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Inuit and Newcomers: Trade and Animal Resources in the Kivalliq, 1900-1945

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by

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Abstract

Between 1900 and 1945, Qallunaat newcomers, predominantly whalers and fur traders, increased their physical and economic presence in the Kivalliq region, bringing them into closer contact with local Inuit groups. These newcomers worked closely with Inuit partners, as the commercial success of their animal-centric ventures relied on the knowledge and skills of Inuit hunters and trappers. While the newcomers relied on Inuit lifeways for success, they also inadvertently and intentionally brought significant changes to the region in the forms of new technology, ideas, economic systems, ways of living, and viral diseases.

This thesis argues that despite the changes brought to the Kivalliq by newcomers, Inuit in this period were able to draw what they desired from these developments, while still maintaining a strong hunting lifeway based on a deep connection with the land and the animals that inhabited it. Drawing on both the written records of Qallunaat whalers and fur traders, and the oral testimonies of Inuit people, it explores how the ventures of whalers and traders were successful because they were compatible with the pre-existing beliefs, lifestyles, and skills of Inuit partners. Thus, attempts to modify Inuit lifestyles largely met with only limited success, as Inuit were able to be selective about which Western technologies and cultural elements they accepted, and generally adopted those that were compatible with pre-existing hunting lifeways.

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Andrew Lachlan Goodwin.

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Contents

Introduction

In his narrative of an 1878-1879 whaling journey to the Kivalliq,[1] Robert Ferguson recounts an evening when a pair of polar bears wandered into the shared Qallunaat[2] and Aivilingmiut camp, and were set upon and killed by the Aivilingmiut men and their dogs. The pelts and the meat of these bears, as well as a slain dog, were distributed among the community and sold to the Qallunaat newcomers, used for food, and the creation of mittens and other items of clothing.[3] Ferguson, and whalers like him were newcomers to the Kivalliq, the first whaling voyages having arrived in the region around two decades earlier in 1860. In the early years of the twentieth century, the relationship between Inuit and Qallunaat newcomers, as well as Inuit hunting, economic, and subsistence practices, did not look substantially different. Between 1900 and 1915 Qallunaat whalers still hunted Kivalliq waters with the aid of Inuit companions, although like the bowhead whales they hunted, their numbers had significantly declined by the twentieth century. These whalers participated in an active trade for fur, ivories, and other animal commodities, which relied on the skills and subsistence practices of Inuit hunters. By the outbreak of the First World War, these whalers had largely ceased to come to the Kivalliq, and were replaced by fur traders, most prominently those of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), seeking to exploit the newly lucrative Arctic fox fur market. These traders again relied on Inuit hunting and trapping skills, and significantly increased the scale of Inuit fox trapping. However,

[1] The Kivalliq is an administrative region of the present-day territory of Nunavut in Canada. It encompasses much of the western coast of Hudson Bay, and nearby islands such as Southampton and Coats Islands. See Figure 1 for a map of the region.
[2] Qallunaat is an Inuktitut term referring to non-Inuit outsiders. I use this term to refer to the various outsiders coming to the Kivalliq in this period, primarily from the United States, Canada, and Britain.
[3] Robert Ferguson, *Arctic Harpooner: A Voyage on the Schooner Abbie Bradford, 1878-1879,* edited by Leslie Dalrymple Stair (Stanfordville: E.M. Coleman, 1979), 87.

despite the traders' primary desire for Arctic fox, and Inuit engagement with the capitalist fur market, Inuit hunters continued to focus their efforts on the seal and caribou that made up the primary part of their subsistence economy, as well as the many other species of game such as walrus, polar bears, fish, and whales that provided food and resources. In the 1920s and early 1930s the HBC Development Department made a concerted effort to bring ideas of scientific modernity to bear on Inuit lives, using technology to somehow "improve" Inuit products, health, and hunting, while at the same time making sure that Inuit adhered to a kind of "traditional" lifestyle deemed most suitable for them by the Department. Despite the presence and efforts of Qallunaat newcomers, Inuit continued to largely maintain their own subsistence lifestyle and economy, engaging with capitalist markets for goods and tools, but maintaining control over the production of commercial goods.

This thesis seeks to examine how Qallunaat newcomers and Inuit living in the Kivalliq used animal products to share lives and economies with each other between approximately 1900 and 1945. I argue that despite the involvement of Inuit hunters and products in southern capitalist markets, and the expanding presence of Qallunaat in the Kivalliq during this period, Inuit living in the region largely retained control of their own subsistence and economic practices. They kept their trade with Qallunaat secondary to their own economy, and largely to acquire goods that proved compatible with their own hunting or enjoyable, rather than to make up their primary source of subsistence. Inuit communities have typically shown a great willingness to adopt and adapt introduced new technologies that would assist in making subsistence in the Arctic more reliable.[4] Trade with Qallunaat newcomers therefore carried some appeal as the metal blades,

[4] Lyle Dick, *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001), 334. George Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 29-30.

nails, and later firearms and whaleboats that they brought with them all had the potential to assist in procuring and processing resources in the Arctic environment. Crucially, none of these technologies had the capacity to replace or overturn the traditional hunting lifeway based on animal lives – rather, they were able to fit within this framework, therefore maintaining the Inuit connection with animal life, and both the Inuit and Qallunaat economic structures that relied on these animals.

My theoretical approach draws heavily on the idea of the moditional economy advanced by John Lutz, and George Wenzel's analytic model that suggests that despite the introduction of modern technology and Qallunaat economic structures, Inuit relationships with land and animals even in the recent past remained largely traditional. In *Makúk*, John Lutz examines the relationships between Europeans and Indigenous people in British Columbia, arguing that "the incorporation of Aboriginal Peoples into the capitalist economy did not involve the destruction of their non-capitalist economies; rather, the expansion of capitalism depended, as it often does in the colonial world, on the co-existence of the two economies".[5] This line of reasoning contends that rather than the influence of European capitalism putting Aboriginal people into a new proto-capitalist economy, Aboriginal people continued to mix and match their traditional economies with the new European economy. Lutz defines moditional economies as those "which combined the traditional modes of reproduction and production…with new modes of production for exchange in a capitalist market".[6] He argues that when they profited from these modes of production, the coastal clan-based cultures in British Columbia flowed material wealth within their potlatch gift economies. Though the new orders of wealth placed pressure on social

[5] John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 23.
[6] Lutz, *Makúk*, 23.

hierarchies, especially when they flowed to lower orders, Salish cultures on the north-west coast remained robust alongside European trading, the wealth strengthening rather than undermining traditional economic structures. This model fits the changes occurring in Inuit life in the Kivalliq region, as while they became involved in European capital markets hunting whales and trapping and selling foxes, their economy was by no means proto-capitalist. Rather, reciprocity and subsistence hunting and exchange among Inuit remained the more significant part of their economy and subsistence, and Inuit could participate in both at the same time, for instance, laying out trap-lines for foxes while hunting seals on the floe ice.

George Wenzel examines the seal fur controversy in the 1980s, particularly how Inuit became drawn into the broader animal-rights campaign against seal fur, and were negatively impacted by the European Economic Community's ban on seal fur in 1983.[7] While this campaign was predominantly directed against the commercial seal hunt in Newfoundland, with provisions allowed for subsistence and traditional hunting, some on the anti-sealing side argued that Inuit hunting did not constitute subsistence hunting, claiming that they used introduced goods to hunt the seals, and sold the pelts for commercial gain. Wenzel disputes this line of reasoning, demonstrating that despite the use of snowmobiles and firearms to hunt seals, the relationship with the land, and the sharing of country food from the hunt amongst the community constituted a continuity of traditional hunting.[8] Both the fox fur hunt and the commercial whale hunt during the early twentieth century in the Kivalliq display similar dynamics. Despite hunting foxes and whales at the behest of Qallunaat for capitalist markets, using steel traps, harpoons, and firearms, the fox and whale hunts were integrated into the Inuit lifestyle without major

[7] Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights.*
[8] Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights,* 14-15.

changes to the important relationships with land and other people. Inuit still prioritised their seasonal seal and caribou hunts, even while living at HBC Posts, and maintained connections with community throughout the winter fox hunt, travelling to visit family and friends, and shifting some social events to coincide with Christian practices at the HBC Posts.

The most significant piece of literature examining the broad sweep of Inuit history is *In Order to Live Untroubled* by Renée Fossett.[9] This book covers Inuit history from the first arrivals of people into Arctic North America, up to around 1940. This also covers the entire geographical expanse of Inuit living within modern-day Canada, with a significant focus on the Kivalliq region. However, with her broad scope, Fossett is unable to examine the late whaling period and Arctic fox trade in the Kivalliq in detail, although her wide-ranging analysis allows for the events of this period to be placed in their historical context. Thus, my own thesis does not attempt to dispute Fossett's findings, but rather to expand upon the nature of Inuit-newcomer relations in the early twentieth century Kivalliq, and provide a deeper analysis of how Inuit lifeways were able to persist in important ways, and take some benefits from the presence of newcomers.

There is a rich history of anthropological study of Inuit living in the Kivalliq, starting with the Fifth Thule Expedition, led by Greenlandic-Danish anthropologist Knud Rasmussen. This journey, taking place between 1921 and 1924, took him across Arctic North America, including into the Kivalliq, leading to him making extensive observations on Inuit culture, and bringing him into contact with some of the HBC trading posts in the region.[10] Modern

[9] Renée Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 30.
[10] Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition, by Knud Rasmussen: with 64 illustrations and 4 maps* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927).

anthropologists have dedicated their studies to examining the relationship that Inuit people have with animals, the most important of these being the works by Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand.[11] These works allow for a greater contextual background of how Inuit perceived and interacted with animals outside the lens of Qallunaat interactions, and thus allow greater insight into what Inuit hunters may have been doing while hunting and trapping for Qallunaat organisations. These perspectives are important given that scholarship has revealed the considerable impacts of material goods, such as firearms, in Inuit hunting practices, elements of government administration in the form of the RCMP, and the "colonial rule" being introduced in state conservation measures.[12]

This thesis draws heavily upon the written archival record left by the various Qallunaat actors working in the Kivalliq during the early twentieth century. The most significant of these are those that record the day-to-day interactions, trade, and shared time spent between Qallunaat and Inuit hunters, namely the journals and logs of the whaling ships, and the post journals of the HBC posts. Alongside these are the administrative documents of the HBC, particularly those of its Development Department, which contain rich information about how the HBC as an organisation perceived Inuit hunting for them, and what they believed constituted ideal Inuit-Qallunaat relations. These documents all contain a significant record of the animals being hunted and traded between Inuit and newcomers, and detail about how Inuit were hunting these animals. There are also limitations to these sources, as they only document events from a Qallunaat viewpoint, and are unable to provide a first-hand account of what Inuit were doing in their own

[11] Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, *Hunters, Predators and Prey: Inuit Perceptions of Animals* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).
[12] Scott McLean, "Beyond Neglect: Building Colonial Rule in the Kitikmeot, 1916-1952," *Canadian Historical Review* 101:1 (2020): 49-75. Scott McLean, ""The Advent of Civilization Amongst Them Will Not Tend to Their Betterment": Understanding Representations of Colonial Contact in the Kitikmeot," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 55:3 (2021): 481-506.

time and space. Further analysis on the strengths, uses, analytical methods, and limitations of these sources will be provided in the following chapters as each collection is used.

However, some limitations are common throughout these historical sources. Being written by Qallunaat, they are all inherently ethnocentric in bias, viewing Inuit cultures, behaviours, and life, through the lens of their own cultural norms and perceptions. Individual traders and whalers were also inconsistent with how diligently and accurately they recorded events in their journals, with some, such as whaling captain George Comer, providing detailed descriptions of the events, people, and environment they were seeing, while others created perfunctory records that contain little more than a daily temperature record and brief numbers of what was traded. This trend is exacerbated in the HBC records, where post managers often changed year on year, and this could also bring a significant change in the quality of the written record, such as in the 1922-1923 winter in Coats Island, when Leo Manning relieved Samuel Ford as post manager. During this period the level of description of what was occurring, and how the HBC was trading with Inuit significantly declined. Traders and whalers also only witnessed Inuit who arrived at posts, and this usually occurred seasonally and in brief visits, limiting a trader's cultural awareness. There were also problems of language and translation when traders relied on Inuit interpreters, with the potential for concepts and thoughts to be misunderstood. Traders and whalers also had the priority to report to their business managers, which means that beyond cultural observations of importance to a trader or whaler's profits, they and their business managers did not necessarily have a great interest in explaining the behaviours and motivations of Inuit trading with them.

Inuit oral histories are able to complement the written archival record and help to provide an Inuit perspective on historical events. They also provide insight into Inuit lives and culture

outside the lens of Qallunaat traders. The most wide-ranging Inuit oral history collection is *Uqalurait,* edited by John Bennett and Susan Rowley.[13] This collection contains oral interviews with elders and other Inuit throughout Nunavut, and covers a broad variety of topics including hunting, animals, family, clothing, and relationship with newcomers. Another important collection is *When the Whalers Were up North* by Dorothy Harley Eber, which collects the records of Inuit whalers and their descendants, and their interactions with the Qallunaat whalers of the twentieth century.[14] These oral histories allow for a deeper analysis of the events of the early twentieth century Kivalliq, as they are able to corroborate, or clarify, many of the insights made about Inuit people within the written and anthropological record. They also allow for an analysis of where Qallunaat writers were mistaken or misunderstood fundamental aspects of Inuit lives. This is particularly relevant for the HBC Development Department files, which were largely produced by scientists and administrators in London, and while they reveal the HBC's aims around Inuit welfare, their own understanding of Inuit lives was often extremely limited. Oral histories also make the important contribution of providing an Inuit voice on historical events, as while Inuit narratives do feature in the written sources, they are provided through the lens of the Qallunaat writers.

[13] John Bennett and Susan Rowley, eds., *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
[14] Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

Figure 1: Map of Nunavut and its Regions, from "Maps of Nunavut," World Atlas, accessed 5 May, 2022, https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/canada/nunavut.

My first chapter examines the whaling trade in the Kivalliq, and how Inuit participated in this, with their skills and knowledge being essential to its success, and in return, receiving useful tools such as whaleboats and guns. It particularly focusses on the period between 1900 and 1915, when whalers were still hunting Kivalliq waters, but the significantly reduced whale populations and the slump in whale commodity prices meant that they had to expand their trading operations with Inuit to maintain a profit. Throughout this period, Qallunaat were entirely reliant on Inuit knowledge of various animals to have appropriate food and clothing in the Arctic, and to purchase the Inuit-produced animal products that provided these voyages with a profit. I argue that throughout this period, despite the significant reduction in whales caught by the Qallunaat ships, Inuit were able to profit in maktaaq and meat from the smaller numbers of whales taken, while also gaining useful commodities from their increased trading. Literature on Arctic whaling stresses the importance of sequential exhaustion of key mammal species, which shifted the trade to new commodities, as whalers began to make up oil through walrus and seal, then bear pelts, then fox.[15] However, these depletions were more impactful for the long-distance commodity trade than for Inuit themselves. Thanks to a mixed commodity trade that favoured Inuit working in their seasonal rounds, even if a smaller number of whales were hunted, the whaling industry and employment still allowed Inuit to procure what was likely needed for their overall subsistence. The whaling industry, then, might have precipitated a "tragedy of the commons" undermining a global commodity chain in whale products, but the Inuit were still able to maintain a robust subsistence economy in which fewer numbers of whales still figured, and

[15] Bathsheba Demuth, "The Walrus and the Bureaucrat: Energy, Ecology, and Making the State in the Russian and American Arctic, 1870-1950," *American Historical Review* 124:2 (April 2019), 488-489. Ryan Tucker Jones, *Empire of Extinction: Russians and the North Pacific's Strange Beasts of the Sea, 1741-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

where they participated in the Qallunaat trade as a supplement to their primary economy, rather than as their main source of economic wellbeing.

Chapter 2 focusses on the Arctic fox trade conducted by the HBC between 1911 and 1945, where trade in Arctic fox pelts dominated the economic relationship between Inuit and Qallunaat. During the period the price of Arctic fox pelts both rose and fell dramatically in accordance with fashion trends and broader markets in Europe and North America, and traders sought to capitalise on this potentially lucrative commodity. Arctic fox was traditionally not a major part of Inuit hunting in the Kivalliq, so the presence of fur traders and the introduction of new metal traps significantly increased their prominence in Inuit hunting rounds. Small numbers of Inuit were employed full time working at HBC posts for a period of time, but the majority of Inuit trapping for the HBC worked independently, living and hunting on the land and bringing trapped foxes to the posts. This diversion of Inuit energy into fox trapping, so different from traditional ways of life, might be viewed as a significant alteration in culture. However, it is clear that this was a specialisation of convenience. Inuit still hunted fox when it complemented other winter hunting activities, especially during the seal hunt. Traders were also under pressure to draw value from their posts' trade with Inuit, so if the winter fox hunt failed or Inuit needed to prioritise subsistence seal hunting, they could also trade hair seals from the late spring hunt. Ultimately this trade prioritised Arctic fox, but it could only succeed when it complemented the seal hunt. As the traders were supported by overseas commercial capital, the onus was on them to trade whatever they could and procure some profit even when the fox trade failed. During this period other significant Qallunaat groups, namely the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and various Christian mission groups cemented their presence in the Kivalliq that had begun earlier in the century. The increasing Qallunaat presence in the region further spread

communicable diseases that had first arrived with the whalers among Inuit communities, with negative impacts on Inuit health. However, in terms of the fur trade itself between Inuit and Qallunaat, the traders were still reliant on Inuit to provide the furs and other animal products that were exported for profit, as well as the fresh meat that made their diet more interesting and tolerable. I argue that because of the Qallunaat reliance on Inuit hunting skills, and the fact that Arctic fox can be trapped on the same winter floe ice that seals are hunted on, meant that despite the increased trapping of an otherwise economically marginal species like Arctic fox, Inuit in this period still retained the fundamental elements of their own subsistence economy, engaging with traders in a moditional fashion.

