IN THE NAME OF SCIENCE, ENTERTAINMENT AND EMPIRE: BRITISH STEREOTYPES OF EASTERN ARCTIC INUIT FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

CATHERINE CORMIER

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History (M.A.).

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Laurentian University
Sudbury, Ontario

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Abstract

This study of the evolution of British stereotypes of Inuit examines myths and stereotypes as a phenomenon of popular culture in the Imperial Age. To accomplish this work, select British voyages to the Arctic from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century are examined. The British interest in the Arctic for over three hundred years helps to explain some stereotypes of Inuit that developed as a result of their contact. Particular attention is paid to cases where Europeans transported Inuit to Europe either willingly or under duress. The early and subsequent encounters in later centuries forever changed the relationships between the indigenous and non-indigenous in the North, based on their expectations of each other and the effects of acculturation. Paradoxically, while the level of dependency between Inuit and the British evolved in the Arctic over the centuries, the early stereotypes continued to exist outside of the Arctic.

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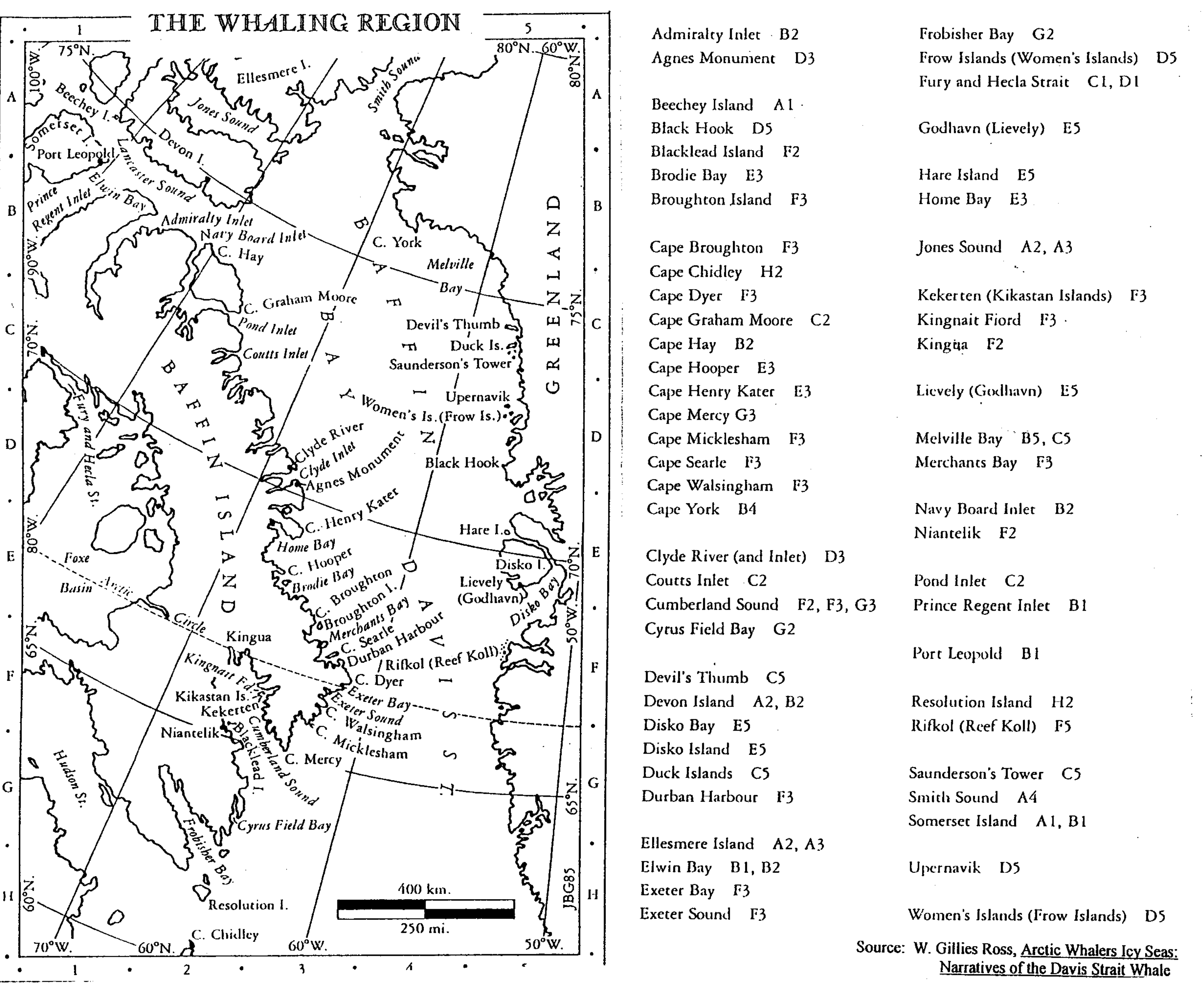


Admiralty Inlet B2
Agnes Monument D3

Beechey Island A1
Black Hook D5
Blacklead Island F2
Brodie Bay E3
Broughton Island F3

Cape Broughton F3
Cape Chidley H2
Cape Dyer F3
Cape Graham Moore C2
Cape Hay B2
Cape Hooper E3
Cape Henry Kater E3
Cape Mercy G3
Cape Micklesham F3
Cape Searle F3
Cape Walsingham F3
Cape York B4

Clyde River (and Inlet) D3
Coutts Inlet C2
Cumberland Sound F2, F3, G3
Cyrus Field Bay G2

Devil's Thumb C5
Devon Island A2, B2
Disko Bay E5
Disko Island E5
Duck Islands C5
Durban Harbour F3

Ellesmere Island A2, A3
Elwin Bay B1, B2
Exeter Bay F3
Exeter Sound F3

Frobisher Bay G2
Frow Islands (Women's Islands) D5
Fury and Hecla Strait C1, D1

Godhavn (Lievely) E5

Hare Island E5
Home Bay E3

Jones Sound A2, A3

Kekerten (Kikastan Islands) F3
Kingnait Fiord F3
Kingua F2

Lievely (Godhavn) E5

Melville Bay B5, C5
Merchants Bay F3

Navy Board Inlet B2
Niantelik F2

Pond Inlet C2
Prince Regent Inlet B1

Port Leopold B1

Resolution Island H2
Rifkol (Reef Koll) F5

Saunderson's Tower C5
Smith Sound A4
Somerset Island A1, B1

Upernavik D5

Women's Islands (Frow Islands) D5

Source: W. Gillies Ross, Arctic Whalers Icy Seas: Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale

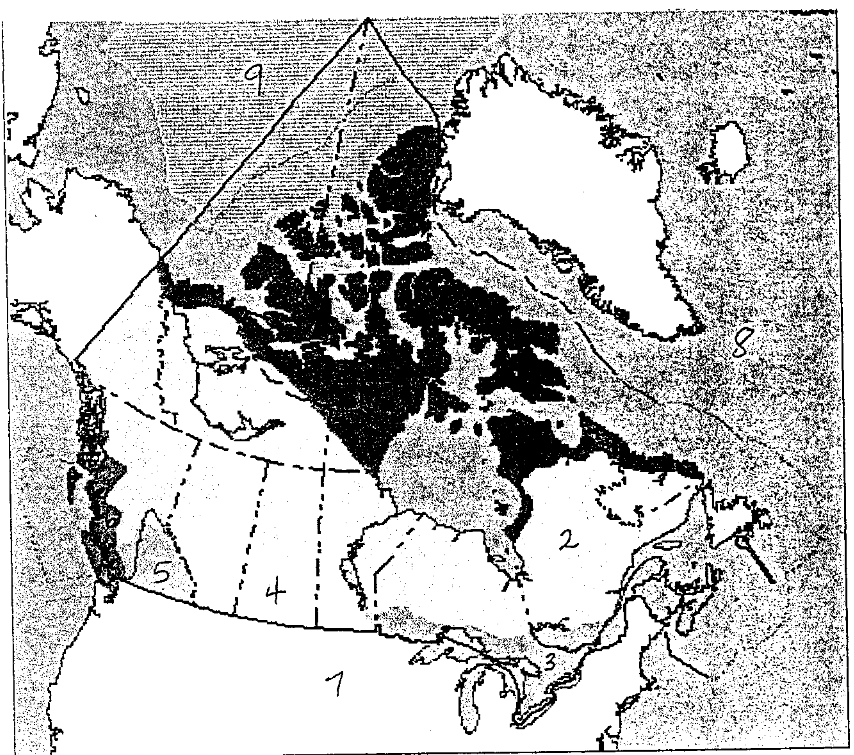
Aboriginal Cultural Areas of Canada

Aboriginal Cultural Areas

- 1 Arctic
- 2 Subarctic
- 3 Northeast
- 4 Great Plains
- 5 Plateau
- 6 Northwest Coast
- 7 Regions outside Canada
- 8 Water area
- 9 Polar Ice Area

Boundaries

- International
- Provincial / Territorial
- Canada / Kalaallit Nunaat dividing line
- EEZ (200 mile)



Abstract:

Canada may be divided into six broad Aboriginal cultural areas based on major geographic regions. Tribes in the same region share a greater number of cultural affinities than tribes from different regions. However only in the Arctic do the lines of geography, language and culture coincide so closely. Nunavut's boundary strongly reflects that of the cultural zone of the Aboriginal people of the Eastern Arctic. The Inuit are descendants of the Thule, who came from Asia and lived in the Arctic for thousands of years. Their language, Inuktitut, is spoken by most of the population.

