The Canadian Western Arctic a Century of Change

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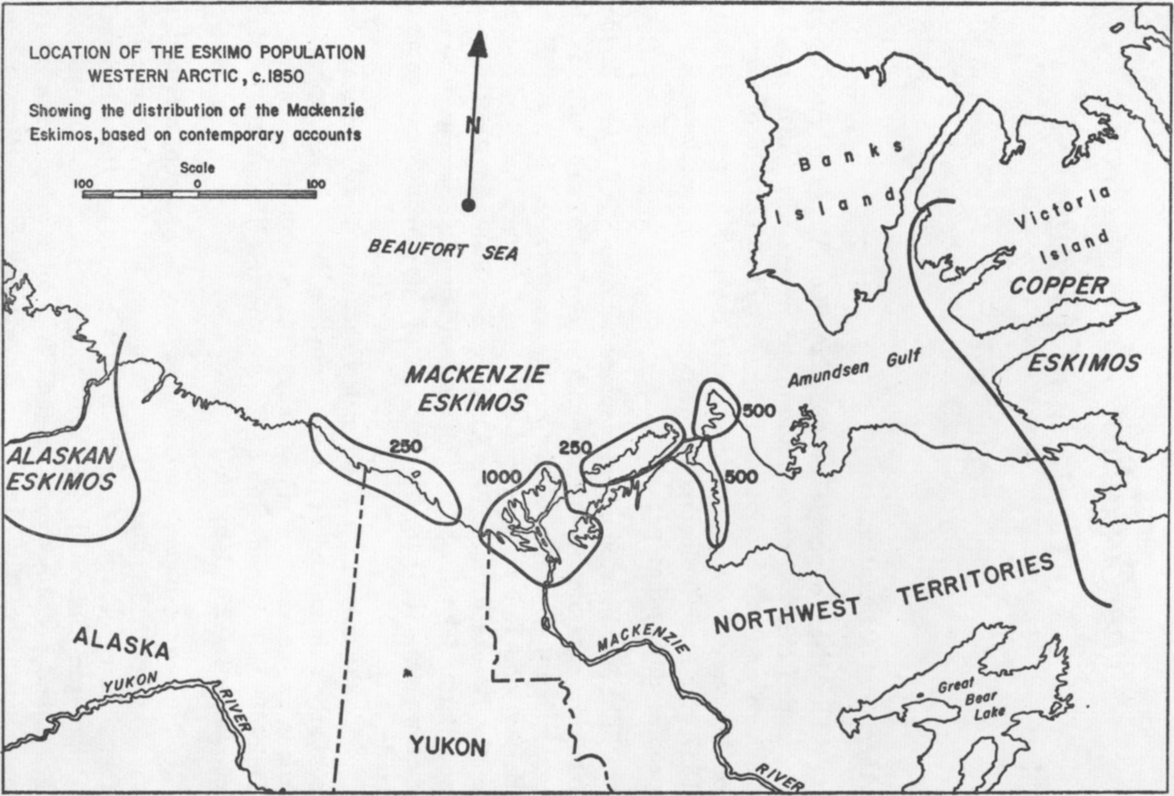
Aboriginal Population.

The Eskimo people of the Canadian Western Arctic[1] are descended chiefly from two aboriginal groups: the North Alaskan Eskimos and the Mackenzie Eskimos. The accounts of voyages of discovery and trade undertaken in the area between 1826 and 1857 give some indication of the population and ecology of these peoples during that period.

The Alaskans, numbering somewhat over 5,000,[2] were divided into two separate but interdependent ecological orientations: the whale hunting people of the coast, concentrated between Point Barrow and Point Hope, and the inland caribou hunting peoples of the Brooks Range. The Alaskan coast between Point Barrow and Barter Island was uninhabited, although in summer it was a meeting ground where Mackenzie and Alaskan Eskimos came to trade.

To the east of the Mackenzie Eskimo territory, the coast was similarly uninhabited as far as Stapylton Bay. The Copper Eskimos, numbering as many as 1,000,[3] inhabited the shores of Dolphin and Union Strait, Coronation Gulf and the eastern margins of Amundsen Gulf.