Chapter 3 examines the efforts of the HBC's Development Department to apply modernist science to the way that the Arctic fur trade was conducted between 1925 and 1931, to maximise the profits and productivity of producers there, while simultaneously promoting a kind of Inuit lifestyle that would reduce any reliance on or use of the HBC's welfare services. This group of scientists and administrators sought to diversify, and provide further efficiency to, the products that Inuit were trading, both to increase the HBC's potential profits in new markets, and to insulate both Inuit producers and the HBC against the wild price swings in the fox fur market. In several instances they believed that scientific methods could produce better Inuit products than Inuit themselves, most notably with the example of producing Inuit seal-skin coats in factories in England, as Qallunaat whalers and traders had been buying coats and clothes from Inuit seamstresses since the early days of their arrival in the Kivalliq. The Development Department also aimed to preserve a kind of "traditional" lifestyle and diet for Inuit, particularly in the wake of public outrage after Dr Frederick Banting's criticisms of the company's practices, which sought to make Inuit produce and store products such as seal pemmican and seal liver.

Ultimately most of the Development Department's projects ended in failure, however, this short-lived endeavour nonetheless provides valuable insight into the way the HBC administration perceived its Arctic trade in the wake of new modernist ideas. This chapter argues that not only did the Development Department fail to understand many important aspects of both Inuit lifestyles and the fur trade as a whole, but it also overlooked the robustness of the Inuit animal-centric economy that persisted despite these attempted modernist interventions. In some cases the recommendations of the department matched what Inuit had already been doing, demonstrating the continued effectiveness of this subsistence model.

This thesis analyses trade and animal life in the era predating Arctic town development and the government's formal programs to relocate Inuit within permanent settlements following World War II, meaning that this chapter provides a valuable insight into how private enterprise in the early twentieth century sought to create welfare and economic opportunity for Inuit while still making sure they maintained a kind of traditional, subsistence-based lifestyle. Examining this era reveals a marked difference in Inuit practice, where hunting was carried out as part of seasonal migration rounds, rather than organised from new permanent settlements, and as such demonstrates the importance of this subsistence model not only to the HBC's potential profits, but also to the overall welfare of Inuit hunters in this period.

Throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century the Qallunaat presence in the Kivalliq greatly increased and shifted its economic goals from whaling to fur trading, which included later attempts to modernise this trade. Despite these significant changes occurring, Inuit were able to incorporate elements of the new Qallunaat trade within their own worldview and practices, maintaining a lifestyle primarily centred on hunting and trapping. This demonstrates the robust nature of the Inuit relationship with the land and animals, as while this remained intact

during this period, Inuit were also largely able to retain their own independence and practices. This study allows for an insight into the ways that Indigenous people living on the peripheries of global capitalist markets were affected by the changes introduced, but equally, were able to exert their own influence on this area of the market. Furthermore, at a regional level, it demonstrates the fundamental importance of the Inuit connection to the land and the animals on it, as their continued freedom to hunt and live on the land in this era allowed them to maintain their culture and relative independence in the face of a swiftly increasing Qallunaat presence.

Ch1 – "A white man could not get his living in a country like this": Whalers and Inuit in the Kivalliq, 1900-1915.

In 1862, a New York shipping intelligence magazine reported on the successful return to New Bedford of two whaling ships from Hudson Bay, the *Northern Light* and *Syren Queen*. These ships had set off on their whaling voyage in 1860, and in their time in Roe's Welcome Sound in Hudson Bay they encountered the hardships of scurvy and difficult ice conditions, all of which reduced the profits of these ventures. Nonetheless, they reported on finding "plenty of whales" – an indication of a rich, new whaling ground.[1] Over the next half century, many more commercial whalers would follow these vessels into the Kivalliq, hunting the local bowhead whale population to near extinction. In doing so, they also became the first Qallunaat group to maintain a continued and significant presence in the Kivalliq, forging relationships with local Inuit groups as they overwintered and traded with them. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Kivalliq whale stocks had already been severely depleted, and the heyday of commercial whaling in both commodity prices and sheer number of whalers had long since passed. Despite this, a small number of intrepid whalers still voyaged to the Kivalliq, and with the ever-shrinking economic opportunities coming from the whales themselves, they increasingly pivoted towards creating more significant trading relationships with local Inuit. Inuit continued to manage their relationship with Qallunaat newcomers on their own terms and to their own benefit, their participation in the declining whale hunt still providing a large food source for their relatively small communities, while trade in caribou skins, Arctic fox, muskox, and walrus ivory allowed continued access to new goods and tools like guns, whaleboats, tobacco, and tea. The tools that

[1] William B. Dana, editor, *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, Volume Forty-Sixth: From January to June, Inclusive, 1862* (New York: William B. Dana, Publisher and Proprietor, 1862), 179.

they received were of significant use to their own hunting, while the animals they hunted remained largely the same, although in greater quantities to feed the small Qallunaat populations overwintering in the region. In many cases Qallunaat had to adapt to Inuit ways of life rather than the other way around. By the twentieth century period, due to the declining whale catch, Qallunaat whalers were almost totally dependent on Inuit not only for survival, but also to make a profit, as a larger share of their income came from trade rather than the whales themselves. As such this small cohort of whalers remained largely respectful of Inuit wishes, and the hunt and overwintering retained a relatively collaborative atmosphere.

The main written source pertaining to the Kivalliq whaling era is the logbooks and journals written by the whaling captains. Only a single account of this era of whaling was published at the time, Robert Ferguson's *Arctic Harpooner*, so the other accounts of whalers largely remain in archives and libraries. By the twentieth century, by far the most prolific and significant Qallunaat whaler in the Kivalliq was Captain George Comer. Born in 1858 in Québec City and raised in Connecticut, he began his whaling career at the age of 17, and continued whaling, largely in the Canadian Arctic, for much of his professional life. He first voyaged to the Kivalliq in an 1893-94 voyage on the *Canton,* and afterwards captained six voyages to the region between 1895 and 1912. Comer was experienced with whaling life in the Kivalliq, and deeply invested in the lives of the Inuit with whom he continually overwintered. He took both a personal and ethnographic interest in Inuit, being commissioned by the American Museum of Natural History to take photographs and plaster face casts of Inuit.[2] His journals remain the most significant Qallunaat source about the twentieth century whaling industry in the Kivalliq, as he wrote prolifically on the environment, animals, trade, and people he encountered during his

[2] W. Gillies Ross, "George Comer (1858-1937)," *Arctic* 36:3 (1983): 294-295.

voyages. These journals contain an extensive record of the Kivalliq whaling industry of that era, and detail what was being caught or traded, how Inuit were working alongside Qallunaat whalers, and several elements of Inuit culture and spirituality which Inuit were willing to share with Comer. Post journals from the Hudson's Bay Company, particularly those from Coats Island post, also detail elements of their own small whaling industry during the 1920s, however these are primarily concerned with the Arctic fox trade which was predominant by this time. To balance out and compliment this Qallunaat perspective it is important to also access Inuit oral history records of the period. These were collected by Dorothy Harley Eber in her 1989 collection *When the Whalers Were Up North,* which records the experiences of Inuit who were children at the time of the late whaling trade, and of Inuit whose parents and grandparents shared stories of the whaling era with them.[3] Between these sources it is possible to analyse what relationships between Inuit and newcomers were like during the twentieth century Kivalliq whaling trade, and how these impacted Inuit and the Kivalliq region.

Several important historical works have been written on the history of whaling in Arctic North America, most notably *Whales, Ice, and Men* by John Bockstoce, and *Do You See Ice?* by Karen Routledge, with their focus on the western Arctic and Baffin Island respectively.[4] To date, the primary work written on the history of whaling in the Kivalliq is *Whaling and Eskimos* by W. Gillies Ross, which provides a comprehensive account of the Qallunaat whaling trade in the Kivalliq, based on an intensive study of a large number of written whaling journals and logbooks.[5] A key element of Ross' argument is to dispute the negative impacts that Qallunaat

[3] Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
[4] John Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, and Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986). Karen Routledge, *Do You See Ice? Inuit and Americans at Home and Away* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).
[5] W. Gillies Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860 – 1915.* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975).

whalers had on Inuit groups in the Kivalliq, as in previous historiography the arrival of the whalers had been portrayed as a primarily negative event for Inuit. Ross tried to take a more balanced approach. He argues that previous histories of whaling in the Canadian Arctic oversimplified the negative aspects of the whaling industry, such as disease, a loss of Inuit culture, and the "racial-mixing" which was considered taboo at the time, painting whaling as a "*bête noire*".[6] His own study attempts to both recognise the "disruptive aspects of whaling influence upon Eskimo life" while also noting "the positive implications of change".[7] My own thesis does not fundamentally disagree with this argument from Ross, rather, it seeks to refine and add to it with a focus on the trade conducted in the latter years of Kivalliq whaling, and how this was able to be both integrated within Inuit economic structures, and provide useful tools to compliment hunting patterns. Furthermore, my own research is able to draw on both oral histories from Inuit whalers and their descendants, and the records of the Hudson's Bay Company in the twentieth century, which were not available to Ross while doing his own research in the 1960s. This allows my thesis to better incorporate Inuit voices and perspectives on the whaling industry, as well as to extend the narrative further in time, to view how Inuit whalers continued to be employed by Qallunaat companies after the end of the Kivalliq whaling period in 1915.

Whaling has been a significant element of Inuit culture throughout the Arctic across the broad sweep of history. The proto-Inuit Thule culture, which emerged in the North American Arctic in approximately 1000 CE, developed highly effective techniques to hunt whales. In the relatively milder climate of the Little Optimum, or Medieval Warm Period, which opened more

[6] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 138.
[7] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 138.

Arctic waters from ice and boosted their nutrient carrying capacity, whales comprised a large part of the Thule subsistence hunt and diet. With the emergence of the Little Ice Age in the fifteenth century, whale stocks in the Kivalliq declined, and climactic conditions made the whale hunt more difficult for emergent Inuit cultures that integrated whale hunting with the more abundant seal populations, and, on land, caribou stocks.[8]

Inuit identity centres on the hunting and eating of animals, and these animals that are hunted were believed to have a common origin with humans, and that they must be treated with respect. Like people, most animals were thought to have a *tarniq*, or soul, and this *tarniq* was reincarnated beyond a single animal life, thus meaning that a hunter had to treat their prey with respect, as an animal would remember any disrespect a hunter treated it with, and potentially no longer present itself to be caught.[9] While a clear distinction was made between Inuit as hunters and animals as prey, animals were not simply considered a resource to be used or extracted, rather, they were perceived as partners, who would present themselves to a worthy hunter. This act was thought to reinforce the partnership between human and animal, assuming the hunter followed correct protocols. As well as various restrictions on when and how to hunt certain species, the most important thing a good hunter could do was to share their catch, meaning a successful hunt would bring resources for the whole community.[10] Wenzel summarises this relationship by stating that "just as Inuit share the products they harvest among themselves, so seals or caribou share themselves with Inuit hunters. Inuit hunters reciprocate this generosity by

[8] Renée Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 30.
[9] Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, *Hunters, Predators and Prey: Inuit Perceptions of Animals* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 39.
[10] John Bennett and Susan Rowley, eds., *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 44-45.

sharing with others as animals have with them".[11] Ultimately animals are considered co-residents of the Arctic space with Inuit, and the Inuit hunt for animals was based on mutual respect and sharing, rather than for an accumulation of capital goods.

Though Inuit pursued many marine and land animals, whaling remained a significant component of Inuit culture and subsistence. It was believed that whales would only present themselves to worthy hunters who respected certain traditions. When a whale was taken, it was a moment of significant celebration for the community, with the catch being shared throughout.[12] Inuit used the whale hunt for many purposes. Maktaaq, joining whale blubber and skin, was a key food source, offering vitamin C and D, and significant fat energy. Whale meat fed people and sled dogs. Bones made structures and sled runners, and blubber not eaten could be burned for heat and light – although seal oil was preferred since whale oil, as an Inuit oral history informant pointed out, "is quite brilliant when used for fuel for the *qulliq*, but it smells pretty bad".[13] Inuit hunted whales from skin kayaks and the larger umiaqs, although by the nineteenth century umiaqs were no longer being used in the Kivalliq.[14] Toggling harpoons made of bone were used to first strike the whale, and then seal-skin floats were attached to exhaust the animal for its killing and shore butchery.

Qallunaat whalers first arrived in the North American Arctic during the seventeenth century, with the establishment of the northern whale fishery. Whalers hunted closely related Bowhead and Greenland whales, initially in the northern Atlantic above Sweden in the Svalbard islands. However, the hunt quickly expanded westwards, to exploit the whale stocks in the

[11] George Wenzel, *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), *63*.
[12] Laugrand and Oosten, *Hunters, Predators and Prey*, 313.
[13] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 303.
[14] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait,* 273.

Eastern Greenland current, the Greenland Sea on the east side of the island, and in the Davis Strait along the Western Greenland current that flows offshore Greenland in Baffin Bay. These ventures were carried out primarily by British and Dutch whalers, who would sail into the Arctic via the Atlantic Ocean to arrive by the ice-free summer, capture as many whales as they could, and then return home to Europe before the autumn freeze-up. Early Qallunaat visitors only had limited interactions with local Inuit, mostly constrained to a little opportunistic onshore trading. Growing demand for whale oil in Europe lit streets and interior spaces and expanded eighteenth-century British whaling in Davis Strait. Rapid industrialisation during the nineteenth century increased the demand for whale products, and consequently put pressure on whale stocks around the globe, as ever more whaling ships hunted the world's oceans. In the Canadian Arctic, where whale populations depleted, whalers moved further westward, primarily into Cumberland Sound on Baffin Island, and into the Kivalliq Coast of Hudson Bay. Whale stocks in the western half of the Canadian Arctic were also exploited by whalers sailing up the Pacific coast of North America into the hunting grounds of the Beaufort Sea.[15]

Qallunaat whaling ships arriving in the Kivalliq were primarily British and American. With double-reinforced hulls to withstand the pressure of ice, British ships largely sailed out of Scotland, with Dundee being the primary port, while Americans mostly arrived from the New Bedford and New London ports of New England. These ships crossed Hudson Strait (which historically offered few whales in the commercial hunt), before arriving to Hudson Bay.[16] Whalers in the Kivalliq primarily hunted in Roe's Welcome Sound, the body of water between Southampton Island and the Kivalliq mainland. While first-comers like the *Northern Light* and

[15] Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, and Men.*
[16] W. Gillies Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales in Hudson Bay, 1860 to 1915," *Arctic and Alpine Research*, 6:1 (Winter 1974), 87.

Syren Queen, that had visited Hudson Bay as early as 1860, arrived and left the Kivalliq during one summer season, by 1861 whalers began overwintering to have an opportunity for two seasons of hunting, and taking advantage of the productive spring floe hunt.[17] Qallunaat whalers came to the Kivalliq in sailing ships, and although the Scottish whalers began to use steam ships by the twentieth century, American whalers kept with sailing ships throughout the period.

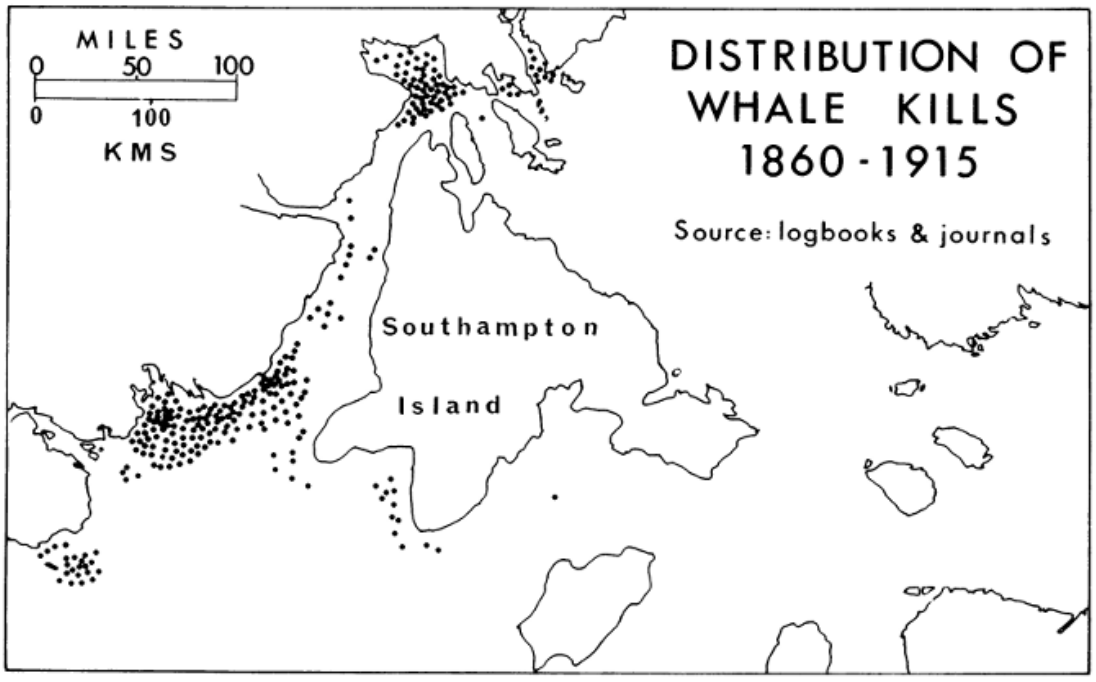

Figure 2: Distribution of whale kills 1860 - 1915, from W. Gillies Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales in Hudson Bay, 1860 to 1915" (1974).