Source: Natural Resources Canada, The Atlas of Canada, 2004

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Introduction

Imagining a Northwest Passage

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Europeans travelled from their homelands in search of a Northwest Passage to the Orient. Besides the Vikings who sailed west beyond Iceland and Greenland near the end of the first millenium, many historians believe, virtually no one ventured past the chilly waters of the Sub Arctic regions of the North Atlantic to explore uncharted territories and waters in the land of ice and snow before the fifteenth century. By then, explorers from the British Isles and continental Europe were intrigued by the mysteries of these unknown waters, and enticed by the search for adventure and fortune. A new trading route was the impetus for risking life and limb in the frigid northlands; these journeys were not for the faint of heart.[1] Were they prepared for the harsh realities of the Arctic? Did early explorers expect to encounter the First Peoples who lived in this frozen place? Did the Europeans believe that the uncharted lands that bordered these waters were already inhabited by people who called the North their home? Were they prepared to face the challenges of the elements without the assistance of these First Peoples?

[1] For a discussion of Arctic enigmas and myths with respect to misperceptions of Arctic geography see Paul Simpson-Housley, The Arctic: Enigmas and Myths (Toronto/Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1996)

Besides the obvious incentive of commercial gains, the power of imagination must have played a pivotal role in the decision-making process for those who supplied the financial backing for the first recorded journeys to the Arctic, and also for those who dared to challenge the open seas to reach unknown shores.[2] Perhaps a direct route to India and China would finally be discovered if explorers were just given the opportunity to travel to the west, instead of around the Cape of Good Hope in their quest for new trading routes to the Orient. Could they fathom that the known world would change forever for these Europeans who imagined uncharted routes beyond their established journey-ways? Obviously the risks associated with exploring the unknown outweighed that of not even attempting to find a Northwest Passage. But, who were these Europeans who imagined that they could sail west to the Orient and who were the Original Peoples who inhabited the land of ice and snow?

For the purposes of this study, select British voyages to the Arctic from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century will be examined. The British interest in the Arctic for over three hundred years will help to explain some stereotypes of Inuit that developed as a result of their contact. The early and

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[2] For a discussion of imagining the Arctic from a British perspective see Robert G. David The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818-1914 (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2000). Bruce Trigger notes that "the Heroic Age played a prominent role in the nationalistic history-writing of the post-Confederation era….Few nineteenth-century historians would have admitted that Canadian history began prior to the arrival of the first Europeans." Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers *Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), p. 6

subsequent encounters in later centuries forever changed their relationships, based on the expectations of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the North and the effects of acculturation; the stereotypes continued to exist. Most of the early textual and pictorial records of this contact are from the British perspective, since the people who inhabited the Arctic before the arrival of the British relied on the oral tradition to pass their history from one generation to the next.

Few records of Inuit oral tradition are readily available to the student of history who does not reside in the Eastern Arctic and is not fluent in Inuktitut. As a result, there are definite barriers and limitations when relating the perspective of Inuit, and it would be presumptuous to assume that the British perspective is the only one that should be considered for a study within the history of the Arctic.[3] Hopefully by exploring the possible motives behind British attitudes towards Northern Peoples in the contact periods, and the actions that resulted from those motives, some of the gaps in Canadian history will be filled to form part of our whole history. The regions of the Far North and the Near North of Canada have unfortunately been overlooked by many historians in the past, but the importance and significance of this region of Canada and the original people who occupied those lands can no longer be

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[3] In the 1990s Aboriginal history and Ethnohistory encouraged the incorporation of the Aboriginal oral tradition as a non-traditional source. See Roger Spielmann, "Broken Arrow": Canadian History Through Native Eyes (unpublished draft, 2004)

ignored or marginalized. Before the early British expeditions to the Arctic can be discussed, earlier sightings of Northern peoples by other Europeans will be examined in order to build a context for the British stereotypes of Inuit that continued to exist in the nineteenth century.[4]

Early reports about Thule, ancestors of Inuit, refer to them as Skrellings.[5] In fact, Viking sagas, the oral tradition of passing stories from one generation to another, make reference to some of the earliest reported sightings and suggest that people who lived in the Arctic were first seen by early Viking explorers. The Vikings, some of the "earliest maritime adventurers of the Middle Ages,"[6] were descended from the Scandinavians, the leading European sea power from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, when the Norse commercial empire extended across Russia, Sicily, Normandy, Ireland, and Greenland. Colonists immigrated to Greenland from Iceland in 986 AD following the devastating effects of a famine ten years earlier, and when they arrived they found "the remains of dwellings, parts of boats, and stone tools, all belonging to Eskimos of an earlier era."[7] While the Norse did not encounter Skrellings upon their arrival, evidence that other people inhabited the Arctic must have prepared them for future

[4] Inuit is the preferred term of reference for this thesis. In the interest of historical accuracy however, other terms of reference that some may consider to be outdated or derogatory are included in the study. For guidelines with respect to terminology see Edward J. Hedican, Applied Anthropology in Canada *Understanding Aboriginal Issues* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 5-8 and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "Terminology Guide," <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca>
[5] Wendell H. Oswalt, Eskimos and Explorers (Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, Inc., 1979), p. 5. According to Oswalt, the Scandinavian translation of Skrellings is 'barbarians.'
[6] Oswalt, p.8
[7] Oswalt, p. 9

encounters. The likelihood of the future contact is also supported by Inuit oral history, because according to Minne Aodla Freeman, an Inuk from the James Bay area, her ancestors reported:

> funny boats that used to be seen traveling around at a distance. Because it was not known who they really were and where they came from, Inuit called them *arnasiutiit* – Women Kidnappers. They were described as being tall people, with long blonde hair, who smoked white pipes. Their boats used to be described in detail, such as that they were shaped like old worn-out boots, the front coming up inwards like a turned-up nose. They had paddles that were long.[8]

Early in the eleventh century, Thorvaldr, the second son of Eirikr Thorvaldsson, also known as Eric the Red, continued in the footsteps of his older brother Leifr Eiriksson, and set sail in a southwestern direction from Greenland in 1004-1005, on a Norse sponsored expedition in search of new lands to establish settlements.[9] On a second voyage the following summer, Thorvaldr led an exploring party that sailed north to the English River located in Labrador's Hamilton Inlet, where they encountered nine other human beings. Although some sources report that the Vikings encountered Skrellings, whom they regarded as barbarians, they may have been Algonkians whom they met instead, because the Algonkians lived in the Hamilton Inlet region, and the

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[8] Minnie Aodla Freeman, "ikumaaluminik – Living in Two Hells," in Morris Zaslow, ed. A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands 1880-1980 (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1981), p.268. While Freeman does not specifically identify the visitors as Vikings, her reference to their boats with paddles helps to situate the visitors within an early time period such as the eleventh century. Freeman spoke at a symposium celebrating the centennial for the Arctic Islands.

[9] Leifr was intrigued by stories of forested lands seen by Bjarni Herjolfsson in 986 AD, that was likely Labrador. See R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, eds, Origins *Canadian History to Confederation* ,Third Edition (Toronto/Montreal: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1996), pp.24-25. See also Oswalt pp.7-24.

