another. Fortunately, the northwest coast of Hudson Bay is quite well suited to ethnohistorical research.

EARLY RESEARCH

The history of the European presence in Hudson Bay (Neatby 1968) begins in 1610, when Henry Hudson travelled along the eastern shore. The first European to cruise the west shore, passing Rankin Inlet, Marble Island, Chesterfield Inlet, and nearing Cape Fullerton was Thomas Button in 1612. In 1615 and 1616, Baffin sighted Foxe Peninsula, the northeast shore of Southampton Island and Cape Comfort. Luke Foxe sailed into and named Roes Welcome in 1631. He also traversed the entire length of Hudson Bay from south to north, as far as the Arctic Circle. In 1689, the Hudson's Bay Company began construction of a whaling station at the mouth of Churchill River. The project was delayed by discontented workers (ibid. 97) and went uncompleted until 1717.

The first direct evidence of European contact with the Eskimos of the region herein under study is to be found in the accounts of Captain Scroggs (ibid. 98). In 1719 James Knight had



set out to find a Northwest Passage leading to resources of copper and gold. He was never heard from again.

In 1722 Captain Scroggs, cruising northward from Churchill to trade with the Eskimo, picked up a fragment of a ship's foremast, and recovered from natives on Marble Island other relics of the lost expedition. He reported that the ships had been wrecked, and 'Every Man was killed by the Eskemoes' (Neatby 1968:98).

In 1767 Samuel Hearne found several graves and Knight's two sunken ships. Two years later Hearne obtained an account from Eskimos at Marble Island of the Knight expedition's last days. This account states that on the arrival of the Eskimos in the spring of 1720, Knight's crews were seriously ill, and employed the Eskimos to help repair the ships. By the spring of 1721, only two survivors remained, and these died soon after. In part it was Knight's choice of Marble Island with its almost total absence of game that led to the scurvy and death of the party. As the American whalers quickly realized one hundred and forty years later, Marble Island, though an excellent winter harbour, was only habitable in winter if a trade in meat was pre-arranged with the Eskimos.

Moses Norton's comment (cited in Neatby 1968:99), on hearing of the Knight expedition's fate in 1769, was that any English vessel in distress could expect assistance from any of the Eskimos as far north as Marble Island. The implication is clearly that the Eskimos north of Marble Island were not sufficiently known yet by the English who had, by 1769, been in

Hudson Bay for over one hundred and fifty years.

From 1750 to 1790, the Hudson's Bay Company annually sent sloops along the northwest coast of Hudson Bay to trade with the Eskimos. Occasionally, these vessels travelled as far north as Marble Island. Andrew Graham (1969), who made the journey many times, identified the Eskimos who traded at Marble Island as 'Ockshotheak'. The identity of this group is difficult to determine. However, Captain Comer (Era, log, January 25 and 29, 1905) writes of a group which called itself the 'As shock miut' or 'Shou Nock tow miut', of which nine members visited Fullerton Harbour in 1905. These may refer to the same group that Graham mentions. Comer identifies the As shock miut's territory as both southwest of Baker Lake and southeast [of the head] of Chesterfield Inlet.

Between 1765 and 1772, the Hudson's Bay Company carried out annual whaling expeditions to Marble Island (Ross 1973). The small profits did not justify the investment. Nine voyages in eight years yielded only five small whales.

The first recorded meeting with the Eskimos of Roes Welcome was that effected by Middleton's expedition in 1742 at Wager Inlet; the next, by the expedition of Moor and Smith in 1747... at the same place. Unfortunately, the records of these expeditions make slight mention of the natives (Manning 1943:101).

Ellis (1748) and Swaine (1748), who were members of the Moor and Smith expedition, have briefly described summer encounters with Eskimos at Wager Inlet in 1746. These Eskimos are said to

have camped in the summer in groups of forty to fifty, near the coast, and appear to have been marine oriented. If these were Aivilingmiut, their contact with Europeans on this occasion was minimal.

In 1821-23 Wm. Parry and G.F. Lyon set out to extend Middleton's survey north from Repulse Bay. They spent two winters among the Iglulik Eskimos at Winter Island and Iglulik, and at this time made the first prolonged direct contact with the Aivilingmiut throughout the winter of 1821-22.

Parry (1824:503-04) gives some idea of the degree of indirect contact with Europeans which the Iglulik Eskimos had experienced by 1821. Several iron and steel bladed knives which he observed bore the name or mark of European manufacturers.

Many of the parts of hunting implements that Mathiassen (1928:37-158) describes as of iron, correspond to parts which Parry (op. cit. 507) says are of narwhal ivory or bone. But there are several instances of iron parts being used in 1821. Aside from originating at a Hudson's Bay Company post or trading mission, one instance is given (ibid. 508) of iron "obtained from natives of the Savage Islands."

Rae's expedition (1846-47) to chart the coast between

Boothia Isthmus and Fury and Hecla Strait, made its base camp at Fort Hope, at the western end of Repulse Bay. Caribou meat, oil for fuel, and dogs were purchased from the Repulse Bay Eskimos. It was Rae's description of the whaling possibilities in Roes Welcome that stimulated the American whaling industry to expand westward from Davis Strait where it had long prospered (Neatby 1968:114 and Low 1906:251).

Rae returned to the Repulse Bay area in 1853-54 as one of the Franklin Relief expeditions as did C.F. Hall (1864-69). Mathiassen's opinion (1928:5) of Rae's and Hall's observations is worthy of note:

But neither in Rae's nor Hall's reports is there much information regarding the Eskimos; Hall's book... must furthermore be handled with great caution, as the information and illustrations in it often seem to have come from quite other Eskimo tribes.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this brief historical sketch is that the first direct contact between the Aivilingmiut and Europeans occurred less than forty years before the coming of the whalers, when Parry's expedition spent the winters of 1821-23 at Winter Island and Iglulik. Aside from Rae's experiences at Repulse Bay, no other significant contact occurred before 1860. Thus the meeting and interaction of the Aivilingmiut and whalers can be described as essentially a contact situation.

GEOGRAPHY

In 1910 the Aivilingmiut were identified with the north-west coast of Hudson Bay between Chesterfield Inlet and Lyon Inlet. In earlier times they had been identified primarily with the Repulse Bay region, whereas the territory of the Iglulik proper comprises Southampton Island, Melville Peninsula, and northern Baffin Land (Cockburn Land) between latitudes 63° N and 74° N and longitudes 74° W and 92° W (Mathiassen 1928:4).

The following data on precipitation and physiography were drawn principally from Polunin, Botany of the Canadian Eastern Arctic, Pt. 3, Vegetation and Ecology, 1948. The climate of the Aivilingmiut territory between Chesterfield Inlet and Lyon Inlet may be described as 'continental' despite the coastal position, largely because of the prevailing northwesterly winds. At Chesterfield, winter temperatures of -60° F. have been recorded, with the January daily average being -28° F. The summer temperature at Chesterfield has been recorded as high as 80° F., with the July daily average being $+48^{\circ}$ F. (Thompson 1968:283).

Precipitation generally totals about 11 inches (28 cm.) annually, more than half in the form of rain, falling between July and October. July and August are usually frost free, but occasionally frosts do occur during these months.

Physiographically, the whole region is of comparatively low country (not exceeding 1200 feet), belonging to the 'coastal plains', rather than the main Canadian Shield, although it may be

quite hilly in places. The hills of Repulse Bay's south coast are of about 1000 feet (305 m.) in altitude. However, the whole region has been smoothed by intense glacial action. Mathiassen (1928:6) describes the coast south of Repulse Bay as "typical Barren Grounds land".

The coastline from Chesterfield Inlet to Repulse Bay is quite serrated, with many small bays and coves. At places several small islands serve to create a protective barrier between the coast and the strong currents of Roes Welcome.

Along the coast from Chesterfield Inlet to Repulse Bay a narrow barrier of smooth winter ice forms in winter; only at certain projections of the land does the ice pack very much. The mouth of Wager Inlet never freezes over, whereas the inner part of the gulf has a flat covering of ice. The ice appears on this stretch in October-November and breaks up in July.

Repulse Bay is covered every year with flat winter ice, which appears in October and does not break up until August....

It is only occasionally that Roes Welcome and Frozen Strait freeze over in winter. Not infrequently the former is passable in winter owing to the fact that the drifting masses of ice freeze together for a day or two, only to separate again when the wind blows (Mathiassen 1928:10).

Regarding the influence of ice conditions on Eskimo settlement patterns, Boas (1888:460ff) states the basic principles. It is well to keep these principles in mind in order to set them against the settlement patterns which developed during contact with the whalers. Boas makes it clear that the presence of nearby extensive ice floes and smooth ice are required characteristics

of winter settlements. Seal hunting on rough ice is both difficult and generally unsuccessful. Boas (ibid. 461) describes the west shore of Hudson Bay as one of the "few districts where proximity of open water favors walrus hunting during the winter, and all of these have neighboring floes on which seals may be hunted with the harpoon".

It may be said generally of the vegetation of the region that the whole territory belongs to the arctic tundra zone. Vegetationally, the Roes Welcome coastal area, south of Repulse Bay, supports large tracts of closed marshy vegetation, suitable for supporting caribou in the summer. As far south as Whale Point the flora is arctic in nature. Once the Cape Fullerton area is reached willows, mosses and grasses begin to appear in the shallow valleys between soil-bare glaciated hills. The Chesterfield Inlet region is similar in physiography. Polunin (1948:267) says, "A striking character is the general lack of comminuted soil, less than one-sixth of the area, according to my computation, being occupied by substrata that are suitable for the roots of vascular plants".

Mathiassen (1928:12), in this context, adds:

Only by the settlements are there green patches where soil for centuries has been manured with blubber and refuse.

Thus in these regions the flora plays a very small anthropogeographical part. The most important is the heather, Cassiope tetragona, which is used as fuel in summer and as platform covering in the snow houses in winter; in many places, however, it is very sparse and

must be replaced by willow twigs, bilberry twigs and other substitutes. There are scarcely any berries.... Cotton grass and moss provide materials for lamp-wicks, and bilberry twigs are chopped up and mixed with their tobacco.

Thus, the vegetational scarcity in the region necessitates the reliance on mammals and fish as food sources. It was the knowledge of these fauna which made the Aivilingmiut necessary allies in the survival of the American whalers.

The mammals of principal interest, as food sources to the Aivilingmiut, were walrus (Odobenus rosmarus), ringed seal (Pusa hispida), though bearded seal (Erignathus barbatus), and ranger seal (Phoca vitulina) were also eaten occasionally, bowhead (or Greenland) whale (Balaena mysticetus), caribou (Rangifer tarandus), and musk-ox (Ovibos moschatus). Polar bear (Ursus maritimus), barren-ground wolf (Canis lupis), Arctic fox (Alopex lagopus), Arctic hare (Lepus arcticus), narwhal (Monodon monoceros L.), beluga (Delphinapterus leucas), and possibly ground squirrels (Spermophilus undulatus) were of varying importance in meeting subsistence needs. Birds played a very minor part in meeting the subsistence needs of the Aivilingmiut. Occasionally several varieties of ducks were caught. Fish were of much more importance. What Mathiassen refers to as trout, and the logbooks call salmon, and what were probably Arctic char (Salvelinus alpinus) were to be found abundantly in most lakes and rivers, and also in Hudson Bay itself. Shellfish were extracted, in half-digested form, from the stomachs of killed walruses. In this context Parry (1824:505)

said, "In enumerating the articles of their food, we might perhaps give a list of every animal inhabiting these regions, as they certainly will at times eat any of them."

Of the few utilized minerals in the region, Mathiassen (1928:9) says:

Soapstone is found at Wager River...a poor variety is found in Repulse Bay. Parry (1824:503) mentions that asbestos for [Iglulingmiut] lamp trimmers is found in Repulse Bay....Slate, which was formerly used for blades of weapons and knives, is found scattered over the most of the whole area....

AMERICAN WHALING PROCEDURE

Turning briefly to the American whalers, one finds that a vessel spent one winter in Hudson Bay in order to have as long a whaling season as possible in the second summer. Arriving in and leaving Hudson Bay within the same summer was considered unprofitable. Usually the whaling vessels arrived in July, and remained for about fourteen months, leaving the Bay in August or September. In later years, twenty-seven months voyages became fairly common. Birket-Smith (1929:I:32) concisely describes American whaling methods in these Arctic waters:

In contrast to the Scots, the Americans did not use their ships for whaling, but cruised with whaleboats in Roe's Welcome from May until the beginning of September.

In this manner the Eskimos learned to steer a sailing boat, and the use of the kayak in the hunting of aquatic mammals was forgotten....

THE AIVILINGMIUT

Regarding the Aivilingmiut, one notes that their subsistence resources were somewhat more abundant than was probably the case for other Central Eskimo groups. Although their economy was mainly based on the hunting of sea mammals, caribou played a very important part in their strategies of survival.

However, it is the relatively high degree of sedentary settlement based on productive walrus hunts that perhaps most distinguishes the Aivilingmiut, and the Iglulik Eskimos in general, among Central Eskimo groups. "The Iglulingmiut seem to represent an adaptation intermediate between that of the Point Barrow Eskimo with their permanent winter villages and that of the much more nomadic Netsilik or Copper Eskimo" (Damas 1963:21). The Repulse Bay region was a favoured position for hunting walrus and seals. "Aivilik means 'the place of the walrus'..." (Manning 1943:101). It was also one of the best locations for catching whales.

The existence of this secure settlement locale, in terms of Eskimo subsistence standards, is of some importance. In Chapter 5, I present evidence of a southward settlement movement by the Aivilingmiut from Repulse Bay, stimulated by an attraction to the whaling vessels. Although such a movement took the Aivilingmiut out of their optimum locale for walrus hunting, the possession and use of the whaleboat made a more southern walrus hunt efficient enough to counteract the ecological disadvantages. In fact, the

use of the whaleboat itself can contribute to a sufficient economic base for a more settled existence. This appears to be what happened in the Depot Island, Cape Fullerton, and Whale Point areas in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Damas (ibid. 24-25) writes of a similar process taking place about two generations later, and under much less stimulus, at Iglulik.

In the '30's there were only three or four of these craft [i.e. whaleboats] in the region, but they had already made an impact on the economy. At that time the population became largely concentrated in two winter villages....Since boats make possible larger catches of walrus than had ever before been known in the area, people congregated in places where a boat was owned and built their winter villages...within easy access of the caches of walrus meat.

In utilizing the services of the Aivilingmiut, the whalers were able to take advantage of two aboriginal culture traits. One trait was social and one ideological in nature. In the late summer there was a splitting of groups. "All the younger men than make their way into the country to hunt, whilst the older men usually--though not always--remain at some good hunting ground or other at the coast or at a salmon lake" (Mathiassen 1928:53). The traditional splitting of groups served the whalers' needs well, for there was little tension created when the whalers required the younger men to be absent for long periods of caribou hunting. In addition, the traditional autumn caribou hunt accorded well with the end of the whaling season and the employment of the Aivilingmiut in the whaling boats. It was also advantageous

for the whalers that the Aivilingmiut, among Iglulik Eskimos, put the strongest emphasis on caribou hunting (ibid. 36).

The advantageous ideological trait concerns taboo. Whereas many Eskimo peoples observe a taboo against hunting sea mammals during the summer, the Iglulik Eskimos "live on hunting aquatic mammals: walrus and narwhal from the ice edge, utoq and breathing-hole hunting of seals and hunting the seal, narwhal or walrus from boats and kayaks" (ibid. 36). The lack of taboo on summer sea mammal hunting allowed the American whalers to better exploit native labour without causing any sort of ideological conflict.

CENSUS DATA

Census taking among semi-nomadic bands is a difficult task, and population figures for the Aivilingmiut reflect this. Boas (1907:7) says that the number of Aivilingmiut in 1898 was 102 (26 men, 34 women, 27 boys, and 15 girls). It is likely that he called all young girls who were married "women". Girls marrying younger than boys accounts for any large sex ratio discrepancy. Low (1906:135) documents 138 Aivilingmiut between Fullerton and Repulse Bay in 1903-04, while Mathiassen (1928:15) noted 165 Aivilingmiut in 1922. It is generally considered that Mathiassen's census is the most accurate.

Whalers' logbooks offer so little information on Eskimo population, deaths and disease that any speculation on introduced

diseases would be untenable. Regarding the whalers and disease, Mathiassen (ibid. 21) writes:

...there is reason for believing that the population has declined during the past few years, particularly as a result of the severe treatment meted out to them [the Aivilingmiut] by the whalers' contagious diseases, especially syphilis...and the excessive drinking of strong liquor....

A.P. Low (1906:136) observes that "the population now appears to be nearly stationary, though there was a considerable decrease for some years after the whaling vessels first frequented the bay and before the tribe became accustomed to the changes involved." Aside from these observations, calculations on population dynamics have been made by Manning (1943:103) and Damas (1963:23). The populations which Manning and Damas refer to are those of the Iglulik Eskimos of Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Repulse Bay and the Iglulik area. Manning, by comparing Parry's 1822 census with Mathiassen's 1922 figures, shows that population in absolute numbers decreased only very slightly; while Damas (1963:23) indicates that male-female ratios and parent-child ratios changed only minutely from 1822 to 1922. Thus the logbooks' apparent oversight in this area may be due to the lack of any noteworthy numbers of Eskimo deaths. However, it is interesting to note that between 1864 and 1869, ten of the forty-two Eskimos with whom C.F. Hall wintered in 1864 died. Two children were born to that group. This represents approximately a 20% decline in this small population in five years (Nourse 1879: 369).

RELATIONS OF THE WHALERS AND THE AIVILINGMIUT

Turning briefly to a consideration of the relations of the whalers and the Aivilingmiut, one notes that the major influence of the whalers was to stimulate changes in Aivilinmiut settlement patterns. It was Mauss (1904-05) who first "evolved a theory of Eskimo social life that was related to the seasonal fluctuations in the density of human aggregations which brought about the existence of two distinct entities: the summer society and the winter society" (Damas 1963:6-7). While one might consider Mauss's characterization of a distinctly different summer and winter society to be extreme, his model has utility for our purposes. One of the principal influences of the whalers, to be illustrated at several points throughout this thesis, was the gradual erosion among many of the Aivilingmiut, of a society divided by extreme seasonal fluctuations in population density. The whalers tended to attract large numbers of Eskimo families to the vicinity of the whaling vessels. Increasingly, over the years, at least the women, the children and the elderly, took up virtually year-round residence in proximity to the vessels. Whether the men were away on short-term whale hunts in the boats, or on longer caribou and musk-ox hunts, their residence came to be oriented to the whaling vessels' locale.

A description of the aboriginal patterns of aggregation and dispersion is treated in the second chapter of this thesis. Chapters 3 and 5 deal, among other concerns, with progressive

changes that occurred in social aggregation, according to seasonal activities, under the influence of the whalers.

If the logbooks are any indication of the matter, the whalers were oblivious to traditional Aivilingmiut authority systems. Never is any mention of the whalers dealing with an issumataq¹ or any one representative of an Aivilingmiut local group. It appears that the whalers dealt in a completely laissez-faire manner, buying the goods and services, at the best possible terms, of any who met their needs. Whether the Aivilingmiut actually maintained traditional hierarchical stances, unbeknownst to the whalers, is impossible to ascertain. Mathiassen (1928: 209) mentions the position of heading a large family as an important characteristic of the issumataq. Even this quality is of little use for our purposes, since the logkeepers seem to have neglected almost totally any concern with kinship ties.

The whalers seem to have had a relatively small degree of overall influence on Aivilingmiut ethos. The Eskimos approached their relations with the whalers from a practical point of view. Relations seem to have been treated largely as an alternative or modified subsistence pattern.

In very few places in the world will the observer receive such a vivid and immediate impression of the fundamental importance of the means of subsistence to culture as

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Issumataq: "On the village-wide level the leader of the largest constituent extended family is often the issumataq of the village or head man" (Helm and Damas, 1963:15). According to Mathiassen (1928:209), the word 'issumataq' means "he who thinks."

among the Eskimos and, as all know, means of subsistence in this instance means hunting and fishing....The sense for the purely expedient, without any tribute to considerations of Aesthetics, which almost wholly stamps the material culture of the Central Eskimos, must presumably to some extent be regarded in the light of their unusually hard struggle for existence (Birket-Smith I:95).

It must be added that the whalers, too, approached the Aivilingmiut pragmatically. There is no indication, for example, of religious proselytization. In view of the apparent pragmatism of relations, another observation of Birket-Smith (1929 I:31), actually referring to the Caribou Eskimos, seems appropos:

Since the coming of the white man to these regions the influence of his culture upon that of the Eskimos has been extensive....In nearly all cases, however, it is a question of a pure and simple importation of objects, from sewing needles to high-power rifles and gramophones. The elements which are due to the absorption of European ideas, and which may therefore be said to be really organically absorbed into the culture of the Caribou Eskimos, are extremely small in number.

POST-WHALER PERIOD

Turning to a consideration of the Aivilingmiut after nearly sixty years of contact with the whalers, one finds their settlement patterns markedly changed. According to Manning (1942:25) about eighty Aivilingmiut lived on Southampton Island in 1942. In 1908, Captain Comer (1910:86) left a party of Repulse Bay Eskimos there. Apparently about 1910 the largest proportion of Aivilingmiut settled there, eight years after the extinction of the Sadlermiut, who had formerly inhabited the island. Mathiassen (1928:28) describes Southampton Island, in 1922, as the Aivilingmiut's "most

important possession". Manning (1943:101ff) has written, as follows, of the Aivilingmiut in the post-whaler time period.

Aivilik [a place-name on the north shore of Repulse Bay] means 'the place of the walrus', but the once numerous walrus have vanished, and the Greenland [bowhead] whales are now, of course, only accidental. With the disappearance of these large mammals, Repulse Bay can no longer support a concentrated population.... In 1936, there were only two or three families of Aivilingmiut resident at Repulse Bay....Except for a regular camping ground at Beach Point, Roes Welcome on its west side (and, incidently, on its east) has been almost deserted for the last twenty years or more. Whether this is due to reduction of caribou, the extermination of the Greenland whale and a reduction of other sea-mammals, a combination of all these circumstances, or merely the fact that the district has acquired a bad name through accident or for semi-superstitious reasons, is not certain. The abandonment seems to have been gradual.

This introduction has not been intended as a detailed account of Aivilingmiut ethnography, ecological relations, or history. Since there are virtually no ethnographic studies of the Aivilingmiut, for the reader to refer to, I felt a general introduction to the people and their historical situation was in order.

I now turn to a more detailed focus on Aivilingmiut history between 1860 and 1919, treating their general relations with the American whalers, and specifically the influence of the whalers for change in material culture and settlement and subsistence patterns. As a back-drop to this historic period, it is necessary to begin with a chapter concerned with a reconstruction of the aboriginal subsistence and settlement patterns of the Aivilingmiut.