After the first summer hunt, the overwintering process involved finding a good location, usually a bay or inlet with calm seas and near Inuit settlements, where the ship would then be frozen into place come winter. With the arrival of spring break-up, the ship would be broken out of the ice and patrol the waters of the whaling grounds during the typical whaling season of mid-May to mid-September. When a whale was sighted, smaller whaleboats would be launched, to hunt the whale with an explosive harpoon. Once the whale was caught, it was taken ashore to be

[17] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 49.

processed. After the second season of hunting, Qallunaat whalers generally returned home to profit from their catch and prepare for future seasons' hunting.

Qallunaat whalers hunted whales for two commodities – whale oil, and whalebone. Whale oil is whale blubber that has been rendered with heat into a liquid product. Rendering stopped the blubber from decomposing and becoming rancid. When a whale was taken ashore, it would be flensed, with the blubber being quickly stripped off. This would then be boiled down in large vats to produce a commercially viable oil. In the Kivalliq this boiling process usually took place on the shore, although whaleships in other regions of the world were equipped to process the whales on board. After processing, it was stored in barrels or vats, ready to be taken to the southern regions at the end of the voyage. During the nineteenth century, whale oil was primarily used for lighting, lubricating industrial machinery, and soap.[18] Whalebone is not a whale's skeleton or bones, rather, it is the baleen plates that hang from the roof of the mouths of filter-feeding baleen whales. This valuable product would be removed from the whales' mouth during the processing stage, and like whale oil, transported back to southern markets for commercial use. Whalebone is strong and pliable, giving it a wide variety of commercial uses, including as corset ribs, whips, and collar stiffeners.[19]

The bowhead whale (*balaena mysticetus*) was an ideal target for Qallunaat hunters satisfying whale oil and whalebone markets. Bowheads inhabit the Arctic seas, with four major population stocks having been identified.[20] The Kivalliq bowhead population is part of the Eastern Canada-West Greenland Stock, which encompasses the seas surrounding Baffin Island

[18] Ross Barrett, Daniel Worden, eds., *Oil Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 5.
[19] Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *World Clothing and Fashion: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture, and Social Influence: Volumes 1-2* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 636-637.
[20] The following analysis draws upon Donna Naughton, *The Natural History of Canadian Mammals* (Toronto: Canadian Museum of Nature and University of Toronto Press, 2012), 604-607.

and Hudson Bay, and contains summer aggregation areas in Roe's Welcome Sound, Foxe Basin, and along the east coast of Baffin Island. Qallunaat whalers in the Kivalliq hunted the Roe's Welcome Sound area, cruising along the coasts of the mainland and Southampton Island. As year-round polar inhabitants, bowhead whales have developed a thick layer of blubber to insulate themselves, with a usual range of 5.5 to 28cm thickness, but with reports of up to 50cm of blubber. Alongside their extensive blubber, bowhead whales also have the longest baleen in the world, with their longest plates being over 4 metres in length. Their heads take up approximately 30 to 40 percent of their total body length, and can contain between 230 and 360 baleen plates, meaning that each whale caught provided a sizeable haul of whalebone, alongside the large quantities of whale oil that could be rendered from their extensive blubber.

As visits by Qallunaat whalers to the Kivalliq coast, and overwintering, became more frequent, Inuit were increasingly able to apply their skills at whaling to the Qallunaat hunt. As the decades passed, whaling ships brought ever smaller Qallunaat crews, declining from an average of 29 in the 1860s, to just 16 in the 1900s, while keeping at least as many, if not more whale boats in the water, meaning that they employed an ever increasing percentage of Inuit whalers.[21] Not only did whalers employ more Inuit for their skill at hunting, but the declining whale harvests, with the estimated number of whales being killed dropping from 452 in the 1860s, and 133 in the 1870s, to only 15 in the years between 1900 and 1915, and declining whale commodity prices throughout the period, meant that there was increasing pressure to widen the scope of the hunt to continue to operate at a profit.[22] In whaling grounds in the eastern and western Arctic, whalers facing declining returns were also forced to turn towards an increasing

[21] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 78.
[22] Ross, "Distribution, Migration, and Depletion of Bowhead Whales," 95.

harvest of seals and walrus, for both skins and oil, as well as narwhals, beluga whales and polar bears, with the *Active* taking 100 polar bear skins in 1907.[23] Inuit were also able to be employed more cheaply than Qallunaat whalers as they were not paid in cash, therefore contributing further to expanding a voyage's profit margins. Initial encounters between Inuit and whalers largely involved a brisk trade of whale products, furs, ivories, and foodstuff, in return for tobacco, tea, flour, and tools. However, overwintering whalers developed closer relationships with local Inuit groups, which in turn allowed Inuit to become more heavily involved in the whaling itself. Inuit helped in fulfilling all the major jobs on a whaleboat, working variously as spotters, rowers, and harpooners.[24] Several Inuit also commanded whaleboats of their own, working alongside Qallunaat crews to hunt a broader area. During the 1903 to 1905 voyage of the American *Era,* several individual whaleboat crews hunted the length of Roe's Welcome Sound, with "six native boats in commission".[25] Each of these boats independently hunted whales for days at a time, bringing anything caught back to be processed onshore by the whole crew of the *Era.*[26]

While in this instance the whaleboats were part of the equipment of the *Era,* in some cases Inuit whalers acquired their own boats for personal use. Inuit were able to use the income they earned whaling for Qallunaat to purchase whaleboats themselves, such as in the case of the Inuit whaler, Smiley, who in 1905, bought a boat off Captain George Comer.[27]

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[23] Bathsheba Demuth, "The Walrus and the Bureaucrat: Energy, Ecology, and Making the State in the Russian and American Arctic, 1870-1950," *American Historical Review* 124:2 (April 2019), 488-489. James Emerson Honderich, "Wildlife as a Hazardous Resource: An Analysis of the Historical Interaction of Humans and Polar Bears in the Canadian Arctic 2,000 B.C. to A.D. 1935" (MA diss., University of Waterloo, 1991), 98, 103, 105.
[24] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,*78-79.
[25] W. Gillies Ross, editor, *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay 1903-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 53.
[26] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 194.
[27] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 210.

As well as using these boats for their own hunts, Inuit also continued hunting whales for the Qallunaat crews while they returned to Europe and America. This practice, beginning in the period of overwintering, meant that often when the whaleships returned, Inuit had some whales already waiting for them.[28]

Inuit generally entered long-term partnerships with Qallunaat whalers, with the same Inuit returning to work with the same Qallunaat. Controversy could follow when Qallunaat attempted to take whale products which had been hunted by Inuit and earmarked for a certain buyer, such as in the so-called Case of the Missing Whales in 1877. This resulted in Johnnibo, an Inuit man working for Captain John Spicer of the *Era*, testifying on his behalf in a US court. The whales Johnnibo had caught for him in his absence were stolen by the crew of the *Abbie Bradford*, after its crews convinced Johnnibo that Spicer was dead.[29]

Once Qallunaat whalers began overwintering in the Kivalliq, they relied on their Inuit partners for several key commodities, the most important of which were fresh meat, and caribou skins to sew into winter clothes. Whaling ships to the Kivalliq typically carried a sizeable supply of dried and preserved foodstuff, including breads, molasses, salt pork, and some long-lasting root vegetables like potatoes.[30] As was typical with sea voyages relying on preserved foods, scurvy was a real threat to whalers on long voyages, and this was exacerbated by the time taken with overwintering. Lime juice was brought on voyages as a solution to this, however, fresh food was a more effective preventative measure. Fresh meat, especially seal meat, contains sufficient vitamin c to prevent the onset of scurvy.[31] As such, whaling captains employed Inuit hunters to

[28] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 79.
[29] Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 44-47.
[30] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 139-140.
[31] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 18.

bring fresh seal and caribou meat to their crews. These could also be used to cure cases of scurvy that emerged, as Robert Ferguson found on his voyage in 1878 to 1879, where on several occasions crew members came down with cases of scurvy, after which a diet of fresh meat was prescribed to help them.[32] Similarly, in the later whaling period, George Comer was still well aware of the risks of scurvy and the need for fresh meat to prevent it. Over the winter of 1903-1904 his boat shared the whaling grounds with the Canadian Government steamer *Neptune*, and complained that the excess Qallunaat competition for meat prevented the crew from the resources which "of course would have done much to have warded off the strong symptoms of the scurvy who is now keeping the men sick."[33]

Caribou skins meanwhile were essential to whaling crews overwintering in the Kivalliq. The harsh winter conditions of the region meant that specialised clothing was needed, and many whaling captains quickly looked to Inuit for their expertise in making this clothing. Caribou have been traditionally hunted in autumn by Inuit for their skins to make winter garments.[34] Caribou hair is hollow and has excellent insulation properties, and, as one whaling captain believed, it was important to hunt caribou in autumn as at this time of year their hair had grown thick enough to provide sufficient warmth, but was not yet so long as to be uncomfortable against the skin and therefore unsuitable for undergarments.[35] Inuit men would wear caribou skin garments while hunting seals on the ice floe, and, as the same whaling captain believed, it was forbidden by taboo for the seal hunt to commence until the making of caribou skin clothing was complete.[36]

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[32] Robert Ferguson, *Arctic Harpooner: A Voyage on the Schooner Abbie Bradford, 1878-1879,* edited by Leslie Dalrymple Stair (Stanfordville: E.M. Coleman, 1979), 80-81, 104, 151.
[33] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 104.
[34] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait,* 321-322
[35] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 160.
[36] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 156.

Whalers were able to benefit from the vast repository of Inuit garment making skills by commissioning and purchasing caribou skin clothes for the winter. Generally, most of the crew was outfitted with a full set of tailor-made caribou skin clothes, which were paid for with guns, tobacco, tea, molasses, European-style clothes, or metal tools.[37] With whaling crews consisting of a dozen or more men, making caribou skin clothes for all of them involved a significant outlay of time and resources from Inuit communities, as not only would the necessary caribou have to be hunted (which would also aid in meeting the food needs of these newcomers), but Inuit women also had to process the skins, and sew the garments, a time consuming process as the skins had to be chewed to softness, and sewn by hand.

Whalers overwintering in the Kivalliq spent much of the year with their ship encased in ice, as the whale hunt itself could only take place during months where the seas were clear enough to sail whaleboats, at most from April to September. This meant that for most of the year Inuit were not expected to work whaling, and were able to devote their time to the caribou, seal, and walrus hunts. Robert Ferguson was able to accompany an older Inuit man named Tipoadlo on his caribou hunting trip, and over a period of ten days they were able to secure twelve caribou, which were distributed between the two whaling ships wintering, and the Inuit community gathered around them.[38] Hunting trips were a regular part of the Inuit experience during the whaling era, as Inuit would establish a winter settlement near the iced-in ship, and remain there while conducting regular expeditions. While Qallunaat were able to accompany Inuit on some of their trips, for the most part Inuit conducted their hunting trips independently, without the burden of taking potentially inexperienced Qallunaat hunters with them. Trips varied

[37] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 71.
[38] Ferguson, *Arctic Harpooner*, 97-104.

in length, from daylong expeditions to the ice floe in winter to hunt seals at their breathing holes, to longer trips like the one Ferguson experienced, to up to a month, such as during the winter of 1910-1911, when several groups went to Walrus Island to better access the seal, walrus, fox, and fish resources in the area.[39]

Inuit hunters were not always expected or able to bring back provisions for the whalers – journals contain entries of Inuit undertaking a successful hunt but keeping most, if not all of the take, while on others they were not able to bring enough to share. An example of this occurred in 1911, when the women of the community spent several weeks salmon fishing, and George Comer describes that "they caught enough to live on but did not bring back any".[40] Ultimately Inuit continued to make their usual hunting routines, rather than being explicitly capitalist and commercial hunters for the whalers, and while they would attempt to catch enough to feed both their own community and the newcomers, this was not always possible.

While Inuit were able to spend winters with the whalers undertaking traditional subsistence hunts, for those that worked with them, summers were given over to whaling itself. Only a select number of Inuit men worked hunting the whales themselves – other men, and women in the community continued to make their seasonal rounds during the summer whale hunt, catching seal and fish for the whalers and the community.[41] While the whale hunt in the waters around Baffin Island took place from established shore stations, where hunters could wait for a lookout to spy an emerging whale, the hunt in the Kivalliq largely took place from the

[39] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 33, 38, 41-42.
[40] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 82.
[41] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 63, 65.

whaleboats themselves, which would cruise the waters of Roe's Welcome Sound looking for a target. Once the ice had broken up enough to allow the whaling ship to sail, whalers would also cruise the waters from the ship, launching whaleboats when a whale was spied. Relying on both their own sightings, and sightings from Inuit and other Qallunaat, whalers would target particular waters that had potential for a good hunt. When the *A.T. Gifford* first arrived in the Kivalliq in 1910, Inuit parties coming into trade informed Comer of where whales had recently been sighted.[42] When a whale was spied, the hunt drew on elements of both Inuit and Qallunaat hunting methods, and relied on both Inuit and Qallunaat hunters. The whalers would chase the whale in several whaleboats, hoping to make a first strike with the harpoon, to connect the boat and whale, and both tire and weigh down the whale. The other boats would then move closer to the whale, making the finishing strike with either a lance or later explosives.[43] The whale would then be dragged ashore for processing. Many of the tools, such as the whaleboats, explosives, and metal harpoons, were distinctly Qallunaat, as was the emphasis on harvesting the whalebone and oil once ashore. However, unlike other whale hunts around the globe, where the rest of the carcass would be disposed of, the Kivalliq hunters would often harvest the maktaaq and meat of the whale, a process that would have been strongly influenced by the Inuit in the hunt.[44] This meant that each whale caught provided a great boon to the community, providing a large supply of maktaaq and whale meat, which was often used as dog food. The loss of whale oil to the Qallunaat would not have been overly impactful, as Inuit generally preferred cleaner burning seal oil for their qulliq.

[42] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 15.
[43] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 44-45.
[44] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 69-70.

Declining Whale Stocks and Diversified Trade

By the late nineteenth century whale stocks in the Kivalliq had begun to decline significantly, and this process continued into the early twentieth century hunts. This population loss meant that later voyages took less whales each season, greatly impacting their financial bottom line. For example, over one winter in 1878-1879 the *Abbie Bradford* took 12 whales. Between 1903-1905 the *Era* took 14, and in a 1910-1912 voyage the *A.T. Gifford* only secured 5 whales after two winters in the Kivalliq.[45] Whaling voyages became progressively longer because of this, giving them more opportunities to catch whales, and hopefully return home with a profit. Ultimately, for the Qallunaat whalers being able to only secure a handful of whales would be a financial disaster. While this had significant repercussions for the Qallunaat whalers, and their investors in Britain and the United States, for Inuit the small number of whales taken did not have the same impact on their supplies of maktaaq, as even a single large whale could still provide an adequate supply for small communities.[46] Thus, the impact of steeply declining bowhead populations was not as meaningful for Inuit whalers as for their Qallunaat partners. Inuit were not directly paid a percentage of the voyage's profits, like Qallunaat crews, and as such were not dependent on the voyage being a success from a commercial standpoint. As long as even a small number of whales were caught, Inuit were able to secure ample supplies of maktaaq and meat, even if these small numbers of whales spelled financial troubles for the Qallunaat voyagers. Furthermore, Inuit were able to benefit from the technology and support of the Qallunaat crews, making their whale hunt easier in the new reality of whale scarcity than if only the Inuit community was involved in the hunt. Additionally, whales were not a staple food

[45] Ferguson, *Arctic Harpooner.* Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary.* George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13.
[46] Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, ""We're Back with Our Ancestors": Inuit Bowhead Whaling in the Canadian Eastern Arctic," *Anthropos* 108:2 (2013): 437-439.

of Inuit in the Kivalliq, so the health of whale populations in steady decline would not have been as significant as the health of caribou and seal populations.

However, Qallunaat whalers still expected and needed to make a profit, and as such, began to increase the quantity and diversity of their trade with Inuit, especially as the scale of the Hudson Bay whale hunt significantly declined.[47] There were a number of factors contributing to the declining returns of whale products. The decline of bowhead whale stocks in Hudson Bay was important, but so also was the decreasing commercial use of bowhead oils now that petroleum lubricants were replacing them. Moreover, where whale oil was being used, the blubber from sperm whale oils being harvested elsewhere around the globe was gaining preference on the market. For those whalers who still chose to make the journey and overwinter, a new supplementary source of income and profit had to be found, even if whales themselves were no longer providing much of that. Trade with Inuit for furs, ivory, and handicrafts filled this void. Qallunaat whalers had always conducted some trade with Inuit, most notably for the caribou skins garments that were necessary to keep warm during the Arctic winter, but what began as a brisk supplementary trade became a highly organised, and significant, part of the whaling venture. Whalers brought quantities of trade goods with them, including tea, tobacco, rifles, ammunition, clothing, and whaleboats, which would be traded primarily for a diverse range of furs such as fox, musk ox, and polar bear, but also for walrus ivory, and country produce.[48] This trade meant that animal products continued to be the significant mediating influence in Inuit-newcomer relations during this period. Even though Inuit were employed in semi-capitalist relationships with whalers to hunt bowhead whales, their economy remained

[47] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 37.
[48] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 40.

largely moditional, continuing their usual seasonal hunts, and trading by-products or excess with Qallunaat, to receive tools that would further aid in their hunting rounds.