Norse reports were based on claims that they discovered three Skrellings sleeping beneath skin boats.[10] According to Oswalt, three men could not physically fit underneath a kayak, and the possibility that it was an umiak is out of the question, because it would have been impossible for the one surviving Skrelling to launch the boat following the skirmishes between the two parties that left at least nine people dead, including eight Skrellings and Thorvaldr.[11] On subsequent journeys the skirmishes continued, so the Norse did not establish a permanent settlement there in the eleventh century.[12]

Over two hundred and fifty years later, in 1266 or 1267, there were reports of encounters between hunting parties of Norsemen and Thule on the west coast of Greenland. According to Renée Fossett,

> Two sentences in *The Greenland Saga,* written in the early 1300s, recorded all that the Norsemen could say about the other arctic people at the time: "Toward the North, hunters have found some little people whom they call Skrellings; their situation is that when they are hurt by weapons their sores become white without bleeding, but when they are mortally

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[10] See Origins, p.25 for an account of contact between skraelings and Thorvaldr. There is a report that by the eighteenth century Inuit lived in Byron Bay just north of Hamilton Inlet. See J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak," The Beaver, (Winter 1983), p. 10. According to Renée Fossett, "By about 1600, however, Inuit had established a permanent village at Eskimo Island in Hamilton Inlet, and between 1600 and 1630, they were making forays as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle, where French trading posts and settlements had begun to appear." See Renée Fossett, In Order to Live Untroubled *Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), p. 59

[11] Oswalt pp. 10-11. An umiak was a larger Inuit boat also referred to as a 'woman's boat,' because women traditionally rowed the boat with oars. It was used to transport an entire family's worldly goods when traveling to a new settlement during seasonal migration. The umiak was also used by men to hunt whales, before the introduction of whaleboats by the Europeans. Men traditionally used the kayak, or 'man's boat,' when they were not pursuing whales.

[12] Origins, p.25

> wounded their blood will hardly stop running. They have no iron at all; they use missiles made of walrus tusks and sharp stones for knives.[13]

Archeological evidence near L'Anse Aux Meadows located on the northern tip of present day Newfoundland offers proof of the Viking settlements dating back to at least the eleventh century, and Viking sagas and Inuit oral history confirm Viking movements in the Arctic during that time period.[14] The textual record from *The Greenland Saga* also situates the Thule and the Norse within a relatively close distance to each other in the vicinity of Greenland.

According to Fossett, Scandinavian reports of visits from the Thule date back to the thirteenth century. "Little pygmies" in skin boats were sighted by Danish cartographer Clavus Swart in the early fifteenth century, as Fossett writes,

> in the 1420s the Danish cartographer Clavus Swart noted he had seen "the little pygmies...after they had been caught at sea in a skin boat which now hangs in [the] Cathedral [at Trondheim]. In the cathedral there is also a long boat of skin which was taken with the same kind of pygmies in it." On his maps, Swart placed a large island halfway between Norway and Greenland, which he thought must be the home of the owners of the skin boats. The Trondheim cathedral records indicate that a kayak and an umiak were indeed among its museum pieces in the fifteenth century, and the cathedral's inventory descriptions of the time make it clear they were Greenland-style boats.[15]

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[13] Fossett,, p.3. See Oswalt p. 7 for references to *The Greenlanders' Saga* with respect to oral narratives of the Norse traders.

[14] Oswalt, p.12. He states that Helge Instad discovered and excavated the site in 1960, also thought to be Leifsbudir. See also Origins, p. 25 where it states that Helge Ingstad and his wife Anne Stine Ingstad used clues from the Viking sagas to locate the site at L'Anse Aux Meadows.

[15] Fossett, p. 80

The Swart reference differs from the earlier encounters by the Vikings because he sighted them in European waters. His testimony is also significant because it proves that following the capture of "the little pygmies," the Scandinavians collected and displayed artifacts as museum pieces in a public building. But any additional information about Skrellings was not added to a European knowledge base until the middle of the sixteenth century, when competition for resources increased as a direct result of the growing commercial enterprises of European merchants. With trade growth it therefore followed that explorers were enticed to undertake transoceanic voyages in the name of empire and profit.

During the late fifteenth century another significant trend began to emerge with respect to a growing fascination with non-European races. There were reports that Columbus and other early explorers to the 'New World' brought slaves of Aboriginal descent back to their respective European homelands. According to historian Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "[t]he early voyages of discovery all had a wholly material end in view, and slaves were rated as valuable as gold or spices by the explorers."[16] While these slaves provided unpaid labour for their new owners, and represented proof of the

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[16] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indians Abroad 1493-1938 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943), p.xvii. See also Olive Patricia Dickason, The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984)

accomplishments of early explorers, they also served as curiosities for aristocrats.

For the purposes of this study, a selection of cases where Inuit were transported from the North illustrates this fascination with the exotic that possessed Victorians of the nineteenth century.[17] By tracing some recorded cases from the eastern Arctic, including the northern territories of Labrador and Newfoundland that date from as early as the sixteenth century, a chronology will reveal a pattern of Inuit who left the North of their own accord, or under duress. The motives and the actions of those who transported Inuit abroad will help to explain the early foundations for stereotypes that became part of the folklore of the Europeans with respect to the First People who inhabited the Eastern Arctic and the Sub Arctic regions of Labrador and Newfoundland. References to the Eastern Arctic are not defined by current political boundaries since the dimensions of the Arctic and Sub Arctic region varied over the

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[17] The term 'exotic' is used in literature regarding stereotypes of indigenous peoples. See Richard D. Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 286. The term is synonymous with 'foreignness' and 'strangeness.' See Burton Benedict, "Rituals of Representation: Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs," In Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn, eds., Fair Representations *World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), p. 36. See also J.C.H. King, "Family of Botocudos Exhibited on Bond Street in 1822," p. 243 and P.J.P. Whitehead, "Earliest Extant Painting of Greenlanders," pp. 141, 154 and Christian F. Feest, "Indians and Europe? Editor's Postscript," In Christian F. Feest ed., Indians and Europe, an Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 624. In the same volume see J.C.H. King, p. 243. See also Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian *The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), p. 121. See also Robert David, The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818-1914 (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 132-184. See also Elsbeth Heamen, Commercial Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions at Home and Abroad During the Nineteenth Century (Department of History, University of Toronto, 1996), p. 405

centuries. For the purposes of this study the Eastern Arctic extends from: South Baffin Island and surrounding area in the west; the western coast of Greenland in the east; Baffin Bay as far north as Pond Inlet; and in the south, the northern portions of Ungava and Labrador. In order to establish that the early stereotypes constituted an integral part of the social constructions of race in the nineteenth century, a brief survey of related secondary sources on racism and Canadian Arctic History will also be examined.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter One, Historiography and Methodology, is a discussion of the historiography and methodology relevant to the thesis. Chapter Two, Bringing the Exotic Home, begins with the earliest cases of Inuit brought to Europe in the sixteenth century. Subsequent cases in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries trace how the trend evolved over time. Chapter Three, Northern Commodities and Western Markets, traces the nineteenth century cases of Inuit to Europe and the significance of the sustained presence of whalers and missionaries at the permanent shore stations in Cumberland Sound. Chapter Four, White Myths: Frozen in an Historical Stereotype, recaps the treatment of Inuit brought to Europe as trophies, curiosities, entertainment and scientific specimens from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. The chapter concludes with a look at popular culture at national and international exhibitions in the Victorian Age, and the rise of the new sciences of ethnography, ethnology and anthropology as they relate to the

designation of Inuit as a 'primitive race.' The conclusion, Capturing Inuit and Capturing Imaginations, summarizes the events and outcomes of this trend over three hundred years as it relates to concepts within the sub disciplines of Arctic History and Aboriginal History.