Numerous names and subdivisions have been ascribed to the Mackenzie Eskimos. There appears, however, to have been five distinct groups. One lived to the west of the Mackenzie Delta; from Shingle Point, Y.T. to as far west as Demarcation Point, and possibly Barter Island. A second group occupied the outer portion of the Mackenzie Delta, from Shoalwater to Kugmallit Bays, with their main settlement at Kittigazuit. The third group lived along the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula in villages between


LOCATION OF THE ESKIMO POPULATION
WESTERN ARCTIC, c.1850
Showing the distribution of the Mackenzie
Eskimos, based on contemporary accounts
Scale
100
0
100
N
BEAUFORT SEA
Banks
Island
Victoria
Island
COPPER
ESKIMOS
Amundsen Gulf
MACKENZIE
ESKIMOS
ALASKAN
ESKIMOS
250
250
1000
500
500
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
ALASKA
YUKON
RIVER
MACKENZIE
RIVER
YUKON
Great
Bear
Lake

Toker Point and Cape Dalhousie. A fourth group inhabited the lower Anderson River Valley and Liverpool Bay, while a fifth was centred around Cape Bathurst, from Maitland Point to about Whale Bluffs.

All of these groups were essentially sea oriented. The Cape Bathurst group hunted both black and white whales, and so probably did the Herschel and Tuk Peninsula groups. Seals were also an important food source. The outer Mackenzie Delta being ecologically unsuited to the large black whales, the Eskimos there hunted white whales, which frequent the area in large schools in summer. The Anderson River group hunted caribou, seals and walrus.[4]

The richness of the seas and the abundance of driftwood allowed a relatively dense population to flourish on Canada's northwestern shore, and indeed gave rise to villages of a size not even approached in the remainder of the Canadian Arctic. At the largest, Kittigazuit, perhaps 1,000 people gathered, at least for a fair part of the year.[5] Father Emile Petitot believed there were altogether about 2,000 Mackenzie Eskimos.[6] Stefansson believed there had been double that number,[7] but this seems rather high on the basis of contemporary accounts.

Over 100 Eskimos were seen between Shingle Point and Barter Island in 1826, and this group may have totalled at least 200 to 300.[8] Stefansson believed there were at least 500 Eskimos in the Atkinson Point area, although the accounts of Richardson and Armstrong do not indicate so large a number.[9] Again, there may have been at least 200 or 300 in all.

The Anderson River Eskimos are thought to have numbered about 500,[10] and there were likely another 500 in the Cape Bathurst area, although there are varying estimates for this group even from the same voyage.[11] With the 1,000 at Kittigazuit, this gives 2,500 people in all, which may be taken as a minimum estimate.

This mid-century distribution of population was essentially but not entirely similar to the aboriginal one, for until about 1840 there had been Eskimos around Franklin Bay and Cape Parry. They apparently moved west in response to new regional trading

patterns resulting from the penetration of Russian and British trade goods from the west and south.[12]

The Beginnings of the Fur Trade.

White-Eskimo contact during the exploration years was ephemeral, and its effects on Eskimo culture were very limited. Apart from minor changes in the distribution of population, and a few additions to the array of implements, the aboriginal culture was retained throughout the period of discovery, and indeed throughout the subsequent period of inland trade with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Eskimo visits to Fort McPherson began in the early 1850s and soon reached such proportions that the Company opened Fort Anderson specifically for the Eskimo trade in 1861.[13] The fur trade served to acquaint the Eskimos with the fact that the arctic fox, although of little value to themselves, was greatly desired by the white man. However, contact with whites was minimal, the items of barter were in the main familiar to the Eskimos, and as foxes were still taken in the traditional manner no adjustments were necessary in the cycle of economic activity.

With the fur trade came European diseases, which had an extremely disruptive effect. In 1865 for example, a scarlet fever epidemic decimated the Anderson River Eskimos, who, after the closing of Fort Anderson the following year, vacated the valley to regroup with other Eskimos further west on the coast.[14]

The Whaling Interlude

The first truly significant changes in Eskimo demography, ecology and culture in Northwestern America were caused not by the fur traders but by American whalers, who reached Herschel Island in 1890. Between then and 1907, when the baleen market collapsed, whaling ships wintered at Herschel or Baillie Island every year, obtaining an average of almost a million dollars in bone per season.[15]

The Alaskan Coastal Eskimos had been in contact with the whalers since the 1850s, and by the time whaling commenced in Canadian waters, many of the changes which were to occur

on the Canadian side had already been experienced by the Alaskan Eskimos. Disease, for example, took a heavy toll among them, especially the coastal people. As the coastal Eskimos died off, the inlanders moved into their villages to take their place.[16] The new coastal residents, having retained their caribou hunting skills, were particularly valuable to the whalers as meat hunters.