In the early decades of Kivalliq whaling, Qallunaat traded with Inuit predominantly for essential supplies, namely caribou skin clothes and meat. Other items were traded, such as ivory, pelts, and handicrafts, but this occurred on a limited basis and was as much for souvenirs as for commercial sale. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, as whale stocks declined, this trade significantly increased in quantity, taking larger number of animal skins and ivory. Muskox were a significant commodity in this trade, with George Comer's voyages in 1903-05 and 1910-12 trading 474 and 145 muskox skins respectively, from both company stores of previous trade with Inuit, and trade carried out directly by Comer.[49] In the market, these pelts were valuable as robes and seat covers, especially useful for keeping warm in open carriages. Muskoxen were protected with closed seasons in 1894 in the Unorganized Territories Game Preservation Act. While the Canadian Government tried to limit the impact of American whalers freely hunting and trading muskox on Canadian soil in 1903, "forbidding the taking of musk-ox skins from the natives, or killing them," a firm prohibition on the commercial trade of muskoxen pelts was only legislated in the 1917 Northwest Game Act, which banned the trade and reserved muskoxen to only "Indians, Eskimos and half-breeds" in need of their meat to prevent starvation. Before that legislation, the trade in muskoxen pelts was brisk, as Comer's own accounts in subsequent voyages attests.[50] Another product that took increasing prominence, particularly in the 1910 voyage, was Arctic fox pelts. As will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter, the market demand, and price of Arctic fox pelts began to boom in the early twentieth century, and

[49] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 241-242. George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 400.
[50] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 73-74.

Qallunaat whalers, with their extensive contact and trade networks with Inuit hunters, were well positioned to exploit this opportunity. While whalers did not take anywhere near the quantities of foxes harvested by the Hudson's Bay Company in the Kivalliq from the 1920s onwards, fox trapping became a significant activity of later voyages. Comer's 1910-12 voyage sent numerous expeditions to outlying Inuit communities, to encourage a trade in fox skins. He traded 922 skins over the two winters.[51] This resembles the early efforts of HBC traders in Hudson Bay posts, who would visit Inuit communities in the vicinity of the newly established trading posts, to collect trade from them and encourage them to begin visiting the post. By 1911 these expeditions had begun to come into competition with the newly established HBC post at Chesterfield Inlet, and many of the Inuit who had worked for the whalers as hunters, trappers, and whalers would find themselves working in a similar capacity for the HBC once the whaling voyages ceased to arrive.[52] Ultimately the later whaling period brought Inuit into a significantly more intrusive capitalist economy than the earlier period, since to make profit whalers had to rely further on Inuit hunting and trapping skills, rather than just the bounty of seas. However, despite this development, the relationship with whalers still did little to fundamentally alter Inuit hunting practices – fox trapping was still done using traditional drop traps, including an instance described by Comer where a hunter Sam created a drop trap out of ice,[53] and on a part-time and supplementary basis compared to the caribou and seal hunts. Comer also sent several expeditions out into the hinterland to generate trade with Inuit living there, sending a sled to Chesterfield Inlet and a man called Elannack to take the trade further along, and later coming into competition

[51] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 400.
[52] For example, Scotch Tom worked for both the whalers and the HBC at Coats Island. Hudson's Bay Company Archives [Hereafter 'HBCA'], Coats Island Post Journal 1920-1923, 20 October 1922, B.404/a/2. Eber, *When the Whalers were up North,* 27.
[53] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 158.

with HBC traders sending their own expeditions up Wager River to create trade there.[54] Given that most of these communities still remained living on the land having to be contacted individually by whalers, and those Inuit living with the whalers still prioritised their caribou and seal hunts, this meant that throughout this period the core nature of Inuit hunting practices remained intact.

Some captains would also pay Inuit for their craftsmanship skills. Captain George Comer paid Inuit craftsmen to carve walrus ivory objects for him, which included napkin rings, cribbage boards, and animal figurines, primarily for personal use but also to gift to friends and institutions.[55] This trade for curios sometimes became more harmful to Inuit communities, particularly when it involved the taking of grave goods and human remains. In 1911 Inuit working for George Comer informed him of their displeasure of his taking skulls from Southampton Island on a previous voyage, noting that they "all think this weather is caused by my having taken the skulls of some of the Southampton natives a few years ago and that their spirits are offended and it is also on this account I have not been more successful in catching whales".[56] Comer was also enthusiastic about taking plaster casts of Inuit faces for ethnology study, and photographs of Inuit, and while it seems they were mostly fascinated with his camera, it is doubtful they received anything material from this. While this trade for crafted goods did provide some material benefits for Inuit, adding significant value to the ivories that they were trading with Qallunaat, when it drifted into taking human remains, this had a significant impact on the Inuit psyche. While in the instance with Comer in 1911 Inuit voiced their opposition and

[54] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 96, 183.
[55] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 176, 195, 200.
[56] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 134.

Comer listened, making a point of no longer taking human remains so as not to offend his partners, there were no doubt other occurrences where Inuit were not able to effectively voice their opposition to whalers' behaviour, or were not listened to.[57]

One of the most important long-term impacts of Qallunaat whalers in the Kivalliq was the introduction of new technology into the region. Whaleboats were one of the most significant items introduced, as they allowed teams of hunters to pursue larger game such as whales, and more efficiently pursue walrus, while also providing a convenient mode of travel, especially along Arctic coastlines. One explanation for the whaleboats' effectiveness, made by Gilles Ross, is how they mimicked umiaqs in many ways, and as umiaq technology was no longer present in the Kivalliq by the nineteenth century, whaleboats were an adequate replacement that allowed for the same style of hunting.[58] Inuit hunters were especially keen to received payment in whaleboats, as evidenced in the 1903-05 voyage of the *Era*, where several Inuit men either requested, or were given whaleboats at the end of the hunting season.[59] By Comer's 1910-12 voyage, there were 4 whaleboats being maintained by the community, and these were regularly used throughout the whale hunt, and to make voyages to Walrus Island and other outlying areas, to stay for weeks at a time while collecting and transporting a significant cache of meat.[60] Oral records taken during the 1980s also attest to the significance of these boats, and other whaling tools, to the community, describing how "they were really amazed" at these tools.[61] These whaleboats continued to be a significant source of wealth for the community even after the

[57] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 241.
[58] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 87.
[59] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary,* 210.
[60] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 228.
[61] Eber, *When the Whalers were up North,* 29.

decline of commercial whaling. Inuit trapping for the HBC would often come to visit the post during summer in their whaleboats, and much like in the earlier era, these whaleboats continued to be utilised for hunting whales, walrus, and for mobility during the summer months.[62]

Other pieces of technology which swiftly became useful for Inuit communities were rifles and metal tools. The latter were particularly important as they increased the efficiency of many aspects of women's work, such as cutting skins for clothing, and preparing meat.[63] Metal could also be used for sled runners, in pots and kettles, and in knives, especially ulus. Robert Ferguson specifically brought metal knives and needles to trade with Inuit for clothes, and his companion Charlie attested to how these tools had been of great use to raise his own social prestige.[64]

Guns took somewhat longer to become an integral part of Inuit hunting equipment, as the earlier firearms introduced were not as efficient as bows for caribou hunting, however, by the start of the twentieth century they had become common in the communities in close contact with Qallunaat whalers.[65] Ultimately Inuit were savvy consumers of Qallunaat goods and tools. For example, they complained to George Comer about the poor quality of the fishing hooks and lines he was trading to them, as they were too weak to effectively reel in salmon.[66] Equally, those adopted tools complemented their hunting practices and lifestyle, rather than radically changing them. Like whaleboats fulfilling the same function as umiaqs, the guns, metal ulus, and sled runners all performed the same functions as their traditional equivalents, allowing for an increase in efficiency while maintaining existing relationships with the land, animals, and the community.

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[62] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journals, 1918-1920, 23 June 1919, B.404/a/1.
[63] Fosset, *In Order to Live Untroubled*, 169.
[64] Ferguson, *Arctic Harpooner*, 2, 136.
[65] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, 98-99.
[66] George Comer, "Journal kept by George Comer, Master, aboard Sch. *A.T. Gifford*; 1910-1912," Mystic Seaport Manuscript Collection, Box 2/Vol.13, 41.

While the impact of Qallunaat whalers on traditional Inuit lifestyles was minimal, there were nevertheless some unwelcome and negative impositions that came as a result. The most significant of these was the introduction of diseases endemic in Europe and the United States, but until the nineteenth century were relatively unknown in the Kivalliq, notably influenza and venereal disease.[67] The latter came about as a result of the somewhat frequent sexual relationships and partnerships formed between Qallunaat whalers and Inuit women. While the written logbooks and journals of whalers make scant mention of these relationships, they are more commonly addressed in oral histories taken in later decades, particularly those taken of children and relatives of these partnerships by Dorothy Harley Eber in the 1980s.[68] While it is unclear how consensual or long-term these relationships were, and they no doubt varied from individual to individual, they had the dual impacts of the creation of a new generation of mixed heritage children, who were largely accepted into their mother's communities, and the introduction of diseases from the whalers.

Diseases had a catastrophic impact on local Inuit communities, most notably the Sallirmiut. The homeland of the Sallirmiut was likely located on the south of Southampton Island and extended to Walrus, Bencas, and Coats Islands. Initially, the Sallirmiut likely maintained some isolation from whalers who misunderstood the geography in the area: what is Coats Island was thought to be an extension of Southampton's coastline.[69] Sallirmiut also remained largely in isolation from other Inuit communities in the Kivalliq region. Whalers did not therefore use the broad Evans Strait to traverse the region, and largely spent their time away

[67] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 120-121.
[68] Eber, *When the Whalers were up North,* 122-123.
[69] Charles F. Merbs, "The Discovery and Rapid Demise of the Sadlermiut," in *Hunter-Gatherer Adaptation and Resilience: A Bioarchaeological Perspective,* edited by Daniel H. Temple and Christopher M. Stojanowski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 302.

from the Sallirmiut's central homeland. Charles Merbs provides an analysis of the impacts of disease on the Sallirmiut, showing its significant implications when contact with Qallunaat whalers intensified. George Comer, sending whaleboats to Southampton in 1896, and then establishing a whaling station, initially had few dealings with the Sallirmiut. But in 1902, a whaling ship introduced a disease reaching and consuming almost the entirety of their community. An already reduced population almost disappeared completely in the 1902-03 epidemic, which has still not been identified.[70] The remainder of the Sallirmiut community then joined the neighbouring Aivilingmiut, who had maintained longer and deeper connections with the visiting Qallunaat whalers.

The last commercial whaling voyage to arrive in the Kivalliq in 1915 was the American ship *A.T Gifford.* This voyage was unsuccessful, ending in shipwreck. Whaling had been steadily declining since the beginnings of the twentieth century, with a total of 18 voyages arriving in the decade between 1900 and 1910, while only 8 arrived in the years between 1910 and 1915.[71] There were several reasons for this decline, including a decrease in value in whale products, and the significant population loss and overhunting of local whale stocks. By the start of the First World War, the Kivalliq whale hunt had essentially come to an end. The discovery and increasing exploitation of kerosene and other kinds of fossil fuels in the nineteenth century significantly dropped demand for whale oil, and whale oil became mostly used as a cheaper alternative to initially expensive kerosene. Not only was kerosene a superior product, burning cleaner than whale oil, but once it fell in price to below that of whale oil by the 1870s, the demand for whale oil plummeted as it lacked any commercial advantage.[72] Whalebone however

[70] Merbs, "The Discovery and Rapid Demise of the Sadlermiut," 320-321.
[71] Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos,* 37.
[72] Briton Cooper Busch, *"Whaling Will Never Do for Me": The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 4-5.

remained competitive in the commercial marketplace for some time after whale oil, constituting the most profitable element of the later whaling voyages, but the overall profit taken from each whale was still reduced. Furthermore, bowhead whale stocks were significantly depleted in the Kivalliq by the turn of the twentieth century, meaning voyages were taking progressively fewer whales, and therefore becoming less profitable as the population further declined.

Even after the decline of American and Scottish commercial whaling in the Kivalliq, the HBC continued the whaling tradition, albeit on a smaller scale. Several of the Inuit with whom they worked had previously been employed by the whalers, and while they were able to transition to the Arctic fox hunt, they still retained the skills and practices of the whaling era. Whale nets were set up at HBC posts across the Kivalliq, with the intention of catching beluga whales, where their meat, fat, and hide would provide subsistence and saleable commodities.[73] Large scale beluga hunts were also not uncommon, such as at Chesterfield Inlet in 1939 when a large pod of beluga whales made its way into the bay, and was hunted by Inuit at the post for the following days, who "had visions of 'muktuk' for the next day or so as their main diet".[74] After these hunts, the whales were processed, with their meat and fat providing a mix of maktaaq and dog food, while their hides, along with other cetacean hides like porpoise, were salted ready to ship south.[75]

While beluga whales were the most commonly hunted cetacean during the HBC era, opportunistic bowhead whale hunts still occurred at HBC posts. During the brief tenure of a post at Coats Island, bowhead hunts took place over several summers, with mixed success. In 1920,

[73] Hudson's Bay Company Archives [Hereafter HBCA], Coats Island Post Journal 1920-1923, 16 September 1920, B.404/a/2.
[74] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal 1939-40, 29 Jul 1939, B.401/a/12.
[75] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1920-23, 17 September 1922, B.404/a/2.

staff working at Coats Island found an abandoned American whaling ship, "completely fitted for whaling".[76] The post manager, Samuel Ford, also remarked that Coats Island would have made a good whaling base, as "whales are quite numerous here and it seems to me that, had we the gear necessary and a few men who knew how to handle it, we could, I am sure, secure at least one during the spring".[77] Over the next few years the team at Coats Island assembled the required gear for whaling, and then hunted bowheads in the summer months. While they spent much time hunting whales, only two whales were caught over the period between 1920 and 1922, with one of these being lost at sea in a storm.[78] Ford was impressed with the commodities the HBC was able to extract from the whale, with large quantities of whalebone, and more whale oil than they could fit in the barrels on hand, meaning they had to find makeshift containers until the arrival of the supply ship SS Bayeskimo.[79] These whale catches were also significant for the Inuit hunters, as it gave them a large supply of maktaaq and food, keeping them connected with continuing hunting practices and favourite meals, with "everybody bawling and shouting mad, no end of feasting".[80]

The Inuit working at Coats Island for the HBC were not the Indigenous Sallirmiut of the island, who had all either perished or relocated by the 1920s. Rather, they were brought to Coats Island from north Baffin Island, as part of an HBC initiative to expand their presence and fur hunting range in the Kivalliq and "to decide whether it will be in the interests of the Company or not to establish permanently on Coats Island".[81] These Inuit had been whalers, and had worked for Qallunaat whalers prior to their employment with the HBC. During the 1922 hunt, they

[76] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1920-23, 22 May 1921, B.404/a/2.
[77] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1918-1920, 23 June 1919, B.404/a/1.
[78] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1920-1925, 12 August 1922, B.404/a/3.
[79] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1920-1923, 19 July 1921, B.404/a/2.
[80] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1920-1923, 18 July 1921, B.404/a/2.
[81] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1918-1920, 30 September 1918, B.404/a/1.

demonstrated their skills at whaling by going out in their kayaks and successfully slaying a whale that had eluded the HBC whaleboats for several days.[82] While this whale was eventually lost at sea in a large storm, the Inuit men nonetheless demonstrated that they had maintained their traditional skills of hunting whales by kayak. Equally after the successful whale hunt in 1921, Ford lamented that these Inuit men had previously been spoiled by the American whalers. He complained that "these fellows expect quite a bit for one of these whales, such as boats, guns, etc. I have made no promises to any, as I am leaving it to Mr Parsons [Ralph Parsons, the district manager] which I hope will be along this summer, to make any arrangements that may suit these fellows, they are accustomed to the whalers habits, and expect more than the thing is worth".[83] Evidently for these Inuit men, their relationship with the HBC seemed little different to their relationship with the American whalers, although the conditions and payment for their employment were not as lucrative. While in this instance they had been relocated to an unfamiliar land, and their hunt was primarily focussed on fox, rather than whale, they still hunted the same whale, caribou, and seal as before, and expected similar compensation to what they had in the past. The HBC still primarily expected Inuit to trap Arctic fox for them rather than whales, and being less reliant on Inuit for survival than the whalers, as shall be explored in the following chapter, had less incentive to allow Inuit to largely dictate the terms of their work and the price that they expected.

Ultimately, while working with the Qallunaat whalers, and later whaling for the HBC brought Inuit in the Kivalliq into the wider capitalist economy, the whale hunt itself largely worked to compliment traditional Inuit subsistence practices. Qallunaat whalers made little

[82] HBCA Coats Island Post Journal 1920-1925, 10 August 1922, B.404/a/3.
[83] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journal 1920-23, 18 Jul 1921, B.404/a2.

attempt to modify Inuit lifestyles or hunting practices, more often relying on Inuit skills at hunting caribou and seal for their continued presence in the Kivalliq. The main burden placed upon Inuit hunters was having more mouths to feed, bodies to clothe, and occasionally guiding Qallunaat on their own hunting expeditions. In the summer months, only a small part of the community participated in whaling itself, with many others undertaking their own hunting expeditions. For those who did hunt whales, the rewards for the whole community could be great, with significant supplies of maktaaq and whale meat being brought back. Working alongside Qallunaat whalers, Inuit received metal tools like awls, ulus, and sled runners, as well as firearms, all tools which aided in hunting and processing animals. Alongside this Inuit were introduced to less useful commodities like tea and tobacco. They also fell prey to crowd infections diseases. The impact of the latter can only be guessed but was undoubtedly enormous, especially in recurrent infections occurring over the longer term. But, to say nothing of the environmental loss caused by depleted whale stocks, Inuit on the whole drew what they wanted from newcomers, and in the case of whalers, likely they drew them on their own terms. Qallunaat largely had to operate on Inuit terms, while Inuit in return were able to receive new and useful tools, as well as the opportunity to acquire whale meat for the whole community. The situation for Inuit changed somewhat with the arrival of the HBC – while they were still able and encouraged to practice their traditional hunting routines, and found the opportunity to go whaling for the HBC, the focus of the hunt was squarely on the Arctic fox, an animal that had previously only made up a small element of Inuit hunting.