Chapter TwoABORIGINAL SUBSISTENCE AND SETTLEMENT CYCLE OF THE
AIVILINGMIUT

A reconstruction of the aboriginal subsistence and settlement cycle of the Aivilingmiut is difficult to produce. This is the case because of the sporadic and short-term nature of the initial observations. However, it is essential to establish a tentative aboriginal cycle against which to contrast the patterns which prevailed after the American whalers had exerted their influence on Aivilingmiut culture. I take "aboriginal" in the Aivilingmiut case to be prior to 1860. i.e. before the influence of the whalers began to be felt.

All of the early observations were of 'northern' Aivilingmiut--those from the Repulse Bay and Lyon Inlet regions. No first hand observations were made, prior to the coming of the whalers, of the annual cycle of, what have been called, the 'southern' Aivilingmiut (Mathiassen 1928:27)--those who inhabited the Chesterfield Inlet, Depot Island or Cape Fullerton regions. Unfortunately, it was in these latter regions that the American whalers exerted their greatest influence. Parry, Lyon, and Rae, all observed the 'northern' Aivilingmiut of Repulse Bay, Lyon Inlet and Winter Island, though Rae's journey north and south on the western coast of Hudson Bay, in 1846-47, covered the territory under consideration. Among other things, I intend to show in this thesis that the 'southern' Aivilingmiut did not exist as an entity until the whalers came to Hudson

Bay, and drew the Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut into more southerly regions. This point will be considered in the chapter on the whalers' influence on subsistence and settlement patterns.

Boas (1888) has made the standard reconstruction of the Aivilingmiut aboriginal cycle. His conclusions are based on the observations of Rae in 1846-47 and 1854-55; C.F. Hall in 1864-69; and Schwatka in 1877-79. However, only Rae's observations were made prior to the era of the American whalers. By Hall's time, considerable influence had been exerted on the Aivilingmiut by the whalers, although his observations are the most useful for the purposes of this study. I consider Schwatka's observations, after nearly twenty years of Aivilingmiut contact with the whalers, to be virtually useless for the purposes of a reconstruction of aboriginal patterns. I will supplement Boas' conclusions with data drawn from the logbooks in the initial years of the whaling industry in Hudson Bay.

Boas (1888:447ff) characterizes the Aivilingmiut annual cycle as follows:

In the spring, when the seals commence to bask upon the ice, the tents are established on the floe of Repulse Bay, the large winter settlements being broken up into a number of smaller ones. During this season they begin to store away blubber, which is carefully put into sealskin bags. Besides, reindeer are killed in deer passes. In July a great number of the natives leave the ice and resort to the salmon rivers, where an abundant supply of food is secured, but the sealing is also continued until the breaking up of the ice. At this time of year (i.e. August), walrus and seal are taken in large numbers, and thus an ample

stock of provisions for winter use is collected. In some seasons a few whales are caught and stored away at once. In September, most of the natives move to the lakes or rivers, particularly North Pole Lake, to hunt deer as well as the musk ox on the hills. Other favorite localities for deer hunting are west of Repulse Bay or near Lyon Inlet. Large deposits of venison are made, and when the deer go south the natives settle in the center of their summer's hunting ground, building their snow houses on the lakes in order to have a supply of water at hand. About January most of them gather in one settlement, which is established at Uglariaq, Naujan, or Inugsulik... They go sealing in winter only in case of need, for the hunt seems to be unproductive, and they subsist on the stores deposited during the preceding summer. Towards the latter half of March the settlements are broken up and some of the natives go to the lakes to fish for trout and salmon, while others begin sealing.

In considering Boas' general terms 'winter' and 'spring', it is helpful to remember that

The really severe cold begins in December, but in the arctic countries it is never before February, or even March, that the coldest period arrives....On the southern part of the west coast of Hudson Bay the ice vanishes about July 1, but at Repulse Bay not until a month later (Birket-Smith 1929 I:48 and 54).

The remarks of Boas (1888:444) regarding winter seal hunting among the Aivilingmiut conflict substantially, as will be seen, with the records found in the logbooks:

A remarkable difference exists between the customs of the western tribes who live on the continent of America [i.e. the western coast of Hudson Bay, hence the Aivilingmiut] and those of the tribes that inhabit Baffin Land and Melville Peninsula...the tribes of the continent do not hunt the seal in the winter, laying up instead their supply of meat and blubber in the fall.

Mathiassen's reconstructed subsistence and settlement cycle

(op. cit. 24ff) generally corresponds with that of Boas. Mathiassen mentions neither caribou hunting in the late spring nor musk-ox hunting in the autumn. The most significant difference between the accounts of Boas and Mathiassen centres on winter occupations. Boas (op. cit. 449) refers to winter sealing as an emergency measure only, whereas Mathiassen (op. cit. 24) says that "Towards the end of January or in February...they lived on ice-hunting for seals." Boas times the beginning of the seal hunt (one assumes breathinghole sealing) to the latter half of March, coinciding with inland fishing activities. Mathiassen speaks of May and June as the beginning of the utuq-sealing (basking seal) season; and Boas, though not clearly specifying, seems to affirm this. As will be seen, the logbooks, which refer to 'southern Aivilingmiut', indicate the beginning of the breathing-hole seal hunt in mid- or late-December or early January. Hall's observation (Nourse 1879:374) of one hundred and ten Eskimos engaged in seal hunting at Repulse Bay on January 25, 1869, also tends to put Boas' statement in question.

Neither Boas nor Mathiassen mention walrus hunting in March and April, whereas the logbooks make constant mention of such activity.

Nor do either Boas or Mathiassen mention a spring musk-ox hunt, as do the early logbooks; whereas later logs indicate winter musk-ox hunts, also.

Boas has nothing very substantial to say about the seasonal activities of Eskimos around Depot Island, Marble Island, or Cape Fullerton. In this regard, Mathiassen adds nothing at all, whereas the logbooks generally refer to this region.

Boas is rather contradictory regarding the 'southern' Aivilingmiut. At one point (op. cit. 448) he suggests that the 'southern' Aivilingmiut were 'northern' Aivilingmiut who occasionally migrated farther south than was their usual practice. Yet on the same page (ibid. 448) he makes the 'southern' Aivilingmiut sound like permanent inhabitants of the regions south of Wager River. In this regard, Captain Comer, who knew the Aivilingmiut dialect and had much experience with these Eskimos, wrote:

This part of the country from between Wager River and Chesterfield Inlet does not seem to be the regular home of the Eskimo, though they are now here and have come mostly because the vessels have made winter quarters between these two mentioned places....Nearly, if not all, come from the vicinity of Repulse Bay and are known as Iwillic Inuits (Comer, journal 1897-99).

Based on Klutschak, who wrote in 1881, Boas tries to reconstruct a southern Aivilingmiut seasonal cycle. Klutschak, of course, saw the Aivilingmiut after almost twenty years of continual contact with the American whalers. But Boas, in giving permanency to Klutschak's observations and in failing to recognize the influence of the whalers, implies that the cycle he propounds had prevailed in aboriginal times. Boas (op. cit. 448-449) writes:

The greater part of the Aivilingmiut live near Depot Island (Pikiulaq). Here, on Cape Fullerton, and near the northern entrance of Chesterfield Inlet, the natives deposit their stores for winter use. As soon as the ice is gone they resort to the mainland, where deer, which descend to the shore at this season, are hunted. When the snow begins to cover the country they move inland, where they continue the deer hunt. In October they settle near a deer pass or a lake which is crossed by the herds migrating southward. In December all the deer have left the country and the natives live upon the stores deposited in the fall. Towards the beginning of the new year part of them return to the sea and live upon the deposits of walrus meat or disperse over the land floe, where seals are killed in their breathing holes. Another part take to the hills near Chesterfield Inlet and Wager River, a favorite feeding ground for the musk ox. They only return to the Bay in March or April, to hunt seals until the breaking up of the ice. If supplies of walrus meat are very abundant the Eskimo gather in one large settlement....The natives who had hunted deer in the fall returned in December to Depot Island, where ten inhabitants lived at the time [about 1878]. They hunted walrus at the edge of the floe during the whole winter, but did not exclusively use their old stores (Klutschak, pg. 32). In summer whales were hunted by means of kayaks, the blubber and meat being immediately stored for future use (pg. 269). It is interesting to learn that a single family spent a whole year in the interior of the country, about two or three days' journey west of Depot Island, living on the flesh of the musk ox most of the time (pg. 196).

Boas fails to explain the rather significant differences between this annual cycle and the one of the Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut. As will be seen in the chapter on the whaler's influence on subsistence and settlement patterns, most of the differences can be attributed to the whalers' interaction with the Aivilingmiut.

It must be admitted that from the very beginning of the period of the whalers' wintering in these southerly regions,

Avilingmiut regularly visited or settled there seasonally. The log of the Siren Queen, the first whaling vessel to winter at Marble Island, in 1860-61, shows that as early as October 31, 1860, several families were in the Marble Island region. However, by this time there would have been almost four months of at least occasional contact as the vessels and whaleboats plied Roes Welcome. On December 13, the Eskimos moved south, perhaps as far as the Chesterfield Inlet sealing grounds, to engage in sealing. At the beginning of January, seventy Eskimos arrived at Marble Island. From the accounts for January until mid-April, it appears that a sizeable Eskimo community was settled in the Marble Island vicinity. In January and February the Eskimos were successfully engaged in sealing an indeterminate distance to the south of Marble Island. This contrasts with Boas' account of northern patterns, which does not mention winter sealing. As Boas (op. cit. 447) indicated, caribou hunting was not generally engaged in, aboriginally, during the winter. This is verified in the Siren Queen's logbook which only mentions seal hunting during the winter. The only caribou eaten had been cached in the preceding autumn. On March 13, some of the Eskimos left to fish and hunt caribou. The first walrus was caught on March 21, and a regular walrus hunt followed until May. In early May, a musk-ox hunt was engaged in. Seals were hunted until mid-June, when the Eskimo men were fully employed by the whalers in assisting in hauling whale blubber. From the end of April,

caribou were killed quite regularly (often with guns supplied by the whalers). The Eskimos were engaged by the whalers until mid-August, at which time they left to hunt caribou.

The Antelope and Black Eagle wintered at Depot Island, in 1862-63. On November 11, Eskimos arrived for the winter from "Eagle Harbor".¹ By January 21, the Eskimos were actively and regularly seal hunting at the floe edge, and at breathing-holes. On March 7, the first walrus of the season was caught by the Eskimos. On April 1, two Eskimos left on a musk-ox hunt. As early as January 20, the Eskimos were hunting caribou, in company with some of the whalers. But it seems probable that the whalers were the instigators of such hunts. The whereabouts of the Eskimos from mid-June to the autumn is not indicated.

When the logbooks from the first two years of the whaling period, in the Marble Island and Depot Island regions, are used as guides to an aboriginal cycle, it is found that this cycle generally coincides with Boas' model for the northern Aivilingmiut, except for the crucial period from December to late March. The winter aggregation of extended family groups (Damas 1968a:115) seems to coincide, though it may occur somewhat earlier in the south than at Repulse Bay. However, Boas' claim that the Repulse Bay people rarely hunt seal in the

¹
I cannot determine the location of "Eagle Harbor", as it is never mentioned subsequently, and appears on no charts.

winter is contrary to the evidence from the southern regions. Around Marble and Depot Islands breathing-hole sealing was engaged in regularly from the third week in January. "Salmon" (char) fishing on nearby ponds was also practiced in the winter months. Walrus were hunted from early or mid-March. Whether aboriginal caribou hunting was engaged in as early as January, February or March is impossible to determine. In the time of the whalers' presence, caribou hunts were often carried out by Aivilingmiut throughout the winter in the southern regions. The logs are of little value in determining aboriginal summer activities. From the beginning of contact, the Eskimos were engaged in summer employment with the whalers; or no mention of the Eskimos is made. Boas speaks of productive aboriginal sealing and walrus hunting at Repulse Bay in the summer months. There is no evidence of such pursuits at Marble or Depot Islands in August. Damas (1969:45) indicates July, August, and September as the time of the principal caribou, walrus, narwhal, and seal hunts in kayaks among the Iglulingmiut. Whether this was the case among the Aivilingmiut who inhabited the southern regions after the coming of the whalers is difficult to say conclusively.

The principal changes wrought by the presence of the American whalers, which I hope to document in the following chapters, were (1) a southward shift in settlement by the Aivilingmiut; (2) a levelling of extreme population variations

between the winter and summer seasons; (3) active summer employment in the whale hunt; and (4) a shift in hunting patterns toward an increased concern with terrestrial animals, the caribou, musk-ox, and later, the fox.

Chapter Three

GENERAL RELATIONS OF THE AIVILINGMIUT AND THE AMERICAN WHALERS

Co-operation and intensive interaction characterized the relations between the Aivilingmiut and the American whalers. This is the most striking impression which the logbooks make on the reader. Both parties were able to derive benefits from the relationship. From the whalers' economic viewpoint, the relations with the Aivilingmiut yielded capital profits, and were therefore beneficial. In exchange for goods and services rendered, the Aivilingmiut received articles which at the time were considered useful, attractive and desirable.

In the following discussion I will try to gauge the degree or intensity of interaction between the Aivilingmiut and the American whalers. I also want to indicate the general nature of the interaction of Aivilingmiut and whalers, focussing on hunting and whaling activities. Finally, I will mention a few attitudinal changes that the whalers may have contributed to the Aivilingmiut.

VARIABLES INFLUENCING INTERACTION

The nature and intensity of interaction between the American whalers and Aivilingmiut varied considerably from year to year. The absolute number of whaling vessels was only one variable. Another was the location at which the vessels spent the winter. A third variable was the attitude which the whalers

brought to bear on their relations with the Eskimos. (A potential fourth variable was the attitude which the Eskimos brought to their relations with the whalers. However, we have no real insight into this).

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

There were approximately one hundred and seventy whaling voyages carried out by Americans to Hudson Bay between 1860 and 1919, according to Gillies Ross (personal communication, March 19, 1971). Renny Stackpole in American Whaling in Hudson Bay (1969:58-63) lists one hundred and thirty six voyages to Hudson Bay between 1861 and 1919. About three vessels a year wintered in the Bay. After 1890 there was a considerable decline of whaling interest in that area. Probably the height of potential interaction occurred in 1864-65. Fourteen (and possibly sixteen) American whaling vessels were in Hudson Bay in the summer of 1864. Only eight of these vessels wintered in the Bay. The others had very limited direct contact with the Aivilingmiut. In the winter of 1864-65, there were five vessels at Marble Island, with combined crews numbering about one hundred and twenty men. In the same year two vessels, comprising about fifty crew members wintered at Depot Island, approximately one hundred miles north of Marble Island. In the early days of the whaling period social intercourse was fairly limited between whalers and Eskimos--on the orders of the captains. But the whalers depended to a great extent on the Eskimos as suppliers

of meat, as will be shown. Thus commercial, if not social, interaction was active.

LOCATION OF WINTER HARBOURS

The location at which the whaling vessels spent the winter is the second variable influencing the degree of interaction between whalers and Aivilingmiut. This matter will become central in the discussion of changes in seasonal economic and settlement patterns. The favorite winter harbour was at Marble Island. Occasionally Depot Island and the northwest end of Repulse Bay were used. Marble Island from the very first year of whaling in Hudson Bay was populated during the winter by considerable numbers of Aivilingmiut. In the first winter spent at Marble Island, 1860-61, a group of seventy Aivilingmiut visited the Siren Queen, and hunted seal somewhere south of the island. Every year after that, despite occasional difficulties in reaching the island, Aivilingmiut habituated Marble Island. Depot Island was only occasionally used as a winter harbour, the first times being 1862-63, when five vessels wintered there, and 1864-65, and then not again until 1893-94. Repulse Bay was also a winter harbour of secondary importance for the American whalers. The first vessel to winter there was the Black Eagle in 1866-67. In 1872-73, the Glacier, in 1886-87 the Abbie Bradford, and in 1896-97 the Platina wintered at Repulse Bay. As in the other locales, intensive contact with the Aivilingmiut was the norm. By the turn of the century Cape Fullerton had become the

favourite winter harbour of the American whalers.

The winter harbour at Marble Island, although a perfect ship's berth, was often not conducive to easy contact with Eskimos. The island quite often remained isolated from the mainland because of a failure of the channel to freeze over. Yet, Marble Island remained the most popular and consistently used harbour until the 1890's. The importance of ice conditions in the relations between whalers and Eskimos is shown in the Orray Taft's log:

quite a number of cases of scurvy in the Fleet. out of doors exercise is bad as we have not skins to wear and it does more hurt than good...there has been seven cases of scurvy broke out this week. Should it freeze (and no knowing when it will), across will the natives come to us, and will they be in some other part of the country, we can trust in Providence to keep us (Orray Taft, log, December 18, 1864).

The provision of both fresh meat and skins for outdoor clothing was dependent on the freezing of the channel. A similar situation arose in 1869, when the channel did not freeze over until February 20. Immediately "several parties of natives came over with fish Deer meat and skins for trade" (Cornelia, log, February 20, 1869). In the following week all scurvy was irradiated.

Repulse Bay was used as a winter harbour twice in the early years of the contact period, 1866-67 and 1872-73. The Aivilingmiut population is traditionally identified with Repulse Bay, although the degree of interaction was just as intense at

Marble Island. In 1866-67, at Repulse Bay, the Eskimos appear to have been under some sort of hunting contract to the ships. The quantity of meat supplied, and the intensity of commercial and social relations is notable. The influence of C.F. Hall, who was resident with some of the Aivilingmiut near Repulse Bay probably contributed to the intensity of relations.

From October 17, 1866 to July, sled loads of meat arrived at least twice weekly. There are over twenty references to the arrival of caribou meat, fish, walrus and seal to the vessels. Sixty-seven caribou are mentioned as being brought to the vessels in the spring of 1867.

The Glacier spent 1872-73 at Repulse Bay. Several crew members visited the Eskimo homes for a day or two. By December there were about fifteen "families of Natives living around the Ship" (Glacier, log, November 29, 1872). Assuming these to be nuclear families, about sixty to seventy-five Aivilingmiut were associated with the vessel.

The first winter spent at Depot Island, 1864-65, is interesting in that many of the Eskimos who visited the Island that year were Qaernermiut. (Qaernermiut are Caribou Eskimos with a traditionally inland orientation. They are usually associated with the Baker Lake region, at the head of Chesterfield Inlet. Birket-Smith (1929 I:63) says that the Qaernermiut were drawn to the coast by the whalers and had regular contact with them. But since the whaling era the Qaernermiut have

returned to the interior year round.) The logs consistently refer to the Qaernermiut as "Kinipetu" or "southern natives". From November 25, 1864 to June 19, 1865, not a week passed without considerable mention of the coming and going of Eskimos, and their supplying the whalers with caribou skins and fresh meat. Seal and walrus meat were mostly provided, but in the spring some caribou meat also. Generally, the Eskimo groups visiting Depot Island numbered between ten and sixteen individuals.

Thus far I have tried to indicate that wherever the whalers chose to winter there was considerable contact with the Aivilingmiut.

THE NATURE OF INTERACTION

It seems that many of the whaling captains (and perhaps others) made an effort to learn the language spoken by the Aivilingmiut. As early as 1865 there is inferential evidence of some expertise in the Aivilik language: "three Keiyaks came off from the short bringing a Deer, which I paid them a knife, four heads of Tobacco, and a little powder....Could not talk with these natives at all, they are from away up the [Chesterfield] Inlet" (Orray Taft, log, August 4, 1865, my emphasis).

However, there were lapses in the amiable relations of whalers and Eskimos. Such a lapse occurred during the voyage of the George and Mary in 1880-81. The whalers, growing in self-assurance after twenty-two years in these Arctic regions, did a great deal of hunting from Marble Island in August, September,

October and November. There is no mention in the logbook of Eskimos employed as regular hunters for the vessel, although there were many Eskimos in the region. Considerable friction developed between Eskimos and whalers resulting from a shortage of caribou, walrus and seal that temporarily made survival difficult for the Aivilingmiut. The George and Mary's captain seemed reluctant to assist the Eskimos, although when an abundance of animals eventually did appear the whalers expected trade. Until this incident, the Eskimos and whalers had generally shared their respective skills and resources, for the mutual benefits of both groups. Even in times of extreme scarcity the George and Mary's crew were able to induce the Eskimos to part with valuable food. The log notes: "natives looking for seal and other game, about 30 natives came over the Island today, got [i.e. received in trade] 3 deer and one salmon, the natives are very hard up for food as they have seen but few deer seal or Walrus" (George and Mary, December 16, 1880). On only one occasion was food given to the Eskimos and the situation must have been desperate: "got some of the schooners Beef for the Natives as the weather has been so bad that they cannot look for game"; and the next day "the Natives looking up something to eat broke the after Hold for Bread Flour and Molasses" (George and Mary, log, December 22 and 23, 1880). Together with an incident two weeks later, in which an Eskimo was caught stealing pork, these are the only occasions recounted, in all the logbooks,

of conflict between Eskimos and whalers. When abundance came the George and Mary's whalers bought meat. But in a later time of famine the Eskimos went unaided by the whalers.

Such friction and conflict was uncharacteristic of Eskimo-whaler relations. Typically, both parties found benefits in friendly relations. As the years passed, the reliance of the Aivilingmiut on the whalers increased. Luxuries, like guns, became articles that led to partial dependence. Hunger was most easily appeased by partial reliance on the whaling vessels' food supplies, bartered in return for labour. "Natives did not go to the floe--to blustering, very poor success in getting seal or walrus, have to feed them and dogs from the vessels supplies" (Canton, log, March 19, 1896, Kendall #67¹). "Harry and his tribe of Squaws and some old women came to the Ship for the winter, 'Now the Hardbread and Molasses will suffer'" (Canton, log, November 23, 1895, Kendall Museum #44). But the reliance was mutual. Aside from the commercial and nutritional advantages derived from Eskimo skills, the Aivilingmiut were also immediately called on in time of emergency. Whenever a man strayed from a vessel, the Eskimos were sent out to track and search for him. Or, for example, in July 1896, the Americans whalers ran out of food when floe whaling. Because of ice conditions they could not reach the Canton and

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The existence of two different accounts of the Canton's voyage of 1895-96 necessitates differentiation by the Kendall Museum's code number.

only the Eskimos were able to guide them through the pack ice.

The need for the Eskimos' assistance has already been mentioned in quotations from the logbooks. More indications of this recognition on the whalers' part will follow throughout the paper. That the Aivilingmiut were respected as well as utilized is shown in a quotation from the Orray Taft's logbook:

the natives have run off with our boat certain, but left the harpoon, and line that was in her which shows that they did not steal her, I shall find out how they came to take her as soon as anyone comes across...I never knew of a native stealing any thing before although they have always had great temptations. With me they are strictly honest I believe" (Orray Taft, log, April 15, 1867).