Chapter One

Historiography and Methodology

While historical studies of Canadian regions define our collective identity as a nation, few historians have focused on the Arctic and Sub Arctic region. The regions of Canada are distinctive in terms of: geography; climate; natural resources; culture; and population distribution. The 'limited identities' of regionalism that J.M.S. Careless applies to the rest of the country also relate to the Arctic and Sub Arctic region. He argues that "it can still be contended that the nationbuilding approach to Canadian history neglects and obscures even while it explains and illuminates, and may tell us less about the Canada that now is than the Canada that should have been – but has not come to pass."[18] Arctic History is a relatively new area of study and according to Kerry Abel in her introduction to a historiography of the North and Northwest in Canadian North a Reader's Guide, "[f]or the North there are no bibliographies of specifically historical references." Few publications address the history of this specific region of Canada.[19]

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[18] J.M.S. Careless, " "Limited Identities" in Canada," in Carl Berger ed., Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1987), pp. 5-12. This article was written in response to a review article by Ramsay Cook that, according to Careless addressed "Canada's perennial problem: its lack of national unity and identity." See p. 5

[19] Kerry Abel, "The Northwest and the North," in Canadian History A Reader's Guide (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 326

An early contribution by Morris Zaslow in 1971 focused on Canadian Arctic History in The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914, his contribution to the Canadian Centenary Series. It was part of a "new cooperative history of Canada" according to W.L. Morton, Executive Editor and D.G. Creighton, Advisory Editor for the series. His work answers Morton's early call for a balance between the region and the nation as part of his ongoing focus on national developments from a regional perspective.[20] Zaslow's narrative style explores the economic, political and social history of the region. The Eastern Arctic is included in his examination. He calls for more work on the history of the region with respect to the expansion of the North. Ten years later in 1981 Zaslow edited A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands 1880-1980, a multidisciplinary approach to Arctic history published by the Royal Society of Canada. The publication is a selection of the presentations by the "foremost authorities in the fields of natural and social sciences, history and law, administration and industry" at a symposium commemorating the centenary of the British transfer of the Arctic Islands to Canada in 1880.[21]

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[20] According to Carl Berger, "In his Presidential Address to the Canadian Historical Association in 1960, he argued that Canada had been profoundly shaped by the existence of the North – a perpetual frontier along the line that separated the farm from the wilderness, the territory beyond which cereal crops could not be grown." p. 250. See also p. 256. For a discussion of Morton's approach to history see Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History *Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900, 2nd edition* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 238-258
[21] Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. ix; Morris Zaslow, ed., A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands, 1880-1980 (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1981), p. v

The recent publications of the last two decades expound on the earlier work of Zaslow for Arctic and Sub Arctic history in general and for Eastern Arctic history in particular. A subdivision of the region is an area known as the Middle North, and the scholarship of Ken Coates and William Morrison centres on this specific area that reaches from coast to coast to coast, located below the sixtieth parallel. In The Forgotten North A History of Canada's Provincial Norths they lament the lack of attention paid to this part of the region for they argue that it possesses a rich and complex history. Usually defined in terms of geological and biological characteristics, Coates and Morrison state that:

> [w]hile contemporary rhetoric likes to paint the Provincial Norths as "new" land, a region of the present and future, the region has in fact been the homeland for a diversity of indigenous societies for several thousand years. These people lived on and with the land, and did not attempt to change or exploit it, in sharp contrast to the newcomers who would arrive later.

According to Coates and Morrison the history of indigenous people in the Middle North is central to the region's history. They credit the work of anthropologists, ethnographers and Native elders for helping to unravel the realities of early Aboriginal history.[22]

In the twenty-first century, Northern Visions honours the work of earlier historians and calls for further research on broader perspectives of the North within Canadian history. Editors Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates propose that

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[22] Ken Coates and William Morrison, The Forgotten North *A History of Canada's Provincial North* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1992), p. 17

instead of focusing on the lack of attention that the Arctic and Sub Arctic receive as a region of our country, it is imperative that historians "explain exactly how and why the North is important to Canada and Canadian history." They note the dichotomy for Northern history when they state:

> It is wrong to argue that the North has been neglected, for the region figures prominently in Canadian fiction, painting, movie-making, and general imagery. Yet we manage somehow simultaneously to celebrate and ignore our northern areas. We mythologize the North, and then overlook its economic importance. We are awestruck by the physical beauty and frightened by the extremes of winter, but we pay little heed to the lessons for all of Canada to be learned from the historical evolution of the North.[23]

Coates and Abel argue that the rest of the country can learn many historical lessons from the Canadian North, specifically lessons with respect to: adaptation to climate, geography and newcomers; the role of the Canadian government as a colonizer of the North; the North's role in the process of nation building; the economic and ecological impacts with respect to rich natural resources; the transient non-indigenous population; celebrating nordicity with other circumpolar nations; and contemporary governance in the Eastern Arctic as a model for other Aboriginal peoples.[24]

Just as the indigenous population is central to understanding the history of the Middle North, Coates and Abel note that "[t]he remarkable history of the Inuit people has not yet been fully incorporated into our understanding of

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[23] Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates, Northern Visions *New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2001), p. 8
[24] Abel and Coates, pp. 9-19

Canadian history." As already stated, the indigenous people of the North, like their ancestors, are linked to the land. Studies within the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology and ethnology trace Inuit prehistory to the Dorset and Thule cultures. The archaeological studies of Peter Schledermann and Robert McGhee verify that Northern history does not begin with the early contact period. Inuit are central to the history of the North.[25]

For traditional historians, studies of the Arctic begin with the early contact period of explorers and Inuit in the sixteenth century. As early as 1914 Stephen Leacock commented, "[t]he voyages of such men as Frobisher, Davis and Hudson, and the journeys of men like Hearne and Mackenzie led to the opening up of this vast country and belong to Canadian history."[26] Although the age of exploration is not insignificant, to only consider a traditional approach to the history of the North is incomplete for it leaves a rich and complex aboriginal history at the periphery. The prehistory of the Inuit predates their contact with the Europeans.

While Inuit prehistory is verified by archaeological evidence and supported within the oral tradition, anthropologists and ethnologists have also

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[25] Abel and Coates, p. 13. For studies on the prehistory of Inuit see Hans-Georg Bandi, translated by Ann E. Keep, Eskimo Prehistory (Seattle: University of Alaska Press, 1969); Schledermann, Peter, Thule Eskimo Prehistory of Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island, Canada (Ottawa: Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper No. 38, 1975); Robert McGhee, The Dorset Occupations in the Vicinity of Port Refuge, High Arctic Canada (Ottawa: Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper No. 105, 1981).

[26] Stephen Leacock, Adventurers of the Far North (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914), pp. 137-138

contributed to the recorded history of Inuit and offer valuable records for the non-traditional approach to history. Following the classic Eastern Arctic and Sub Arctic ethnological studies of Franz Boas and Lucien Turner at the end of the nineteenth century, European scholars such as Kaj Birket-Smith and Hans-Georg Bandi set the groundwork for twentieth century anthropological studies of Aboriginal culture in the Arctic.[27] The sizeable contributions of Diamond Jenness, a renowned expert of Inuit studies, include over eighty books and articles on aboriginal life. According to George F. MacDonald, Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Jenness is still respected as "an explorer, scientist and scholar, [and] he was Chief Anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada (a forerunner of the Canadian Museum of Civilization) from 1926 to 1947."

In 1964 Jenness addressed the history of the Eastern Arctic in "Eskimo Administration: II. Canada" written under the auspices of the Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 14.[28] The recent contribution of

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[27] Franz Boas, "The Central Eskimo," In Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington: Smithsonian Institute,1888). A monograph on Greenland Inuit was published simultaneously by Gustav Holm. For a recent publication of the work see Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1964); Lucien Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory," In Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1889-1890); Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, Eskimos (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1972). Birket-Smith recorded the culture of Greenland Inuit as early as 1936. This was originally published as Eskimoerne (Rhodos, Copenhagen: Fyens Stiftsbogtrykkeri, 1971); Hans-Georg Bandi, translated by Ann E. Keep, Eskimo Prehistory (Seattle: University of Alaska Press, 1969). This was originally published as Urgeschichte der Eskimo (Stuttgart: Gustav Fisher Vertag, 1964)

[28] See David Morrison, Arctic Hunters *The Inuit and Diamond Jenness* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), p. 5. 'Foreward' is written by George F. MacDonald, Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Diamond Jenness, "Eskimo Administration: II. Canada." In Arctic Institute

Frédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten and François Trudel, Memory and History in Nunavut Volume I Representing Tuurngait (2000), typifies current anthropological scholarship with respect to the history of Eastern Arctic Inuit. Their research is part of a collaborative effort between Laval University (GÉTIC), Nunavut Arctic College (Nunatta Campus) and the Pairijait Tigummivik Society.[29]

In 1977 the first issue of Études/Inuit/Studies was published as a multi-disciplinary research journal on "Inuit culture, society, language and history." Bernard Saladin d'Anglure of Université Laval (Quebec City) first suggested the idea for this journal to the members of Association Inuksiutiit Katimajiit at the university when he recognized the need for a periodical that dealt specifically with the Inuit, Inupiat, Yupiit, and Aleut peoples. Subsequent volumes provided texts in three languages of English, French and Inuktitut, and covered subjects such as: "cultural anthropology, demography, linguistics, and musicology, dealing with social change, symbolism, semantics, and morphology." American and Canadian experts are the contributors, and an offshoot of the journal is the biennial Inuit Studies Conference. Periodicals that

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of North America Technical Paper No. 14 (1964), pp. 7-17. The work of Christopher Trott must also be acknowledged in this survey; however, his published work concentrates on Inuit in the twentieth century.