Ch2 – The Hudson's Bay Company and Inuit in the Kivalliq – 1911-1939

By the end of the First World War, fur traders increasingly became the dominant Qallunaat presence within the Canadian Arctic, looking to trade for Arctic fox pelts. Initially, these traders came from private or independent outfits. While American and other private traders proliferated and likely dominated in the Western Arctic in coastal trading, by the early 1920s the London-based Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) came to dominate the Kivalliq fox fur trade. Like the whalers before them, the HBC relied heavily on Inuit partners for the success of their business within the Arctic. This relationship between Inuit and Qallunaat was facilitated by the animal life of the Kivalliq region, with Qallunaat desires for animal products being informed by industrial developments and processes in Europe and North America, while Inuit continued to harvest the same animals with similar priorities that they had throughout history.

Arctic fox (*vulpes lagopus*) was the most important animal in the eyes of HBC traders, and their journals are primarily concerned with locations and size of populations of fox nearby. Posts opened in the hopes of capturing abundant fox populations and closed, often quickly, when their numbers dwindled. Traders focussed close attention on the animal. They assessed when fox were changing colour and moving into their "prime", estimating their numbers and proximity by their tracks, scat, or sightings. They entreated Inuit partners for both information about the fox harvest, and to devote their time and energy to fox trapping. Inuit continued to hunt many species of animals other than Arctic fox, and they would bring the products of these hunts in to trade as well. These hunts furnished Qallunaat traders with food, clothes, trade goods, and even forms of recreation when they hunted or trapped from their posts. For traders, beyond adding profits to the outfits, hunting and trading made life in an unfamiliar environment more tolerable. While Inuit hunting in service of the HBC contributed to industrial processes and markets far away, Inuit

themselves were not uncritical agents of the industrial world. Rather, they incorporated the traders' economic systems within their own where compatible, and maintained control of their own hunting and production of furs. The Inuit interacted with traders where convenient, and where elements of the material culture they offered could be adopted if useful.

Very little has been written on the Arctic fox trade in the Kivalliq, however, the historiography of the fur trade in other regions of North America during the twentieth century provide some relevant context for the region. The fur trade in the twentieth century has been written about less than the trade up until the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada in 1870. One of the earliest works on this period was *The Fur Trade in Canada* by Harold Innis, which examines the scope of the fur trade from its beginnings in northern North America up to 1929.[1] Innis' work does not extend past 1929 as it was first published in 1930. With his focus on all of Canada in its long fur history, Innis only devotes a small part of his writing to the Arctic trade, and less to the Inuit involved in this. His understanding of staples in Canadian fur history, emphasises the importance of outside capital providing transport to move goods and fur in challenging geography, however, is very relevant for the Kivalliq trade. Arthur J. Ray has provided a more recent examination of the twentieth century fur trade in Canada, but also does not extend his study well beyond the treeline, with only brief attention to the Arctic trade. His overview of the increasingly unstable fur markets, noted for wild price swings, and the growing competition in the fur trade is similarly relevant in the Arctic fox trade.[2] Renée Fossett touches upon the fox trade in her monograph *In Order to Live Untroubled,* however, as this book examines the entire sweep of Inuit history until 1940, it is only able to briefly touch upon the

[1] Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. With a new introductory essay by Arthur J. Ray* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
[2] Ray, Arthur J., *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

impact of the fox trade.[3] The most significant work on the Arctic fox trade is *White Fox and Icy Seas in the Western Arctic* by John R. Bockstoce, which comprehensively examines the Arctic fox trade in the Chukchi region, Alaska, and Arctic Canada west of the Boothia Peninsula.[4] This thesis draws upon Bockstoce's excellent analysis of the global dynamics of the Arctic fox trade, but shifts the geographic scope to focus on the Kivalliq and the specific events and outcomes that occurred there.

The nature of the Kivalliq trade can be assessed in HBC Post Journals, written between 1911 and 1939, with some extending a few years into the Second World War. These journals provide a detailed record of the trade occurring between Qallunaat and Inuit, documenting not only the trade in Arctic foxes, but also the hunts undertaken by Inuit for caribou, seals, whales, and other country produce. These sources have their limitations, as they are written from purely a Qallunaat perspective, without necessarily providing an authentic Inuit voice, were produced for a specific market-interested business record in Winnipeg and London, and provide only sporadic records of Inuit actions when not visiting the post in question. However, by reading these texts against the grain, and comparing them with the work done in Inuit oral histories and ethnologies, it is possible to gain a more complete picture of Inuit lives during the fox fur era. Much of the information about hunting and trading from HBC Journals is confirmed in oral history collections such as *Uqalurait*. These oral history collections detail what life was like in camps

[3] Renée Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 192-193.
[4] John R. Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas in the Western Arctic: The Fur Trade, Transportation, and Change in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018).

and on the land during this era, further illuminating Inuit relationships with animals and Qallunaat.[5]

The HBC began trading with Inuit in the Kivalliq as early as the eighteenth century, when trade boats and expeditions were sent northwards from Churchill to encourage Inuit to trade what furs, ivories, and whale bone they could spare for trade goods such as metal tools and wood. However, this trade was intermittent at best, and HBC expeditions to this region were not regular yearly events, meaning that Inuit were not drawn into a significant trade relationship with the HBC during this era.[6] The ongoing enmity between Dene, particularly Chipewyan, who were the company's prime trading partners, and Inuit created barriers to meaningful exchanges. It was only with the establishment of Chesterfield Inlet Post in 1911 that the HBC made sizeable inroads into the Kivalliq trade market. Chesterfield Inlet provided the central hub for a network of trading posts established throughout the 1920s, including Wager Inlet, Repulse Bay, Tavane, and Baker Lake. The HBC was not the sole fur-trade outfit in the Kivalliq, and it faced competition from other organisations such as Revillon Frères and the Lamson & Hubbard Trading Company. Since it had lost its monopoly at Confederation, the company had faced increasing numbers of free traders and capitalised larger concerns in the north. In some areas of the Arctic, the company continued to lose out to American enterprise, especially in the Arctic coastal trade. But with its larger capital resources, the HBC was able to ride out the volatility of the fox fur market where its smaller competitors struggled, and thus bought out its competition, the Lamson & Hubbard Trading Company in 1924, and Revillon Frères partially in 1936.[7]

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[5] John Bennett and Susan Rowley, eds., *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
[6] Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled*, 113.
[7] Peter J. Usher, *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970* (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971), 152.

Other Qallunaat organisations also maintained a presence at Chesterfield Inlet, as they themselves expanded their presence into North America's Arctic regions. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) had a post at Chesterfield, and their presence served the state-building interests of the Canadian Government, who were seeking to reinforce sovereignty in Canada's northern territories.[8] The Catholic Church had established a mission in Chesterfield in 1911, to spread the Gospel to Inuit in the region, as well as operating a hospital to serve the health needs of both Inuit and the small Qallunaat community. This community had regular contact with the outside world, particularly contacts in Canada, the United States and Europe. During the summer months, supply ships like the *Nascopie* and *Fort Severn* brought goods, people, and news to Chesterfield. Aircraft occasionally also brought government officials, explorers, and scientists in from the south. The radio provided a crucial link between HBC posts, and the outside world. Inuit heavily facilitated connections between posts and different Qallunaat groups, as they would drive dog-teams across the region during the winter months.

Unlike the HBC, these other Qallunaat groups were not in the Kivalliq primarily to exploit its animal resources. Despite this, their relationship with Inuit was still heavily influenced by animal interactions. The Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals report several instances of the RCMP and Inuit joining together to go for a yearly walrus hunt to acquire dog food, and presumably ivory too.[9] The missionaries also participated in walrus and seal hunts with Inuit partners, although with not the same reported frequency as the RCMP.[10] The RCMP relied on Inuit control

[8] William Barr, *Red Serge and Polar Bear Pants: The Biography of Harry Stallworthy RCMP* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2004). Shelagh D. Grant, *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010), 227.
[9] Hudson's Bay Company Archives [Hereafter 'HBCA'], Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 27 September 1932, 1932-33, B.401/a/8. 11 September 1933, 1933-34, B.401/a/9. 21 September 1937, 1937-38, B.401/a/10. 14 August 1938, 1938-39, B.401/a/11. 19 September 1939, 1939-40, B.401/a/12.
[10] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 6 October 1932, 1932-33, B.401/a/8. 14 August 1938, 1938-39, B.401/a/11. 18 September 1930, 1940-41, B.401/a/13.

of dog-teams to conduct their routine patrols and visit Inuit communities and trapping grounds.[11] Much like the HBC, they also relied on Inuit for fresh meat, as Inuit bringing in the products of their caribou hunt to Chesterfield would bring some cuts for the HBC, and some for the RCMP. However, the HBC and other fur traders remained the core Qallunaat group in the Kivalliq during this period, whose relationship with Inuit was almost entirely mediated by wildlife, especially the Arctic fox.

Qallunaat fur traders took such interest in Arctic fox because of intense market demand in the early decades of the twentieth century thanks to industrial and fashion developments in Europe and North America, as well as the Arctic fox's particular biology that ideally suited it for these markets. By the early twentieth century the fur industry had become heavily industrialised, with large scale fur markets, buyers, and suppliers. A key component of this industrial development was the advancement of fur dyeing techniques, which allowed a cheaper fur to take on the appearance of a more expensive pelt, in particular the coveted silver fox.[12] From the 1920s, fur dyers also introduced exotic colours not otherwise found in nature, creating pelts in vibrant shades ranging from blues, silvers, rose, and peach, allowing for great variety in fashion styles and colours. Arctic fox pelts were particularly suited to this industrial processing. Its extremely plush pelt hairs take dye relatively easily. The fashion trends of the 1920s and 30s also aided in the development of the Arctic fox trade, as fox fur accessories and clothes became increasingly popular.[13] The rising middle class in Europe and North America created an ever-larger market for conspicuous consumption, particularly in fashion, and fox fur accessories were in vogue at the time. Fox pelt scarves and neckpieces were an essential item of clothing for

[11] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 15 March 1922, 1921-22, B.401/a/4.
[12] Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas*, 47-48.
[13] Elizabeth Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1981), 113, 119.

middle and upper class women, and created a significant market for fox furs. However, fox furs were also used as trimmings on outdoor coats, both for summer and winter, and as warming accessories for people driving their new, non-climate-controlled motor cars.[14] All these fox products could be produced in natural colours, (the "coloured" fox has three predominant phases, red, cross, and silver, and the Arctic fox, predominantly white) or in industrial processes dyed any number of exotic and fashionable colours.

The Arctic fox was the ideal animal to meet this demand for industrially processed and dyed fox furs.[15] Arctic fox are widespread around the northern regions, with a range that stretches across Arctic North America, Russia, and Scandinavia. The Arctic fox moults in spring, and changes its fur colour in fall.. During the summer months, it maintains a thinner coat which varies in shades of brown and white. Come fall, the foxes undergo a colour morph. Their fur grows out to twice its length, alongside a warm undercoat, giving the foxes a luscious and exceptionally warm fur coverage. This fur is a plain white, or very rarely, a "blue" variation, which is a blue-grey colour that was highly prized by fur traders. This thick coat of fur insulates the foxes against the Arctic winter, allowing them to not begin shivering until the temperature drops below -70. With the arrival of spring, the foxes shed their winter coats, and return to the thinner, brown summer coats.

Fur traders and trappers were most interested in these foxes during winter, while they retained their thick white pelts. In the Kivalliq, the fox trapping season usually lasted between November and early April, after the foxes had completed their fall colour morph, but before their spring moult. During October, traders kept a close eye on the foxes around the post, to determine

[14] Ewing, *Fur in Dress*, 119.
[15] The following analysis draws upon Donna Naughton, *The Natural History of Canadian Mammals* (Toronto: Canadian Museum of Nature and University of Toronto Press, 2012), 391-395.

whether they were entering their "prime", that is gaining a thick, white, winter coat.[16] The best foxes were usually caught early in the season, before the winter fur had been given the chance to be damaged or rubbed down by the foxes' day to day activities.[17] Preparation and transportation of the fox skins was also paramount, as higher quality pelts fetched a higher price, and Qallunaat traders exhorted Inuit trappers to not only bring in a good quantity of furs, but to ensure that their furs were of a high quality as well, praising them when the brought in furs that were "in marvelous condition."[18]

For Inuit, this new industrial Qallunaat fox hunt certainly produced some changes in their lifestyle. However, in the Kivalliq, the industrial south did not dominate ways of life in this period. This stood in contrast to the conditions in Western Arctic Canada, where, as Bockstoce highlights, many Iñupiat and Yup'ik migrated from Alaska to specialise as fur trappers, and during the fur-price heyday of the 1920s, in many cases earned more than average working class southern Canadians, and enjoyed the consumer goods that came with this wealth.[19] Inuit in the Kivalliq were able to trap foxes largely because it suited their hunting rounds and pre-existing behaviours and relationship with the land. Historically, Inuit had trapped foxes to a certain extent, but they were never a large or significant part of the Inuit hunt. Inuit used fox pelts as trimmings and decorations on garments, however, fox pelts were not especially useful in clothes making when compared to the more common caribou and seal skins, and foxes did not provide a good source of food.[20] Thus, the main change brought by the Qallunaat fox trade was the

[16] HBCA Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 20 October 1938, 1938-39, B.401/a/11. Wager Inlet Post Journal, 6 November 1930, 1930-31, B.492/a/7.
[17] Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas,* 43.
[18] HBCA Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 9 December 1930, 1930-31, B.401/a/6. 4 December 1933, 1933-34, B.401/a/9. 17 November 1938, 1938-39, B.401/a/11.
[19] Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas,* 161-162.
[20] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait,* 67-68.

quantity of foxes trapped, and the equipment used to trap them. Inuit fox traps usually consisted of one of two kind of traps – the *pullat,* or box trap, and *ullisauti,* or tower trap. These were constructed of stone or ice, and once the fox was lured in, the steep walls and small size meant the trapped fox could not turn around and escape.[21] With the arrival of the Qallunaat trade, Inuit began using steel-jawed spring traps, which allowed them to trap a greater quantity of foxes on the trap-line. In the late nineteenth century, the price of steel traps had significantly declined, and their use by both European and Indigenous trappers throughout North America had increased, allowing for their wide introduction in the Kivalliq in the twentieth century.[22] These were usually laid out on the floe-ice, where Arctic foxes spend much of their winter scavenging and sourcing food.[23] This is the same floe-ice where ringed seals, one of the key Inuit sources of food and resources during winter, make their breathing holes. Inuit would hunt the seals through these breathing holes. Inuit ringed seal hunting involved a lot of time watching the breathing holes and waiting for the seals to surface, and the hunters would regularly commute between the hunting grounds and their home camps. The Arctic fox is a wide ranging species, which tracks seal pips on the ice, and scavenges from both polar bear and human kills, thus meaning that the Inuit seal hunt not only capitalised on the same area as the foxes inhabited, but could also attract foxes looking to scavenge. All this meant that at the same time they were partaking in the annual seal hunt, Inuit hunters could also lay out trap-lines, and acquire fox pelts to trade as a side enterprise to acquire Qallunaat guns, tea, tobacco, flour, and other resources.

The fox fur trade was a volatile industry, thanks to fluctuations in capitalist markets, and in fox populations. Despite this, Inuit trappers in the Kivalliq were not drawn into the industry so

[21] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait,* 67-68.
[22] H.A. Innis, *The Fur-Trade of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1927), 93.
[23] HBCA Wager Inlet Post Journals, 22 March 1926, 1925-26, B.492/a/1. 6 March 1927, 1926-27, B.492/a/2. Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas,* 18. Naughton, *The Natural History of Canadian Mammals,* 392-393.

deeply that these fluctuations had an overwhelming impact on them. Like all commodity markets, the price and demand for fox fur fluctuated, depending on fashion tastes and wider economic and global trends. During the early twentieth century the fox market was especially changeable, experiencing a price boom and investment bubble during the 1920s, with prices reaching an average price of $58.32 at HBC London auctions in 1929, before crashing alongside the global economy with the Great Depression.[24] Fox pelts would never again reach these staggering highs, but still experienced ups and downs in price during the 1930s, with a significant decline in interest from the 1940s onwards.[25] The number of foxes being traded by the HBC also boomed during the early 1920s alongside the price increases, with records of white fox sales increasing from 30,000 in the 1907-1909 period, to 120,000 in the year 1923-1924.[26]

Alongside the unstable commodity market for its pelts, the Arctic fox itself was an inconsistent quarry. Arctic fox populations experience regular cycles of boom and bust alongside their prey, primarily voles and lemmings. These cycles take approximately three to five years, where during the busts, fox populations can crash by as much as 80%.[27] These cycles are regional occurrences, meaning that even within a single post's trapping range, some Inuit may be taking large quantities of fox while others may find little. Within the month of December 1938 large discrepancies were reported in the Chesterfield Inlet journal across the Kivalliq, with fox signs and catches poor on both sides of Chesterfield Inlet, poor in Rankin Inlet, and yet quite good at Whale Point.[28] Not only did the quantity of foxes in a region affect the catch, but the foxes themselves had to take the bait laid out near the traps. If food resources were plentiful, the

[24] Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas,* 111-115.
[25] Bockstoce, *White Fox and Icy Seas,* 206.
[26] Innis, *The Fur-Trade of Canada,* 82.
[27] Naughton, *The Natural History of Canadian Mammals,* 392.
[28] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, December 1938, 1938-39, B.401/a/11.

foxes would have less motivation to investigate the scraps laid out by humans. During 1940 the traders speculated as much, noting that while fur signs were "very good", "the foxes apparently are getting plenty of mice to eat as they won't take trap bait".[29] Populations of other carnivores could also cause problems for trappers. Wolves, polar bears, and wolverine would all plunder bait from traps, and devour caught foxes, as happened in Wager Inlet during 1926 when they were plagued by a particularly troublesome set of wolves, bears, and wolverines, that had seemingly learned how to spring traps without getting themselves caught in them.[30] Naturally, both the Qallunaat traders and Inuit trappers were frustrated by these predators, but despite their best efforts, they rarely managed to capture them.