A few Alaskan Eskimos had already moved into the Mackenzie Delta country in search of better hunting grounds before 1890, because of the already dwindling country food supply in their own territory.[17] After the whalers reached Herschel Island, however, there arose a modest but steady immigration of Alaskans. They were of mixed origin; some coming from the Bering Sea coast as whalers or servants on the ships, most coming from the Arctic Slope, either by themselves or as passengers on the ships. Sometimes they were in the country only a year or so, especially those who had worked on the ships, but many stayed. Most of those who did were caribou hunting inlanders, and were indiscriminately called Nunatamiut by the Mackenzie Eskimos.

The whalers, and to some extent the Alaskan Eskimos, were a new phenomena to the Mackenzie people. They came in great numbers, in very large boats, with a variety of goods and tools. The year-round presence of these people and their material culture made Herschel a relatively much more important place to the Mackenzie group than previously; a place which would be visited at least once a year by practically everyone. The nature of white-Eskimo contact was therefore very different from that of the early fur trade. Formerly, parties of adult men went on trading expeditions perhaps once a year, and were in contact with their opposite numbers for a few days at the most. Now, men, women and children alike were in close contact with American whalers and acculturated Alaskan Eskimos for extended periods, some even permanently. They worked with them, traded with them, socialized with them, even inter-married with them; they learned their language, their customs, their technology, their value systems and economic goals. They did not adopt all of these, to be sure, but they did become aware of them as alternatives.

At first the traffic between the native peoples and the whalers was mainly in meat. With as many as 600 extra men in the region

to feed each winter, the demand was tremendous. This hunting was done chiefly by the Nunatamiut from Alaska, as they were by training and inclination much more suited to that life than were the Mackenzie people. Native meat hunters were outfitted by the whalers on a credit basis, a system which carried over quite readily to the new fur trade which was then beginning.[18]

Reorganization of the Fur Trade

From the beginning of whaling, both the whalers and the Alaskan immigrants trapped around Herschel Island, and it seems likely that steel traps were introduced to the country at that time. In addition to trapping, the whalers traded with the local Eskimos and even outfitted some to trade on their behalf. Speaking of the turn of the century, Captain Bodfish observed that:

> Arctic whalers were trading ships as well as whalers, and it was quite on the cards that a good profit might be made in trade even if very few whales were taken. There had always been some trading, but I think the trading developed to a new high level at about this time, owing to increased knowledge among the whalers, and likewise among the natives.[19]

Thus did the Eskimos of the Western Arctic become early and thoroughly acquainted with trapping and the white fox trade. It is significant that this involvement was, by an early date, no longer with a monopolistic company offering only a limited range of goods, but with a highly competitive situation in which a great variety of essentials and non-essentials could be obtained in trade. Many of these articles were new to the Eskimos, and as Stefansson pointed out, were ones "which even the Hudson's Bay factor at MacPherson had been compelled to do without."[20] They were, moreover, considerably cheaper than the Hudson's Bay Company trade goods, by virtue of having been shipped directly by sea from the American west coast rather than overland across Canada. By 1900, Bodfish was taking orders from Eskimos at Baillie Island for goods from San Francisco, to be brought up the next year.[21] Such orders were not for flour and tea but for whale boats and the finest American rifles. In short, unlike other parts of the Canadian Arctic, the new Western Arctic fur trade was characterized by individual enterprise, competitive trade, and an abundance

of material goods; an economic milieu already familiar to the Eskimos of that region from the whaling days.

Population Changes

Not all was advantage to the Eskimos, however. Just as the Alaskan inlanders took the place of their coastal brethren felled by disease, so the Nunatamiut eventually became the majority of the Canadian Western Arctic population. The Mackenzie people were subjected to further epidemics. The measles outbreaks of 1900 and 1902 were particularly catastrophic, and smallpox took many lives. Liquor, which was readily available during the whaling days, reputedly led to numerous murders among the Eskimos.