[29] Frédéric Laugrand, Jarick Oosten and François Trudel, Memory and History in Nunavut Volume I Representing Tuurngait (Iqualuit, Nunavut: Language and Culture Program of Nunavut Arctic College, 2000). The authors examine the contributions of James Edmund Peck, an Anglican Evangelical missionary in the Arctic and his accurate and detailed recording of *tuurngait*, the shamanic helping spirits of Inuit. In the book, contemporary Inuit credit Peck with a precise and complete listing of the *tuurngait* in the previously unpublished work by Peck.

had earlier beginnings such as Arctic and the Polar Record published valuable information on the region, but did not focus specifically on Inuit. Arctic Anthropology, established in 1962 as an international journal, published articles on archaeology, ethnology and physical anthropology.[30]

The multidisciplinary publications from Boas and Turner to Études/Inuit/Studies are scholarly contributions to our understanding of Inuit culture, but they often lack Canadian historical context and first-hand Aboriginal oral histories.[31] A limited number of historians publish work on Inuit history. Excluding the work of Wendell H. Oswalt and Hugh Brody that encompasses a broader range of the Arctic and is essential reading for any complete study of Inuit in general, even fewer publications deal specifically with the history of Eastern Arctic Inuit, with the exception of a recent publication by Renée Fossett.[32] In her book, In Order to Live Untroubled, Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550-1940, Fossett substantiates her claims by drawing on a diverse number of sources to explain "how different Inuit societies

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[30] Louis-Jacques Dorais, "Études/Inuit/Studies turns 25," Études/Inuit/Studies, vol. 25, no. 1-2 (2001), Editorial, pp. 7-8

[31] Jennifer S.H. Brown, currently the director at the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg noted that while some "historically oriented works by anthropologists" are invaluable as part of a multidisciplinary approach, they cannot stand alone as historical sources for writing Aboriginal history. See Jennifer S.H. Brown, "CHR Forum, Doing Aboriginal History: A View from Winnipeg," The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 84, no. 4 (December, 2003), p. 616. Brown holds a degree in anthropology. See p. 615

[32] Hugh Brody, Living Arctic *Hunters of the Canadian North* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987); Wendell H. Oswalt, Eskimos and Explorers (Novato, California: Chandler & Sharp Publishers Inc., 1979). A short section is devoted to Inuit and Beothuk history in Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992), pp. 86-97.

developed strategies and adaptations for survival to deal with the challenges of their physical and social environments over the centuries."[33] She traces Inuit history from the prehistory of their ancestors, through the contact periods to the mid-twentieth century. Fossett's broad research for this book, based on her doctoral dissertation, and her years living among Inuit as a community teacher, qualify her expertise with respect to her contribution to the sub-discipline of Arctic history. Other historians, W. Gillies Ross, Daniel Francis and Dorothy Harley Eber, examine specifics of the Arctic whaling industry and provide invaluable contributions to the history of Eastern Arctic Inuit. Ironically, while Inuit are protected in The Constitution Act under the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, they are not well represented in Canadian historical writing.[34]

Since the 1960s, First Nations History has gained prominence as a sub-discipline of social history. Early studies include path-breaking works by A.J.

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[33] Renée Fossett, In Order to Live Untroubled *Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550-1940*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), back cover. It should be mentioned that Keith Crowe has contributed to Inuit history with his publication in 1974 and revised edition in 1991. It was originally a technical report of the 'Man in the North Project.' Crowe worked as a research officer for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (1970-1973), and lived most of his life among Aboriginal peoples of the North. According to Crowe, the report was published "as a classroom text for northern native students of early teenage." Keith J. Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal/London: Arctic Institute of North America/ McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), Preface.

[34] W. Gillies Ross, Arctic Whalers Icy Seas: Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale Fishery (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1985). Ross is also the author of "Whaling and Eskimos; Hudson Bay 1860-1915," In National Museum of Man Publications in Ethnology, No. 10 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975); Daniel Francis, Arctic Chase: A History of Whaling in Canada's North (St. John's Newfoundland: Breakwater Books, 1984) ; Dorothy Harley Eber, When the Whalers Were Up North Inuit Memories From the Eastern Arctic (Kingston/Montreal/London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). Dorothy Harley Eber offers a unique blend of facts based on textual records and the oral testimonies of Inuit from the Eastern Arctic in her book. See also her article, "Eskimo Memories," History Today [Great Britain], vol. 39 (November, 1989), pp. 45-50.

Ray, Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown regarding the fur trade experience, regional studies, government policies and the impact of missionary endeavors. With the rise of social history in the 1970s, the history of First Nations expanded from a marginal area of study, and gained legitimacy when a larger audience outside of the discipline responded to the political emphasis on the demands, claims and statements of First Nations peoples in Canada.[35] In the 1980s, the themes of colonization and the impact of missionary activities became the focus of historical attention.

By the 1990s, a shift to an Aboriginal-centred analysis of the historical experience of indigenous peoples in Canada emerged in scholarship that focused on "an examination of the dynamics and transitions within an Aboriginal community or society."[36] Attention was paid to the agency of Aboriginal people, as is evident in Carol Cooper's article "Native Women of the Northern Pacific Coast: An Historical Perspective," where she discussed the continued position of strength with respect to Nishga and Tsimshian women within their communities, in the traditional era and in the mission era.[37] Less emphasis was placed on "the antiquated stereotype of Aboriginal people as passive victims in the era of settlement," and the significance of Native

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[35] Ken Coates, "Writing First Nations into Canadian History: A Review of Recent Scholarly Works," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 81, no. 1 (March 2000), p. 99

[36] Coates, p. 104

[37] Carol Cooper, "Native Women of the Northern Pacific Coast: An Historical Perspective," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 27, no. 4 (Winter 1992-1993)

resistance was addressed. Scholarship of the 1990s was based on understanding the past by exploring the conflicting values of colonialists and First Nations People.[38] Oral histories and testimonies were used as sources, but more traditional approaches were not abandoned with this new emphasis, in fact, "[r]eliance on documentary materials remains the centerpiece of most scholarly studies in the field….Historians continue to focus on relatively familiar themes, such as education (and residential schools), government policy, and indigenous-newcomer encounters."[39]

A surge of interest in Aboriginal history in the last twenty years has run along a parallel course with the involvement of Inuit, Métis and First Nations in the Canadian political process. As Ken Coates notes, "[f]ew areas of Canadian historical writing sit as close to the intersection of scholarship and contemporary public policy." Aboriginal discontent with the Indian Act was first examined by the Hawthorne Report, *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* (1966), which recognized and supported aboriginal rights in Canada. The report was overshadowed by the 1969 White Paper which took an opposite

[38] Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Desparately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?" Canadian Historical Review, vol. 75, no. 4 (December 1994), p. 544. Brownlie and Kelm explore the altruistic motives of colonists as an excuse for their culturally oppressive actions. For a reply to their article see Douglas Cole, J.R. Miller, and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Desparately Seeking Absolution: Responses and a Reply," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 76, no. 4 (December 1995)
[39] Brownlie and Kelm, p. 106

approach.[40] In 1982 *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of the Constitution Act guaranteed equal rights for all Canadians "without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability." Minority rights were protected under the Charter.[41]

The prevalence of Aboriginal concerns within the political process in recent years have also included the Meech Lake Accord (1987) and the Charlottetown Accord (1992), where the issue of self-government as a third dimension of the division of power in Canada was debated. *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996) and the *Marshall Decision* (1999) relied extensively on the history of Aboriginal Peoples in their decisions. In addition to the federal attention to Aboriginal rights, court cases with respect to residential school abuse and the wrongful imprisonment of David Marshall signal the need for contextualized historical knowledge.