One of the most important ways that Inuit knowledge of animals assisted Qallunaat fur traders was by providing fresh country food to the posts. In this period, and barring the interrupted arrival of supply ships, the provisioning of country products was not a life-or-death matter for Qallunaat traders. Though often reduced to one shipment during the summer season, goods from the south could stock posts, albeit often through careful rationing when country food was scarce. Products including dry goods, tea, canned foods, live pigs and chickens for slaughter in fall, and even during the Second World War, the "very unpatriotic dish" of sauerkraut.[31] However, Inuit country products certainly made dining much more pleasant for the traders. The staff of Wager Inlet professed "an abhorrence of canned grub", and traders' journals often note the arrival of "very acceptable" country produce.[32] This country produce was predominantly caribou cuts, including tongues, haunches, and fatty backstraps, however, fowl, fish, eggs, and

[29] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 24 November 1940, 1940-41, B.401/a/13.
[30] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, December 1926, 1926-27, B.492/a/2.
[31] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 17 April 1941, 1940-41, B.401/a/13. Wager Inlet Post Journal, 25 October 1930, 1930-31, B.492/a/7.
[32] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 14 October 1932, 14 November 1932, 1932-33, B.492/a/9.

seal would all also be brought in at times. Inuit hunted these animals for their own use, for food, clothing, and resources such as lamp oil. The produce that they shared with Qallunaat was generally that which they could spare, and it would have presumably aided in strengthening the relationship between these two groups.

While for Qallunaat traders the acquisition of fresh country produce was primarily a matter of providing a more nutritious and varied diet, and often became critical in times of food shortage, the same cannot be said for the posts' domesticated animals. These were primarily dogs, crucial to transport across the Arctic, although Chesterfield Inlet did have a brief experiment with fox farming between 1929 and 1931, while Samson and Dick, two Inuit living around Wager Inlet, did decide to briefly keep a polar bear cub as a pet at the post in 1931.[33] The primary food provided for these animals was pinniped meat, and during the winter Inuit living at the post would regularly make trips down to the floe ice to hunt seals for dog (and briefly fox) food, while during the spring and summer, teams would be assembled to go on multi-day walrus hunts for the same purpose.[34] All Qallunaat groups at the posts needed meat to feed their dogs, so at Chesterfield the RCMP and the missionaries would accompany their Inuit employees on walrus hunts to acquire meat, along with the regularly reported HBC hunts. Keeping these dogs fed was crucial to the continued survival of both Inuit and Qallunaat in the Kivalliq, as the dogs were essential for hunting expeditions, mail runs, communication, and trade between various groups, and maintaining the social life and seasonal rounds of the region.

[33] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 1929-30, B.401/a/5. 1930-31, B.401/a/6. Wager Inlet Post Journals, 25 April 1931, 1930-31, B.492/a/7. 24 December 1931, 1931-32, B.492/a/8.
[34] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 28 August 1933, 1933-34, B.401/a/9. 13 September 1937, 1937-38, B.401/a/10.

For Inuit working as post servants, this need for country food and dog food maintained a continual connection with the land. These post servants were a mix of local Inuit, and occasionally others brought in from outside the area to assist as hunters in 2-to-3-year agreements. As well as their work around the post, which included jobs ranging from drying fox skins, laying traps, and maintaining the posts' buildings and infrastructure, they also participated in regular hunting expeditions. Angotie was a post servant at Chesterfield Inlet for much of the 1930s, and his tenure involved regular inland hunts for caribou, and expeditions to the floe for seals. These expeditions could last upwards of three weeks, during which time Angotie would be out on the land accompanied by his family, fellow Inuit, or occasionally an HBC trader.[35] This was replicated by a number of Inuit including Dick, Sic-Sac, Sutoxi and Samson working as post servants at Wager Inlet, where they would participate in these same kinds of expeditions.[36] These hunting expeditions did not only happen at the behest of Qallunaat managers. Rather, when Inuit noticed that game or hunting conditions were good, they would go out to hunt. In Chesterfield, when large numbers of Caribou were passing the post in July and August of 1939, almost all the Inuit in the area were out hunting for days at a time.[37] Equally, when Inuit spotted animals near the post, they would quickly go out and attempt to catch them, such as in 1939, when a school of beluga whales came past Chesterfield Inlet, and the Inuit in the area all joined the hunt of muktuk.[38] Even when HBC managers requested the hunt, Inuit still chose when and where exactly to hunt. This occurred in 1913 at Chesterfield Inlet, where Bye and Bye was initially sent out on a walrus hunt, but quickly returned "as he wanted to hear from the natives how the

[35] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 13 February 1931, 1930-31, B.401/a/6. 20 October 1931, 1 December 1931, 1931-32, B.401/a/7. 14 September 1937, 1937-38, B.401/a/10.
[36] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journals, 23 February 1930, 1929-30, B.492/a/6. 5 September 1932, 1932-33, B.492/a/9.
[37] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 31 July 1939, 4 August 1939, 1939-40, B.401/a/12.
[38] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 29 July 1939, 1939-40, B.401/a/12.

chances are of getting walrus".[39] Evidently, Bye and Bye was not interested in wasting his time on a futile walrus hunt without information first.

While animals and hunting formed the basis of Inuit-Qallunaat relationships in this period, most hunting that Inuit undertook was neither at the behest of Qallunaat, nor recorded in their journals. Although the Arctic fox trade involved some Inuit throughout the Kivalliq, the majority of Inuit did not live side-by-side with Qallunaat like the post servants, and as such their daily routines and activities were not recorded by the HBC. Despite this, we can still see that hunting of seal and caribou formed the mainstay of Inuit livelihoods and subsistence. Oral histories and ethnologies recorded about Inuit in this time, such as the work of Knud Rasmussen, who visited many Inuit groups across the Kivalliq, especially those who maintained limited trading contact with the HBC, provide valuable insight into the lives and worldviews of these communities. While the HBC recorded little of Inuit home lives, the HBC Post Journals carry hints of Inuit hunting practices.[40] These become apparent when Inuit trappers reported hard times in regard to food availability. Hard times resulted in reported scarcities of seal and caribou, or when poor weather conditions prevented floe ice from forming to hunt animals.[41] Thus, most of the food that Inuit in the Kivalliq were consuming was certainly still country food. They were by no means reliant on using fox pelts to pay for Qallunaat foods. Of course, Qallunaat foods did make their way into the Inuit diet, mainly flour, biscuits, tea, and tobacco, but they were not the dominant foodstuff, other than in times of starvation when Inuit came to the posts to get rations.

[39] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 6 August 1913, 1913-14, B.401/a/1.
[40] Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition, by Knud Rasmussen: with 64 illustrations and 4 maps* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), 59-60.
[41] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journals, 9 December 1929, 1929-30, B.492/a/6. 2 October 1932, 29 December 1932, 1932-33, B.492/a/9.

Qallunaat traders were also able to hunt their own food to a certain extent, although generally not with the skill or consistency of Inuit hunters. Qallunaat would sometimes accompany Inuit on their hunts, especially the seal hunt, presumably aiding somewhat with the hunting, or at the very least the transportation and caching of goods. HBC staff, both Inuit and Qallunaat, usually maintained their own trap-lines near to the post. It was also expected that Inuit would hunt while checking the trap-lines, too, such as in the case of Dick, who when checking the trap-lines, "if signs are good, a little deer hunting is anticipated.[42] Along with this, post managers and clerks would go for walks around the post and surrounding area when the weather was clear, both for recreation and scouting the fur conditions. During these walks they would engage in opportunistic hunting. For example, in October 1926 HBC staff members Brown and Hardy discovered a flock of ptarmigan while on a walk, and over the next three days proceeded to shoot 50 of them, giving the work of plucking and skinning them to Dick's wife.[43] Along with ptarmigan, the Qallunaat would opportunistically hunt Arctic hare. Post journals are replete with instances of Qallunaat bagging both ptarmigan and hare while out walking.[44] These animals were ideal for opportunistic hunting as they were abundant (though the hare, too, rose and fell in numbers in natural population cycles), and small enough to be effectively killed with the .22 rifles that HBC staff carried. They were also pleasing to eat, since both game animals bore a resemblance to more familiar Qallunaat foods like rabbit and fowl.[45]

[42] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 9 March 1931, 1930-31, B.492/a/7.
[43] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 18 October 1926, 1926-27, B.492/a/2
[44] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journals, 22 November 1938, 1938-39, B.401/a/11. 12 November 1940, 1940-41, B.401/a/13. Wager Inlet Post Journals, 4 September 1929, 1929-30, B.492/a/6. 16 September 1930, 5 November 1930, 1930-31, B.492/a/7.
[45] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 19 September 1932, 1932-33, B.492/a/9.

Inuit children also hunted ptarmigan and delivered some to the post.[46] This meant that not only were they contributing to the provision of animal products to Qallunaat traders like their parents, but they were also able to develop their relationship with the land and skills as hunters, even while living in proximity to Qallunaat settlements. It was important for Inuit children to learn hunting skills, and their first kill of a certain species of animal would be celebrated in the community, and these events would occur through childhood as they developed as hunters and moved from hunting smaller game like ptarmigan and hares, to more challenging species like seals and caribou.[47] While the HBC Journals do not mention the day-to-day activities of Inuit children beyond their ptarmigan hunt, presumably they would continue to learn the skills from their parents, and when ready accompany them on seal and caribou hunts. Inuit trappers would often bring their whole families with them to the posts to trade, and again their children would have no doubt assisted with the procurement and preparation of foods and animal products, learning the essential skills for life on the land.

The HBC Post Journals make scant mention of Inuit women, despite their vital importance to the success of the Arctic fox trade. When Inuit women are included, it is usually in passing, and even their names are almost never mentioned – rather they are simply referred to as someone's wife. However, these brief appearances in the Qallunaat record, combined with oral records of women's roles in Inuit society, points to their importance in the survival of the fur trade. One of Inuit women's most important roles was the preparation of animal skins – softening them through chewing, and stitching them into the garments that were vital to survival in the Arctic.[48] Without proper vestments, a hunter would not be able to sit at the floe edge to hunt

[46] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 19 September 1926, 11 May 1927, 1926-27, B.492/a/2.
[47] Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait,* 29-31.
[48] Bennett and Rowley, Chapter 23.

seals, or by extension visit his trap-lines.[49] As such, Inuit women's work was crucial to the acquisition of fox pelts to begin with, their clothing allowing people to work in the winter cold that gave the Arctic fox its desirable pelts. However, their contributions to the trade did not end with garment making. With their great skill at working with hides, Inuit women also worked on the fox pelts. In camp and at post, Arctic fox had to be carefully skinned for the trade. The animal hair was "tainted" when it was contaminated with any residual animal fat. After skinning, the pelt had to be washed, stretched on a hoop, and "bleached" in sunlight to cure properly. Women helped to dry pelts and prepare them for baling and transport, both in their hunting camps, and when living at the post.[50] As noted above, the quality of fox pelts collected was equally as important as the quantity, and the skilled work of Inuit women could significantly impact the profitability of a fox outfit.

Inuit hunters continued to shift their seasonal rounds as appropriate, to access the best game resources. This was necessary given the migratory patterns and fluxes in caribou population, as well as changes on floe ice and seal dens year on year. As well as aiding in subsistence hunting, this could also allow Inuit better access to fur resources. During May of 1941, Samuktuk and his family were considering spending the year up closer to Fullerton, for the spring, summer, and fall. The post managers not only approved of this decision, but also stated "we are encouraging them the best we can and if they do actually go next years collection will be increased by at least 150 foxes from what it would be if they stayed in this vicinity".[51] This is an instance where the goals of both the HBC and Inuit lined up, although potentially for different reasons. Samuktuk was interested in moving his camp to access the game resources over the

[49] Bennett and Rowley, 328-329.
[50] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 20 June 1930, 30 June 1930, 1930-31, B.401/a/6. Wager Inlet Post Journals, 29 March 1930, 1929-30, B.492/a/6. 13 May 1931, 1930-31, B.492/a/7.
[51] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 17 May 1941, 1940-41, B.401/a/13.

course of the year, and potentially would have wanted to visit friends and family while near Fullerton, while the HBC was interested in spreading their fur trapping range further, thus maximising profits. However, despite the benefits this would carry for the HBC, it was not their decision to move the Inuit towards Fullerton, it was an Inuit decision that simply had incidental advantages for the HBC. This mirrors much of the Inuit-Qallunaat relationship in this period. Qallunaat were certainly interested in encouraging Inuit trappers to work for commercial profit and focus on fox trapping as much as seal and caribou hunting, however, ultimately the decision on what to hunt, where to hunt, and who to visit rested with Inuit. This meant that Inuit maintained control over the production of furs and meat in the Kivalliq, giving them the ability to tailor their hunts to target the animal species that would them the most benefit at that particular moment.

Of course, none of this is to deny that there were some changes to Inuit lives with the arrival of Qallunaat fur traders bringing their external capitalist markets. Some of the most significant commercial products introduced to the Kivalliq were guns, western-style clothing, tea, and tobacco. Firearms were especially impactful, being adopted by large numbers of Inuit hunters by the twentieth century, and alongside the increased human presence in the Kivalliq, were perceived to have contributed to some increasing scarcity in the local caribou and fox populations. Ultimately the introduction of guns, and the real and perceived caribou crises that accompanied this, prompted government intervention, leading to the creation of game reserves, and restrictions on when, where, and how Indigenous people could hunt in the north.[52]

[52] Charles Elton, *Voles, Mice and Lemmings: Problems in Population Dynamics* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1942), 285. Scott McLean, "Beyond Neglect: Building Colonial Rule in the Kitikmeot, 1916-1952," *Canadian Historical Review* 101:1 (2020): 59-60. John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 152-155.

Aside the introduction of southern consumer goods, the introduction of Christianity brought changes to Inuit life. The work of Oblate missions in the Arctic is beyond the scope of this study.[53] However, the HBC brought Christianity in the fur trade when Inuit would come in large numbers to visit HBC Posts. At least twice a year, Christmas and Easter were celebrated by Inuit and Qallunaat. There would be dances, meals, social gatherings, and religious ceremonies. However, these gatherings mimicked those winter and spring social gatherings that Inuit would have even before the arrival of Qallunaat, with Christmas in particular sharing or adopting elements of the Sedna feast.[54] While the reason behind it may have changed, and some of the practices, such as partner sharing, would no doubt be different with a new Christian focus, the overall premise of socialisation and community remained the same. Additionally, despite some conversion Inuit still maintained traditional beliefs. For example, the manager at Wager Inlet expressed surprise to learn that some Inuit, despite being Christian, still maintained the traditional taboo of not starting to make caribou clothing until the onset of winter, in this case "until it is possible to build an igloo".[55] However, Dick's wives were willing to make caribou clothes for Brown before then – however it is unclear how and why they reconciled this and the taboo.

Another area where Qallunaat created significant change in Inuit lives was the introduction of diseases. Many years record large numbers of Inuit being struck down with illness, mainly respiratory or gastrointestinal. In the 1929-30 winter at Wager Inlet, an epidemic

[53] For a deeper analysis of the role of Oblate missions in northern Canada and the Kivalliq, see Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995). Raymond J.A. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1996). Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit, Oblate Missionaries and Grey Nuns in the Keewatin, 1865-1965* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).
[54] Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 69.
[55] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 8 October 1926, 1926-27, B.492/a/2.

led to significant death over the fall, although most other years, the journal did not record this same level of suffering from disease.[56] Several of the HBC staff were reasonably aware that it was their presence which created these problems. Since the 1920s, the HBC trade was blamed for introducing diseases to Inuit populations, and the company made attempts to address health. In 1940, the writer at Chesterfield Inlet noted that "a "cold" seems to be making the rounds as several people are confined to their tents, none of the white population affected, so far".[57] Several writers noted the presence of the hospital at Chesterfield Inlet, which while providing medical care for both Inuit and Qallunaat, also created a hotbed of viruses. One wrote that in 1933, "Two or three natives in hospital are also suffering from dysentery. It is peculiar to note that these diseases previously practically unknown in Chesterfield, originated with patients in the hospital or with natives frequenting the building."[58] Another notes in 1938 that "There is more sickness among natives in Chesterfield than there ever was before and it gets noticeably worse each year. The Hospital here is a nest of diseases, germs; we do not think the place has been disinfected since it was built and it must be rotten".[59] Thus the arrival of increasing numbers of Qallunaat in the Kivalliq produced an increase in communicable diseases which had previously been unknown in the region. However, it is difficult to definitively trace sources of diseases introduced to the north, as at the same time that fur traders were moving into the region in increasing numbers, as were Christian missionaries, the RCMP and other Canadian Government officials, explorers, tourists, and big game hunters. The Kivalliq was becoming ever more connected with an increasingly globalised southern world, and the Arctic fox trade was simply one part of this process.

[56] HBCA, Wager Inlet Post Journal, 23 December 1929, 1929-30, B.492/a/6.
[57] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 29 July 1940, 1940-41, B.401/a/13.
[58] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 17 January 1933, 1932-33, B.401/a/8.
[59] HBCA, Chesterfield Inlet Post Journal, 7 January 1938, 1937-38, B.401/a/10.