AIVILINGMIUT AS SUPPLIERS OF MEAT

Perhaps the strongest bond between the Eskimos and the American whalers was based on the hunting abilities of the Eskimos. Without the assistance of the Eskimos as providers of fresh meat, the whaling crews would have been crippled by scurvy. In exchange for their skills as hunters, the Eskimos acquired numerous technological artifacts which they desired. From the beginning of the whalers' enterprise in Hudson Bay scurvy was a constant menace. As the years of interaction between the Eskimos and whalers passed, the incidence of scurvy declined dramatically. This decline can be almost entirely attributed to the fresh meat which the Eskimos came to supply in progressively greater quantities to the whalers. The apex of the meat supply system occurred about 1886. After 1890,

with the decline in the whaling industry and the increased use of the Eskimos as fur trappers, the whalers' demand for fresh meat declined correspondingly.

The knowledge that fresh meat aids in combatting scurvy was indicated as early as the first whaling voyage. The Siren Queen's log notes: "Procured a little fresh meat from the Natives for the sick"; and "Salt meat is prohibited and has been for one month" (Siren Queen, log, February 8 and 23, 1861). The absence of Eskimos for long periods in the winter and spring and the occurrence of scurvy are highly correlated. It has been noted that whenever the channel between Marble Island and the mainland failed to freeze over, scurvy was an indirect result. In 1884-85, there were three Eskimo men or boys resident on Marble Island with the Abbey Bradford. On March 31, it is noted that "One of the Natives on board has the Scurvy bad" and that he "refuses to take exercise or Medicine and is growing worse" (Abbey Bradford, log, March 31, 1885). A week later all three Eskimos showed symptoms of scurvy. By mid-May, after almost no contact with outside Eskimos, several of the crew were also suffering from scurvy. Yet in the next two months, over 1750 pounds of caribou meat, supplied by Eskimo hunters, irradiated all complaints of scurvy. Similar events occurred throughout the history of the whalers in Hudson Bay, although the vessels with well organized hunting activities were able to completely avoid scurvy.

Hunting by Eskimos was the cornerstone of Eskimo-whaler relations. The Aivilingmiut also assisted the whalers as suppliers of fresh fish. Fish was a reliable source of nutrition in times of meat scarcity. For example, on one occasion when meat was not available the whalers at Marble Island were sustained by 800 pounds of fish (Glacier, log, April 15, 1872). Comer (1906:480) notes: "Salmon trout abound in nearly all the lakes and ponds, which are numerous, and fish keep the natives from starvation during the winter". The Eskimos' abilities to survive in the Arctic environment always ensured them a position of respect among the whalers. The whalers could never afford to alienate the Eskimos. From the first winter in Hudson Bay, the Eskimos provided fresh meat for the whalers. The commercial aspect of the relations with Eskimos varied from vessel to vessel. Even in 1860-61, there is evidence of an arrangement which might be described as contractual, whereby a specific hunter or hunters worked exclusively for one vessel throughout a whole season. However, contractual arrangements did not always prevail. A more piecemeal approach, approximating barter was also common. This procedure involved greater risk for the whalers, as it depended on the Eskimos, of their own volition, coming to the vessel specifically to exchange meat for trade goods. But, unlike the contractual arrangement, there was not the obligation for the whalers to provide for the women and children of the contracted hunters throughout the hunting season. Probably both

contracted and freelance hunters were utilized concurrently by many vessels. For instance, the Isabella, at Marble Island in 1878-79, paid her contracted Eskimos "for about 3000 lbs of Meat that they Brought us this winter" (Isabella, log, May 8, 1879). But she also received meat, totalling 2600 pounds, on three occasions from Qaernermiut from Rankin Inlet.

The logbooks suggest that on occasion the Eskimos may have deprived themselves of food in order to acquire trade goods. Such a situation was less likely to occur under a contractual arrangement which was characterized by more personalized relations between specific Eskimos and whalers. In such cases, the ship's stores were usually shared in times of shortage. Remuneration for the provision of food was often withheld until the summer. Thus a less desperately opportunistic attitude to the acquisition of trade goods prevailed in the contractual situation.

The quantities of meat supplied to the vessels varied, of course, with the seasonal and yearly availability of game. Yet, over the course of the period of contact, certain trends can be seen. In the early years, the supplies of meat were relatively meagre and sporadic. Between 1870 and 1885, at Marble Island, meat supply was fairly abundant and regularized. Wintering at Repulse Bay was always sustained with plenty of fresh meat. After 1890, the mention of meat provided by Eskimos becomes secondary to accounts of Eskimo whaling, musk-ox hunting

and trapping activities. It is quite probable, as will be argued below, that winter musk-ox hunting and trapping activities diminished the role of the Eskimos as hunters after 1890.

In the late winter and spring of 1861 the Siren Queen received only nine and a quarter caribou. It was a fairly common practice for the officers to go on hunting expeditions with the Aivilingmiut. This began as early as 1861. It appears that some sort of long-term hunting arrangement was instituted in that first winter in Hudson Bay. However, the hunters may have been paid as they brought meat to the vessel. The log remarks: "A Native to the ship and built a house alongside for the purpose of hunting from the ship" (Siren Queen, log, March 31, 1861). "The hunting party of yesterday caught two large Walruses, got about 100 lbs. of meat which cost the Capt. a sea chest and a sheath knife" (ibid. April 12, 1861). The question of the trade equivalencies through the years is rather unclear. It would seem that for several years there were marked fluctuations in the price of meat. That a sea chest was traded for 100 pounds of meat in the first year of contact seems like a very high price, and ever after that the price was much less inflated.

Contractual hunting arrangements may sometimes have developed out of the need which the Eskimos felt for assistance from the whalers. In times of game shortage, the Eskimos may have become indebted to the vessels from which they received

emergency food supplies. Or curiosity about the ways of the whalers may have created some sort of social cohesion which developed into commercial ties. The Daniel Webster's log (1863-64) suggests such developments: "We have 10 Natives attached to the Ship" (Daniel Webster, log, December 16, 1863). "We are now feeding Thirteen natives" (ibid. December 29, 1863). "The natives that are Stopping By the Ship have Brought us Some Deer meat at Different times and we are getting some few fresh fish from the Natives" (ibid. February 3, 1864). Essentially, food was often indirectly exchanged for food. That is, the assurance of dried food supplied to the Eskimos in times of shortage was exchanged for fresh meat supplied to the whalers in times of normal abundance.

The piecemeal or barter approach, as contrasted with the contractual, also could be very attractive to the Aivilingmiut. In 1867, the Orray Taft's log notes: "Promised the natives a boat if they would bring me some skins and five deer and a canoe" (Orray Taft, log, June 3, 1867).

The quantities of fresh food provided were often enormous. At Repulse Bay, in 1886-87, the intensity of commercial interaction reached its height. At the back of the Abbie Bradford's log is a daily tabulation, in pounds, of the meat and fish bought from the Aivilingmiut. On a total of fifty-two occasions in the fourteen months spent around Repulse Bay, 16,769 pounds of meat and fish are accounted for in the log. About

every eight days the ship received approximately 320 pounds of fresh meat, allowing each sailor about one and three quarter pounds of meat per day. The only mention of goods in exchange are four occasions on which a cask or barrel of "Old Beef" were given to Aivilingmiut. It is likely that other goods were exchanged, but not mentioned in the log.

RESOURCE DEPLETIONS

There is some indication in the logbooks that the influx of American whalers requiring food may have put strains on the resources of the region, and occasionally deprived the Eskimos of food. There were approximately one hundred and twenty whaling crewmen at Marble Island in 1864-65 and about fifty crewmen there in 1866-67. Throughout the winter of 1866-67 meat was seldom brought, and it seems probable that the Eskimos were able, at best, to meet their own subsistence needs. It may be that the hunt of 1864-65, in providing for an additional 120 individuals substantially diminished the game population in the area. The Orray Taft's log reads: "got 1 deer, 2 1/2 musk ox skins and plenty of stockings...the natives have no signs of deer amongst them. The one I got had just arrived from a days journey" (Orray Taft, log, June 12, 1867). Between October 31 and December 16, 1872, 1100 pounds of caribou meat was acquired by the Glacier. It appears that the attraction of selling this meat to the whalers may have deprived the Eskimos of their normal stores of winter food, for on December 28, the

Glacier's log reads: "A few of the natives of this tribe [Aivilingmiut] have gone SW a sealing and several more have arrived from other tribes---They most all are short of food and many are suffering from want of it" (Glacier, log, December 28, 1872). Thus there were both benefits and disadvantages to the Eskimos' role as hunters for the whalers.

OTHER BASES FOR INTERACTION

However, the relationship to the whaling vessels occurred for many reasons other than the Eskimos' function as hunters. Security was sought by Eskimo women and old people. In times of need oil for the Eskimos' lamps might be provided. Whenever scurvy afflicted a whaling crew, the Eskimos were hired to perform tasks too strenuous for the sick. The vessels were a ready market for furs, whalebone and seal blubber which was rendered into oil. Profitable agreements were made for the Eskimos to hunt whales in the absence of the American whalers from Hudson Bay.

From the very earliest point of contact the Aivilingmiut appealed to the American whalers as providers of assistance and security in times of need. Presumably, their expectations were generally fulfilled as amicable relations were sustained over many years. In the Siren Queen's logbook of 1860-61, there are several instances of such relations. "The native Women all on board this morning in great distress. The men had all gone adrift yesterday on the ice" (Siren Queen, log, February

4, 1861). Reciprocity prevailed: "Natives came to the ship hungry, fed them and sent them away again. Afternoon a party came from hunting and fishing, obtained from them 75 lbs. of fish" (ibid. March 16, 1861). A sense of security was afforded by the whaling vessels: "Two Natives came to the ship hungry and out of oil entirely, fed them and gave them some oil and a seal hook and they went away" (ibid. March 30, 1861). "The old natives came up to the ship and built houses" (ibid. April 9, 1861). This tradition of support prevailed throughout the whaling era.

When scurvy weakened the crews, the Eskimos were enlisted to work for the vessels. "...afternoon got a load of Ice from the Shore had three of the natives to help us, our gang being small and feeble, about twenty of the natives came to the ship all of them are hungered fed them and sent them away" (Siren Queen, log, March 4, 1861). Even the George and Mary (1885-86) which had usually avoided much contact with Eskimos hired four men to work aboard the vessel for the summer, after a serious outbreak of scurvy had stricken the crew. For the same reasons, the Abbie Bradford (1884-85) hired as many as ten Eskimo men a day to saw ice in the harbour to release the schooner. At the same time, the Eskimo women and dogs were engaged sledding lumber from one location to another.

As sellers of furs, seal blubber and whalebone, the Eskimos provided the whalers with valuable goods. The first

mention in the logbooks of the fur trade is in June of 1867 at Marble Island (Orray Taft, log, June 12, 1867). At the same time, at Repulse Bay, the Black Eagle received twenty-seven musk-ox skins (Black Eagle, log, June 1, 1867). The fur trade was only sporadically active for the next twenty-five years. However, it is noteworthy that in 1872, there was some fox trapping. On one occasion (Glacier, log, March 21, 1872), eight musk-ox, five wolf, thirty-five fox, one wolverine, and one bear skin were traded. Occasionally, a few seal skins were also traded. It was not until after the 1890's that furs became a primary concern of the whalers.

Seal blubber was not generally purchased in large quantities by the whalers. But in 1886-87, the trade in seal blubber was very brisk, which immensely aided the whalers in supplementing an unproductive whale hunt. It seems probable that the whalers precipitated the seal hunt of such magnitude. The Eskimos, according to the Abbie Bradford's log, traded at least seventy barrels of seal oil, equal to a little less than an average whale's yield. The only whale acquired by the Abbie Bradford that year was caught by Aivilingmiut. Despite the apparent preoccupation with whale blubber and very occasionally seal blubber, an observer in 1887 wrote: "In addition to killing the large whales, our neighbours [i.e. the American whalers] are reported to collect from the natives considerable quantities of the oil or blubber of the small white whale, the walrus, the

narwhal, the polar bear and various kinds of seals" (Bell, 1887:194).

By providing whalebone, the Eskimos occasionally contributed to the large profits which whaling returned. The first indication of whalebone being bought from Eskimos is in May, 1873, when 1700 pounds of whalebone was acquired by the Glacier at Repulse Bay. In 1893, when two out of the three whales caught by the A.R. Tucker were taken by Aivilingmiut, the American whalers gained at least \$8000 in whalebone. The average bowhead whale yields about 1300 pounds of bone, and in 1893 whalebone sold for \$3.08 per pound, according to Stackpole (1969:65). The A.R. Tucker also purchased the bone of a whale that had been caught by the Aivilingmiut in the whaler's absence from Hudson Bay. Before leaving Hudson Bay at the end of a season, the Eskimos were often given whaling equipment by the whalers (often by several different whalers) in the hope that any whales caught would go to the benefactor. The A.R. Tucker's log of 1897 remarks: "Note: Today while talking with Harry (one of the natives). Found he had traded about 1800 lbs. of whalebone to Capt. Comer of the Era. He told me he got his line from Capt. Poole of the Canton and his bombs from Capt. Fisher of the same..." (A.R. Tucker, log, September 17, 1897). The value of that bone to the whalers was somewhere between \$4780 and \$6300 depending on when it was marketed in the United States. Psychologically, too, the Eskimos' contribution

was significant. As Comer wrote: (Journal, September 21, 1897, Mystic #355): "It is quite discouraging to winter without having caught anything. Of course we have what the natives caught which is a great help." There are four other references, in Comer's journal for that year, to whales being caught by Eskimos, and there can be no doubt that their assistance was essential. Even after the turn of the century, when the Eskimos were mainly used as fur trappers their contribution to the whalers' profit was considerable. In 1903-04, the Eskimos' boats supplied the Era with 1853 pounds of whalebone, worth about \$9000 at the time. The Aivilingmiut caught one whale at Southampton in 1904 and another four whales in the Lyon Inlet region in 1905, accounting for a great proportion of the 7209 pounds of whalebone which the Era got in 1905.

AIVILINGMIUT AS COMMERCIAL WHALERS

The employment of Aivilingmiut in the American whaling industry in the first year of contact is clear. However, it is difficult to reconstruct the history of Aivilingmiut participation in whaling through the years. References in the logbooks to Eskimo whalers are always terse, somewhat oblique and very irregular. The first mention of Eskimos with relation to whaling activities says: "Natives came to the ships and were divided to each ship. Six men and boys to the Siren Queen and as many women and children, made them presents of beads, knives, and trumpets and caused them to

understand that they were to assist in taking Whales in the Spring, at which they seemed well pleased, satisfied and eager to engage" (Siren Queen, log, March 7, 1861). The Northern Light and the Antelope were wintering with the Siren Queen. Therefore, eighteen Aivilingmiut men and grown boys were hired for summer whaling. When spring whaling began the Siren Queen had three whaleboats: "Mustered 13 men with the Captain four natives and Five Dogs" (Siren Queen, log, May 21, 1861). The Aivilingmiut were quickly absorbed into the whaling efforts of the American whalers. Not only did they serve in the boats, but also hauled blubber from the floe edge to the ship. The Siren Queen's log entries for June 15, 18-22, 24-27 and 29, 1861, mention this work, often of twelve hours per day. The description of June 26, 1861 seems representative:

at 10 A.M. got the natives away after blubber...at 6 P.M. natives returned with 3 loads of blubber, and two broken sleds. The road between the ship and Island is very bad and getting worse every day and the Natives complain much, about wet feet, the Dogs also are very lame and tired, the Ice is so rough that it cuts their feet all to pieces.

Additional Eskimos were also employed as part-time labour after a whale catch: "got some natives from the shore to help hoist in blubber and boil" (Siren Queen, log, August 5, 1861).

The logbooks do not mention Eskimo whalers again until 1872. But by that time at least three whaleboats, owned and operated by Aivilingmiut, were involved in the Glacier's hunt alone. It is likely that most of the whaling vessels had employed

Eskimos for the hunt in the summers and often paid them with a whaleboat and gear. Most of the logs after 1872, explicitly mention Eskimo whalers or assistance on the whaling vessels. Typically, a vessel employed about four men to work on board helping to process the blubber.

The terms under which the Eskimos worked for the whalers are fairly clearly set out in the logbooks. In 1885 one logbook noted: "Have 5 natives on board who have engaged for the season....Have agreed to give these men their victuals and clothes and whatever they may save of flukes and Blackskin for their services" (Abbie Bradford, log, June 6, 1885). In 1892, there is a record of an agreement made with some Aivilingmiut concerning whales caught in the American whalers' absence. This agreement indicates the mutual benefits derived from the partnership of Aivilingmiut and Americans.

Bark off shore of Whale Pt. the Capt. set the signal for Native boats to come on board. [They were out whaling.] At 11:30 A.M. two boats come long side the Natives agree with Capt. what ever they caught after we left Hudson Bay shall be for Mr. J. and W.R. Wing and Co. the Capt. also let them have some whaling craft Powder and all he could spare (A.R. Tucker, log, September 1, 1892).¹

Another journal for the same day notes: "at 11 A.M. 2 Native Boats came off and left for shore at 3 P.M. with some lumber, Guns and Puder and one Darting Gun and 6 lances for whaling, 2 axes, 3 shovels, 2 Boat masts and some Poles with other small

¹
This logbook is located in the Melville Whaling Room, New Bedford Free Public Library.

things" (Journal of A.R. Tucker, September 1, 1892¹). Such contracts tended to create a bond between particular Eskimos and vessels that was generalized beyond whaling activities.

Certain individual Eskimos are mentioned in the logbooks year after year, working for the different vessels and captains, wintering at far distant points in Hudson Bay. For instance, one Aivilingmiut, known as Chester, was the 'ship's native' for the A.R. Tucker at Depot Island in 1893-94. He was employed by the Platina at the northwest end of Repulse Bay in 1896-97. In later years he worked for the Era under Captain Comer all over the northwest coast of Hudson Bay.

By the 1890's, numerous Aivilingmiut were employed by the American whalers. In June 1896, the Canton's log remarks that nearly twenty whaleboats were cruising in the vicinity of Whale Point. At least eight of those twenty were owned and manned by Aivilingmiut. Therefore, about forty-five mature Aivilik males were employed in boats in that one area alone. Besides these, there were considerable numbers of Aivilingmiut working on board the vessels.

There were also many Aivilingmiut employed in support roles to the whaling industry. These Eskimos hauled ice for fresh water; transported goods from the vessels to appropriate storage points; fished, hunted and trapped; and made clothes

1

This journal is located in the Nickleson Collection, Providence Public Library, Logbook #6.

for the crews. Often it was the women who did the fishing on fresh water ponds in the autumn and winter. The Aivilik women were also very busy making clothes for the whalers. There were about twenty-two crew members on each vessel to be clothed before winter set in. A full double suit of caribou skins required about eight skins (Mathiassen 1928:159). The number of Aivilingmiut hired by the Era in 1897-98 were seven men and eight women. Thus the task of providing clothes for twenty-two crewmen required about three times the labour which these women normally expended on clothing their own men.

MODIFICATIONS IN AIVILINGMIUT IDEOLOGY

In the preceding pages I have indicated the numerous ways in which the Aivilingmiut interacted with the American whalers. As a result of this interaction certain elements of Aivilik tradition began to be modified. The logbooks only rarely make any mention of Aivilingmiut ideology. In fact, it is only in George Comer's journals that any discussion of ideology arises. Thus, any examples cited below derive from the post-1900 period.

By 1904, the whalers' influence had impinged on Aivilingmiut values sufficiently to induce either a willingness to risk offending the "guarding spirits" (as Comer called them), or to modify details of belief. Of the willingness to risk offence to the spirits, Comer wrote:

had the graphone [sic] going this evening and took 2 records of the native songs. I wished the old natives to go through the form of Anticoating but the old ones could not look upon the idea with favor

as it might offend their guarding spirits but said it would be alright for some young chap to go ahead which was done (Era, log, January 10, 1904).

A modification in detail of practice is noted by Comer (A.T. Gifford, log, July 10, 1911). The Aivilingmiut women, upon the return of whale boats from a successful whale hunt, ran to the boats and put a little fresh water on the bows. Such a practice appears to have been borrowed from sealing tradition to appease the mother of sea mammals, Arnaluk Takanaluk. A similar transference in detail of practice is mentioned by Boas (1907:151):

When hunting walrus, a seal-skin float is often attached to the line. The walrus will sometimes attack it and destroy it. If a dried, newly-born lemming is put inside the float, the walrus will not touch it. The natives say that if whaling-boats would carry a dried lemming, the whale would not hurt the boat.

Lastly, one of Comer's comments provides a continuity from the period of the Aivilingmiut relationship with American whalers to the period of their relations with anthropologists and others after 1920. On reading Rasmussen, one often feels that his party was the first contact many Aivilingmiut had had with Europeans. Not only did more than sixty years of American whaling in Hudson Bay familiarize many Aivilingmiut with Euro-American ways, but some of the Aivilingmiut whom Rasmussen met may very well have been familiar with his books. For George Comer, on his voyages up to 1919, used to enjoy spending a winter evening translating Rasmussen to his Eskimo associates.

Comer wrote: "the natives like to come in to the cabins in the evening and hear stories of the Greenland natives which I translate from Rasmussen. The People of the Polar North, their stories are nearly all just the same--as told by these people" (Era, log, February 17, 1912).

SUMMARY

In summarizing the general relations of the American whalers and Aivilingmiut between 1860 and 1919, certain themes are outstanding. The intensity of the interaction of these two groups was of a very high order. The whalers seldom spent a season in Hudson Bay, in sixty years, without close contact with some representatives of Aivilingmiut society. Very often, around Marble and Depot Islands in the first thirty years of contact, and around Cape Fullerton and Whale Point after 1890, the whalers were in daily contact with large segments of the total Aivilingmiut population.

The accord which characterized relations over a very long period of time, between two such dissimilar cultures, is certainly remarkable. Very basic needs formed the foundation for successful relations. The interchange of sustenance, shelter, aid in emergency situations, and material items of great value were the primary reasons for cooperation.

It may be concluded that the presence of the whalers took a large measure of uncertainty out of Aivilingmiut existence. While traditional subsistence pursuits continued to be relied

on, the ships did provide aid in times of extreme scarcity, and support to such disadvantaged groups as the aged.

The Aivilingmiut assumed many roles in their dealings with the whalers. It was in the role of hunters that the Aivilingmiut were most essential. Caribou meat and skins were the antidotes to scurvy and freezing. The absence of Eskimos for long periods and the occurrence of scurvy are very highly correlated. The hunters related to the whaling vessels in two different ways, either on a contractual basis of, usually, one year's duration; or on a free-lance basis, where goods were sold in piece-meal fashion. The commercial hunting contract almost invariably was associated with a wide range of other relations. Most notable was the obligation on the whaling vessel's part to shelter and sustain the wife, children, and aged dependents of the hunter.

The Aivilingmiut also took on the role of whale hunters. As was indicated, a very considerable proportion of the large profits of whaling was due to the expertise of the Aivilingmiut. Often in lean years they provided the margin of profit by their skills as whalers, or for a few years, as suppliers of seal blubber for oil.

The Aivilingmiut women were employed as haulers of fresh water, fisherwomen, and seamstresses of winter clothing, absolutely essential contributions to survival.

After 1890, the Aivilingmiut role as trappers became of

much importance. Large profits were made by the Americans on the sale of fox furs.