By the end of the whaling era, the population was at a fraction of its former strength. Following the 1902 epidemic, Jenness believed there were perhaps 400 Mackenzie Eskimos.[22] Police reports from the Herschel Island detachment, established in 1903, provide some estimates of the population through subsequent years. In 1905, the total native population between Demarcation Point and Baillie Island was something over 350. Of these, 250 were "Kogmollicks" (the local name for the Mackenzie Eskimos at that time), 100 were Alaskan immigrants, and there were a few "Masinkers", as the Bering Strait Eskimos brought in by the whalers as meat hunters were called.[23] The Mackenzie people retained their coastal orientation, the three largest groups being at Herschel, the eastern mouth of the Mackenzie, and at Baillie, ranking in size in that order. The Alaskans and "Masinkers" hunted in the Delta and Richardson Mountains most of the year. By the winter of 1909-10, the area contained only 260 Eskimos, divided about evenly between Alaskans and native Mackenzie Eskimos. Fifty-five were at Herschel Island, 50 at Kittigazuit, 30 at Baillie Island and 125 in the Delta and Richardsons.[24]

At the same time, in Alaska, as the fur trade replaced the whaling, Barrow Eskimos began moving east to formerly uninhabited areas. Trapping camps of two or three families each dotted the coast from Barrow to Demarcation Point. This new orientation gave renewed impetus to Alaskan immigration to the rich trapping areas of the Mackenzie Delta, especially as fur

prices began to rise. This second wave of Alaskan migrants arrived mainly in the decade 1913-23. This reversed the population decline, pushing the total to about 400,[25] although by that time, fully 75 per cent were considered to be of Alaskan origin.[26]

As World War I commenced in Europe an age had ended in the Western Arctic. The whale fishery had collapsed, and the musk-oxen and caribou had been exterminated and driven out. Most of the original Eskimo population had died, although they had been replaced in part by Alaskan Eskimos. Regardless of origin the resident population would have been unrecognizable to their aboriginal forefathers, at least in their social characteristics. They had become oriented to a market economy and dependent on the white man for many of their food stuffs as well as for hunting and household implements. New models of economic, social and religious behaviour were available for imitation and adaptation. A different people, with a different culture and different roles, were adapting to a changed habitat and new opportunities.

The character of the fur trade was unsettled at this time, and would alter considerably in the next few years. The collapse of the whale fishery in 1907 resulted in a hiatus in the fur trade as well, during the following decade. Of the hundreds of men who came north on the whalers in the 1890s only a handful chose to remain and to take up trapping and trading for a living. In 1910 there were probably not more than a dozen white men living independently on the Arctic Coast.

The Fur Trade Boom of the 1920s

Despite the relative quietude and leanness of the years before the First World War, the Western Arctic was on the verge of an explosion in commercial enterprise and prosperity. The possibility of new and changing trapping hinterlands was seen shortly after the turn of the century. The Hudson's Bay Company and other newly active business interests in Edmonton competed for control of the interior trade, and both were aware that a rich fur harvest was being denied them by the American presence at Herschel Island. Fur prices, especially for white fox, were

beginning to rise, and the American traders also sought new trapping grounds. Penetration of the Copper Eskimo territory began before 1914, and by 1923 the fur trade had reached King William Island, an advance of fully 600 miles in less than a decade. Banks Island was also part of this expanding frontier. Alaskan Eskimos and whites were sent there to trap by American trading companies until prohibiting legislation was passed in 1920.[27] Copper Eskimos also reinhabited the Island after 1915 and the Hudson's Bay Company periodically attempted to trade with them.

In this period two chief centres arose to serve the Western Arctic fur trade region. Herschel Island was the western terminus of the elongated hinterland of the coastal white fox trade and therefore acted as the chief trading centre, although the main productive area centred around Baillie Island, and later Cambridge Bay. The Delta trapping environment was smaller and more clearly defined, and its resources were of much greater density. Aklavik was established as the trading centre for this small but rich hinterland in 1912, and represented the first down-stream extension of the Mackenzie River chain of posts in seventy-two years.

The 1920s were the best years of the fur trade. It flourished in the Delta for a full decade after 1919, and for another five years on the mainland coast. During this time, settlement was characteristically scattered, both in the Delta and on the coast. Small trapping or ratting camps of a few families each dotted both environments. In addition to the larger companies,[28] numerous free traders were also located at scattered points. Many of these individuals were trappers themselves, and augmented their income by trading with a small, restricted clientele. In gross terms, the 1931 census gives us an indication of the distribution of Eskimos at that time. There were 140 in the Delta (probably including the Kittigazuit-Tuktoyaktuk area), 79 on the Yukon coast, 191 between Atkinson Point and Pearce Point, and 49 on Banks Island.