Contemporary issues with respect to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada are therefore directly linked to the burgeoning field of Aboriginal history, and underline the importance of continued study within this sub-discipline of Canadian history. According to Keith Thor Carlson et al, "The responsibility this role places on historians is ominous yet stirring, for what scholars of Native

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[40] Rand Dyck, Canadian Politics *Critical Approaches, Second Edition* (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1996), pp. 164-165

[41] Ken Coates, "Writing First Nations into Canadian History: A Review of Recent Scholarly Works," The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 81, no. 1 (March 2000), p. 100. For Constitution Act see Dyck, "Appendix B," Constitution Act, 1982, Schedule B, p. 639

history have to say is genuinely significant today, not just to other academics and indigenous readers but to all Canadians."[42]

Stereotypes of Aboriginals are mythical constructs of race in Canadian history and hold a prominent position in recent academic writings. For Jennifer H. Brown, the Oka crisis was the turning point with respect to the direction of Aboriginal history in the 1990s.

> In the summer of 1990 the crisis at Oka, Quebec, over a proposal to build a golf course on disputed Aboriginal land, and the resulting seventy-eight-day standoff between the Mohawks and police at Kanestake, enormously increased the visibility of Aboriginal issues. Among other things, the media images and rhetoric the conflict engendered sharpened many Canadians' awareness of and sensitivity to stereotypes of Native people. In December 1991 the national CBC Radio series, *Ideas*, aired a powerful two-hour documentary program, 'Isinamowin: The White Man's Indian,' produced in Winnipeg by Maureen Matthews. It explored and critiqued the 'warrior' stereotypes fostered by the coverage of Oka and, for decades before, by Hollywood western movies, along with other stereotypes, negative and positive....Many of these themes were picked up and reinforced in Daniel Francis's book, *The Imaginary Indian*, published the following year....The events at Oka also had ramifications in universities, bringing Aboriginal history and issues to the forefront in academic and student circles.[43]

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[42] See Keith Thor Carlson, Melinda Marie Jetté jand Kenichi Matsui, "An Annotated Bibliography of Major Writings in Aboriginal History," The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 82, no. 1 (March 2001), pp. 122-123. The authors warn against the dangers of 'advocacy research' "that poses the foremost threat to the field's future legitimacy." See p. 125. A number of other historians recognize this connection. See Ken Coates, "Writing First Nations into Canadian History: A Review of Recent Scholarly Works," pp. 101-102; Ken S. Coates and Robin Fisher, "Introduction," In Ken S. Coates and Robin Fisher, eds., Out of the Background *Readings on Canadian Native History* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998), p. 3; Kerry Abel, "Tangled, Lost and Bitter?" Current Directions in the Writing of Native History in Canada," Acadiensis, vol. XXVI, no. 1 (Autumn 1996), p. 96; J.R. Miller, "Native History," In Doug Owram, ed., Canadian History: A Reader's Guide Volume 2: Confederation to the Present (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 179

[43] Brown, p. 619;

The attention paid to Aboriginal stereotypes as a result of the Oka crisis is central to this study because when they are considered within their historical context, stereotypes reveal social constructions of race.

Popular culture in the nineteenth century reinforced the labels for British stereotypes of Inuit that were established for over three centuries. Studies with respect to stereotypes of other Aboriginals provide the framework for the discussion of Inuit in this thesis. In The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas, historian Olive Patricia Dickason explores the stereotypic labels of 'savage' and 'uncivilized' with respect to early encounters between Europeans and First Nations in New France. She notes the narrow world view of European attitudes and assumptions when few considered the fact that "Amerindians had a civilization of their own."[44] Historians Daniel Francis, Patricia Jasen and Sarah Carter build on Dickason's earlier work. Jasen explores the preoccupation with a search for "wilderness and wildness" as part of the tourism trade in Wild Things Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914. Frances, in The Imaginary Indian The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture, and Carter, in Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West, examine the

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[44] Olive Patricia Dickason, The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), p. 277. See also Susi Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration," In Christian F. Feest, ed., Indians and Europe, *an Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 5-36

lingering stereotypes of First Nations as manipulated images of popular culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While all four historians touch upon the broad theme of stereotypes, Sarah Carter juxtaposes them against the often harsh realities of life for First Nations in Western Canada.[45]

Stereotypes do not reside in isolation, but live within the social and historical constructs of race as mythical and artificial designations.[46] While categories of people are discouraged in our current society Inuit were classified as a subordinate race on the evolutionary scale in the 'psuedoscientific claims' of the late nineteenth century. When placed in historical context, the European stereotype of Inuit as a 'primitive race' reveals the attitudes and assumptions of Victorians filtered through their perceptions of race. Victorians were products of their time, complete with cultural biases.[47] While this statement is not intended to condone or excuse the attitudes and assumptions of Victorians, looking back in time affords us the luxury of a less clouded perception of race.

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[45] Patricia Jasen, Wild Things Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914 (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian *The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992); Sarah Carter, Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997)

[46] Backhouse contends that the study of the concept of race "is built upon shifting sands." She adds that while some may argue that racial designations are artificial and it is therefore difficult to make credible assessments of the categories, she argues that " '[r]ace' is a mythical construct. 'Racism' is not." Backhouse states that "Canadian history is rooted in racial distinctions, assumptions, laws, and activities, however fictional the concept of 'race' may be." See Constance Backhouse, Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada 1900-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 7

[47] This is a point made by Barbara E. Kelcey when she states that for non-indigenous women who arrived in the Western Arctic before 1940, it was not surprising that they did not shed their cultural biases when they arrived in the North. Barbara E. Kelcey, Alone in Silence *European Women in the Canadian North Before 1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), p. 161

According to Constance Backhouse, "[t]he fiction of 'race' is never so obvious as when one looks backward in time."[48]

Backhouse adds that in the Age of Enlightenment, race marked class differences, but by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europeans used it as a rationale for their colonial hierarchies. They believed that race justified their "right to rule over 'uncivilized' peoples." She also claims that the emergence of new sciences following the Industrial Revolution added a 'professional' twist to classifying people according to race. She states that "[r]acial classification functioned as the hand-servant for many disparate groups as they sought to explain why they were entitled to hold inequitable resources, status, and power over others."[49] Stereotypes tell the story of their creation, if presented within a historical context. Central to this thesis is the assertion that stereotypes of Inuit that began in the sixteenth century were well established for the British by the nineteenth century.

The methodology used in this thesis examines a trend over time with cases arranged chronologically in a narrative style. Traditionally, historical narratives are recognized as vehicles for recounting a series of events with a view from above. It is the intention of this study to uncover some of the view from below by critically analyzing the actions of the non-indigenous inside and

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[48] Backhouse, p. 274
[49] Backhouse, p. 6

outside of the Arctic and Sub Arctic region of Canada. In the traditional approach, with a concentration on the history of statesmen and churchmen of the past, the rest of humanity has been virtually ignored. Since social history explores areas of study that were previously marginalized to understand change over time in all of society, the trend of transporting Inuit to Europe over three centuries is a study that fits within the framework. This thesis also considers the motives of the indigenous and non-indigenous to come to the best explanation for the trend.

The primary sources used in this thesis include contemporary journals, diaries, reports, government documents, and popular literature. In an attempt to cover a broad range of material the study contains writings from: missionaries, ethnologists, anthropologists, naturalists, government agents, entrepreneurs and explorers. The intention of this approach is to look for consistencies in the material, and to anticipate that some bias should be expected as part of the process of uncovering the history from below from the scattered fragments of information about Inuit and the Arctic and Sub Arctic region left by the non-indigenous. For primary sources from the sixteenth century, selections from the Hakluyt Society Series have been an invaluable tool. Richard Hakluyt was a contemporary editor who gathered facts about British trade and colonies from "eye-witness accounts and authentic business correspondence." He is regarded

as an archivist for sixteenth century travel literature.[50] Inuit oral testimony found in secondary sources by Morris Zaslow and Dorothy Harley Eber are used in addition to accounts of Greenland sagas provided by Renée Fossett.