The implications of the close relations and the roles assumed by the Aivilingmiut were far-reaching. As I will indicate in Chapter 5, Aivilingmiut settlement patterns were markedly altered as a result of the close alliance with the whalers. Perhaps the most important outcomes of the whalers' presence were the ultimate removal of Aivilingmiut settlement from the northwest coast of Hudson Bay to Southampton Island, and the dramatically diminished resources of whales, walrus, and seal in Roes Welcome, and caribou from the coastal areas by the time of the whalers' final departure.

The next chapter is devoted to the numerous changes that occurred in Aivilingmiut material culture as a result of interaction with the whalers.

Chapter Four

INNOVATIONS IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE AIVILINGMIUT, 1860-1912

When contact was first made with the whalers, some Aivilingmiut already possessed certain products of technology. Some rifles, men's and women's knives, copper kettles, iron axes, and weapon points of iron had reached the Aivilingmiut through trade with Caribou Eskimos via networks originating at Fort Churchill (Birket-Smith 1929 I:161), or in direct trade with explorers such as Parry and Rae. However, it was especially during the whaling era that an intense interchange of goods and services between whalers and Eskimos brought products of nineteenth century western technology to the Aivilingmiut. The range of newly introduced technological items was not particularly extensive, but the quantities seem to have been sufficient to permeate Aivilingmiut society.

The new technology often brought substantial changes in traditional activities. Of particular importance were the whale boat, the rifle, and the steel trap. On the basis of information in the logbooks the principal changes were in seasonal subsistence activities as indicated in the next chapter of this paper. Whether social organization was markedly altered is difficult to say. One suspects that the ownership of whaleboats must have had a substantial influence on the internal distribution of power and prestige among the Aivilingmiut. But the logbooks

provide absolutely no data on this speculation. Possession of the rifle, at least in the early days, must have provided the Aivilingmiut owner with not only prestige, but also a marked advantage in subsistence pursuits. Such an advantage may have had the effect of placing the owner in the position of benefactor, with subsequent leverage to wield decision making powers. Again, the logbooks do not concern themselves with such questions.

Of course the technological innovations did seriously affect the ecological balance that prevailed before the coming of the whalers. Most obviously, the bowhead whale which often provided security for a large number of Eskimos and dogs throughout the winter, became virtually extinct by 1910. The caribou are said by Mathiassen (1928:25) to have retreated westward as a response to the pressures levied on them after the rifle became widely used. The musk-oxen were killed in such great numbers as to seriously threaten them with extinction by 1900. Their killing, except in emergency situations, was prohibited by Canadian law in 1917 (Macpherson 1968:484).

The logbooks do provide specific information on the dates of the introduction of whale boats, skiffs for floe-edge sealing, canvas and wooden tents for summer occupancy, and, with regard to the Sadlermiut of Southampton Island, the introduction of such items as needles, thimbles, knives and files. The logbooks make clear the Eskimos' dependency on the whalers that the rifle created due to the constant shortage of ammunition. They also

provide detailed information of the types of firearms and numerous other items distributed to the Eskimos.

In this section of the paper, therefore, I recount the whalers' introduction of several material items to the Aivilingmiut. It was the influence of these items, manifest in altered seasonal subsistence and settlement cycles that probably most profoundly affected the Aivilingmiut in the contact period, at least until the time of strong government intervention. I also refer to the influences for change in aboriginal technology which occurred during the period of contact with the whalers.

DOG TEAMS

In the early years of contact, the logbooks indicate the use of large dog teams, with as many as twenty-three dogs (Black Eagle, log, April 27, 1867). The average number of dogs per team, tabulated on the basis of the several references in the early logbooks, was about fifteen dogs per team. C.F. Hall (Nourse 1879:86), also, mentions an Eskimo team of fifteen dogs. However, in some cases, the whalers' influence probably accounts for the size of teams. In fact, most references to team sizes are associated with accounts of tasks being performed for a whaling vessel. The native team of twenty-three dogs was sent out from the Black Eagle to get meat from a cache. Probably two or more teams were combined for heavy tasks. The best indication of the average size of aboriginal dog teams is given

in Hall's statement (Nourse 1879:293) that the Eskimos had sixty-eight dogs, "sufficient for nine or ten ordinary teams". Nearly forty years later, Low (1906:147) observed that the "number of dogs in a team varies from eight to two or three, an average team being six". Mathiassen (1928:81) refers to Iglulik teams averaging four to six dogs. Although he also notes (ibid. 87), "I have seen a sledge team of 18 powerful dogs, pulling a big Iglulik sledge with two families who were going to Repulse Bay on a trading visit". Mathiassen (ibid. 81) concludes that "The reason why they have so few dogs is the difficulty of procuring food for them, especially during the caribou-hunting season". Thus, any pattern in the size of dog teams in aboriginal and later times is rather difficult to determine on the basis of the literature. Inordinately large teams were probably the result of combined teams. The greater availability of whale meat arising from the whaling industry may have temporarily improved the health of the dog population, but diseases periodically decimated the dog population.

Kayaks

References to kayaks are always, or almost always, associated with Eskimos from Chesterfield or Rankin Inlet, presumably Qaernermiut rather than Aivilingmiut. The two latest references to kayaks in the logbooks are in 1892 (A.R. Tucker, log, June 9 and July 3, 1892) when Rankin Inlet Eskimos came to Marble Island

in kayaks; and in August 1912, when Comer traded some ammunition for a kayak. Low (1906:155) mentions kayaks being used on inland waters. As will be seen, the whale boat, requiring a crew of six men, very quickly became the principal mode of sea transportation among the Aivilingmiut. Mathiassen (1928:72) indicates that by 1920 all kayaks had disappeared from the whole of the southern part of the Aivilingmiut region. The influence of the whaleboat will be treated later.

FIRE-ARMS AND AMMUNITION

In May of 1861 hunting with guns by Eskimos is first mentioned in the logbooks (Siren Queen, log, May 11, 1861). On that occasion a seal was shot with the ship's gun. The shooting of seals, walrus, and ducks became quite common, but usually the seals and walrus sunk in the water before being reached. Several other references to the Eskimos' use of fire-arms appear in the Siren Queen's logbook of 1860-61. In the early spring of 1861, meat was traded by the Eskimos for powder and shot. A month later the log notes "3 Natives came after powder. Could not give them any and they dislike it much" (Siren Queen, log, June 23, 1861).

The need for ammunition was insatiable. Until trading posts were established the only sources of ammunition were the supplies that the whalers brought with them, or bullets that the whalers made themselves. Around the turn of the century there are many references to the manufacture of bullets, either for

specific purposes or to develop a stockpile for trade. The Era's log of 1903-04 remarks, "have set up the Blacksmith forge and run a lot of Bullets 2500 for the native future use" (Era, log, December 28, 1903). The Canton's log of 1895-96 reads, "The writer employed the entire day moulding Bullets for the Natives, who are going musk ox hunting at Wager River very soon" (Canton, log, December 26, 1895). Yet shortages were chronic. As late as 1887, the Alexander's log notes, "About 30 came. Northern natives came but had Nothing, they ware out of Pouder and Shot. thay had to euse A bow and Arow" (Alexander, log, February 9, 1887).

Any expeditions or trading parties that left the vessels always carried ammunition as their principal trade item. Schwatka's search party not only had muzzle-loading Springfield muskets for trade, but carried "100 bullets, 2000 caps and 25 lbs. of powder for the Springfield muskets" (Gilder 1881:50). A fur trading party sent out from the Abbie Bradford in 1883 carried for trade "2000 Army caps, 1 Doz. Flints, 500 cartriges, 5 small 3 cornered files, 6 flat files, 12 Bottal Powder, 1 Bag Balls, 12 Cartriges, 6 large flat files, 1 hatchet, 6 Jack knives, 1 Box tobacco" (Abbie Bradford, log, April 6, 1883).

In payment for the services rendered as hunters and whalers, the Eskimos generally received ammunition, fire-arms, whaleboats and their associated gear.

Rifles remained valuable commodities throughout the

whaling era. In 1903, Comer was trading one rifle, loading tools, and ammunition for fifteen musk-ox skins (Era, log, September 27, 1903). And yet the careless loss of rifles by Eskimos was not uncommon.

With regard to appropriate fire-arms, Comer wrote in his journal of 1899, under the heading "Guns and Ammunition":

the rifles should be breech Loading and single shot such as the Springfield Rifle a Winchester is more likely to get out of order and become useless. The caliber should not be larger than 44 and perhaps not less than 38. Larger sizes take more lead in reloading also more powder which quite an item with the natives after they own the guns. Cartridges should be loaded when about to be needed, should advise carrying empty shells if taken from home loaded they are likely to become corroded and will not stand reloading but a little. Shot guns I would recommend a no. 10 bore single barrel also Brass shells to be reloaded, there are large quantities of Eider Ducks to [be] Seen and large bored guns and B.B.B. shot should be used in order to make hunting them Successful....Revolvers are of no use whatever, perhaps a heavy revolver would be used sometimes in Hunting musk-ox (Comer's Journal, 1899).

The magnitude of the fire-arm and especially the ammunition trade by 1907 is indicated in the lists of "Stores placed on the A.T. Gifford, July 1907" (A.T. Gifford, log, 1907). The quantities mentioned below were for the use of both whalers and Eskimos, but one might reasonably assume that the trade with Eskimos in exchange for furs accounted for the largest proportion of these items:

10 Remington Rifles, 10 Sharp Rifles, 36 Remington 38.40, 18 sets loading tools, 10 sets loading tools 50.70, 15^m [i.e. fifteen thousand] primed shells, 38.40, 90^m primer no. 1, 10^m percushon caps,

2^m musket caps, 100 flints, 3 shot guns no. 12,
300 Brass shells for same, 1 set loading
tools, 2^m primed shells.

A supplementary list ("Accounts and sundries, Comer Family", 1912) for the same voyage of the A.T. Gifford, mentions an additional "16 cans Powder, 2000 lbs. Lead scrap, 20^m primer no. 2 1/2".

Lastly, it must be mentioned that fire-arms caused accidental injury and death. In 1910, the A.T. Gifford's log remarks that "another boy was shot accidentally by another boy while fooling with a gun this boy who was shot was the pride of his Father a Kenepetu known as Old Peater" (A.T. Gifford, log, August 14, 1910).

WHALEBOATS

The introduction of the whaleboat brought marked changes to Aivilingmiut means of transportation and seasonal activities. It was in the initial year of American whaling in Hudson Bay, 1860-61, that the first whaleboat was given to the Aivilingmiut. As mentioned earlier, nothing is known about the whaleboat's affect on social organization during the whaling period. The logs never reveal what the arrangements were in the giving of whaleboats as payment for services. In pure speculation I would say that males with close kinship ties, both consanguineal and affinal, may have contracted as a group to work for the whaling vessels. This may be what is meant in the logs by a statement like "Chester's gang engaged in whaling". It is often noted that

the families of the several hunters shared a large igloo. If such was the case, then an extended family group may often have shared the ownership of a whaleboat. Writing of acculturative factors which affected the cooperative-authority structure of the Iglulingmiut, Damas (1963:150) mentions the whaleboat:

Since the crew of the whaleboat often comprised a sub-village unit, there is the emergence of a co-operative entity on a new level in the summer season. One might also expect to find the sharing of summer caches to be influenced by the emergence of the crew as a co-operative unit. The leadership patterns could, too, be conceivably altered by this change.

In 1892, the A.R. Tucker paid three of its ship's natives a whaleboat for their combined services (A.R. Tucker, log, August 5, 1892). Yet in 1907, the A.T. Gifford paid its head native, alone, a whaleboat. The total number of whaleboats exchanged with the Eskimos is impossible to estimate. Mathiassen (1928:96) notes,

Of the 27 [nuclear¹] families of Aivilingmiut who lived on Southampton Island in the winter of 1921-22, five had whale boats; one of these boat owners also had a motor boat. Of the 14 (nuclear) families who lived about Repulse Bay, five of them had boats.

Low (1906:268) remarked that in 1903, there were about twenty serviceable whaleboats owned by Aivilingmiut between Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay. Low estimated the Aivilingmiut population in 1903 to be 138 individuals (ibid. 135). In April and May of 1865, four of C.F. Hall's Eskimo party owned whaleboats

¹ According to Mathiassen's lists in Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos, pp. 15-17.

(Nourse: 162, 173). This is a remarkably high number, since the total party included only thirty adults. By 1903, Low (1906:155) was able to observe that "nearly every family possesses a boat. The Aivilliks and Kenipitus...still make use of the kayak for inland hunting".

Most of the logs do not mention specifically what payments were received by the ship's natives. It is clear that from the early years both Aivilingmiut and Qaernermiut possessed whaleboats. The earliest reference to Repulse Bay Eskimos receiving whaleboats is 1887 (Abbie Bradford, log, August 5, 1887), but this is not very meaningful as the Aivilingmiut became very mobile upon acquiring whaleboats, and Eskimos receiving boats in the south may have sailed to Repulse Bay at any time. Perhaps one guide to the numbers of whaleboats is the values attributed to them at different points in time. Generally they were exchanged for services, but periodically were sold, and when the fur trade developed they seem to have been more often sold outright. In 1867, a whaleboat was traded for "skins, 5 deer and a kayak" (Orray Taft, log, June 3, 1867). Comparatively speaking this seems inexpensive. The boat may have been decrepid, the whalers in need of meat, or the Eskimos may also have worked during the winter as hunters for the whalers. In 1881, a whaleboat was traded for fifty musk-ox skins and ten wolf skins (Isabella, log, August 4, 1881). This was probably at the point when whaleboats were most in demand. In earlier years the advantages of boats may not have been clear to many Eskimos. As economic

and social advantages began to accrue to those who possessed them, the general desire for boats would have become greater. In later years their value in musk-ox deflated, perhaps because of a surfeit of whaleboats. On the other hand, it may be that at this point in history, immediately after the ban on the sale of musk-ox skins and at a time when the herds were declining, musk-ox skins had reached their greatest value. Thus in 1904, a whaleboat was sold for twenty-five musk-ox skins.

In any case, the utility of whaleboats is incontestable. Low (1906:156) describes how their years of service were extended: "when the planking is worn out they are covered with sealskin". Mathiassen (1928:96), based on observations in 1921-22, wrote: "The Iglulingmiut had no whale boats, but seven of them had boats with wooden skeletons, covered with skin. The skeleton is a copy of that of the whaleboat or perhaps it is in fact that of a whaleboat".

In the logs of the 1890's the mention of Eskimos manning their own whaleboats is so common as to be confusing. It is impossible to tell whether the same three or four boats, in a particular locale, are being referred to or whether several more are involved in the whalehunt. In 1872, at Marble Island, three fully manned, Eskimo-owned boats were involved in the whale hunt alongside the Glacier (Glacier, log, August 11, 1872). This suggests that about eighteen adult men or mature young men were deriving some income from their association with whaleboats.

If the Aivilingmiut population in 1872 approximated Mathiassen's estimate (1928:15) of 165 individuals, then at Marble Island alone, almost one quarter of the total Aivilingmiut male population was actively engaged in whaleboat activities. Others would have been employed on board the vessel. No doubt there were also other Eskimo-manned whaleboats working with other vessels.

Although the data are somewhat sparse, it is clear that the influence of the whaleboat permeated Aivilingmiut society. It deeply affected summer subsistence activities and general mobility, influenced settlement patterns, and may have altered social organization.

SKIFFS

The skiff was an invention of the American whalers to complement the shooting of animals at the floe-edge. In actuality, there is one early reference to skiffs being used to assist the whalers in retrieving ducks (Glacier, log, December 20, 1871). As an indication of how long may be the time gap between one technological innovation and a subsequent one which makes the first viable, it appears that skiffs for retrieving seals and other animals shot at the floe-edge were not generally introduced until 1896, thirty-five years after sea mammals began to be shot at the floe-edge. It may be that kayaks were used for the same task before skiffs were introduced, but no mention of this is made in the logbooks, whereas sinking seals and walrus are often mentioned. The fact that skiffs became very popular after 1899

suggests the unsatisfactory nature of whatever was used formerly.

In January 1896, the Era's log reads, "The ice broke off outside of the reefs and we lost the boat that we built for the natives to go sealing with" (Era, log, January 2, 1896). A few days later the ship's carpenter is said to have been building another to replace the lost one. But a month later, the Canton's log notes that

The natives have not done much in getting seal and walrus and have only got one oog-goog [i.e. bearded seal]. The weather and ice has not been favorable. They have to go from five to eight miles to get to the floe, and they lose many that they shoot--as they tumble into the water and sink etc." (Canton, log, February 29, 1896, Kendall #67).

In February 1899, the Era's log again refers to skiffs, but the slowness with which the innovation has caught on is indicated: "Today we have built a small boat to be used in picking up seal at the floe. We already have one but there are so many natives here it is best to have two" (Era, log, February 18, 1899). By 1903, the Era reports that five skiffs were used by their ship's natives (Era, log, December 23, 1903).

STEEL TRAPS

With regard to the introduction of steel traps, especially for fox trapping, the logs are quite uninformative. Fox furs, along with those of musk-ox, bear, wolf and wolverine, became a major concern of the whalers around the turn of the century, as the profits from whaling began to decline. Yet it is difficult to trace the rise of the Eskimos' involvement in trapping aside

from the tabulations of furs traded. The earliest mention of steel traps--used by whalers for wolves--is in November 1862. The first reference to the use of portable traps by the Aivilingmiut is made in 1879, when it is noted that four native sled loads of Eskimos arrived at Marble Island with their traps (Abbie Bradford, log, January 17, 1879). The next reference to traps occurs fifteen years later (Canton, log, November 19, 1895, Kendall #67). In 1903, Low (1906:151) noted that "At every stopping place traps are set for foxes. The trap is usually a single-spring steel one, of which each native usually has two or three". In 1907, the list of "Stores placed on the A.T. Gifford, July 1907" (A.T. Gifford, log, 1907) includes mention of twenty-four dozen traps. Yet steel traps did not immediately make more traditional traps obsolete among the Aivilingmiut who worked for the whalers. In 1911, the A.T. Gifford's log describes a traditional ice trap: "Sam our native went down to the Cape and built a trap for fox out of ice to be used later, a hole is to be cut later in the top and meat put in, the foxes are expected to jump in and not be able to get out (A.T. Gifford, log, September 30, 1911)." In this connection, Low (1906:151) observes that "Where steel traps are not available, long narrow boxes of stone or ice are constructed...". The ledger book entitled "Accounts and Sundries, Comer Family" (Mystic, 1912) lists the traps brought to Hudson Bay in 1910-12, as

4 doz. #0 Newhouse traps and chains
 5 doz. #1 1/2 Newhouse traps and chains
 10 doz. #2 Newhouse traps and chains

Based on Comer's accounting alone, between 1907 and 1912, about five hundred and sixteen traps suitable for fox trapping were introduced to the Aivilingmiut. The use of these traps by the Aivilingmiut suggests the changes in their late winter activities that are referred to in the sections of this paper dealing with subsistence cycles and co-operation between the Eskimos and whalers. Regarding the eventual influence of fox trapping, Birket-Smith (1929 I:101) writes: "There has been a decided movement towards giving fox trapping a more prominent position...the Aivilingmiut...for a part of the year actually live more on tea and 'flapjacks' than meat". Speaking of the Caribou Eskimos, but with equal applicability to the Aivilingmiut, Birket-Smith (ibid. 135) notes:

These bad periods [between caribou migrations], however, have doubtless become worse during the lifetime of the last generation, which is perhaps due to no small extent to the introduction of the rifle among both the Eskimos and Indians, because it is liable to mislead them into heedless slaughter. Probably a great deal of the responsibility must also be laid upon the intensive fox trapping, which makes Eskimos entirely dependent upon the shop.

SEAL HARPOONS

The whalers supplied iron seal harpoons to the Aivilingmiut, though they certainly had had iron for many years. The first reference to iron sealing harpoons is made in the Black Eagle's log of 1862-63 (Black Eagle, log, January 5, 1863). There are actually no further references to fabricating iron harpoons until February 1899, yet it is probable that iron harpoons were

being used throughout the interim. In an addendum to his journal of 1897-99, titled "Useful Articles to Bring Up", Comer wrote, "Iron rods from 1/4 inch to 1/2 inch in diameter, light bars of steel are also useful, for these iron rods are used for seal spears". In the 1890's there are several references to harpoons, gun warps, darting guns and lances suitable for walrus and whale hunting being supplied to the Eskimos.

SLEDS

The whalers built numerous sleds for the Aivilingmiut. Their major contribution was probably the provision of fairly abundant quantities of wood. The Eskimos often maintained the aboriginal method of shoeing the sleds with whalebone, and generally seem to have retained the aboriginal sled designs because of their adaptive advantages. In 1864, C.F. Hall described an Aivilingmiut sled:

The runners of this sled, made of 2-inch plank, were 16 feet long, each being shod with bone from the jaw of a whale. It's 15 cross-bars made of staves, each 3 feet 4 inches long and 5 inches wide, were lashed to the top of the runners by strong strips of whale hide. This play of the runners makes the Eskimo sled superior to all others in its flexibility over hummocky ice. Their depth was 9 inches, and the width of the sled outside of them, 3 feet (Nourse 1879:85).

Mathiassen (1928:73ff) describes several types of dog-sleds. He says that the usual length of a travelling sledge is 4 1/2 to 5 metres, which is very close to the same size as those made by Comer's crew for the Eskimos:

We have been making sleds this last week, these are made of plank 14 feet long shod with the bone from the whale jaws, one jaw bone being sufficient for 2 sleds 14 feet long, weighed the sled which was 214 lbs. these are tied with hoop iron and have 16 slats of oak (Era, log, November 17, 1900).

The sledge of comparable size, which Mathiassen describes, originally had nineteen cross-slats. The planks for sled runners were usually about eight inches deep.

References to the whalers manufacturing sleds for the Aivilingmiut appear regularly through the years of contact, starting in 1864. Generally, the ship's cooper repaired broken sleds or provided whalebone shoeing. As Mathiassen (1928:77) mentions all sleds do not have runners. The Alexander's log describes a sled made of ice. "We had two Natives come last night with two Deer and they had no Dogs and they cut out a Slead of ice and Cut it in Shape of a Slead and hauled the Deer about fifteen miles from inland..." (Alexander, log, May 19, 1887). Parry (1824:171) describes an identical sled in use in 1822.

LANTERNS

Another ice-fabricated structure which the logs mention was an ice-lantern, "our natives in going ashore and coming off in the Dark use Lanterns made of ice in which they place a cup of oil with wick which gives a very good light much better than any one would imagine" (Era, log, December 19, 1898). None of the explorers' journals mention such a lantern. It seems quite

probable that this ice-lantern was an adaptation of the whalers' kerosene lanterns.