This was a period of unparalleled prosperity in the region. Muskrats sold for over $1.00 each throughout the decade. White fox furs brought $40.00 and $50.00 each in the late 1920s. Such

values were twenty-fold those of 1900. Cash incomes were commonly in thousands and even tens of thousands of dollars. One only has to recall that prices were then about one half of today's level, and that the national mean annual wage in the manufacturing industries was well under $1,000, to see that the amount of money flowing into the region was relatively enormous. There was considerable investment in the means of transport and production: traps, boats, rifles, and other gear. During the years 1928-36, there were over fifty native-owned schooners in operation (about evenly divided between the Delta and the coast), almost all with auxiliary power.[29]

Consequences of the Fur Trade Boom

Until the twentieth century, the Mackenzie Delta had never been occupied on a year round basis. The Alaskan immigrants were able and energetic trappers, and though they found abundant resources, these were soon over-harvested. The mink catch declined from 21,205 in 1923-24 to 3,630 in 1927-28.[30] The muskrat harvest also reached a peak in the early 1920s and then declined. It rose again toward the end of the decade, but due to unsteady prices the total harvest, which more trappers were sharing, did not increase in value. White trappers came in increasing numbers to the Delta, and later to the coast. Some of the Delta Eskimos moved their camps northward to keep ahead of them, while others moved east to Baillie Island, Parry Peninsula and Pearce Point.[31]

Relations between the remaining Mackenzie Eskimos and the Alaskan immigrants were cool and aloof. Corporal Wall of the Pearce Point Detachment observed that:

> The natives in the western half of the Baillie Island district especially those at Tuktukaktok [*sic*] are not so prosperous as the natives in the eastern half of the district. This may be due to the fact that they are all Canadian-born Eskimos and have not had the advantages of the schools that the Alaskan natives had, who formed the majority of the native population in the Cape Parry District. The Tuktukkaktok [*sic*] natives follow more the old mode of living, and do not care to associate with the Alaskan natives and blame them for the shortage of game.[32]

From the earliest days, many whites had commented on the differences between the Mackenzie and Alaskan Eskimos, usually

favouring the latter on the grounds of their greater familiarity with white culture and language, and their greater "ambition" and sophistication in trapping and hunting. Such cultural distinctions had geographic and ecologic expressions as well. As already noted, the Mackenzie people remained between Herschel and Baillie, hunting and trapping on the coast, whereas the Alaskans were more land oriented and occupied the Delta. As the Delta became more crowded, some of the Alaskans moved to the relatively uninhabited coast between Baillie Island and Pearce Point. At the same time, a small but important group of individuals had reached adulthood and were playing an increasing role in the economy. These were the so-called "half-breeds", whose mothers were Mackenzie Eskimos (mainly) and whose fathers were whalers. Especially in those cases where the fathers had remained in the country to trap and trade, the boys grew up as trappers, and their generation was much closer to the Alaskans in its economic motivation and resource practices. In their residence they were also more associated with the Alaskan than with the Mackenzie group.

This nascent third group, composed of Eskimos of Alaskan origin (mainly from the second wave of immigration), more recently from the Delta, and half-breed Mackenzie Eskimos, became an increasingly distinct entity, which proved the most flexible in mobility of residence, and the most versatile in resource exploitation. Many individuals of this group had travelled widely along the Canadian and Alaskan coasts and had associated with whalers, traders, and explorers. They had learned or retained skills both in inland caribou hunting and in sea mammal hunting. They were already the best white fox trappers — in a good winter some got 200 or 300 foxes, and sometimes more. Trapping was, for them, no longer a side line; it was a way of life, to which all other activities were adjusted. They were keen traders, and many had obtained large schooners with auxiliary power. Travel to Herschel Island or Aklavik was common in summer, and many of these Eskimos acquired considerable skill in coastal navigation and engine maintenance. In winter they travelled with equal facility over land or sea. From this group ultimately came the majority, and the most successful, of the Eskimos who began colonizing Banksland for trapping in 1928.

The Trapping Frontier and the Decline of the Fur Trade

In the wake of the opening of the trading frontier and the resulting influx of capital in the form of schooners and other equipment, there also occurred an expansion of the western Eskimos' own trapping frontier. This began with the move to the district east of Baillie Island, and culminated with the colonization of Banks Island and occasional forays to northern Victoria Island and Coronation Gulf.