For traditional historians textual records, especially official documents, are a main source of information in their approach. While they are often taken at face value, and other kinds of evidence are rarely considered, the methodology of this study will look at textual records from the perspective of 'reading through the lines,' and therefore provide a broader view of the past, achieved with the inclusion of other sources such as the oral tradition and anthropological and archaeological evidence. In the traditional paradigm, historians deal with the study of politics at the national and international levels. Non-traditional historians consider more than the political, an approach that is relevant to the thesis because it envelopes other human activities.[51]

Considering that non-traditional history is inclusive by nature, compared to the exclusive nature of the traditional approach, the term heteroglossia, borrowed from the Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin, explains how the new history is culturally relevant to a study of Arctic history because it exposes the

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[50] Jack Beeching, "Introduction," In Jack Beeching, ed., Hakluyt Voyages and Discoveries The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Harmondsworth/Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), p. 19

[51] According to Burke, new history and the traditional approach to the discipline can be contrasted and compared along seven points. See Peter Burke, New Perspectives in Historical Writing (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001 pp. 1-24

often silent voices of the past.[52] By examining some of the complex components of popular culture and new science with respect to the European treatment of Inuit in the nineteenth century, and contrasting it with the level of dependency between indigenous and non-indigenous people in the North, this study takes a subjective approach, rather than the objective approach of recounting facts alone.

The methodology outlined for this thesis is consistent with an ethnohistorical approach. When reconstructing the history of cultures in contact, James Axtell contends that "[b]y emphasizing that each culture must be understood in its own terms as these change over time, ethnohistory ensures that the history of the frontier will cease to be (in a traditional historian's words) the short "pathetic" story of the "inevitable" triumph of a "booming" white "civilization" over a "fragile" "primitive" culture. Ethnohistory is also characterized by sociocultural change over time and the use of "historical and ethnological methods and materials." The approach depends on the use of a

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[52]Burke defines 'heteroglossia' as the varied and opposing voices in history. See p. 6 and p. 22, footnote 16.

variety of traditional and non-traditional sources. Axtell adds that the strategy for ethnohistory is "rooted in historical concreteness."[53]

Ethnohistory allows a multidisciplinary approach. The blend of non-traditional sources and tracing trends over time invites social historians to meet other disciplines on common ground. Historical and anthropological styles of ethnohistory may differ according to the confines of each discipline, yet, according to Axtell, there is room for "a happy convergence of styles, blending the strengths of each into a distinctive hybrid. It is a style strong on narrative, causative analysis, and chronology, but no less sensitive to cultural nuance and the need for impartiality." In "Broken Arrow": Canadian History Through Native Eyes Roger Spielmann echoes Axtell's analysis of the ethnohistorical approach. He states "[i]t is a key theme of this book that ethnohistorical study, with its reliance on oral history and the oral tradition, offers an alternative way

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[53]James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," In Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North American (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 6-9. Bruce Trigger, an early ethnohistorian calls for a multidisciplinary approach between the disciplines of anthropology and history in order to broaden the parameters of Canadian history to include 'Native' history. See Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers *Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), p. 3-5. For anthropologist Edward J. Hedican the evolution of his discipline dictates that anthropologists need to adopt an 'eclectic style' of study to remain relevant. He argues that the methodologies anthropologists use in their fieldwork, with their commitment to understanding cultural relativism paves the road for understanding aboriginal issues through applied anthropology. He states, "Anthropologists are not just collectors of cultural facts, they are also interpreters of the 'reality' in which they exist." See Edward J. Hedican, Applied Anthropology in Canada Understanding Aboriginal Issues (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 3-5 and pp. 25-29.

of conceptualizing history and provides us with more representative and authentic means for recovering and understanding the past."[54]

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[54]Axtell, p. 15; According to Ken Coates and Robin Fisher, one of the greatest challenges to writing Aboriginal history is methodology, but the traditional practice of regarding textual records as more reliable sources is changing with the inclusion of aboriginal oral tradition, a source that was previously ignored. See Ken Coates and Robin Fisher, Out of the Background Readings on Canadian Native History, p. 3. Roger Spielmann, "Broken Arow": Canadian History Through Native Eyes (unpublished draft, 2004), p. 5. Spielmann offers insight to ethnohistory from his perspective as a Native Studies professor. For Ethnohistory from an anthropological point of view see David Damas, "From Ethnography and History to Ethnohistory in the Central Arctic," Arctic Anthropology, vol. 35, no. 2 (1998), pp. 166-177. Examples of two studies following the methodology of ethnohistory were used for this thesis. See Dorothy Harley Eber, When the Whalers Were Up North *Inuit Memories From the Eastern Arctic*, and Frédéric Laugrand, Jarick Oosten and François Trudel, Memory and History in Nunavut Volume I Representing Tuurngait (Iqualuit, Nunavut: Language and Culture Program of Nunavut Arctic College, 2000). Laugrand, Oosten and Trudel examine the contributions of James Edmund Peck, the first Anglican missionary on Baffin Island. His accurate and detailed recording of *tuurngait*, the shamanic healing spirits of Inuit were previously unpublished. Contemporary Inuit credit Peck with a precise and complete listing of the *tuurngait* that he preserved in his missionary records.

Chapter Two

Bringing the Exotic Home

British Stereotypes of Eastern Arctic Inuit from the Sixteenth Century to The Eighteenth Century

During the Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, there was a growing fascination with "other" peoples who lived in lands located beyond Europe, as proved by reports that indigenous peoples were brought back to Europe by explorers. These 'other' people were studied and observed by the Europeans based on a European standard of civilization because 'others' were viewed as exotic and mysterious. A Eurocentric attitude and a sketchy, incomplete knowledge of other cultures contributed to the fact that Europeans regarded anything that was out of proportion to their own standards as 'uncivilized,' that is, they were considered 'uncivilized' if 'others' varied from a narrow European world view.[55]

One of the earliest documented cases of Inuit who travelled to Europe is recorded on a handbill printed in Augsburg and Nuremburg in 1567, which

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[55] During the Age of Enlightenment, when early explorers made contact with other cultures around the world, imperialism changed the way that Europeans saw themselves in relation to others. See Alice L. Conklin and Ian Christopher Fletcher, eds. European Imperialism, 1830-1930 *Climax and Contradiction* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), pp. 4-5. See also Dickason for discussion of 'savage' and 'uncivilized.'

announced the exhibition of an Inuk and her child who were captured on the Labrador coast in August 1566. Two spellings on the handbill indicate that an unknown original version was printed in Dutch at Antwerp. According to Sturtevant and Quinn, three versions existed, and "[a]ll three broadsides seem to have been news reports of the exhibition of the two Eskimos in Antwerp. The texts all state that they were to be seen there, and do not say they were exhibited in the cities of publication."[56] The handbill consisted of an engraving of the woman and her child from a woodcut, and a printed text that described their capture by French sailors. A translation of the German text on the handbill describes the circumstances that facilitated the capture of Inuit by the French:

> In this year 1566 there arrived at Antwerp, by ship from Zealand, a savage woman (a small person) together with her little daughter, and she is shaped and clothed as this picture shows, and was found in Nova Terra which is a new district first discovered by the French and Portuguese a few years ago, and this woman with her husband and little child were met by the French (who had voyaged to this district and came ashore and sought wonderful things), and the husband was shot through his body with an arrow....This man was 12 feet tall and had in twelve days killed eleven [12] people with his own hand, Frenchmen and Portuguese, in order to eat them, because they like to eat no flesh better than human flesh.

A more detailed description of the woman followed,

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[56] William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577," in Christian F. Feest, ed. Indians and Europe *An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 61-62. According to Richard D. Altick "[t]hree Eskimos seem to have been brought to Bristol as early as 1501," but he does not provide any other details of their reported visit to England. See Richard D. Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 45. See also Oswalt pp. 164-165 where he discusses the likelihood that in 1501 and 1502 Sebastian Cabot "reportedly presented three savage men to the English court of King Henry VII, and the descriptions by Richard Hakluyt may qualify them as Eskimos."