FISHING DEVICES

The whalers significantly influenced the fishing practices of the Aivilingmiut. At the back of Comer's journal of 1897-98, there is an undated reference which reads, "during the summer the natives set nets off from the sea shore and catch a number of salmon in them" (Comer's Journal, 1897-98, Mystic #355). This is the first reference to net fishing, and is probably indicative of the time at which net fishing began. Several references to salt-water fishing are to be found in the logs: "salmon are now quite plentiful and are caught by the natives setting nets off from the point of land [probably Cape Fullerton or Whale Point], the nets being about 60 to 70' long" (Era, log, July 26, 1904). Both men and women engaged in net fishing.

The fish hooks and lines supplied by the whalers did not prove as satisfactory as those made by the Aivilingmiut themselves. In 1910, some Eskimos complained that the whalers' "fish hooks are not strong enough to hold the salmon and has lost large fish by the hook and line breaking" (A.T. Gifford, log, October 7, 1910).

TENTS

The whalers also began to make tent frames and canvas coverings for the Eskimos' summer dwellings. This began at a time (1898) when the Aivilingmiut were spending more time on

whaling and trapping than on hunting. Consequently, caribou skins were in short supply. Both the A.R. Tucker's log and the Era's mention making tents for the Eskimos. "Cooper busy getting out frames for native summer tents. Captain cutting out the cloth" (A.R. Tucker, log, April 27, 1898).

OTHER TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

Comer had taught some of the women how to operate a sewing machine. They applied their new skill to sail making, and quite probably to stitching the tents. Comer also felt that colourful American-manufactured tents would be popular trade items. In his memorandum "Trade for the Natives" (Mystic #355) Comer wrote "in summer time they use skin tents, a few Boughten tents striped goods would be good trade with the natives".

Comer also constructed what was probably the first Eskimo-owned wooden house. In 1912, he wrote, "started to build a house out of our old lumber for our head native Harry, am putting it up on the main land where we keep a look out for whales" (A.T. Gifford, log, August 19, 1912).

The wood brought in by the whalers was undoubtedly of great value to the Aivilingmiut. They also utilized the remnants of any ship wrecks. In Comer's account ("Accounts and Sundries, Comer Family", Mystick, 1912) for the 1910-12 voyage, he includes "300 feet cedar Boards, 2000 feet Spruce lumber, 300 feet of 2x4 scantling". This wood, along with numerous boat oars, masts

and booms, was utilized by the whalers over the winter to enclose the deck of the vessel. When the whaling vessels were leaving Hudson Bay, the Aivilingmiut often received such wood and boat gear as partial payment for their services.

In three other areas mentioned by the logbooks, goods introduced by the whalers affected the Aivilingmiut. Manufactured textiles began to become incorporated into Eskimo clothing; new methods of ornamental design were introduced; and tobacco and alcohol became available to the Aivilingmiut.

It is quite probable that from the beginning of contact, the Eskimos were curious about European-style clothing and textiles. As with several other items, it was in Captain Comer's journals that the first mention of textiles being given to the Aivilingmiut occurs. For Christmas 1897, Comer gave the Eskimos around the Era several presents.

The men had each a few yards of calico. Each boy a jack knife and each girl a dress (calico for it). With each dress went two spools of thread and a thimble. And each of the men got a file. There is 23 of them in all and 5 outside (Kenipitne). So there were 50 presents to make and with each was a bag of popcorn and peanuts (Era, log, December 24, 1897).

In the Era's logbook of 1904-05, under the heading "Trade" is the item "731 1/2 yds. Calico". Comer also traded or gave away thousands of needles, dozens of knives and scissors, and tens of thousands of beads in eight colours.

Major Moodie who was sent aboard the Neptune (1903-04)

by the Canadian Government to establish closer ties between the Government and the Aivilingmiut, supplied propaganda tempered with European clothing to the Eskimos:

having them the Eskimos come to his house and making them a speech telling them of the Great Father in Canada and making them a present of a shirt or pants then last night all were invited to a dance and supper on board the steamer (Era, log, November 15, 1903).

The introduction of a new method of ornamentation for Aivilingmiut garments is referred to by Comer in 1911:

By showing the native women how to weave bead work on a frame using a shuttle I have started quite an interest among them, they have usually sewn the beads on to cloth then sewed the cloth onto the skin clothing, this new way can make much more hansom patterns and far more designs (A.T. Gifford, log, May 10, 1911).

Mathiassen (1928:177) mentions European boots being used as a motif for bead designs, and it is possible that the flower, plant and star designs were influenced by books and magazines found onboard the vessels.

Tobacco was a very popular trade item among the Aivilingmiut. In 1907, Comer carried 2,020 pounds of tobacco onboard the A.T. Gifford. Tobacco was used as one of the main incentives for Eskimo participation in the whale hunt. A box of tobacco of unknown quantity was given to the Eskimo who first reported sighting a whale that was later caught. In much earlier days, tobacco was very popular and smoking it was said to make the Eskimos complacent. In the Orray Taft's logbook, at a time when

the whalers desperately needed meat, an entry reads: "expected the natives today but they are smoking the tobacco that they got, when that is gone they will come for more, they could have come with a sled today as the Ice between us was smooth, but is moving to S.W." (Orray Taft, log, March 19, 1867).

With regard to alcohol, Comer occasionally mentions in his journals that he mixed a little liquor and hot water for the Eskimos to drink. But there never seems to have been a demand for it. In 1906, Comer (1906:476) wrote that "so far as my experience goes, [the whalers] have never given [the Eskimos] liquor". In the same year Low (1906:271) wrote: "The influence of the whalers upon the natives does not appear to have been as bad as in the western part of the Arctics. The excessive use of alcohol has never been practiced, and has now been totally stopped". In 1912, Comer remarked that "the boats returned [bringing news of a Scotch whaling vessel] most of my natives who were in the boats returned badly intoxicated". This is the only reference in the logs to Eskimo drunkenness. None of the lists of trade items brought onboard the whaling vessels mention alcohol. However, Mathiassen (1928:21) suggests that the whalers seriously harmed the health of the Eskimos by providing excessive amounts of liquor. Whereas Birket-Smith (1929:32) says of the Hudson Bay area in general, "Alcohol has never obtained a footing in these regions".

I think that Mathiassen has probably been inaccurate in

attributing any serious problems with alcohol, among the Aivilingmiut, to the American whalers. The total absence of any mention of supplying alcohol to the Eskimos and of Eskimo drunkenness, throughout the sixty years covered in the American whaling logbooks, leads me to this conclusion. Whether or not the Scotch whaling vessels contributed in any outstanding way to an alcohol problem among the Aivilingmiut, I cannot judge. However, my impression is that there was not enough sustained contact between the Scotch whalers and the coastal Eskimos of Hudson Bay to account for a problem of alcohol.

One final note on innovations occurs in the logbooks. In 1904, it is mentioned for the first time that an Eskimo was commissioned to make carvings for the Euro-American market. "My chief native Harry (Teseuke) has been making some ivory carvings for commander Low which he took over this evening" (Era, log, January 20, 1904).

Chapter Five

THE WHALERS' INFLUENCE ON SUBSISTENCE and SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF THE AIVILINGMIUT

Before considering the influence of the whalers on specific aspects of the subsistence and settlement cycle, I will present the evidence which indicates that the whalers were responsible for a general southerly movement of the Aivilingmiut from the Repulse Bay region to the areas around Depot Island, Marble Island and Cape Fullerton.

SOUTHWARD SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT

"Aivilingmiut" means "people of Aivilik". Aivilik is a locale on the north shore of Repulse Bay. Eskimo nomenclature for coastal people usually made reference to the place of principal aggregation. On this basis, the southern peoples (whom the whalers interacted with around Depot Island, Marble Island and Cape Fullerton) who called themselves Aivilingmiut, were likely people who traditionally aggregated during the breathing-hole seal hunting (mauliqpuq) season around Aivilik. Essentially, Aivilik may be considered the centre of their territory. I suggest that they were drawn south only sporadically before the advent of the whalers made a more southerly orientation attractive to them.

Mathiassen (1928:26) noted numerous sites of tent dwellings around Aivilik. He described Aivilik as "the biggest and most

extensive Eskimo summer settlement I have seen". He goes on to say, "I would roughly estimate the number of Eskimo habitation-remains at Aivilik at about 500, spread over an area of 20 to 30 hectares...Aivilik is now [1920's] oftenest uninhabited..."

(ibid. 27). Numerous other sites on the north shore of Repulse Bay and the shores north and east of Repulse Bay indicate a large habitation in the fairly recent past.

"A very important ~~spring~~ and winter settlement in earlier times was Nuvuk, south of Wager Inlet; people often lived there in summer. In September 1864 Hall (1879:63) came across a tent-camp with 40 people there" (Mathiassen 1928:28). No such sites are reported for the areas between Chesterfield and Yellow Bluff, just south of Nuvuk.

The logbooks (usually the more exact ones kept by Captain Comer) consistently suggest, even at such a late date as the 1890's, a movement of families back and forth between Repulse Bay and the Cape Fullerton area. The Repulse Bay terminal point of these movements cannot be directly attributed to the influence of the whalers. The references are usually to a number of families going to Repulse Bay to winter, and then returning to Fullerton to assist the whalers, usually in May. It is true that some of these men trapped during the winter, but many returned with too few furs to suggest that their northern migrations were motivated by the fur trade.

Boas (1907:6) points out that up to 1800 another tribe,

the Inuissuitmiut, lived at Depot Island and were enemies of the Aivilingmiut. This enmity may have forced a more northern orientation on the Aivilingmiut.

There is some archaeological evidence to suggest that there was no long tradition of habitation between Repulse Bay (or at least Wager River) and Chesterfield Inlet.

Dorset sites are common north of Repulse but, by contrast, there is scant sign of Dorset on the mainland south of Repulse....Even allowing for the scarcity of archaeological work on the west side of Hudson Bay and Roes Welcome Sound, the few and fragile hints of Dorset there lead one to suspect that Dorset people never or only rarely occupied that coast. Perhaps, if this coast were never settled by Dorset Eskimo, its inhabitants were transient Indian hunters whose northern forays effectively barred a Dorset drift southward down the Bay's western shore (Taylor 1968:18-19).

Dorset culture existed from about 600 B.C. to 1300 A.D.

Eight Thule Culture (dated at 1000 to 1200 A.D., according to McCartney, 1972) sites have been found between Wager Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet (Taylor 1968:23-24; Merbs 1969, 1971; McCartney 1972:40). While Merbs (1971:17) says these sites "are not abundant", McCartney (ibid. 34) describes coastal habitation in the classic Thule period as "extensive". Wooden supports for the stone roofed graves on Silumiut, just north of Chesterfield Inlet, have been radio carbon dated at 1140 A.D. \pm 70 years (Merbs 1971:20). All settlements along the coast appear to have been occupied simultaneously "and we have no evidence thus far of sequential occupations....No Thule bone houses [in Hudson Bay],

for instance, have been definitely dated from the 14-17th centuries..." (McCartney 1972:44). Foxe, who made the first historical reference to Silumiut, in 1631, said that the island was abandoned, with no recent grave sites (Merbs 1971:22). McCartney (op. cit. 40-41) writes of the decline of classic Thule sites:

But the winter sites were abandoned after a relatively 'thin' occupation period lasting probably no longer than several decades. If the whaling habitats being exploited were so abundant...then, what caused these and other Thule sites to be abandoned?...I think the key again lies with the whale...

A series of climatically related events reversed the sequence that made Thule expansion possible several hundred years earlier. The climate deteriorated rapidly, causing ice to move further south in heavy concentrations and closed large leads formerly open. This restricted whale movement in the central-eastern arctic and our Thule Eskimos ultimately were forced to give up whaling and/or abandon areas in search of better whaling waters. In the Roes Welcome Sound area particularly, the long western shore lead may have frozen completely during the winter and made the spring whale migration northward through the Sound very late if possible at all....Cold and warm periods fluctuated back and forth until a relatively stable cold period came with the 'little ice age' c. 1550 and lasted to c. 1850.

According to McCartney, a return to favourable habitational conditions for whales in the Roes Welcome area occurred after 1850.

McCartney suggests (ibid. 47-48) that the decline in whale populations does not necessarily imply a change in settlement locale, but in diet, and led to a dependence on seals, walrus and caribou. While saying (ibid. 48) that "Eskimos of this Modified or non-whaling Thule period continue to construct stone surface features...", he also admits (ibid.) that "very few

artifacts are found in these features and they remain largely undated". He fails to identify any such sites in the Roes Welcome region for the period after 1200 A.D., and concludes (ibid.) that "The strong stylistic continuities between classic Thule and historic cultures are evidence that readaptation rather than population/cultural replacement took place between A.D. 1200-1600". I think that McCartney fails to prove that there were not settlement displacements in the Roes Welcome region after the decline of the whale population.

Most of McCartney's data are impressive, and not inconsistent with my claims of an essentially settlement-free region between Chesterfield Inlet and Wager Inlet in the Modified Thule period, or at least immediately prior to the coming of the whalers. I think that the radio carbon dates indicating settlement in about 1200 A.D., the lack of more recent, dated artifacts; the unusually large number of more recently occupied summer habitation sites at Aivilik which Mathiassen noted, the reputation which Repulse Bay, and Aivilik in particular, had for walrus abundance, all lend support to my contention that there was a concentration of settlement around Repulse Bay after the climate became colder and the whales retreated. Further support for this claim, based on more historically recent sociological factors, on historical documents, and on ethnographic information is considered in the following pages.

Regarding the aboriginal territory of the Aivilingmiut,

the question of favourable seal grounds is a prime concern. For the central Eskimo region in general, Boas (1888:417-18) correlates the extent of "land ice" with the presence of seals. "In Hudson Bay there are very few places in which the land ice extends to a considerable distance from the shore. Neither Frozen Strait nor Rowe's Welcome freezes over, each being kept open by the swiftly running tides. The most extensive floes are formed in Repulse Bay, Wager Bay, and Chesterfield Inlet". Thus, there is reason to believe that the coastal area between Wager River and Chesterfield Inlet was not favoured by the Aivilingmiut for lack of ample subsistence resources. Aivilingmiut presence during the whaling era would seem to derive from an attraction to the whaling vessels.

Historical documents also offer support to the theory that the whalers drew the Aivilingmiut south of Repulse Bay. Middleton in his coastal explorations during the early and late summer of 1742 observed Eskimos at only two points on the north-western coast of Hudson Bay. These locations were Whale Cove and Wager River. There were no Eskimos in the area which they habituated after the coming of the whalers (Dobbs 1744:60).

Nor did John Rae (1850:25) travelling up the coast in mid-July 1846, see any Eskimos in the Marble Island area. If Aivilingmiut were indigenous to that region then some might have been seen sealing at that season (cf. Boas 1888:447). However, at Cape Fullerton, Rae (1850:27) did meet a member of an Eskimo

party, consisting of ten families. These were probably Qaernermiut since Rae describes them as having "their hunting-grounds...situated on the borders of Chesterfield Inlet". Travelling a further ten miles north of Cape Fullerton, Rae (ibid. 29ff) spent four days camped at a place that was probably Captain Comer's harbour of the early twentieth century. Although seals were abundant, there were no Eskimos in the area. In Comer's time large numbers of Aivilingmiut came to settle there. It was not until Repulse Bay that Rae again made contact with any Eskimos, who were spending their time caribou and musk-ox hunting inland from Repulse Bay. There was no indication of any southward population movement in the summer of 1846. The next summer as Rae (ibid. 182ff) journeyed southward, he did not meet any Eskimos between Repulse Bay and Cape Fullerton. Rae makes it quite clear that the Eskimos around Cape Fullerton were of different stock than the Repulse Bay people: "they were all much darker than the natives of Repulse Bay" (ibid. 184).

C.F. Hall (Nourse 1879:63) observed of the twenty-five individuals with whom he wintered in 1864 near Yellow Bluff:

The tribe was one whose usual residence was at the head of Repulse Bay. They had often held intercourse there and at Depot Island with the American whalers; had their English names from them, and had in their possession the boats and hunting implements of civilized life.

In August 1866, when the whalers were considering wintering at Marble or Depot Island, only one Eskimo in Hall's whole party was willing to leave Repulse Bay to winter further south (Nourse

1879:287). Hall's comments suggest an orientation to the Repulse Bay area, rather than the area further south.

In mentioning the sale of whale blubber by Eskimos to Knight's shipwrecked company on Marble Island in 1720, Birket-Smith (1929 I:97) suggests that this "may mean that the [Caribou] Eskimos were intermediaries between the [Hudson's Bay] Company and the more northerly coast tribes, especially the Aivilingmiut". In the theory which Birket-Smith develops to explain the fact that present coast-dwelling Caribou Eskimos know nothing of whaling, he shows the great population upheavals among Eskimo peoples that characterized the eighteenth century on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Implied in his discussion is the fact that no peoples on Hudson Bay's west coast, south of Repulse Bay, have had a very long or a very settled experience there in the last several hundred years. He indicates (ibid. II:14-16) that it was the northward intrusion of gun bearing Chipewyans that drove the Caribou Eskimos' ancestors away from the coast in the eighteenth century. This same threat would just as effectively have thwarted any southward movement or settlement of Aivilingmiut.

Regarding the eventual preference shown by the whalers for Cape Fullerton rather than Marble Island as a winter quarters, Birket-Smith (ibid. I:72) suggests reasons which might have been as applicable to the Aivilingmiut in pre-whaler times: good drinking water was difficult to obtain; and there was great difficulty in getting fresh caribou and musk-ox meat.

There was also a deep seated aura of superstition surrounding Marble Island. "Only occasionally have religious considerations any influence upon the choice of [Eskimo] dwelling place... Marble Island is supposed to have been ice and must only be ascended on the knees the first time it is visited" (ibid. I:73). Even in 1969, Marble Island continues to raise fears: "That island is bad. When you visit it, you must go up its shore on your hands and knees. Otherwise you will have bad luck" (quoted in Bruemmer 1969:37). Contemporary Eskimos, however, do have a tradition that Marble Island was used, with great reverence, before the coming of the white man.

The combination of these numerous strands of evidence suggests a very strong likelihood that, in aboriginal times, the area between Cape Fullerton and Wager River was not inhabited by the Aivilingmiut.

On this basis, I have taken the aboriginal subsistence and settlement cycle of the Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut, as referred to in an earlier chapter, as a baseline against which to contrast the annual subsistence and settlement cycle that developed during the whaling era, in the region south of Wager River. The following account indicates how differences in these two annual subsistence and settlement cycles can be attributed to the influence of the American whalers between 1860 and 1912.

CHANGES IN SUBSISTENCE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The logbooks of the American whaling vessels often provide

detailed information regarding where and when the Aivilingmiut engaged in their various subsistence activities. Some of these activities were the traditional ones of seal, walrus, caribou and musk-ox hunting. The time and energy allotted to whale hunting, itself, was radically altered by the introduction of whaleboats, trade inducements, and participation in the whaling industry. The fur trade became a major enterprise of the Aivilingmiut, with a consequent alteration of subsistence and settlement patterns.

The whalers' primary interest with regard to the Eskimos, that is being provided with fresh meat, also altered the proportion of time traditionally spent in the various subsistence pursuits. Caribou hunting was encouraged as the principal hunting activity. It would be somewhat of an overstatement to claim that the Aivilingmiut developed an inland orientation during the period of their contact with the American whalers. But the change in emphasis toward terrestrial pursuits, aside from whale hunting, was significant. Undoubtedly, it was the manpower devoted to the hunting of seals and walrus that was reduced to allow a greater concentration on pursuits favored by the whalers.

Establishing the magnitude of changes in Aivilingmiut subsistence patterns is one of the difficult problems of this study. In terms of absolute numbers of Aivilingmiut affected at different times in the course of contact, the information is somewhat vague. At various points, the logbooks indicate the

number of Eskimo hunters or whalers employed by a particular vessel or vessels. Or, regarding settlement patterns, the logbooks are often informative about the number of Aivilingmiut aggregated at particular locales. However, for any given time we never have complete information on the numbers employed or the numbers aggregated for the whole of the Aivilingmiut region. Thus for the time being, we must be content with incomplete information; or engage in projections based on partial knowledge.

Another problem concerns the quality of the observations in the logbooks. One assumes that some logbook keepers were more observant than others; and yet there are no very clear criteria for distinguishing accuracy of observation. Judgement based on the general tenor of the logbook seems the best way to determine utility of data.

Essentially, I have taken settlement patterns to be a function of subsistence patterns. In all cultures, I think, this would not be a valid assumption. But in an environment as demanding and limiting as the one the Aivilingmiut inhabit, I believe that subsistence pursuits determine settlement choices. However, the relationship between subsistence and settlement does not remain quite so clear as the influence of the American whalers increases through the years. By the 1890's there is a distinct impression that a discordance exists between winter settlement locales and winter subsistence activities.

I will now turn to a consideration of the Aivilingmiut

subsistence and settlement cycles, and the changes in them, after the coming of the whalers. There were three principal factors which influenced change in the Aivilingmiut subsistence and settlement cycle during the period of contact with the whalers. The provision of fresh meat for the whalers through an intensified caribou hunt was the first influence for change. Mathiassen's census in 1922 showed 165 Aivilingmiut. Assuming a reasonably stable population over the preceding sixty years, it is clear that in certain years fresh meat was provided by Aivilingmiut for an additional group of people equalling in number about two-thirds of the Aivilingmiut population. The pressure to sustain this additional population temporarily displaced some of the normal activities in which the Aivilingmiut engaged, while also intensifying the caribou hunt beyond previous limits, and creating an expertise with the rifle as a hunting implement. However, I take a position that the changes in subsistence patterns due to an intensified caribou hunt were temporary, and that after the departure of the whalers, there was a return to the emphasis on hunting sea mammals.

The second influence for change in subsistence and settlement cycles was the Aivilingmiut involvement in the whaling industry itself. Activities such as hauling ice, sawing out the vessels from the ice, whale hunting, boiling blubber etc., which have been described elsewhere, displaced activities which had occupied the Aivilingmiut traditionally from May to September.

The third influence for change arose from the whalers' demand for musk-ox furs and fox furs. Although this demand arose largely after 1880, as early as 1860 the whalers began providing a ready market for furs which led to an economic emphasis that had not prevailed before contact. The baseline against which changes in activity-emphasis will be compared is the reconstruction of aboriginal seasonal cycles presented earlier. The chart (on the next page) summarizes the aboriginal subsistence cycle according to Boas and Mathiassen. Except where noted specifically, Mathiassen's account agrees with Boas. Mathiassen (1928:25) says of such a cycle:

Conditions now are somewhat changed, partly owing to the fact that the trading station has been established (near Naujan on the north coast), and partly as a result of the kayak having been replaced by the whaleboat, also that the caribou has retreated further into the interior as a result of the widespread use of guns, and that whales (and to some extent walrus) have disappeared.

Specific references to the various Aivilingmiut subsistence activities were charted for every month of every year recorded in the logbooks (see Appendix). Although in certain years there are comparatively few references to Aivilingmiut activities, because of a low incidence of interaction between whalers and Eskimos, certain trends seem clear. Arbitrarily my analysis of the Activity Charts has been divided into ten year segments.