This expansion reached its peak in the 1930s. It was by then a hollow frontier, for at the points of origin of Aklavik and Baillie Island, stagnation and decay had already set in. The fine fur bearers of the Delta, particularly mink, had been trapped out by the close of the 1920s, and in 1930 the price of muskrat fell by 75 per cent. On the coast, white fox catches were declining, and although the Depression did not create such a sudden or drastic drop in white fox pelt prices, the catch fell off so badly during the decade that hardship was no less severe for the coast trappers than for the Delta people. In 1938 Captain Pedersen sold out his extensive and popular trading chain to the Hudson's Bay Company, who moved their coastal operations to Tuktoyaktuk, and as people abandoned the Baillie Island district both the trading posts and the police detachment closed down. Thus Herschel and Baillie, for almost half a century the two chief central places of the Arctic coastal economy, both for the whale fishery and the fur trade, had by 1940 entirely lost their importance.

The retreat of the western people to Tuktoyaktuk and the Delta was already evident in the results of the 1941 census. Although in numbers they had increased from 459 to almost 700 over the decade, 377 now resided in the Delta and another 145 in Tuktoyaktuk. Only 123 remained on the coast, chiefly at the mission stations of Stanton and Paulatuk. On Banks Island, the only place where trapping still flourished, there were fifty-one Eskimos.

Although the war years brought higher prices and breathed new life into the trapping economy, its days were now numbered. The rapid decline of white fox fur prices to less than $10.00 in the late 1940s even brought a temporary retreat from Banks Island. The Bankslanders' income fell below the national average wage

level for the first time, an event which had overtaken the mainland trappers, both on the coast and in the Delta, almost twenty years previously. In the Delta, a brief upturn in both prices and availability of muskrats around 1950 allowed the ratting trade a final flourish. The Eskimo population continued to increase during the 1940s partly through immigration, and by 1951 had reached 1,072. Of these, 719 were in the Delta and 272 were in Tuktoyaktuk. The Banksland camps lay empty and a mere eighty-one people remained along the once busy and prosperous 500 miles of shoreline between Atkinson and Pearce Points.

The three groups of the 1920s had become two: The Delta people and the Tuk people, although minor sub-groupings continued to exist. A third wave of Alaskan immigrants to the Delta in the late 1940s still stands out; on the coast a small group persists at Paulatuk, and the Bankslanders have become a distinct community in their own right. The last two groups have been augmented by Copper Eskimos from Minto Inlet and Coppermine, and there are also a few Copper Eskimos in the Delta population.

The disintegration of the old fur-based economy resulted in a retraction of the frontier. Within these reduced hinterlands, however, large segments of the population remained somewhat scattered, at least at certain seasons, in the various trapping, fishing and whaling camps. Many people still ran extensive although not particularly productive traplines.

The Modern Era

Relief came to the region's stricken economy in 1955. The construction of the DEW line and of the new town of Inuvik brought jobs and a major shift to a wage economy. The jobs were often temporary but the change irrevocable. The assumption of a wage position was frequently a more binding commitment than the Eskimos at first perceived; both their capital equipment and their inclination to trap were dissipated, so that a return to that activity became difficult or impossible. During the last decade there has been a very significant decline in hunting and trapping activity and in camp life, as more and more individuals have moved into the major settlements. The great majority of the population is now urbanized.

On Banks Island, white fox trapping has been revived, and a few families continue to reap both a high standard of living and a rewarding way of life from this activity. On the mainland, reindeer herding has fulfilled a similar, although less successful, function. A few mainlanders still trap by preference or by force of circumstances, although trapping there has become a part-time pursuit with low remuneration. In the post-construction years, local resources have declined in importance as services and administration have become the chief income producing sectors of the economy, and those who for centuries harvested the resources have accordingly found their life style and skills superfluous to the modern economy. The decision by the federal government to engage in massive construction projects in the region, and in particular to translplant the suburban life of southern Canada to the Arctic, has within a few years proved more destructive of traditional native life than the previous century of white-Eskimo contact.

Notes

This paper is a revised version of a paper read to the 19th Alaska Science Conference, Whitehorse, Yukon, August 30, 1968.