Through this process, Inuit in the Kivalliq continued to mediate their relationship with Qallunaat newcomers through animals and animal products. The primary focus animal in this era was the Arctic fox, the lucrative commodity that fur traders came to the region to find. However, other animal relationships forged this connection. The seal and caribou hunt remained crucial to Inuit lifeways, and the trade in country products was beneficial to Qallunaat too, providing some variety in their diet, and supplementary furs to send down south for trade. Inuit-led dog teams helped Qallunaat move throughout the region, whether they were seeking trade, converts, or law enforcement, and provided the main means of mail service across the area. Inuit women processed the products of the hunt for both capitalist traders, and for the Inuit community to continue wearing as clothes. Throughout this era, Inuit continued to choose which animals to hunt, how to hunt and process them, and when are where to hunt them. In this moditional economy, sometimes this was to the benefit of the capitalist Qallunaat economy, at others, it worked for the furtherance of the traditional subsistence economy, and often, those two goals overlapped, such as in the case of being able to hunt both Arctic fox and seal on the floe ice. Animals formed the basis of Inuit-newcomer relationships during this period, and this meant that Inuit relationships with those animals were able to remain relatively stable. Ultimately, this demonstrates that capitalism was able to thrive from the Kivalliq trade because its introduction at the time was compatible with the periphery, as it relied on tapping into traditional Inuit economies and hunting lifestyles. The cultural and environmental impacts of it took decades to accumulate to the point of thoroughly changing the Kivalliq, allowing Inuit hunters to engage with capital markets largely while still maintaining control of their own work and production. Avoiding Inuit dependency on trading companies also motivated the modernist plans of the HBC and its Development Department during the fur-trade era.

Ch3 – "It is useless to increase an uneconomic community": The Hudson's Bay Company Development Department and attempts to Modernise Inuit Work – 1925-1931

Between 1925 and 1931 the Hudson's Bay Company established a Development Department to introduce new ideas of scientific modernity to the Company's trading, and particularly to the lives of Indigenous peoples working for them. Inspired by the modernist ideas which were in vogue during that era, the Development Department produced or proposed experiments and inventions which were designed to improve the diversity, efficiency, and profitability of HBC products. On top of this, they aimed to bring modernist ideas and living to Indigenous people employed by or trading with the HBC, by proposing dietary, employment, and lifestyle changes. Some of the changes suggested included fixed housing, dietary supplements, wildlife preservation, and a shift towards Western work habits, such as regular and consistent production, and tasks to more occupy free time, such as in craft work. These programs addressed both First Nations living in Canada's boreal forest region, and Inuit living in the Arctic regions, with much of the focus being given over to Inuit development. Particularly, they sought to improve Inuit self-reliance and reduce company expenses when it provided rations occasionally when the hunt failed, modifying labour cycles to year-round rather than seasonal work, and maximising the efficiency of existing hunting and animal-processing practices. Despite the efforts of the Development Department to modernise the HBC's fur trade, and the lives of Indigenous people, ultimately, very little came of such initiatives, especially in the Kivalliq. Factors and traders were reluctant to implement some suggested changes, others like a proposed seal pemmican industry simply had fundamental flaws that prevented their success. Inuit in the region largely continued to practice their traditional hunting and living routines, engaging with

the wider capitalist economy in a moditional way, as a supplement to their own economy. The Development Department remains a worthwhile topic of study in relation to the Kivalliq despite its overall failure to significantly impact the lives of Inuit in the region, since it provides insight into how the HBC perceived the region and its Inuit employees, and equally how the Inuit animal-centric economy and trade was robust enough to be largely unaffected by modernist scheming in the era.

Relatively little has been written on the history and significance of the HBC Development Department, however, works addressing the modernist project in Canada, and attempts to impose this vision on the Arctic, Inuit, and the environment, are all of relevance to the goals and ideas of the Development Department. Few studies have been directed to the work of the department with the exception of Anne Morton's analysis of its archival remnants in the company's archives and Robrecht Declerq, who studied its contribution to the company's science and technology within its commercial endeavours.[1] The most prominent writer on Canada's modernist project, and specifically its relationship to Inuit in the Kivalliq, is Tina Loo, whose text *Moved by the State* directly addresses the high modernist relocation project of Inuit in the Kivalliq in the post World War 2 era.[2] This is especially significant for demonstrating the development of the modernist project in the Kivalliq post-1945, where the expanding Canadian state took a greater effort in attempting to "modernise" Inuit populations, compared to the somewhat haphazard efforts of the HBC during the 1920s. My own work will contribute to this historiography by demonstrating how the HBC conceived of these development plans during the

[1] Anne Morton, ""We Are Still Adventurers": The Records of the Hudson's Bay Company's Development Department and Fish and Fish Products Department, 1925-1940," *Archivaria* 21 (Winter 1985-86): 158-165. Robrecht Declercq, "Natural Born Merchants. The Hudson Bay Company, Science and Canada's Final Fur Frontiers (1925-1931)," *Business History* (2019): 1-15.
[2] Tina Loo, *Moved by the State: Forced Relocation and Making a Good Life in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019).

1920s, and despite their failed efforts to make any significant change to Inuit life in the Kivalliq, its work revealing the robust nature of the Inuit economy at the time.

The HBC Development Department was primarily founded with the goal of maximising the efficiency and use of underutilised natural resources. Facing competition from rival trading companies such as Revillon Frères, criticism from the Canadian Government, and the RCMP who first voiced concerns over the welfare of its Indigenous trappers, the HBC founded a research and development arm to increase its profits, and ostensibly the lives of Indigenous peoples. In 1925 the HBC recruited Lever Brothers' innovation manager Charles Townsend to head up the Development Department. The company also hired as a consultant, to work under the department's direction, Oxford ecologist Charles Elton to do research on furbearing animal populations to assist in planning the company's trade. Their programs sought to better understand and utilise the fur resources, and, in the Arctic, find employment for Inuit that would shift their work towards year-round capitalist production, thus increasing the profits of the HBC. Posts throughout the Canadian Arctic were used as sites of experimentation, with Southampton Island, Wager Inlet, and Repulse Bay being the chosen Kivalliq posts. One of the key pillars of this endeavour was finding uses for animals which were being hunted, but not extensively traded into capitalist markets. Notable examples of these are seal, walrus, and beluga whale products. All three of these animals were being hunted by Inuit for subsistence and their own use, but they were not being widely traded by the HBC. Thus, it was given to the Development Department to conduct experiments and find commercial uses for these animals' hides and by-products.

The HBC also faced criticism for the welfare of Indigenous trappers after the famed discoverer of insulin, Frederick Banting, made scathing comments to a journalist about the HBC, which were then publicly carried around the world, coming from a 1927 sightseeing tour of the

Arctic in the company of Group of Seven artist A.Y. Jackson.[3] The HBC had already been swept up in criticism on the issue of Inuit health. In 1923, an American trader had visited Port Burwell post on Hudson Strait, describing the "squalid, starved, miserable natives" he saw there. He blamed the influence of outsiders and hoped that a return to their "normal life" before contact would return them to health.[4] The RCMP criticized the HBC over its impacts on Inuit in the 1920s, and the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921 to 1923 identified tuberculosis and other diseases taking Inuit lives, and pressured the Federal Government to limit the numbers of trappers and traders in the Arctic. The HBC's trade was criticized for its parsimonious exchange rates that it offered Inuit for their products and making Inuit dependent on European traded clothing and foodstuffs that undermined their health.[5] A major concern for the Development Department was to create a healthy and productive Inuit population in the Arctic. The Development Department proposed and attempted to implement measures that indeed sought to modify Inuit ways of living and make them more acceptable to Western notions of civility and cleanliness. The Development Department was closed in 1931 after Charles V. Sale, a champion of the department, was stood down as governor of the HBC, as a result of significant financial losses experienced by the company with the onslaught of the Great Depression by 1930. The company resumed development initiatives but focussed them on frozen cod and salmon products after 1934.

The HBC Development Office archival records are contained within the HBC Archives, and are largely ordered according to Governor Charles Sale's record keeping practices during the 1920s. This archive contains a diverse set of records including directives from the HBC

[3] Frank James Tester and Paule McNicoll, "A Voice of Presence: Inuit Contributions towards the Public Provision of Health Care in Canada, 1900-1930," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41:82, November 2008, 555-556.
[4] Walter J. Vanast, ""Hastening the day of extinction": Canada, Québec, and the medical care of Ungava's Inuit, 1867-1967," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 15:2, 1991, 57-58.
[5] Tester and McNicoll, "A Voice of Presence," 548-552.

administration, experiment records from the department's own laboratory, instructions from the Development Department to HBC posts and district head offices, the Canadian Committee, internal communication, letters, and clippings from contemporary academic journals and newspapers. These records highlight the Development Department's ambitions and work at the time, and cover a range of topics from Inuit health, to fur and hide tanning, to a large segment dedicated to oil processing. They also cover experiments designed for specific trading posts, particularly cod liver oil programs intended for use in the HBC's Newfoundland and Labrador posts. However, most of the Development Department's files as they relate to Inuit and the Canadian North are from the central office in London and appear to be intended for use throughout the company's Labrador, Baffin Island, and Kivalliq posts. These sources allow for an effective analysis of the plans and ideas of the Development Department, and when read along their grain they can provide deeper insight into the modernist thinking of the time, as many of the sources are perfunctory and to the point in describing their plans. However, to gain a better understanding of how these programs were implemented, often unsuccessfully, in the Kivalliq it is essential to consult both the HBC post journals of the relevant posts, and Inuit oral histories, which provide a perspective on Inuit economies and ways of living outside of the development aims of the HBC. This is crucial as it allows an insight into the context that the Development Department was often missing or ignoring when it proposed welfare measures for Inuit.

One area where both the Canadian Government and the Development Department shared an interest was in the need for intervention in the preservation of caribou herds and wildlife resources. Upon his return from his northern tour, Banting had made critical remarks about the HBC to a newspaper reporter, whose story carried in wire services around the world, deeply embarrassing the company. In response, Charles Sale asked Banting to submit a report to the

HBC, which the company circulated to Arctic and northern traders for comment. Most traders dismissed many of his assertions. They were, after all, based on only Banting's fleeting glance at northern conditions while his ship stopped at posts in its circuit. But some of his comments were taken more seriously. Banting believed that caribou herds were being swiftly depleted, and that "the Company could do much to assist in their conservation by keeping the Eskimo along the coast line where his natural food is plentiful" and that "the slaughtering of caribou during the winter months should be discontinued".[6] The Development Department's response to this was positive, unlike their responses to many of Banting's suggestions, stating that "the Company agrees with the idea of the conservation of caribou herds".[7] Banting also suggested the conservation of all Arctic resources, with the creation of preserves, limitations on hunting, and closed seasons, all of which the Development Department took as reasonable suggestions.[8]

In this respect, the Federal Government had already acted in many areas of the north in caribou and muskox conservation. The 1917 Northwest Game Act had increased regulations on hunting in the north, establishing closed seasons – albeit allowing Indigenous people to hunt should they be in dire need and facing starvation. Following the first federal and provincial game conferences in Ottawa, the Federal Government began setting aside game preserves to conserve wildlife for Indigenous people. Besides establishing Wood Buffalo National Park in 1922 and vast game preserves in 1923 (the Backs River, Victoria Island, Banks Island, and Yellowknife preserves), in 1927 it established the Thelon Game Sanctuary east of Great Slave Lake to protect migratory caribou and muskoxen. The HBC's Development Department ordered its posts in

[6] G. Milling, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 1 February, 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, Hudson's Bay Company Archives [Hereafter 'HBCA'] A.95/54, 26-27.
[7] Milling, "Memorandum," 1 February 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 26-27.
[8] Milling, "Memorandum," 1 February 2918, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 28.

1926 to undertake a programme of conserving meat taken, by organising seal and walrus hunts, and caching the meat within the post, so that Inuit would have sufficient stores of meat if food shortages occurred, with the caveat that these supplies should be used only in case of emergencies.[9] These programs were predicated on two key beliefs, that Inuit could only survive on country foods and must be kept living as "traditional" a lifestyle as possible, this to support the company's own trade with them, but also that Inuit could be irresponsible as hunters, improvident or unable to manage wildlife resources sustainably for their own subsistence.

These views did not take into account Inuit's own perspectives on hunting and wildlife management. Inuit remained dedicated to seal hunting during the fox hunt, hunting both animals on the ice floe as has been investigated in previous chapters. While there were periods where food resources were scarce, because of factors such as poor ice conditions, Inuit did not perceive periods of hunger with the same fear and trepidation as Qallunaat, seeing them as an unpleasant but predictable reality.[10] Furthermore, Inuit maintained different perspectives on wildlife depletion, seeing shortages of game as a result of hunters having disrespected taboos, the animals, and spirit entities, rather than a result of overhunting. Tununirusirmiut man Ahlooloo speaks to this in the oral history collection *Uqalurait,* recalling hunting competition between four shamans leading to a shortage of seal because "you have to respect animals. If one catches something it should be shared equally among those who have none. That way you will please the animal spirits. Their lack of respect for the animal spirit world was the cause of our hunger."[11] Therefore it remained difficult for the HBC to reconcile their game conservation goals with Inuit

[9] C.S. Townsend, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 1 May, 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA,A.95/54, 74.
[10] Karen Routledge, *Do You See Ice?: Inuit and Americans at Home and Away* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 143-144.
[11] John Bennett and Susan Rowley, eds., *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).44-45.

hunters where they were significantly different to Inuit beliefs. Meanwhile their aim of limiting caribou hunting in winter would not have significantly influenced Inuit hunters in the Kivalliq, as winter hunting of caribou was very uncommon due to the taboo of hunting caribou and seals at the same time, and is rarely recorded in the regions' post journals.

The Development Department sought to industrialise the production of sealskin clothes, both to be provided to Inuit hunters, and to potentially be sold to consumers in southern markets. Unlike many of their other industrialisation plans, the Development Department did not seek to bring capitalist garment production to the north – rather, they hoped to keep Inuit as primary producers, and then ship the sealskins to England to be manufactured and returned to the North. This was envisaged with the goal of both economic development of the North, creating greater profits for the HBC, and the paternalistic goals of improving Inuit living. It was believed that European manufacturing of Inuit sealskin clothes would provide "an additional channel through which to dispose second and third grade skins".[12] By then selling these skins back to Inuit hunters at a price "not more than twenty dollars", the Development Department hoped to cement a HBC monopoly on this trade – they would be able to buy low grade seal skins cheaply from Inuit hunters, manufacture garments in England, and then sell those skin garments back to the hunters at a profit.[13] Not only did they plan to profit from Inuit buyers, they also envisaged that with some slight western modifications, these garments "might find a ready market amongst the lumbermen".[14] Along with these buyers, there was also the potential to sell the suits to other Qallunaat living in the north and in need of warm garments throughout the winter, particularly

[12] G. Binney, "Memorandum. To Mr Townsend, Seal Skin Clothes for Eskimos," 4 February 1930, Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 72.
[13] Binney, "Seal Skin Clothes for Eskimos," Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 72.
[14] Charles V. Sale, "Sealskin Eskimo Suit," 7 May 1930, Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 97.

the RCMP and missionaries. They also believed that a European made sealskin suit would be superior, and more hygienic than the Inuit made ones, thereby making Inuit life cleaner and more "civilised" in the process. They stated that "ordinary Seal Skin clothing as sewn in the north by the Eskimo themselves is very heavy in weight, badly cured and greasy…We could provide the Eskimo with an article one hundred percent better…efficiently cured and cleaned".[15] In 1930 the planned "Eskimo Suit" was completed, invoiced, and shipped to the Canadian North to be "shown to parties who might be interested in such clothing and the suit will then be taken on the ship to various Northern Posts".[16] However, with the Development Department shutting down a year later, the HBC never had the opportunity to fully realise its goals of producing and selling sealskin garments. Despite this, the "Eskimo Suit" plans are still indicative of the ways that the Development Department conceived of changing the North. Its members believed that they could produce Inuit products better than Inuit themselves through modern mass dressing in factories and new chemical processes, many of them developed in the department's own laboratory research. They also hoped to shift Inuit to being a single part of a capitalist production process, in this case primary producers, shifting them out of their traditional and moditional economies, and integrating them more thoroughly into the Qallunaat capitalist economy.

As well as attempting to modify the production of sealskin garments, the Development Department created inventions to industrialise the production of the sealskins themselves, through their so called "mastication machines". Hides, both caribou and seal, had to be softened before they could be worked into garments, and the traditional method of softening was chewing. Inuit women would chew the hides, and both the chewing process and the saliva produced during

[15] Binney, "Seal Skin Clothes for Eskimos," Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 72.
[16] J Cantley, "Sealskin Eskimo Suit," 3 June 1930, Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 108.

this contributed to create soft, workable hides, suitable for vestments, boot soles, sleeping bags, and a variety of other essential home goods. While this process was highly effective at softening skins, it created significant wear on teeth, and older Inuit women would often have heavily worn teeth from years of softening skins. In his 1927 report Banting considered the worn teeth of Inuit women to be an issue that could be solved by the introduction of "a small machine…which would do the work of the women's teeth in working up hard, dry leather".[17] The Development Department's response to this was the mastication machine, which involved a series of toothed wheels with handles to replicate the effect of chewing. Later models also included a drip device to continually sprinkle the hides with water, replicating the effect of saliva.[18] Six of these machines were shipped to posts in the 1927 and eight of the new model in 1928, with promises of further machines, which would be smaller and more efficient.[19] Ultimately the Development Department recognised that many Inuit would want to continue to chew hides, however, they intended to sell the machines for two to three dollars to those who were interested.[20] Through this machine, the HBC continued to attempt to industrialise, maximise efficiency, and tame Arctic animal products and Inuit labour. Instead of having Inuit women work hides with their teeth, hides would be worked with modern machinery, which would further the health aims of the HBC by preserving women's teeth and quicken dressing techniques in what would appear to be a more industrialised process. However, it is unclear how eagerly Inuit women took up these new machines, as there is no record of another shipment of them being developed for 1929.