Between 1860 and 1870, a spring caribou hunt is definitely indicated; while seal and/or walrus hunting is regularly indicated

ABORIGINAL SUBSISTENCE AND SETTLEMENT
OF THE AIVILINGMIUT

	Boas (<u>The Central Eskimo</u> , pp. 445ff)	Mathiassen (<u>Material Culture of the Iglulik</u> , pp. 24ff)
April, May and June	Hunt basking seals----- Seal blubber stored----- Caribou killed at the passes--- Fishing on ponds and streams--- inland	---Begins in May or June ---Seal blubber stored ---Not mentioned ---Fishing on ponds and streams inland
July	Fishing inland-----	---Fishing inland
August	Walrus and seal (cached for--- winter) Whales hunted-----	---Walrus and seal (cached for winter) ---Whales hunted
September	Caribou hunt (deposits for---- winter) Musk-ox hunt----- Live inland until January-----	---Caribou hunt (deposits for winter) ---Not mentioned ---Live inland until January
November	Older men walrus hunting-----	---Not mentioned
January	Settle on Repulse Bay----- Living on deposits (Sealing--- only in case of need) Walrus hunting throughout----- winter	---Settle on Repulse Bay ---Regular seal hunt (mauliqpuq) ---Not mentioned
March	Settlements broken up----- Fishing----- Sealing-----	---Settlements broken up ---Fishing ---Sealing

from December to June. An autumn caribou hunt, which certainly took place, can only be inferred by the caribou clothing which the Eskimos wore by the time they visited the vessels in late November, December or January. The availability of cached caribou after January also indicates an autumn hunt. The omission of specific reference to an autumn hunt is part of a general omission of references to the Eskimos during the autumn, when, no doubt, they were inland hunting caribou.

From 1870 to 1880, there is again a definite indication of a spring caribou hunt; but also many more references to hunting in September and October. The specific reference to an autumn hunt is probably due to a greater contact in the summer, with the consequent realization that the Eskimos had moved inland to hunt in the autumn. Seal and/or walrus hunting is also indicated for December to March, and June and July.

The period 1880 to 1890, is replete with references to Eskimo activities. Essentially there seem to be two trends indicated. In the Marble Island region the caribou hunt seems to be concentrated between May and September, but with only January, February and August devoid of mention of a caribou hunt. Thus, a virtual year-round hunt is indicated. There are also numerous references to the Aivilingmiut being engaged in whaling in the months of June and August. Apparently, enough Aivilingmiut labour was at the disposal of the whalers to exploit both the whale and caribou resources. Seal and/or walrus are

indicated as hunted between October and June, which accords well with traditional patterns. In 1886-87, for which records exist for the Repulse Bay area, caribou hunting occurred from March through to December, except for August and September, when no references are made. However, Aivilingmiut whaling is specifically mentioned in June, July and August. Reference to seal hunting occurs only from June to August.

Between 1890 and 1900, there is a definite pattern of concentrated March to April or May caribou hunting. In the first half of the decade, summer caribou hunting is also practiced, indicating virtually a year-round hunt. But under Comer's influence, after 1896, there is only one indication of caribou hunting between May and August, a period in which whaling was apparently almost exclusively pursued. Despite the fact that American whaling in general declined significantly after 1890, Captain Comer remained a very active whaler. It was Comer, who more than any other whaler, organized the Aivilingmiut as whalers and trappers. An October to April or May seal and/or walrus hunt is indicated, which continues to represent a traditional aquatic hunting pattern. Between 1903 and 1912, the same bifurcation seems to exist. There definitely were annual caribou hunts in the spring and autumn, with the summers devoted to whaling. In this period seal and/or walrus hunting is repeatedly mentioned, with the concentration between November and early May, and one reference in July.

CARIBOU HUNTING

In speaking of the emphasis placed on caribou hunting after contact with the whalers, one must first consider the migration habits of caribou. About the end of September, the caribou migrated southward from the Melville Peninsula (Boas 1888:445). In April, large herds of caribou passed Repulse Bay on their migration northward (ibid. 445, 502). Under the influence of the whalers, as will be shown, the caribou hunt temporarily became much more of an all-year pursuit, rather than concentrated at the times of migration. Of more importance, the intensity of the caribou hunt was heightened after the coming of the whalers.

The widespread introduction of the rifle was the most important factor facilitating a more productive caribou hunt. The shyness and alertness of the caribou made hunting them with bow and arrows extremely difficult. If the terrain is too flat, or if it is winter and tranquil then the approach is difficult. On the other hand, dense or drifting snow makes the hunt virtually impossible. "In summer, caribou hunting is immeasurably easier, for then they have plenty of food, their worst enemies, the wolves, are not so importunate and thus do not make them so shy, and the colour of the terrain makes it easier to get quite close to them unobserved" (Mathiassen 1928:54). The rifle greatly aided in overcoming the problems of pursuing the caribou.

Boas specifically designates caribou hunting to the autumn

and to the spring, and ranks it as an activity secondary to seal hunting. Mathiassen, writing in 1922, says,

Caribou hunting is pursued in all seasons whenever there is an opportunity. But it is particularly in summer and autumn that it is of importance; the skins are then still shorthaired and useful for clothing....But it often happens that caribou hunting extends over the most of winter and not until March-April do the Eskimos move down to the coast (ibid. 53).

At first appearance it would seem most likely that the trend from spring and autumn caribou hunting to the all-year hunting, that Mathiassen noted in 1922, was a direct result of the whalers' influence. With the rifle newly introduced into general circulation, the caribou hunt, according to Mathiassen, began to rival sea mammal hunting as an effective subsistence pursuit. Mathiassen felt that even among pre-contact Iglulik Eskimos caribou hunting was as important as sea mammal hunting:

Whereas among most other Eskimo tribes the hunting of aquatic mammals is of paramount importance, it is...not the case here, caribou hunting being at least as important, a feature which the Iglulik Eskimos have in common with the other Central Eskimo tribes....(Mathiassen 1928:37).

For the Aivilingmiut, at the time of Mathiassen's observation, one might wish to argue that the cessation of occupational activities associated with the whaling industry, and the apparent decrease in walrus resources (Mathiassen 1928: 25), plus the positive attraction of hunting with a rifle, led to an emphasis on caribou hunting. But the point I wish to stress here is that during the period of American whaling in Hudson Bay, the whalers only temporarily influenced a change in Aivilingmiut

caribou hunting patterns from the autumn and spring orientation which Boas noted. Nor was there a major deflection of the Aivilingmiut reliance on sea mammals in favour of caribou meat. It was not, as Mathiassen suggests, that caribou hunting began to rival sea mammal hunting as an effective subsistence pursuit. It was that caribou hunting was encouraged by the whalers to provide the whaling vessels with meat and hides. The Aivilingmiut did not come to depend on caribou meat so much as they came to depend on the whaling vessels for support and direction. Thus after the whaling era, there was a return to the traditional emphasis on sea mammal hunting (especially on Southampton Island which is a productive area) with no substantial cultural discontinuity.

In the period from 1885 to 1895 especially, caribou hunting was stimulated to such a degree as to become virtually a year-round activity. But generally, the Activity Charts (see Appendix) indicate no lasting deviation from the patterns or proportions of the traditional caribou hunt. There were some changes in the temporal patterns of seal and walrus hunting during the whaling era. However, ironically, what is indicated is a temporally expanded seal hunt, with a probable diminution of manpower involved. The change that occurred during the whaling era was in a reduction of the output of energy devoted to the hunting of sea mammals. This will be considered in more detail below. Under the whalers' influence there was a diverting of

energies towards the caribou hunt. Many Aivilingmiut still continued to hunt seal and walrus, but in an altered pattern. Others, engaged in terrestrial pursuits, received support for their families from the whaling vessels, from the produce of the caribou hunts, and in internal trade with fellow Aivilingmiut.

There are two primary influences which the whalers' demand for caribou meat had on Aivilingmiut settlement patterns. It was the original need for fresh meat, beginning in 1860-61, which led to the whalers supporting Eskimo families around the wintering vessels while the men hunted caribou. Aivilingmiut involvement in whaling and musk-ox hunting fortified this tendency through the years. Secondly, as the use of fire-arms became general, and caribou hunting became more intensive, the caribou herds tended to move further inland (Mathiassen 1928:25). Were it not for the whaling vessels being a centre of settlement, such an inland movement may have affected Aivilingmiut settlement patterns.

In considering each of the Aivilingmiut activities which were integral to the survival of the whalers, and which were stimulated by them, the question of displacement of other activities must be raised. The whalers' need of caribou skin clothing tended to cause such a dislocation of normal activities. According to Aivilingmiut custom (Low 1906:171), the skin clothing had to be completely made in houses on the land before residence

could be taken up on the ice for seal hunting. In having to provide caribou skin clothing for dozens of American whalers, the Aivilingmiut re-settlement on the ice was often considerably delayed. C.F. Hall gives some idea of the time and labour involved in making winter clothing.

By the middle of this month [November] the Innuits had finished their work on the reindeer-skins. Too-ko-li-too had labored for thirty days, fifteen hours out of the twenty-four, during which time, with but little assistance from Ebierbing even in cleaning the skins, she had made up besides bedding, seven complete fur suits...(Nourse 1879:100).

Thus, the caribou hunting patterns indicated by Boas in his reconstructed annual subsistence cycle appear to have persisted reasonably unchanged throughout the whaling era. For a brief period, caribou hunting took place almost the whole year through. But concern with whaling, musk-ox hunting, and the traditional walrus and seal pursuits served ultimately to maintain a caribou hunt in almost the same pattern as Boas indicates was the aboriginal pattern--the two periods of northward and southward migration. It is true that throughout the years examples of caribou hunting in all the months of the year can be found. The important change was in the intensity of the caribou hunt, rather than in any great de-emphasis of walrus and seal hunting.

My conclusion is that if Mathiassen is right that in 1922 caribou hunting had begun to rival or even outweigh sea mammal hunting as a primary subsistence pursuit, then this new pattern did not derive directly out of the whalers' encouragement of

Aivilingmiut caribou hunting and the discouragement of other pursuits.

SEAL AND WALRUS HUNTING

According to Boas' reconstructed subsistence cycle, seal hunting was concentrated in the spring, and beginning after March. Sealing in the winter was a rare occurrence, reserved only for times of extreme need (Boas 1888:444, 447). Mathiassen (1928: 24) stated that the hunting of basking seals began in May and June and continued through to August. Hunting in kayaks continued until about mid-September. He also believed that breathing hole sealing in January, and during the winter in general was common practice.

According to the Aivilingmiut Activity Charts (Appendix) for the whaling era, Boas' aboriginal subsistence cycle underwent certain changes. The charts also differ somewhat from the sealing activities delineated by Mathiassen. The whaling logs, covering a fifty-two year period, indicate that seal hunting generally was carried out from late December through to late May. However, there were several exceptions to this generalization, in which sealing began as early as October around Marble Island and Depot Island (1884-85 and 1893-94), or was carried on through to August at Repulse Bay (1886-87). The greatest concentration in the sealing activity occurred between January and April. There is no confirmation in the logs of Boas' claim for an August concentration

on sealing. In considering Mathiassen's delineation, the logs seldom distinguish between breathing hole sealing and hunting basking seals. The logbooks indicate a slightly earlier beginning and a slightly earlier closing to the sealing season than Mathiassen noted.

In assessing the differences indicated in the seal hunting patterns as delineated by Boas, Mathiassen, and the logbooks, the important variable is probably the greater population density of the region in the whaling era. Boas (1888:445), speaking of the situation in 1846, indicates that caches of caribou, walrus blubber, and musk-ox, amassed during the summer and autumn, were sufficient to sustain the Aivilingmiut until sealing, fishing and caribou hunting began in earnest in the early spring. He also notes (ibid. 37) that the Aivilingmiut were "well scattered all over the country" until the time of winter aggregation. During the whaling period the large concentration of population on the shores of Hudson Bay, after summer whaling was completed, quickly diminished the caches, especially of caribou meat, necessitating an earlier beginning to the seal hunt. Mathiassen's 'aboriginal' subsistence cycle was based on an informant born about 1860 (Mathiassen 1928:24). The seal hunting pattern coincides very closely with the one derived from the logbooks. The only difference is in summer sealing, of which the logbooks make no mention, perhaps because of the concern with the whale hunt.

There does seem strong evidence to support the claim that

by the 1890's the winter settlement patterns of the Aivilingmiut were no longer so dependent on subsistence activities, and were much more dependent on the location of wintering whaling vessels. There are several references during the 1890's to the Eskimos being settled for the winter around the vessels at Cape Fullerton. Yet the seal (and walrus) hunters would travel, at least weekly, some forty miles to be near the seal (and walrus) hunting grounds at Depot Island (A.R. Tucker, log, February 20, 25, March 1, 4 and 5, 1898). Upon catching a good supply of seals, the Eskimos would return to the vessels and settle there. The Canton's log (Canton, log, February 29, 1896, Kendall #67) speaks of the seal and walrus hunters travelling some five to eight miles over rough ice, each day, to reach the floe-edge for sealing. As has been noted elsewhere, women, children and old people tended to stay by the vessels for sustenance, while the hunters travelled inland in the winter.

With regard to the walrus hunt, Boas (1888:445ff) designates mid-November and throughout the winter as the prime time, with open-water hunting of walrus during the summer until freeze-up. This constitutes virtually a year-round hunt, with the exception of late September, October, and early November when the Eskimos are inland hunting caribou. Mathiassen (1928:24ff) only refers to a summer walrus hunt in his account of the aboriginal cycle. The Activity Charts compiled from logbook data suggest that walrus hunting was carried out primarily between January and April,

with by far the greatest concentration in April. In two exceptional cases, walrus were caught in October and in June. Thus the logbooks, while supporting the winter walrus hunt depicted by Boas, give no support to the summer hunts which both Boas and Mathiassen note. It may be that participation in the whaling industry curtailed the normal summer walrus hunt. But the situation is the same as the summer seal hunting case. The logs never refer to a summer walrus hunt, and there is no positive evidence that walrus hunters were drawn into whaling activities as an alternative to walrus hunting. Yet, the problem remains that the summers had been occupied with sealing and walrus hunting according to Boas and Mathiassen, and were not occupied with sealing and walrus hunting according to the logbooks; whereas the logbooks suggest summer employment in the whaling industry. Thus, despite the dearth of positive evidence, a reasonable, tentative conclusion seems to be that Aivilingmiut engagement in the whaling industry diminished aboriginal Aivilingmiut activity in summer sealing and walrus hunting. However, it must be stressed that seal hunting began earlier than in aboriginal times, due to the pressures of concentrated population, and that winter walrus hunting covered approximately the same period as Boas indicated was the case in aboriginal times.

It might be mentioned here that even the most detailed logbooks consistently become quite uninformative with regard to the summer activities of the Eskimos. At the same time, the

logs are replete with data concerning the business of whaling itself. Thus it is not surprising that mention of summer sealing and walrus hunting should be overlooked in favour of whaling, the *raison d'etre* of these arctic voyages.

WHALE HUNTING

Turning now to whaling itself, there can be no doubt that throughout the time of the American whaling industry in Hudson Bay, the Aivilingmiut devoted more time to whaling than had been the case aboriginally. The Aivilingmiut had possessed only kayaks, and whaling had not been a basic subsistence activity since the impractical means of hunting seldom led to success. Generally, the Aivilingmiut whalers were employed by the American whalers from early May to early September. Their tasks, as mentioned above, consisted of sawing the vessel out of the ice, moving the boats, gear and supplies out to the floe-edge; and then by mid-May beginning the whale hunt itself. The logbooks indicate that although whaling in boats was practiced by the Aivilingmiut as early as 1860-61, it was not until the 1870's that every vessel consistently utilized native labour in the whaling industry.

Aside from possibly detracting from normal sealing and walrusing activities, whaling influenced changes in the settlement patterns and subsistence pursuits of the autumn and winter seasons. It was during the summer that the Aivilingmiut were most

involved in the whale hunt and thus least able to pursue caribou. It should be noted in this context that the summer supplies of meat often came from the Qaernermiut in the Rankin Inlet or Chesterfield Inlet regions. In fact, the Aivilingmiut summer and autumn caribou hunt was sometimes so drastically affected that the whalers had to supply the Aivilingmiut with caribou skins, acquired from the Qaernermiut, for clothing. Concomitantly, food would have to be supplied as well, at least until after the clothes had been made, and the Aivilingmiut were free to hunt. Comer wrote of this displacement of traditional activities:

Kenepetu natives came today brought 1 bear skin, 2 wolf skins and 1 wolverine, also 10 deer skins....We have now collected about 75 deer skins for winter clothing and spring use, if our natives are not successful we will let them have some of these skins we have got from outside natives who have not been in boats looking for whales (Era, log, September 27 and 29, 1903).

As was shown earlier, it was common practice for the Eskimo whalers to receive all the whale flesh that they could use or store for winter needs. The more successful the summer whale hunt, the more secure was the winter to follow. The considerable problem of feeding the sled dogs was solved before the winter even arrived. Winter settlements often were determined by the proximity of whale carcasses. By August 6, 1905, Comer's Aivilingmiut whalers had established the location of a reasonably secure winter settlement. From Lyon Inlet, Comer noted: "The natives have saved all the meat and blubber of the

4 whales. They expect to camp here this coming winter as they are now sure of dog food and oil" (Era, log, August 6, 1905). C.F. Hall (Nourse 1879:369) observed the same phenomenon at Repulse Bay in the late summer of 1867: "The village near which [Hall] quartered himself now contained one hundred and twenty inhabitants, a number of which it had suddenly risen by the coming in of some from Lyon's Inlet, who had heard of the whale captures".

However, the whaling activities also caused disruption of summer and autumn settlement patterns and deprived some families of their traditional solidarity. In 1911, Comer wrote, "arrived at Yellow Bluff to find the women and children of my natives who are at Repulse Bay quite out of food" (A.T. Gifford, log, September 14, 1911). Aside from the Eskimo families being broken up during the whaling season, the men were no longer able to provide the necessary food for their families because of the disruption of subsistence activities.

When floe-edge whaling began in May, there was also a shift in settlement, in which "The natives move their tents and families out near where the boats are to be" (Comer 1906:478).

The size of summer aggregations had reached proportions unheard of in aboriginal days, when the young men went inland to hunt caribou and the older people stayed by the coast hunting seals and walrus (Damas 1968:115). In mid-August 1903, Comer

noted: "We have now about 75 natives around at meal times... and for whaling we have 6 native boats in commission" (Era, log, August 16, 1903). The next day, the six Aivilingmiut boat crews, about thirty-six men, left Cape Fullerton (and their families) for Repulse Bay and Wager River.

Perhaps the principal change that occurred in settlement patterns was the levelling out of seasonal fluctuations in group size. The aggregation and dispersion of Eskimo groups, in winter and summer respectively, is one of the most distinctive characteristics of aboriginal central Eskimo society. Mauss (1904/05:39-132) was the first to theorize on the implications of a seasonally variable population density on Eskimo social life. He felt that summer settlement dispersion was merely a reflection of summer dispersion of seal.

Celui-ci se concentre ou se disperse, suivant les saisons. En hiver, les morses et surtout les phoques s'assemblent sur certains points de la côte....Au contraire, dès que l'eau devient libre... le phoque se déplace, se disperse, va jouer dans la mer...et les chasseurs doivent se disperser pour l'atteindre, dispersé comme il est...(Mauss 1904/05:94).

Thus, the whalers stimulated summer settlement patterns which were in direct contradiction to aboriginal Aivilingmiut settlement patterns. This occurred primarily because of the virtually year-round association with the whaling vessels. Departures, especially by Aivilingmiut men in their roles of hunters and whalers, were on short-term assignments only. The

levelling effect on variations in summer and winter population densities also occurred because of the diminution of the mauliqpuq (breathing hole) sealing technique which was replaced by the shooting of seals with rifles at the floe-edge, and their retrieval with skiffs (Damas 1963:150). Mauliqpuq sealing was the principal reason for aboriginal winter aggregation.

The outcome of a relatively uniform density in Aivilingmiut population throughout the year was, in all likelihood, very far-reaching. Mauss (1904/05:96-130) points out that seasonal variations in subsistence pursuits give rise not only to seasonally divided settlement patterns, but also seasonally divided juridical and religious structures.

The third influence that summer whaling activities had on Aivilingmiut settlement patterns was the stimulus to an April migration from north of Wager River to the Marble Island or Cape Fullerton regions. After 1880, the log entries for the latter half of April refer to group after group of musk-ox hunters or other undesignated peoples arriving at the vessels, from the north. At this same time Qaernermiut also seem to be attracted from the south. Upon gathering at the vessel, preparations immediately began for spring whaling.

A fourth influence of summer whaling on settlement patterns was the annual Aivilingmiut aggregation at Whale Point. It is very clear that after 1890, Whale Point became the principal summer settlement of the Aivilingmiut. Neither Boas nor Mathiassen

nor any of the earlier explorers indicate Whale Point or its environs as a traditional summer centre of aggregation. In fact, the late summer was a time when population was normally rather dispersed, as caribou hunting had begun. Yet Whale Point is consistently mentioned as the principal point of Aivilingmiut summer settlement (Low 1906:267). There seem several reasons for this choice. Boas (1888:449) lists Depot Island, Wager River, Repulse Bay, Committee Bay and Lyon Inlet as the main Aivilingmiut settlements. By the 1880's most of the winter populations were found at either Depot Island, Marble Island or Repulse Bay. Whale Point represents the median point between Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay. The whalers tended to continually travel north and south in Roes Welcome throughout the summer, and Whale Point was about the mid-point in their manoevers. Whale Point was probably the most productive of the Hudson Bay whaling grounds. "According to Captain Comer, more whales have been killed within sight of Whale Point than in all the rest of Hudson Bay..." (Low 1906:32). Inland from Whale Point was a productive summer caribou hunting territory, as is indicated in the logbooks. As a point of convenience for both whalers and Eskimos, Whale Point became the principal summer settlement of the Aivilingmiut. It was here that native whalers were normally picked up and discharged by the vessels; ship's natives were let off to secure fresh meat for the vessels; women and children awaited the men; and late summer caribou hunting originated from that point.