1. This term refers here to the mainland coast from the Alaskan boundary eastward to Pearce Point, and to Banks Island.
2. D.C. Foote, "Exploration and Resource Utilization in Northwestern Arctic Alaska Before 1855" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1965), p. 247.
3. Diamond Jenness estimated their numbers at 700 to 800 in 1914 (*The Life of the Copper Eskimos,* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, vol. 12, pt. A [Ottawa, 1922], p. 42), but there is evidence of population decline during the previous decades.
4. R. MacFarlane, "Notes on Mammals Collected and Observed in Northern Mackenzie River District, North-West Territories of Canada," in *Through the Mackenzie Basin,* ed. Charles Mair (Toronto, 1908), p. 163. Further information on the aboriginal populations is given by M.R. Hargrave, "Changing Settlement Patterns Amongst the Mackenzie Eskimos of the Canadian North Western Arctic," *Albertan Geographer* 2:25-30 (1965-66).
5. V. Stefansson, "The Distribution of Human and Animal Life in Western Arctic America," *Geographical Journal* 41: 449-460 (1913), p. 452.
6. *Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson* (Paris, 1876), p. 2.
7. Stefansson, "Western Arctic America," p. 452.
8. John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (London, 1828).

9. John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (London, 1851); A. Armstrong, *A Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the North-West Passage* (London, 1857).

10. J.R. Mackay, "The Valley of the Lower Anderson River, N.W.T.," *Geographical Bulletin* 11: 37-56 (1958), p. 39.

11. Armstrong, *Discovery of the North-West Passage,* p. 176; S. Osborn, ed., *The Discovery of the North West Passage* (London, 1857), p. 92.

12. V. Stefansson, *Prehistoric and Present Commerce Among the Arctic Coast Eskimo,* National Museum Bulletin no. 6 (Ottawa, 1914), p. 12; *idem, The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition of the American Museum: Preliminary Ethnological Report,* Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 14 (New York, 1919), p. 11.

13. J.K. Stager, "Fort Anderson: the First Post for Trade in the Western Arctic," *Geographical Bulletin* 9(1):45-56 (1967).

14. *Ibid.,* p. 56.

15. Canada. Royal Northwest Mounted Police, (hereafter cited as RNWMP) *Annual Report* 1908 (Ottawa, 1909), p. 140.

16. Stefansson, "Western Arctic America," p. 451.

17. Stefansson, *Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition,* pp. 194-195.

18. The credit system was a much more prominent feature of the reorganized fur trade than of the early inland trade.

19. H.H. Bodfish, *Chasing the Bowhead* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 191.

20. V. Stefansson, *My Life with the Eskimos* (New York, 1913), p. 39.

21. Bodfish, *Chasing the Bowhead,* p. 191.

22. Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, 11: Canada,* Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 14 (Montreal, 1964), p. 14.

23. RNWMP, *Annual Report 1905,* Pt. 1 (Ottawa, 1906), p. 129.

24. RNWMP, *Annual Report 1910* (Ottawa, 1911), p. 151.

25. K. Rasmussen, *The Mackenzie Eskimos,* Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, vol. 10, no. 3 (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 49.

26. PAC, NA & NR/NAB 6217. The abbreviation, followed by the appropriate file number, refers to the files of the Northern Administration Branch, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and its predecessors, now deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.

27. Beginning with the passage of the Northwest Game Act in 1917, the Dominion government sought to regulate hunting, trapping and trading in the Northwest Territories in the interests of conservation and native self-sufficiency. One means of accomplishing this was seen to be the creation of native game preserves from which both whites and foreign born Eskimos would be excluded. Victoria Island was the first area so designated in 1918. Banks Island was added in 1920 and in turn both became part of the huge Arctic Islands Game Preserve in 1926.

28. Among these, (apart from the Hudson's Bay Company) were Liebes and Co. of San Francisco, The Canalaska Trading Company belonging to Captain C.T. Pedersen, the former whaling master from San Francisco, and the Northern Trading Company of Edmonton. Of these, Pedersen's Canalaska Company provided the most formidable opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company.

29. PAC, NA & NR/NAB 5472.

30. *Ibid.,* 6026.

31. Canada. Royal Canadian Mounted Police, *Annual Report, 1929* (Ottawa, 1930), p. 99; M. Metayer, ed., *I, Nuligak* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 159-160.

32. RCMP, *Annual Report, 1930* (Ottawa, 1931), p. 88.