[17] Milling, "Memorandum," Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 19.
[18] "Hide Softening Machine," June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 129.
[19] CT/EP, "Native Welfare," 15 June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 101. "Hide Softening Machine," June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 129.
[20] "Hide Softening Machine," June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 129.

Despite Banting and the Development Department's modernist ideals, chewing seal and caribou skins remained an effective method of processing them.

The Development Department also created plans to commercialise the flesh of hunted seals, like with its other measures both for capitalisation, and to improve Inuit welfare. An organ they were particularly interested in was the seal's liver, due to its high vitamin content. During the 1920s, mammal livers, mainly cattle, were consumed to treat anaemia, while cod liver oil was widely used for a range of health benefits. By 1928 the Development Department begun to see potential in seal livers, as "the seal is also a mammalian but the liver contains organic iodine, active, which is not found in land mammalians' livers" – combining the best of both cattle and cod livers.[21] Their tests demonstrated that "seal liver is more potent in Vitamin A…than cod liver oil", high levels of iodine that could be used to aid anaemia sufferers, and it was even suggested that this would allow it to be used alongside insulin to treat diabetes.[22] All of this meant that the seal livers "might prove to be valuable from a manufacturing point of view".[23] Not only was it predicted to be a valuable commercial product, seal livers were also expected to be a useful health product for Inuit, as it was considered that they suffered heavily from anaemia and malnutrition, and the livers would aid in treating these conditions, while maintaining a traditional diet.[24] This assumption ignored the fact that Inuit consumed seal liver regularly as part of their diet anyway, and it is doubtful they were in need of further seal liver vitamins provided by the

[21] Charles Townsend, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 18 April 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 66.
[22] Charles Townsend, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 21 June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 110-111. "Special Food for Anaemic Persons," June 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 127.
[23] Townsend, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 21 June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 110.
[24] Townsend, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 21 June 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 110.

HBC. Thus, the seal liver commercialisation plans of the HBC rested on the assumption that the Inuit economy and diet were both somehow in poor shape and needed the guiding hand of modernist development for improvement. While they were able to strike upon the health benefits of seal liver, and quantify it within the paradigms of Western science, this was likely not new information to Inuit hunters, and their efforts to encourage Inuit to consume seal liver would have been at best redundant. As with many of the Development Department's programs, it is unclear if the commercial resale of seal liver to southern capitalist markets ever came to fruition, given the closure of the department in 1931.

Alongside developing a seal liver industry, by 1929 the Development Department also hoped to establish a small seal pemmican industry in Inuit communities. Pemmican, being a dried, processed, and preserved meat product, was seen as a possible solution to the sporadic food shortages which affected Inuit communities, and with seal meat being a key part of the traditional diet, it was considered a good choice. Alongside the seal pemmican, canned seal meat was also experimented with, and in 1930 the HBC shipped both products from England to its northern posts, so that Inuit would be able to sample the product, and see if it was commercially viable.[25] After some troubles with shipping the food products to Canada, having not filled in their food safety forms properly, the HBC was able to distribute its seal products to Inuit consumers, with poor results. It was described by consumers as "too strong, salty and greasy", and "at some points it was even difficult to get the native to sample the pemmican".[26] While the seal pemmican program was brief and unsuccessful, it does provide a window into the thought processes of the Development Department. The pemmican files contain examples of romantic

[25] B.G, "Canned Seal Meat for Eskimos," 23 May 1930, Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, 1.95/55, 103.
[26] "Seal Pemmican," 5 January 1931, Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 114.

histories of pemmican use on the great plains, where bison pemmican was a key driver of economic activity and food energy until the nineteenth century.[27] By producing seal pemmican, the HBC would be able to further their aims of bringing Inuit more into capitalist economies, and providing welfare, as the pemmican would allow Inuit to have a readily accessible source of energy while working, while also maintaining a traditional diet and reducing instances of starvation. Despite the failure of the program, it nonetheless demonstrates the continued desire of the Development Department to commercialise country products to improve, in their reckoning, the welfare and economic output of Inuit workers.

Continuing in the vein of attempting to make profitable enterprise out of supposedly under-utilised animal products, the Development Department conducted experiments on the best ways to cure and market walrus and beluga whale hides. Working with John Dawbarn Tannery in Leicestershire, they determined the best ways to process these hides, and their potential use as shoes and shoelaces.[28] A. Dudley Copland, writing about his experiences with the HBC and the Development Department, stated that he and his partners had been given instructions on how to best work with these hides. The Development Department had determined that "the removal of white whale epidermis by the traditional ulu…ruined the fine grain of the porpoise leather. It should be removed chemically and in civilization."[29] Once again the Development Department had determined that the traditional Inuit means of processing animal products was inferior to newer, scientifically driven modernist methods. Both walrus and beluga whales continued to be regularly hunted by Inuit working for the HBC, predominantly as part of their subsistence,

[27] "Potted Romance," Native Welfare 1929-31, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/55, 90. For an overview of pemmican and its economic impacts see George Colpitts, *Pemmican Empire: Food, Trade, and the Last Bison Hunts in the North American Plains, 1780-1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[28] Declercq, "Natural Born Merchants," 7.
[29] A. Dudley Copland, "Harvesting the Northern Seas," *The Beaver* Winter 1974, Outfit 305:3, 44.

however skins were also taken and processed, such as over 2,000lbs of walrus hide being traded out of Southampton Island in 1925.[30] Concurrently with this, the Development Department was also insistent that walrus populations should be preserved as much as possible, and not simply hunted for ivory and leather.[31] In this instance, their goals of profiting from further walrus and beluga products, while contradictory, were relatively compatible with Inuit practices, which involved subsistence hunting of these species already, although it is unclear whether they ever became successful within the European market.

As part of their civilising and economic mission, the Development Department hoped to modify the home lives of Inuit, thereby changing their relationship with animal products and their community. One way in which they believed this was possible was the encouragement of "home industries," especially for women and children. In their welfare instructions to posts they stated that "the welfare of any community to a very large extent is bound up in the development of Home Industries".[32] They hoped that their development would "be of great help to the native in keeping the mind and muscles in condition" and give "the native the opportunity of obtaining necessities and articles which make for comfort".[33] A significant part of this initiative was that it was intended to keep Inuit busy working over the summer months, which were otherwise typically used for social gatherings. Townsend believed that "in all countries where people have a lot of time on their hands…home industries have a beneficial effect. They occupy the mind and

[30] HBCA, Coats Island Post Journals, 1920-1927, 5 Jun 1925, B.404/a/3. Note that journal entries in this folder following the 1924 closure of the Coats Island post refer to events occurring at the Southampton Island post.
[31] Townsend, "Memorandum. To: The Governor," 1 May, 1928, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA,A.95/54, 73.
[32] "Home Industries," June 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA A.95/58, 74.
[33] "Home Industries," June 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA A.95/58, 74.

bring about a change from a moody temperament to a more stable state of mind".[34] It was assumed that this would "build up a strong and virile race as is the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company", with the belief that by combining traditional Inuit foods, hunting, and crafts with Qallunaat work habits, Inuit would somehow be "improved," especially in their overall health thanks to the intervention of the Development Department.[35] The crafts which they hoped to foster was the making of toys, rugs, and clothes, which would be of use both for Inuit and for sale. In many ways this was not so different from the trinket and curio trade which took place during the whaling era, where captains like George Comer would commission Inuit to craft a variety of goods for him out of ivory or furs, often depicting animals or scenes of Inuit life. This pre-existing skill at craftsmanship indicates that Inuit already maintained active home industries, as women and young children spent a significant portion of their time making skins into clothes, blankets, and other home goods, including "models of animals in seal or rabbit skin for the 'cuddly toy' market".[36] However, these industries were largely not for the capitalist market, instead being for personal or community use – the soft toy animals being an exception to this. Copland also noted that the development of these varied "country produce" industries by the Development Department was intended to insulate Inuit producers from the potential wild fluctuations in the fur market, as well as to encourage further economic self-sufficiency among Inuit.[37] Furthermore, for the Development Department the creation of acceptable, Western-style home industries was necessary, as this would facilitate not only the transition to a more culturally

[34] "Home Industries," June 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA A.95/58, 74.
[35] Milling, "Memorandum," 1 February 2918, Native Welfare 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/54, 38.
[36] Copland, "Harvesting the Northern Seas", 45.
[37] Copland, "Harvesting the Northern Seas", 42.

acceptable standard of living, but also the move into a home which met their own standards of "comfort".

The overall philosophy of the Development Department is best summarised by their own exhortations to post managers "to organise ALL native work".[38] To organise Inuit work, Townsend's department sought to rearrange the traditional model of trade, where individual or small groups of hunters would bring their bounty to the HBC, hunting, preparing, and trading skins themselves, receiving payment for each fur they brought. Rather than utilise this model, the department instead sought to create a rudimentary production line for Inuit work, using the example of fishing, having Inuit fishing full time while in season, and having the post collecting boat regularly collect the fish, avoiding the need for lengthy journeys to the post.[39] The belief was that this would increase the productive value of the posts' trade, lower production costs, and allow Inuit hunters to build up a larger store of credit to protect against potential shortages and starvation.[40] In order to change Inuit production, the Development Department also sought to reform the work and practices of the HBC employees in Arctic posts. The Department sought to move traders into modern business practices, be proactive in identifying and developing resources in their environs, and seek ways to better coordinate the hunting and fishing of Inuit within their camps.[41] This initiative was built upon the paternalistic assumption that "the native has little care for provision for tomorrow, and little inclination to work if he does not feel

[38] "Chimo Sector," 12 September 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/58, 22.
[39] "Chimo Sector," 12 September 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/58, 21.
[40] "Chimo Sector," 12 September 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/58, 22.
[41] Report on Visit to Pangnirtung 1926-27, HBCA A.97/6.

disposed to do so".[42] While this plan ignored common Inuit practices such as caching of hunted food for future use, and the success of pre-existing Inuit hunting in providing efficient uses of time, it nevertheless provides an insight into the overall goals of the Development Department. In this, as with many of their programs and ideas relating to Inuit labour and animal products, the department's officials believed that they could improve Inuit practices, while maintaining the veneer of a traditional and unchanging lifestyle. This meant creating initiatives to occupy Inuit labour throughout the year, rather than just on a seasonal basis, with the intention of giving Inuit economic independence. In this theme of making Inuit less reliant upon post rations, they also hoped to preserve traditional ways of life and Inuit foodways, making them food self-sufficient, while also creating programs to maximise the efficiency of these foodways. Ultimately, whether through trade with whalers, Arctic fox fur trading, or within the measures of the Development Department, Inuit hunting and food practices, along with animal relationships, formed the main basis of their relationship with Qallunaat newcomers.

Ultimately, the HBC Development Department came up with many, mostly unsuccessful, plans and inventions to modify the way that Inuit worked with animal products, thereby increasing the HBC's profits, creating food and economic self-sufficiency for Inuit, and bringing modernist welfare to Inuit communities. Many of their schemes demonstrated a belief that modern science could understand animal products far better than traditional Inuit knowledge, and that new inventions would create a superior product to Inuit handiwork. Whether in their invention of mastication machines, or their belief that modern factories in Europe would create higher quality skins than Inuit women, they pushed for a new, modern, and scientifically driven

[42] "Chimo Sector," 12 September 1928, Native Welfare Instructions to Posts 1928, Development Department, HBCA, A.95/58, 20.

fur trade, led by the HBC. The Development Department was only a short-lived part of Kivalliq and fur trade history, and it left only a limited impact on Inuit lives. However, it is indicative of how the HBC administration in London, if not the traders themselves on the ground in Canada, was beginning to think about the lives of the Inuit trapping for them, and how they could be changed to be more in line with the modernist and paternalistic views of the early twentieth century. The Depression years cut short many of the department's planned initiatives. Copland, believing in the benefits for Inuit in larger scale oil and seal skin production, as well as handiworks, remembered "retrenchment and economy were the orders of the day" in the dour economic reality of the 1930s.[43] Patrick Ashley Cooper replaced Charles Sale as governor in 1931 and besides shutting down the Development Department, he ended many of its initiatives. The company further limited transport in and out of the Arctic, and it shipped only goods that could still find profits in the deflating European markets. The department's response to the criticisms of Frederick Banting and attempts to change Inuit production and lifestyles foreshadowed the larger processes which began to take place in the years following the Second World War, where the arm of Qallunaat governments fell more firmly in the Kivalliq and significantly changed Inuit lives to more closely resemble the Qallunaat values of the period.

[43] Copland, "Harvesting the Northern Seas," 46.

Conclusion

During the Second World War, the fur trade at the remaining HBC posts in the Kivalliq continued largely as it had before, albeit on a reduced basis as the market for Arctic fox furs had significantly declined. Inuit hunters still trapped Arctic fox and hunted seals on the same ice floes, and the seasonal hunting rotations between caribou, seal, walrus, and various other animals continued. The HBC posts also continued to purchase a variety of furs and meats from Inuit hunters, trading Qallunaat goods for these Inuit country products. After the Second World War, the situation for both Inuit and Qallunaat in the Canadian Arctic began to change significantly, as the Canadian Government began to significantly increase its presence in the region, based on paternalistic ideas of the need for Inuit welfare, and the growing economic and geopolitical significance of the Arctic during the Cold War. This led to, among other things, the relocation of many Inuit into new permanent settlements that altered seasonal hunting routes, the introduction of residential schools, and the push towards employment in full-time capitalist jobs in mines and shops. Thus, the moditional economic system that had persisted in the Kivalliq between 1900 and 1945 saw significant and fundamental changes, making it vastly different in this new era.

In these early decades of the twentieth century, both the Qallunaat human and economic presence in the Kivalliq increased. Whalers, chasing a declining catch, shifted towards being fur and ivory traders before they were replaced by dedicated traders themselves. These traders initially came from a variety of outfits and backgrounds before being replaced almost entirely by the Hudson's Bay Company, which came to dominate the Arctic fox trade in the region. As a large company, the HBC also took a level of responsibility for Inuit welfare and development, and its dedicated Development Department created many ultimately unsuccessful schemes to modernise Inuit life, while maintaining a kind of traditional existence based on country products.

This shifting pattern of hunting-based economies meant that the Qallunaat newcomers were consistently reliant on Inuit skills as generalist hunters, with the relatively small game loads in the Kivalliq, as well as the fickle nature of the global economy, meaning that hunting and trading was unable to have a long-term focus on a single animal species equivalent to the significance of beaver in the southern Canadian fur trade before the mid-19th century. Thus, over the decades newcomers had to rely on a wide variety of Inuit skills for their economic and physical survival, ranging from knowledge of hunting both commodity game, such as whales and Arctic fox, to subsistence game like seals and caribou, and even knowledge of how to deal with the polar bears and wolves that occasionally paid unwanted visits to trading posts. The relationships between Inuit and Qallunaat newcomers in this period were entirely mediated by these country products, which were the bounty coming from hunted and trapped animals. Thus, the Qallunaat presence in the Kivalliq was predicated on Inuit knowledge of and relationships with the animals of the region, as without this, their economic profits from the area would be vastly reduced.

Ultimately, an examination of the period between 1900 and 1945 shows the great significance of the Inuit connection to the land and the animals that inhabit it in maintaining their cultural and economic significance in the Kivalliq region, despite the increasing Qallunaat presence during that time. The economic goals of Qallunaat newcomers in this period were inherently tied to the animal wealth of the region, and therefore relied heavily on Inuit knowledge and skills in this area. This meant that the newcomers had to give their Inuit partners a certain degree of respect and independence, as they were unable to profitably colonise the Kivalliq in this period without their assistance. This stands in contrast to the post-1945 period, where the Kivalliq and the Inuit living there became far more integrated into the southern Canadian and capitalist world.

For their part, because the Qallunaat presence in the Kivalliq was so reliant on Inuit skills, Inuit were able to take what they wanted from the Qallunaat newcomers and integrate it within their pre-existing lifeway, adapting firearms, whaleboats, western clothing, and Christianity into their worldview, while also maintaining their culture in the face of more malign introductions such as disease. They engaged with the newcomers when useful, trading them furs, blubber, baleen, and meat, and in return receiving useful or enjoyable products such as whaleboats, guns, tea, and tobacco. However, their trade with the Qallunaat in this period never threatened their identity as subsistence hunters. Rather, the continued caribou and seal hunts provided a large part of their subsistence and clothing, and these hunts provided product that could still be traded with Qallunaat for anything else needed. Ultimately, the Inuit lifeway in the region, based on the hunting of various species of animals, remained robust in the presence of newcomers looking to trade for country products. The hunts of the same animals continued throughout the period, while the newcomers and their products were incorporated where useful, without changing the fundamental nature of this way of life. Between 1900 and 1945 Inuit in the Kivalliq were able to trade with Qallunaat and make them part of their own lives, while incorporating this within a subsistence hunting cycle.

For the HBC, and to a lesser extent the American whalers and other southern capitalist merchants that moved into the Kivalliq, the early twentieth century provided great profits largely from the labour of Inuit hunters and trappers. These commercial endeavours left a large environmental mark on the Kivalliq, severely undermining their key prey populations, namely bowhead whales and Arctic fox, as well as increasing pressure on the caribou and seal populations that were vital to Inuit subsistence. However, their profits ultimately came about from Inuit not significantly changing their lifestyle to adapt to southern capitalism – rather, they

came from drawing upon the vast repository of Inuit knowledge and skill around hunting, trapping, and living in the Kivalliq environment. By studying the history of hunting, trapping, and trading in the early twentieth century, we can gain some insight into the dynamics of capital enterprise in the Kivalliq before the introduction of formal government administration and town building programs. This was an era when the traditional hunt remained paramount – for both capitalistic company profits, and for Inuit subsistence and livelihoods – and ultimately it was this hunt, and relationship with animals, that mediated human relations in the Kivalliq between 1900 and 1945.

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