MUSK-OX HUNTING

The last major influences wrought by the whalers on the subsistence and settlement cycles of the Aivilingmiut were manifest in a stimulated musk-ox hunt and the commercial trapping of fox furs. Boas (1888:447) wrote of the northern Aivilingmiut, that musk-ox hunting was carried out from September to January. Of the 'southern' Aivilingmiut (based entirely on Klutschak), he attributes musk-ox hunting to the period between January and March or April (ibid. 448), with an inference that this was an aboriginal pattern. He also refers (ibid. 449) to a family that lived three days inland from Depot Island and subsisted on musk-ox flesh for most of a year. Mathiassen (1928:61) says that by 1922, musk-ox had practically disappeared from the territory of the Iglulik Eskimos. Aside from paraphrasing Boas, Mathiassen does not include mention of musk-ox hunting in his reconstructed aboriginal cycle. The position taken in this paper, with regard to musk-ox hunting, is that while Boas may be correct that the northern Aivilingmiut hunted musk-ox between September and January,¹ his use of a source as late as Klutschak as an authority on southern Aivilingmiut activities is untenable. The logbooks indicate that musk-ox hunts were stimulated by the whalers. If the southern Aivilingmiut hunting patterns differed as radically as Boas seems to suggest, then the cause of this difference most

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The log of the Black Eagle (1866-67), the first whaling vessel to winter at Repulse Bay, indicates musk-ox hunting from March to June in the Repulse Bay area.

reasonably can be ascribed to the whalers' desire for musk-ox furs, not to an innate difference between 'northern' and 'southern' Aivilingmiut. What appears to be the case is that the summer whaling activities somewhat shortened the autumn caribou hunt among 'southern' Aivilingmiut. Thus autumn pursuits among this group of Eskimos were limited, of necessity, to caribou. Because of the subsistence security offered by the whalers to the families of the hunters, the Aivilingmiut were able to forego, in varying degrees, the winter and spring seal and walrus hunt in favour of musk-ox hunting. However, I think this was merely a tendency which reached its peak in the 1890's as the Aivilingmiut male population's time became so much in demand in the whale hunt, the musk-ox hunt, and the trapping of furs. As the musk-ox was primarily hunted for its furs, and not its meat, there was nothing to restrict musk-ox hunting to any particular season, since the musk ox is non-migratory, though their furs are most luxuriant in the winter.

The activity charts, drawn from the logbooks indicate a steadily growing intensity through the years in the taking of musk-ox. In the 1890's when both whaling and musk-ox hunting competed for the Aivilingmiut men's time, there was a fairly sharp division between the musk-ox season and the whaling season. The musk-ox season covered December to May, and the whaling May to August or early September. After 1900, when whaling began to diminish, the time allotted to the musk-ox hunt began to expand

into the summer and early autumn, commencing in January each year. The logbooks give a good idea of the growth in the musk-ox trade from 1860 to 1912. In 1860-61, only four musk-ox furs are recorded as traded to the whalers at Marble Island. In 1866-67, at Repulse Bay, twenty-seven were shot. The musk-ox hunt in which Hall participated in June 1869, yielded seventy-nine musk-ox (Nourse 1879:113). In 1876-77, at Marble Island, forty skins were traded. (The vessel was wrecked in June 1877 before the season had ended). In 1880-81 at Marble Island, eighty skins were bought. In 1897-99, one hundred and forty-five musk-ox skins were traded. In 1903-04, 1904-05 and 1910-12, about one hundred and fifty skins per year are mentioned as traded, despite a Canadian law instituted in January 1904, prohibiting the sale of musk-ox skins to the whalers (Era, log, November 10, 1903).

The numbers of muskoxen were severely reduced by native hunters, mostly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the demand for carriage robes was at its height. By the end of the nineteenth century, the animal had been reduced or exterminated over all parts of its range accessible from the camps and settlements. Since September 1917, the law has prohibited the killing of muskoxen in Canada, except when necessary to preserve human life (Macpherson 1968:484).

The influence of an intensified musk-ox hunt was manifest mainly in changed settlement and subsistence patterns. As it became common for Aivilingmiut hunters to go out on three or four month musk-ox hunts, leaving in late December or January, the traditional winter breathinghole sealing aggregation tended to

disappear. There were still winter aggregations, but often around a whaling vessel where as many as sixty-six Eskimos are mentioned as being maintained (1903-04). These were mainly women, children and old people. In January 1904, Comer wrote: "a party of 15 of our natives started for Wager R. to be gone til April. We have 66 natives in all who are maintained by the Era" (Era, log, January 24, 1904). These fifteen hunters returned to the Era on May 3 and 4, having left their families in the care of the whalers for almost three and a half months.

FOX TRAPPING

The trapping of arctic fox was just becoming an important commercial enterprise for the Aivilingmiut at the end of the whaling era. The first mention in the logbooks of an Aivilingmiut trapping fox and selling the pelts to the whalers is in March 1872. At that time thirty-five pelts were traded. It is not clear whether steel traps were used. The first mention of steel traps occurs in Comer's lists of supplies for 1907. It is only after 1900, that fairly consistent records of fox trading occur. In 1903-04, about 120 fox were traded; in 1904-05 about 172; and in 1910-12, some 431 fox furs are mentioned as traded. In 1911-12, when the pursuit of fox and musk-ox was occupying the Aivilingmiut, the whalers only received about 500 pounds of caribou meat in trade.

INTER-ESKIMO RELATIONS

Two last influences on Aivilingmiut subsistence and settlement patterns remain to be mentioned. The pre-occupation of the Aivilingmiut with the whalers led to the apparent slackening of commercial relations with Caribou Eskimos, which had developed into something of a coastal-inland symbiosis. Birket-Smith (1929 I:161) wrote "The Aivilingmiut's intercourse with the whalers has long since broken off the connection which formerly existed between them and the Caribou Eskimos". In this connection, he stresses that there is strong evidence of a former trade between the Caribou Eskimos south of Wager River and the Aivilingmiut north of it, involving articles introduced in the eighteenth century by the Hudson's Bay Company. An exception to the broken connection between the Aivilingmiut and Caribou Eskimos is found in the Aivilingmiut trading expeditions which Captain Comer sent inland to Baker Lake for furs.

The presence of the whalers led to a different development in the relations of the Aivilingmiut and the Netsilik. These two groups appear to have been on unfriendly terms in the past. Rae (1850:121) writes, "The natives of this part of the coast (Pelly Bay) bear a very bad character, and are much feared by their countrymen of Repulse Bay". Hall (Nourse 1879:81-82) records that his Aivilingmiut associates would accompany him to King William Land only if well armed, "as there existed a strong war-like feeling between the natives of that region and those of

Iwillik". When Hall finally reached "Colville Bay" (ibid. 260), his Aivilingmiut guides were easily intimidated by the Netsilik, and he was obliged to turn back to Repulse Bay. But during the early years of the whalers' presence in Hudson Bay, Netsilik Eskimos began to travel to the area, and ultimately settle there, attracted by the whaling vessels and the opportunities of trade. Hall (ibid. 274-75) was at Repulse Bay in June 1866, when sixteen Netsilik from Pelly Bay arrived. These Netsilik were employed, as were the indigenous Aivilingmiut, by the whalers during the summer of 1866, and the two groups of Eskimos lived in proximity to each other and the whalers (ibid. 278).

Gradually more immigration of Netsilik to the Repulse Bay area occurred and friendlier relations developed. Rasmussen (1930:84-88) documents thirty-six households (comprising one hundred and fifty-one individuals) of "Netsilingmiut who have immigrated to the villages between Lyon and Chesterfield Inlets". The names of an additional thirty or forty Netsilingmiut immigrants were not recorded (ibid. 88). Rasmussen notes the time of immigration of only twelve household heads. Of these twelve, one immigrated before 1900, six immigrated in about 1900, two immigrated between 1915-20, and one was born at Repulse Bay. By 1922, Mathiassen (1928:101) observed, "although they do not as yet regard each other as kinsmen, the former attitude, frequently one of hostility, is no longer observable...." In fact, by this time, the largest proportion of Aivilingmiut had moved to Southampton Island.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, the specific influences of the whalers on Aivilingmiut subsistence and settlement cycles, 1860-1912, may be summarized as follows. The widespread introduction of fire-arms made a year-round caribou hunt feasible. Yet, essentially the hunt remained concentrated in the periods of autumn and spring migration. The caribou hunt increased steadily in productivity until the 1890's, when whaling, musk-ox hunting and fur trapping began to lessen concern with caribou hunting.

As early as 1860, and growing progressively through the years, was a tendency for the Aivilingmiut to settle around the whaling vessels and become dependent upon the whalers for food.

The greatest concentration of sealing and walrus hunting activity occurred between January and April. The logbooks do not normally indicate a summer seal and walrus hunt contrary to the patterns which Boas observed. By the 1890's, sealing and walrus hunting often took place some forty miles from the Aivilingmiut winter settlements alongside the whaling vessels.

Whaling activities may have drawn the Aivilingmiut men from aboriginal summer walrus and seal hunting. Whaling, itself, became much more actively engaged in than had been the case aboriginally. Commercial whaling increased the winter security of the Aivilingmiut, and often helped to determine the locale of winter settlements by mid-summer.

Whaling, and also the intensified caribou and musk-ox

hunts, contributed to a partial disruption of Aivilingmiut family solidarity, in terms of traditional patterns of structure and economics, by separating the men from the women, children and old people for periods of time and at seasons uncommon in aboriginal times. The size of summer aggregations increased significantly, and tended to be centred at Whale Point. Whaling also came to consistently draw the Aivilingmiut from the Wager River and Repulse Bay regions southward.

The commercial demand for musk-ox furs brought the musk-ox near to the point of extinction. Musk-ox hunting increased significantly in time expended and numbers of animals killed, as compared with aboriginal patterns. Musk-ox hunting was concentrated between December and May, which is an alteration in the pattern of September to January hunting which Boas noted. This alteration seems due to the increased pressure on Aivilingmiut time and activities created by the labour demands of the whalers. The trapping of fox on a large scale was introduced by the whalers after 1900, and shortly before the last whaling voyages to Hudson Bay.

The coastal-inland relations between the Aivilingmiut and Caribou Eskimos diminished as the Aivilingmiut became increasingly involved with the whalers. Lastly, the whalers attracted large numbers of Netsilik Eskimos to the Repulse Bay area. These traditional antagonists of the Aivilingmiut may have contributed to the move of the Aivilingmiut away from

Repulse Bay to Southampton Island in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The general conclusions reached with regard to the influence of the American whalers on Aivilingmiut subsistence and settlement cycles are: aboriginal subsistence patterns underwent fundamental alterations, especially in a manpower-diminished but nearly temporally stable seal and walrus hunt, and an intensified caribou, whale and musk-ox hunt; settlement patterns were radically altered by a general shift in Aivilingmiut territory from the aboriginal centre at Aivilik in Repulse Bay to the Marble Island, Depot Island, Cape Fullerton areas; settlement patterns came to bear progressively less relation to subsistence activities as the economic relationships between whalers and Aivilingmiut became intensified. It may be generalized that a somewhat stronger terrestrial orientation was manifest as a result of the whalers' influence on the Aivilingmiut from 1860 to 1912.

Chapter Six

SUMMARY and CONCLUSIONS

Cooperation and intensive interaction characterized the relations of the Aivilingmiut and the American whalers. The exchange of sustenance, shelter, aid in emergency situations, and material items were the primary reasons for cooperation. The provision of caribou meat to the whalers was the foundation of all Aivilingmiut-whaler relationships until the 1890's.

The following is a summary of the changes exerted, both directly and indirectly, by the American whalers on the Aivilingmiut during the period 1860 to 1919. These changes are considered under the headings of seasonal subsistence cycle, material innovations, and population distribution. I summarize these changes by noting the situation as it was in 1860 at the beginning of the whaling era; in 1890-1900 shortly after the apex of the whaling industry; and in 1921 at the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition and after whaling had ceased as a commercial enterprise.

SEASONAL SUBSISTENCE CYCLE

Generally speaking, the American whalers influenced three principal changes in the seasonal subsistence cycle of the Aivilingmiut between 1860 and 1919.

(1) The seal and walrus hunts were diminished in terms of the manpower devoted to them; but were held nearly stable in terms of the time expended. Yet, because of technological innovations, productivity increased.

(2) The caribou and whale hunts were considerably intensified. The caribou hunt was intensified mainly in terms of its productivity; while the whale hunt was intensified both in terms of the time and manpower devoted to it, and in terms of its contribution to Aivilingmiut subsistence.

(3) During the presence of the whalers in Hudson Bay, the Aivilingmiut manifested a stronger terrestrial orientation in their seasonal activities than had been the case aboriginally.

Changes in the aboriginal subsistence patterns were largely due to the heightened concern with caribou, whale, and musk-ox hunting; and the various tasks engaged in around the whaling vessels. The temporal patterns of caribou hunting, indicated by Boas in his reconstructed aboriginal subsistence cycle, appear to have persisted reasonably unaltered throughout the whaling era. Musk-ox hunting patterns changed considerably due to the whalers' emphasis on caribou meat. The intensified autumn caribou hunt displaced musk-ox hunting activities until the post-January period. In turn, long winter musk-ox hunts diminished the manpower available for breathing-hole sealing activities. By the 1890's, musk-ox hunting and fox trapping became the Aivilingmiut's primary rôle vis-à-vis the whalers.

Yet, aquatic hunting activities appear to have remained nearly stable in the time devoted to their pursuit. This is accounted for by the earlier start in winter seal hunting due to the pressures of concentrated population around the whaling vessels.

Walrus hunting during the winter generally coincides with Boas' depiction of the aboriginal situation. Only summer walrus and seal hunting was diminished, as the whale hunt pre-occupied the Aivilingmiut.

The following account treats the changes in the seasonal subsistence cycle of the Aivilingmiut in more detail.

Before 1860, the summers were generally devoted to the hunting of basking seals and walrus until the break-up of the ice. Many of the Aivilingmiut also fished Arctic char from the rivers. Occasionally, a few whales were caught. Throughout the whaling era, and probably reaching an apex in the late 1870's, the Aivilingmiut devoted their summers to whale hunting and its associated tasks in the employ of the American whalers. In 1921, according to Mathiassen (1928:25ff), those Aivilingmiut who remained in the Repulse Bay area spent their summer at Beach Point hunting walrus, white whale and seal from whaleboats. Some of this meat was sold to the trading station, while some was cached for the winter. Several families, especially the young people, spent the summer hunting caribou in the interior.

The autumns before 1860, had been the time of the principal caribou hunt. Musk-ox were also hunted at this season. During the whaling era, the autumn caribou hunt continued as virtually the exclusive subsistence activity, with a consistent rise in productivity until about 1890, by which time fewer whaling vessels came to Hudson Bay. In 1921, the autumn was still

spent hunting caribou.

The winters, before 1860, according to Boas had been a time of aggregation on the ice. However, Boas does not mention that any subsistence activities were engaged in, indicating instead that the Aivilingmiut subsisted on the caches created in the preceding summer. During the whaling period, caribou were hunted until at least the end of December and often throughout the winter, while musk-ox were hunted for the rest of the winter. The musk-ox season was shifted from an autumn hunt to a December to May season as the result of the emphasis placed on caribou hunting in the autumn. Musk-ox were hunted much more actively than previously, in terms of the time expended and the numbers of musk-ox killed. Floe-edge seal and walrus hunting was also engaged in by those not involved on inland hunts. Before 1860, fox trapping had been a very minor activity carried on by means of a variety of ice traps. By the turn of the century, limited fox trapping with steel traps had been begun and furs were traded to the whalers. In the winter of 1921-22, seal were hunted on Repulse Bay from the ice-edge and at the breathingholes. Other Aivilingmiut lived inland, hunting caribou and trapping fox. Later they all moved to Repulse Bay, near the trading station, and hunted seal.

Finally, the spring seasons before 1860 were times of fishing on inland lakes and the beginning of a new sealing season. Caribou were also hunted while migrating south. During the

whaling period, seal and walrus hunting were actively pursued until April. Inland fishing also persisted. Musk-ox hunting continued until May. Numerous activities around the whaling vessels, in preparation for summer whaling, occupied large numbers of Aivilingmiut. Mathiassen does not indicate the spring activities of the Aivilingmiut who remained on the north-west coast of Hudson Bay.

Speaking of those Aivilingmiut who lived in the Chesterfield Inlet, Depot Island region in 1921, Mathiassen (1928:28) says, "there is no real, regular cycle of occupations for these few families, particularly as most of them are in the service of the trading station and police station".

The largest proportion of Aivilingmiut lived on Southampton Island by 1921. Their annual cycle is vaguely described by Mathiassen (ibid. 28-29).

In the spring, in the early 1920's, they lived partly at Duke of York Bay and partly at South Bay. Basking seal were hunted and caches of blubber and meat were made. After ice break-up, some trading journeys in whaleboats were made to Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay. Others hunted seal and walrus from their boats. Some of the younger men hunted caribou, while the older ones fished on the lakes.

Seal hunting seems to have continued through much of the summer, though others may have been caribou hunting inland.

The autumn seems to have been devoted to caribou hunting

in the interior of the island.

Much of the winter was also spent in the interior, unlike the traditional pattern around Repulse Bay. Caribou were hunted. It was only in March-April, after the skin clothing had been sewn, that the seal hunt began at the coast.

MATERIAL INNOVATIONS

The rifle, the whaleboat, and the steel trap were the three innovations of greatest importance in the material culture of the Aivilingmiut during the whaling period.

The material culture of the Aivilingmiut, prior to 1860, is well documented by Boas and Mathiassen. Thus only the very briefest mention of the state of Aivilingmiut technology prior to the coming of the whalers will suffice for the purposes of comparison. Harpoons and lances of various types for a variety of purposes had shafts of lashed wood, bone or ivory. The point was of ivory, attached by means of a sinew thong.

Aboriginally, seals were hunted by the waiting, or mauliqpuq, method at breathing-holes in the winter; and by the crawling, or utuq, method, while basking on the ice in the spring. In the summer kayaks were used. Walrus were hunted while basking on floating ice in the summer; and in the winter through the new forming ice. Harpoons and lances were used to kill the animals. Whales were hunted aboriginally by the combined efforts of many kayaks. Harpoons, lances and resistance-causing floats were used to exhaust and kill the animal. Caribou had been hunted and

killed aboriginally while crossing lakes and on their twice yearly migrations. Kayaks converged on the swimming animals, and spears were used for the kill. Often a line of stone cairns was used to direct the caribou toward the lake. Occasionally a narrow, steep valley provided an ideal location for ambushing caribou. Bows and arrows were used when the caribou had scattered over the countryside after the time of migration. Bows were made of wood and antler. Arrows were made of wood with bone, slate or flint heads. Musk-ox were hunted with dogs which harassed the musk-ox while the hunter attacked with lance and bow and arrows. Fox were caught in a variety of traps of ice or stone construction.

The whalers introduced almost universal change into the hunting implements of the Aivilingmiut as detailed in Chapter Four. A variety of rifles and ammunitions were used to hunt seal, walrus, caribou and musk-ox. Iron rods of varying qualities were introduced and adapted especially to the needs of seal and walrus hunting. Skiffs to increase the efficiency of floe-edge sealing and walrus hunting were developed by the whalers. Abundantly introduced iron in many forms was imaginatively adapted for use as knife blades, sled runners, weapon points of all types, cooking utensils and a wide variety of domestic implements. Whale-boats revolutionized Aivilingmiut summer hunting methods, and greatly extended the range of the summer hunt and travel. Steel traps, introduced about 1880, began the development of the Aivilingmiut into commercial trappers. Wood salvaged from

destroyed vessels or left behind by the whalers greatly aided in the building of sleds and tent frames and was used in many hunting and domestic implements. Fishing nets were introduced by the whalers and greatly increased the abundance of the yield.

Beads for clothing decoration and especially manufactured textiles led to changes in the dress of the Aivilingmiut. Obviously, most if not all of the aboriginal clothing of the Aivilingmiut was more suitable to their needs than those materials introduced by the whalers. Generally, the whalers themselves utilized the clothing methods of the Aivilingmiut. Tobacco, introduced in large quantities by the whalers, became a favourite luxury of the Aivilingmiut. While alcohol was probably occasionally provided by the American whalers, most authorities seem to agree, and the logbooks imply, that the American whalers were not the source of any excessive use of alcohol among the Aivilingmiut.

The addition of these material items to Aivilingmiut culture, in conjunction with their directed use by the whalers, had great significance for Aivilingmiut life. These changes were manifested by the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition in 1921. Most importantly, food resources were dramatically diminished. The walrus population decreased greatly in the Roes Welcome and Repulse Bay regions. The bowhead whale had been virtually exterminated. The caribou had moved further inland in response to the concentrated use of rifles in the coastal regions. The musk-ox was near extinction by 1916.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Speaking generally, the whalers' influence gave rise to three main changes in the distribution and settlement patterns of the Aivilingmiut between 1860 and 1919.

(1) Population distribution was radically altered by a southward population drift. The 'southern' Aivilingmiut, as spoken of by Boas and Mathiassen, did not exist as an entity until contact with the American whalers drew the Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut south of their aboriginal territory.

(2) Settlement patterns came to bear progressively less relation to Subsistence activities as the economic relationships between the whalers and the Aivilingmiut became intensified.

(3) A year-round semi-sedentary settlement pattern emerged during the whaling era. There was a gradual erosion of a seasonally divided society, characterized by winter aggregation and summer dispersion. This unitary pattern developed out of contractual agreements which often bound particular Aivilingmiut to particular whaling vessels for about one year periods.

More specifically, before 1860, Repulse Bay south to Wager Inlet and east to Lyon Inlet had been the territory associated with the Aivilingmiut. The population centre during winter aggregation was around Aivilik, on the north shore of Repulse Bay. By 1890-1900, the largest proportion of Aivilingmiut were associated with regions much further south, primarily around Depot Island, Marble Island and Cape Fullerton, all customary winter

harbours of American whaling vessels. By 1921, the largest proportion of Aivilingmiut were settled on Southampton Island. Certainly, Captain Comer took an active part in the Aivilingmiut change of residence, and he may have been the primary stimulus in the move to Southampton Island.

Before 1860, winter settlement was focused around the sealing and walrus hunting grounds, especially those in Repulse Bay. Throughout the whaling era, winter settlement was concentrated around the whaling vessels, which were sometimes forty miles from the seal and walrus grounds. One other determining factor in winter settlements, by 1890, was the location of whale carcasses landed during the summer hunt. These carcasses fed humans and dogs, especially the latter, throughout the winter. Neither the wintering vessels nor the whale carcasses were necessarily located near abundant seal and walrus grounds. Traditionally, winter seal and walrus hunting activities had been a time of aggregation and concentrated social activity. By 1890, the male hunters were often separated from their families, and Aivilingmiut society at-large, for long periods while they hunted the caribou and musk-ox. By 1921, after the departure of the whalers, winter separations diminished considerably, but some separations were caused by fox-trapping activities, begun on a relatively small scale under the influence of the whalers. The introduction of the whaleboat, however, led to the accumulation of large walrus caches around which sizeable

winter aggregations settled.

Spring settlement patterns, before 1860, were more dispersed than winter concentrations as extended family groups clustered on the ice floe on Repulse Bay where basking seals were hunted. Some further dispersion was also caused later in the spring when caribou were hunted on their northward migration. Throughout the whaling era the largest proportion of the Aivilingmiut, aside from the caribou and musk-ox hunters, remained alongside the vessels performing various chores for the whalers. In 1921, although Mathiassen says nothing specifically about spring activities or settlement patterns, it appears that basking seals were hunted and concentrated settlement continued until ice break-up.

Before 1860, summer settlement patterns were characterized by an inland dispersion to engage in fishing at the rivers. Caribou were hunted by some as they ranged over the countryside. Walrus and seal were taken in abundance by those who remained at the coast, and very few whales were caught. Throughout the whaling era, Aivilingmiut men were involved with the whale hunt, often plying their boats long distances from their families for considerable lengths of time. The great proportion of women, children and old people meanwhile were congregated at the coast in the vicinity of Whale Point and Cape Fullerton. The women often fished with nets from the points of land, and occasionally made trips to fish at rivers and lakes. But as dependency on

the whalers grew, there was a tendency to congregate near the coast. By 1921, the dispersed settlement patterns characteristic of aboriginal times generally prevailed during the summer.

Autumn settlement patterns also reflect the tendency toward a year-round semi-sedentary settlement pattern during the whaling era. Before 1860, most of the Aivilingmiut moved inland to hunt caribou on their southward migration. Musk-ox were also hunted at this time. During the whaling period, the largest proportion of the population remained near the coast, while the hunters were sent inland on caribou hunts. By 1921, with the departure of the whalers, the traditional caribou hunting pattern of inland dispersion was largely restored.

While Mauss (1904/05) began theoretical studies of the Eskimo, his ideas may still be stimulating new questions. For Mauss (*ibid.* 125) writes:

On voit qu'en somme les différences qualitatives qui séparent ces deux civilisations successives et alternatives [i.e. the aggregated winter society and the dispersed summer society] tiennent surtout à des différences quantitatives dans l'intensité très inégale, de la vie sociale à ces deux moments de l'année. L'hiver est une saison où la société, fortement concentrée est dans un état chronique d'effervescence et de suractivité. Parce que les individus sont plus étroitement rapprochés les uns des autres, les actions et les réactions sociales plus nombreuses, plus suivies, plus continues; les idées s'échangent, les sentiments se renforcent et s'avivent mutuellement...

This gives rise to the realization that the greatest weakness of the logbooks as ethnohistorical source materials is

that they tell us virtually nothing of the changes that occurred in the intellectual culture of the Aivilingmiut as the aboriginal seasonally divided settlement pattern melded into more of a unitary pattern. Were the various elements of the intellectual culture fortified by the nearly year-round periods of concentrated settlement that developed during the whaling era? Or had the annual summer dispersions served to stimulate winter intellectual activities, to re-vitalize the desire to share cultural history and experience? Perhaps these questions can now only be answered by studies in permanent settlements that bring together peoples who have retained until fairly recently a seasonally divided subsistence and settlement pattern.

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LOGBOOKS

Code to be used to designate the name of the library or museum where logbooks are located:

G.W. Blunt White Library-----Mystic
Marine Historical Association
Mystic Seaport
Mystic, Connecticut

The Kendall Whaling Museum-----Kendall
Sharon, Massachusetts

Nickleson Collection-----Providence
Providence Public Library
Providence, Rhode Island

Peabody Museum of Salem-----Peabody
The Phillips Library
Salem, Massachusetts

The Melville Whaling Room-----Melville
New Bedford Free Public Library
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Old Dartmouth Historical Society
and Whaling Museum-----W.M.
New Bedford, Massachusetts

Siren Queen	1860-61	Kendall #71
Antelope	1862-63	Kendall #337
Black Eagle	1862-63	W.M. #351 W.M. #352
Daniel Webster	1863-64	W.M. #192
Glacier	1864-65	Providence #275
Glacier ¹	1864-65	Peabody
Morning Star	1864-65	Providence #497

1

This is a different account of the same voyage as Providence #275.
The Peabody Museum does not have its logbooks number coded.

Orray Taft	1864-65	Kendall #276 (original) W.M. (microfilm)
Black Eagle	1864-65	W.M. #151
Antelope	1864-65	W.M. #110
Morning Star	1864-65	W.M. #352
Ansel Gibbs	1864-65	W.M. #57 W.M. #58
Orray Taft	1866-67	Kendall #277 (original) W.M. (microfilm)
Black Eagle	1866-67	Providence #78
Ansel Gibbs	1866-67	W.M. #59
Cornelia	1868-69	Providence #179
Ansel Gibbs	1868-69	W.M. (no number code)
Glacier	1871-73	Providence #276
Ansel Gibbs	1872-73	W.M. (no number code)
A. Houghton	1877	W.M. #158
Isabella	1878-79	Providence #343
Abbie Bradford	1878-79	W.M. #489 a #489 b
A.J. Ross	1878	W.M. #157
George & Mary	1879	W.M. #504
Abbie Bradford	1880-81	W.M. #489 b
Isabella	1880-81	W.M. #218
Abbot Lawrence	1880-81	W.M. #356
George & Mary ¹	1881-82	Melville

1

The Melville Whaling Room does not have its logbooks number coded.

Abbie Bradford	1882-83	Kendall #1
Isabella	1882-83	W.M. #227
George & Mary	1883-84	W.M. #503 b
Abbie Bradford	1884-85	Kendall #2
Abbie Bradford	1884-85	W.M. #491
George & Mary	1885-86	W.M. #503 c
Abbie Bradford	1886-87	W.M. #492
Alexander	1886-87	W.M. #228
A.R. Tucker	1891-92	Providence #6
A.R. Tucker	1891-92	Melville
Canton	1893-94	Mystic #51
A.R. Tucker	1893-94	Melville
Canton ¹	1895-96	Kendall #67
Canton ¹	1895-96	Kendall #44
Canton ¹	1895-96	Melville
A.R. Tucker	1895-96	Melville
Era	1895-96	W.M. #88
Desdemona	1896	Providence #200
Platina	1896-97	Melville
A.R. Tucker	1897-98	Melville
Francis Allyn	1897-98	Providence #254
Era	1897-99	W.M. #87
Comer's Journal	1897-99	Mystic #355

¹ The three logbooks of the Canton were kept by different individuals.

Era	1900-01	Mystic #356
Era	1903-04	Mystic #357
Era	1903-05	Mystic #358
A.T. Gifford	1907	Mystic #360
A.T. Gifford	1910-12	Mystic #359
Accounts and Sundries-- Comer Family	1912	Mystic (no number code)
Finback	1919	Mystic #364

APPENDIX

- Notes: (1) In cases where more than one vessel wintered at a particular location in the same year, the appendix is a combination of data from the several logbooks of these vessels.
- (2) All numbers following the names of animals refer to skins traded. e.g. musk-ox (50).

	1860-61 Marble Island	1862-63 Depot Island	1863-64 Depot Island	1864-65 Marble Island
July and August	August 20th most Eskimos go north. Whaling. Caribou hunting.			
September	Caribou hunting	Caribou hunting in the region.	Caribou hunting in the area.	Week-long search in boats for Aiv. No sign of them in area. Caribou meat and skins from Esk. to S.W.
October	Caribou hunting	Caribou hunting in the region.	Caribou hunting in the area.	Caribou meat from Esk. to S. No sign of Aivilingmiut in the area.
November	Eskimos arrive. Caribou hunting.	Many Eskimos arrive, working on caribou skins for the whalers.		Eskimos walrus hunting off the mainland. Open water prevents crossing (6 ³ / ₄ mi.)
December	Sealing south of Marble Island.	Qaernermiut settle south of ships. Eskimos move near ships.	10-15 Eskimos associated with each of the six wintering vessels.	
January	70 Eskimos at the ship	Sealing at ice-edge and breathing hole. Caribou hunting to N.W.		Open water prevents coming of Eskimos, camped 3 days from Marble Island.
February	walrus and seal hunting south of the ship. cached caribou caught in autumn	Caribou hunting near ship. Sealing at ice-edge and breathing-hole. Fishing 5 hrs. inland.	Caribou, seal, and walrus hunt. Fishing inland.	Arrival of six Aivilingmiut; departure to get families.
March	80 Eskimos at the 4 vessels for food. Eating whale carcass. Caribou, walrus, seal hunting. Fishing.	walrus and caribou hunting. Cached whale meat for dogs.	Fishing inland. Caribou (possibly cached).	Come and go weekly living 25 miles from ships. Large quantities of skins and caribou meat. Eskimos to mainland.
April	walrus and seal hunting at Depot Is. Caribou hunting and fishing inland. Old Eskimos build houses near ship.	walrus, caribou, and musk-ox hunt to N.W. about 80 to 100 miles from the ship.	Walrus and seal hunting. Eskimos moving inland for caribou and musk-ox hunt.	15 Eskimos arrive to stay. Walrus hunting.
May	Caribou, walrus and musk-ox hunt. Shoot basking seal near ship. Fishing to north.	Many Eskimos settle around the vessels.		Caribou hunting. Arrival and departure of many Eskimo families.
June	Arrival of 10 new Eskimos with English goods. Whaling. Seal, walrus and caribou hunt.			About 25 Eskimos arrive at ships.

	1864-65 Depot Island	1866-67 Marble Island	1866-67 Repulse Bay	1868-69 Marble Island
July and August	Whaling. Qaernermiut with caribou.	caribou hunting.	Whaling. One caribou.	Whaling. Congregated at ships.
September		Traded for caribou meat at Rankin Inlet.	45 caribou brought by Aivilingmiut and C.F. Hall.	
October	Qaernermiut come from the south.		Caribou hunting. Fishing. Cached caribou.	Esk. on mainland with few caribou.
November			Arrival of Pelly Bay Netsilik; first contact with whites; claimed to have killed 100 caribou in autumn.	
December	Two teams, about 10 Aivilingmiut, arrive from the north.		Fishing. Caribou caches. Skins traded. Much contact with Netsilik.	
January	Three teams, about 15 Aivilingmiut arrive from North. Sealing.		Active trade in caribou meat with Aivilingmiut.	Esk. arrive with clothing and caribou skins and leave.
February	Fishing Seal and walrus hunting.	Qaernermiut come with no information on Aivilingmiut.	Sealing. Trading caribou meat.	20-25 Esk. come and go, bringing meat, fish and skins.
March	Caribou (cached?) traded from Aiv. Esk. come and go. Seal and walrus hunted. Cached caribou.		Caribou (probably cached). Seal, walrus and musk-ox hunt. Bear.	About ten Aivilingmiut hunting caribou.
April	Caribou hunting. Walrus hunting.	20-25 Eskimos come and go with skin clothes to trade, but no meat.	Caribou hunt. Cached caribou. Walrus hunt.	Walrus hunting. Aiv. come and go, bringing fish, caribou meat and skins.
May	Caribou hunting. Fishing. Esk. come and go.		Sealing. Caribou hunt. Musk-ox hunt.	Sealing. Fishing. Caribou hunting.
June	Caribou hunting. Whaling. Many Esk. arrive from the south.		Whaling. Sealing. Musk-ox hunt. Caribou hunt.	

	1871-72 Marble Island	1872-73 Repulse Bay	1876-77 Marble Island	1878-79 Marble Island
July and August	Aiv. at ship. Active whaling. Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Sealing. Whaling. Active caribou hunting. Active fishing.	Active whaling. Sealing. Caribou hunting. 40-50 musk-ox skins traded.	Whaling.
September	Active and productive caribou hunt.	Caribou hunting and Aiv. aboard ship.	Sealing.	Caribou hunting. Much meat from Qaernermiut from Rankin Inlet.
October	Aivilingmiut at the ship. Caribou hunting. Preparing sleds.	Caribou hunting. Aiv. at vessel.		Caribou hunting. Fishing. Much meat from Qaernermiut from Rankin Inlet.
November	Caribou hunting.	7 or 8 families at vessel; much social interaction with whalers. Caribou hunting.		Sealing.
December		About 15 Aiv. families at vessel. Sealing. Cached caribou. Netsilik come, And "other tribes".		
January	Aivilingmiut come and go.	Arrival of several Netsilik with caribou meat. Sealing. Fishing. Caribou hunting.	First arrival of Eskimos. Walrus hunting.	Several families (probably both Aiv. and Qaern.) at the vessels. Trapping.
February	Aivilingmiut come and go.	Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Caribou hunting. Fishing. Fox and wolf skins traded.	Active caribou hunting. Walrus and seal hunting.
March	Aivilingmiut come and build snow houses at ship. Fishing, cached caribou and skins. Musk-ox and fox.	Walrus and seal hunting.	Caribou hunting. Fishing. Fox, wolf and bear skins traded.	Active caribou hunting. Active walrus hunt. Sealing. 20 more Eskimos arrive.
April	Aivilingmiut come and go. Fishing. 500 lbs. caribou and 875 lbs. fish traded. Caribou hunt.	Caribou hunting. Musk-ox hunting. Sealing.		New arrival of Eskimos. Active caribou hunting.
May	Arrival of many Aivilingmiut.	Musk-ox and caribou hunting.		Whaling. Caribou hunting. Fishing.
June	Many Aivilingmiut around vessel, working.	Active seal hunt, and trade in blubber and seal skins.		Whaling. Musk-ox hunting.

	1880-81 Marble Island	1881-82 Marble Island	1882-83 Marble Island	1884-85 Marble Island
July and August	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Trading skins: musk-ox (50), fox, wolf. Musk-ox (30) from Qaern.	Musk-ox hunted. Whaling.	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox, bear, and wolf traded.	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox skins (20).
September	Caribou hunting.	Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Caribou hunting.	All Aivilingmiut gone to Repulse Bay on September 4.
October				
November		Walrus and seal hunting.		
December	85-95 Aivilingmiut arrive and build snow houses at the vessels.	Fishing. Walrus and seal hunting. Caribou hunting.		
January	Aivilingmiut settled at the vessels. Active walrus hunt.	Aivilingmiut settled at vessel. Active walrus and seal hunt.	65 Aivilingmiut come and settle. Walrus hunting. Caribou hunting.	Aside from
February	Aivilingmiut settled at the vessels.	Fishing. Sealing and walrus hunting. Caribou hunting.	55 Aivilingmiut, 4 Netsilik, and 55 Qaernermiut at ship. Active seal walrus hunt. Caribou hunting.	three Eskimos aboard the
March	Aivilingmiut settled at the vessels. Musk-ox hunting.	Active walrus and seal hunt.	Caribou hunting. Caribou cached. Fishing. Walrus and seal hunting.	vessel, there are no Eskimos in the region.
April	Aivilingmiut settled at the vessels. Musk-ox hunting.	Walrus and seal hunt. Fishing.	Caribou hunting. Walrus and seal hunting. Fishing. Fox and wolf pelts traded.	Reports of Eskimos starving and freezing for lack of caribou.
May	Aivilingmiut settled at the vessels. Caribou musk-ox hunting.	Very active caribou hunting. Departure of most Aivilingmiut for the north.	Active caribou hunt. About 5400 lbs. traded through the winter. Floe-edge whaling.	Caribou hunting. Fishing. Musk-ox hunting.
June	All the Eskimos leave on the 30th.	Walrus and seal hunting. Caribou hunting.	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Whaling. Musk-ox skins (50) Caribou hunting.

	1885-86 Marble Island	1886-87 Marble Island	1886-87 Repulse Bay	1891-92 Marble Island
July and August		Whaling. Walrus hunting.	Whaling. Walrus hunting. Very active seal hunt to sell blubber. Caribou hunting.	Whaling. Active caribou hunting.
September				Whaling. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox (14), fox and bear skin.
October			Active caribou hunting.	Caribou hunting. Fishing.
November			Active caribou hunting.	Building snow houses at ship. Caribou hunting. Seal hunting. Making skin clothes
December			Active caribou hunting.	Seal hunting.
January			Musk-ox hunting.	Seal hunting.
February		Arrival of 30 Aivilingmiut. Walrus and seal hunting. Cached caribou and fish.		Seal hunting. Duck hunting.
March		50 Aivilingmiut at vessel. Seal and walrus hunting. Caribou hunting.	Caribou hunting.	Seal and walrus hunting.
April	Caribou (hunted or cached).	Walrus and seal hunting. Caribou hunting.	Very active caribou hunting.	
May	Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Active caribou hunting. Seal hunting. All Aivilingmiut but 4 leave for Depot Is.	Very active caribou hunting. Furs traded.	Caribou hunting. Musk-ox hunting.
June	Caribou hunting. Seal and walrus hunting. Musk-ox hunting. Whaling.	31 Aivilingmiut to the ship. Whaling. All but 4 leave.	Caribou hunting. Seal hunting. Whaling. Fishing.	Sealing. Musk-ox hunting.

	1893-94 Depot Island	1895-96 Fullerton	1895-96 Depot Island	1896-97 Repulse Bay
July and August	Whaling. Caribou hunting.	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox hunting (10). 32 Aiv. being fed. Aiv. aboard for Repulse Bay.	Caribou hunting.	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Qaernermiut are camped at Repulse Bay.
September	Caribou hunting. Duck hunting.	Caribou hunting. Fishing.		Whaling. Caribou hunting.
October	Caribou hunting. Walrus hunting. Fishing.	Caribou hunting. Fishing. Duck hunting.		Caribou hunting.
November	Arrival of many Aivilingmiut; building snow houses at ship. Caribou hunting.	Building snow houses. Caribou hunting. Fishing. Fox trapping.		Caribou hunting.
December	Fishing. More snow house building. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox (15). Walrus (cached?)	Snow house building. Sealing. Ducks. Caribou and musk- ox hunting.		Caribou hunting. 200 Eskimos are at ship at Christmas dinner.
January	Eskimo population is $\frac{1}{2}$ Aivilingmiut $\frac{1}{2}$ Qaernermiut. Sealing. Walrus hunting.	Seal and walrus hunting. Musk-ox hunting. Duck hunting.	Seal hunting. Musk-ox hunting.	Building snow houses at vessel. Caribou hunting.
February		Seal and walrus hunting. Musk-ox hunting.	Musk-ox hunting.	Caribou hunting.
March	Caribou hunting. 6 sleds off musk-ox hunting.	Seal and walrus hunting. Ducks. Musk-ox hunting (16).	Return of musk- ox hunters after $2\frac{1}{2}$ months. Walrus hunting.	Caribou hunting.
April	Caribou hunting. Musk-ox hunting.	Seal and walrus hunting. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox hunting (29).	Walrus hunting.	Caribou hunting.
May	Floe-edge whaling.	Floe-whaling		Caribou hunting. Floe-edge whaling.
June	Whaling.	Whaling (about 8 Eskimo boats). Caribou hunting. Several Aiviling- miut deaths. Seals.		Whaling. Fishing

	1897-98 Repulse Bay	1897-98 Fullerton	1898-99 Fullerton	1900-01 Fullerton
July and August	Whaling.	Whaling.	Whaling. Musk-ox (6) from Qaernermiut.	
September	Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Fishing.	Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Caribou hunting.
October	Caribou hunting.	Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Caribou hunting. Fishing inland on ponds.	Caribou hunting.
November	Caribou hunting. Aiv. coming and going, but not settled at ship.	Building snow houses on land near ship. Caribou hunting. Fishing.	Making skin clothes. Fishing. Snow houses built on land. Qaern. starving. Supported by ship and on whale kept for Aiv. needs.	33 Aiv. and 13 Qaernermiut in snow houses on land. Caribou hunting.
December		Move to snow houses on ice near ship. Making skin clothes. Caribou hunting.	Caribou hunting. Sealing. Musk-ox hunted by young men. Snow houses on ice. Fishing. Cached meat.	Caribou hunting in Wager R. area. Building snow houses on ice
January		Seal and walrus hunting. Duck hunting.	Caribou hunting. Seal and walrus hunting. Fishing. Musk-ox hunting. Arrival of more starved Qaernermiut.	
February		Seal and walrus hunting. Cached fish. Caribou from Qaernermiut.	Seal and walrus hunting at Depot Is. Fishing. Musk-ox hunting.	Sealing and Walrus hunting at Depot Is.
March		Caribou hunting. Walrus and seal hunting. Cached fish and caribou.	Sealing at Depot Is. Caribou hunt. Fishing. Musk-ox (Qaernermiut). Musk-ox hunting.	
April		Caribou hunting. Cached caribou. Working for whalers.	Sealing. Caribou hunting. Musk-ox (59) from Aivilingmiut and Qaernermiut.	
May	Floe-edge whaling.	Arrivals from Repulse Bay. Sealing.	Caribou hunting. Floe-edge whaling. Sealing at Depot Is. Musk-ox (13) from Qaernermiut.	
June	Whaling.	Arrivals from Repulse Bay. Whaling. Caribou hunting.	Whaling.	

	1903-04 Fullerton	1904-05 Fullerton	1910-11 Fullerton	1911-12 Fullerton
July and August	36 Aiv. whaling at Fullerton and Repulse. 75 Esk. being fed. Musk-ox (21). Net fishing. Seal, walrus and caribou.	Whaling. Fishing. Musk-ox (134), fox (172), bear (40), wolf (61), wolverine (14), Brown bear (1).	Whaling. Caribou hunting. Walrus hunting. Women net fishing.	Whaling. Caribou hunting on Southampton Island.
September	Aiv. moved S. from Repulse Bay. Sealing. Musk-ox (61), Caribou hunting. Bear (16). Ducks.	Caribou hunting.	Caribou hunting. Women fishing inland. Walrus hunting.	Caribou hunting. Fox trapping.
October	Caribou hunting. Fishing. Fox trapping.	Caribou hunting.	All caribou hunting except 3 old men. Fishing. Snow houses built on land. Fox trapping.	Caribou hunting.
November	Caribou hunting. Walrus hunting. Fox trapping.	Snow houses built on land near ship. Caribou hunting. Sealing. Fishing. Fox trapping.	2 Aiv. sleds on trading trip to Baker Lake. 4 families leave to winter at Wager R.	Caribou hunting. Destitute Eskimos camped at Police barracks fed by whalers.
December	Snow houses built on ice. Sealing. Caribou hunting. Fox trapping. Cached caribou.	Sealing. Ducks.	Caribou hunting. Snow houses built on ice near ship. Aiv. from Wager R. arrive to trade.	Making skin clothing in snow houses on the land.
January	15 Aiv. caribou hunting at Wager R. 66 more Aiv. fed daily. Sealing and walrus and musk-ox hunting.	Sealing. Cached caribou.	Walrus and seal hunting. Fox trapping.	Snow houses built on ice. Aiv. leave to trade at Baker Lake. Caribou, seal, walrus hunt. Musk-ox hunting.
February	Sealing, walrus and musk-ox hunting. Fishing 15 mi. inland. Caribou hunting.	4 families arrive from Repulse Bay, Caribou hunting en route. Build snow houses on ice.	Caribou hunting. Women fishing inland.	Seal and walrus hunting. Musk-ox hunting.
March	Caribou hunting. Musk-ox hunting. Fishing.	Walrus hunting. Caribou and seal hunting. 44 Esk. being fed. Little hunting going on.	18 Aiv. around vessel. Return of Baker Lake traders. Women fishing inland. Fox trapping.	
April	Caribou hunting. Aivilingmiut moving into tents on the land.	Seal hunting. 2 more families from Repulse. Game scarce and dogs have been eaten.	Aiv. move into tents on land. Fox trapping. Sealing. Fishing inland.	Arrival of Aiv. from Repulse Bay. Walrus and musk-ox hunting.
May	Furs to date (1904): fox (110), musk-ox (101), bear (31), wolf (42), wolverine (1).	3 more families from Repulse Bay. Women fishing. Caribou and seal hunting.	Whaling.	Musk-ox hunters return. Whaling.
June	Whaling.	Whaling.		Whaling.