> And as they seized the woman she took her stand as if she were completely raving and mad because of her child whom she would have to leave behind when the sailors took her away to the ship, as though she would rather lose her life than leave her child behind. Because she was so mad, they let her alone a bit; she went to the spot where she had concealed her child, then she was calmer than before, then they took the woman with her child and brought her away; and none of the Frenchmen could understand a single word of hers or speak with her at all. But she was taught enough in 8 months that it was known that she had eaten many men. Her clothing is made of seal skins in the manner shown by this picture. The paint marks she has on her face are entirely blue, like sky blue, and these the husband makes on his wife [when he takes her for his wife] so that he can recognize her [his wife] by them, for otherwise they run among one another like beasts, and the marks cannot be taken off again with any substance. These marks are made with the juice of a plant which grows in the country. Her body is yellow-brown like the half Moors. The woman was 20 years old when she was captured in the year 66 in August, the child 7 years. Let us thank God the Almighty for His blessings that He has enlightened us with His word so that we are not such savage people and man-eaters as are in this district, that this woman was captured and brought out of there since she knows nothing of the true God but lives almost more wickedly than the beasts. God grant that she be converted to acknowledge Him. Amen [57]

The text in the handbill emphasized "cannibalism, gigantism, paganism and promiscuity," and is therefore consistent with a European fascination with exotics. [58] The tone of moral superiority with regard to the salvation of Inuit underlines the fact that Europeans regarded them as 'uncivilized.' There is no further documentation that specifies the outcome of this early case of Inuit brought to Europe, but as suggested by subsequent early cases, it is likely that the woman and her child succumbed to disease. The capture and exhibition of

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[57] As quoted in W.C. Sturtevant, "The First Inuit Depiction by Europeans," Etudes/Inuit/Studies, vol. 4, nos. 1-2 (1980): 48-49. Note that the author of the Augsburg handbill was Mattheus Francker, and the author of the Nuremburg handbill was Hans Wolf Glaser, as indicated on p.49. The entire translated version of the text for the sixteenth century handbill is reprinted in Sturtevant's article. See also Sturtevant and Quinn, pp. 61-68

[58] Sturtevant and Quinn, p.64

these Inuit from the Labrador coast appears to be a case where they were brought to Europe as curiosities rather than as slaves or as trophies.

In the next documented captures recorded in 1576 and 1577, Inuit were removed from the North as evidence for an Arctic exploration voyage supported by the British crown and financed by the Cathay Company, when Frobisher searched for a northwest passage that linked the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. He was considered one of the great Elizabethan navigators of the sixteenth century, because he dared to attempt three voyages to the Arctic which the British then considered a "desolate and hopeless region," that Queen Elizabeth named 'Meta Incognita.'[59] In the travel narratives for the voyages, there are references to early contact with the inhabitants of these uncharted lands that offer explanations for European assumptions with respect to Inuit stereotypes. Some argue that Frobisher was not the first European contact for Inuit living north of the Labrador coast, but the narratives from his voyage certainly represent some of the earliest textual records of direct European and Inuit contact in the Eastern Arctic.[60] As in the case of the 1566 capture of Labrador Inuit, again the issue of language and cultural barriers between the

[59] Stephen Leacock, Adventurers of the Far North (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914), pp. 7-14. This book is part of the Chronicles of Canada Series of thirty-two illustrated volumes edited by George W. Wrong and H.H. Langton.
[60] There may have been contact with Basques between 1540-1580 in the modern day area of Labrador and Newfoundland, but their contact is unrecorded. See Sturtevant and Quinn, pp. 62-63

two contact parties does offer some clues for the possible motive behind the capture and kidnapping of an Inuk by Frobisher and his crew in 1576.

After fifteen years of planning and petitioning to search for a north-west passage to China, Frobisher set sail on his first voyage to the Arctic from Blackwell on June 15, 1576.[61] He travelled through present day Frobisher Bay before he landed his ship the *Gabriel* on the southern shores of Baffin Island on August 19, 1576. According to the narrative of Captain Luke Foxe, for the first time Frobisher encountered Inuit of Baffin Island:

> The people [who] resort to him in their Canoes of Leather, had like to have stolne his Boate from him before he was aware. They came on Shipboard; brought him Salmon, Flesh, and Fish. They appeared to be nimble of their joynts and strong. They fall to trade for Fish, Seal, coates of Seale skinnes, and Beares skinnes, for bels, looking-glasses, and other toys.[62]

Both parties traded, but were wary of each other, and considering their communication gaps it can be assumed that misinterpretations of the intentions of Inuit and of the British can be blamed for the actions that followed.

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[61]Frobisher received the support of Ambrose Dudley, the Earl of Warwick. Miller Christy ed., The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, in Search of a North-West Passage, in 1631-32; with Narratives of the Earlier North-West Voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Weymouth, Hall, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbvons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkridge, and Others (London: Hakluyt Society, 1844), p. 37.

[62]Christy, p. 39. Details of Frobisher's voyage were also recorded by Michael Lok, who Sturtevant and Quinn claim was one of the principal backers of the 1576 voyage. They suggest that he gathered his information from interviews with Frobisher. According to the authors, when Lok's descriptions are compared to those of George Best, who only accompanied Frobisher on his 1577 and 1578 voyages, and with the brief description provided by Christopher Hall, "the master of the *Gabriell* on the 1576 voyage," the three descriptions do not appear to contradict each other. See p. 114 footnote 4 for explanation. See Oswalt regarding Lok's role as financier, p.25.

Christopher Hall, the master of the *Gabriel* on the first voyage and master of the *Ayde* on the second voyage, also recounted Frobisher's meeting with Inuit of Baffin Island when the captain and eight of his crew went ashore on August 19, 1576. Seven Inuit were sighted, but they did not make contact until Frobisher offered each of them a "threed Point," a common trading item.[63] Frobisher was able to convince an Inuk to come aboard for a meal, and when he was returned safely to shore, nineteen others boarded the ship for a period of time and then returned safely to land. Confident that Frobisher meant no harm to him, one more Inuk even accepted a ride in a boat with some of Frobisher's crew. They brought him to the ship where he was given a bell and a knife before he was returned to land. Frobisher dispatched a group of five crew members to accompany the Inuk who they thought would guide them in a westerly direction towards waters leading to a northwest passage. The small boat rounded a corner of land, out of sight of the *Gabriel*, and was never again seen by Frobisher and his remaining thirteen crew members. The day after the disappearance, a Falken–gun, a small cannon, was fired by Frobisher and the remaining crew in an attempt to make contact with the group of five.[64] There was no response.

[63] Christy, p. 42. A "threed Pointe" (thread point) is most likely some sort of needle, also referred to as "thredden-point in other narratives."
[64] Christy, p.42

Although he seemed to be cordial to Inuit it is obvious from Hall's account that Frobisher mistrusted their intentions. Hall noted that Frobisher could not communicate verbally with Inuit because he did not understand their language, so there was an obvious communication gap. But more importantly, Hall recounted Frobisher's specific orders for the return of the Inuk to an island where he would be isolated from fellow Inuit. Frobisher and his men were clearly distrustful of the intentions of Inuit, and knew that they must return to England before too long.[65] With fewer hands aboard, and the perceived threat of future attacks from Inuit of Baffin Island, Frobisher decided that it was time to return to England from Meta Incognita. Before his departure on August 25, 1576, he managed to persuade an Inuk to paddle out to the ship, where the man was captured in retribution for the missing crew members. Foxe gives details of Frobisher's actions when he states,

> [t]he Captaine by the ringing of a bell intices one of the *Salvages* to him, as though he would give it him; he lets the bell fall into the Sea as the *Salvage* should have tooke it; he takes him by the hand and pulls him with his boate into the Ship. Whereupon, in despight, the *Salvage* bit his tongue in twaine; yet he lived till he came into England, and then dyed of cold he had taken at Sea. With this prize, he returnes for *England*; arriveth in *Harwich* the 2 of October.[66]

The premature demise of this "strange man of Cathay" in London cancelled plans for his presentation to the Queen, but efforts were made to

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[65] Christy, p.42
[66] Christy, p. 39

record his likeness in wax and clay.[67] Separate paintings of Frobisher and his captive were commissioned by the Cathay Company, and according to the financial records for Frobisher's expedition, the Flemish painter Cornelius Ketel was hired to prepare the portraits for the Queen and the Company.[68] The human remains of the 'Cathay man' were embalmed by a surgeon, with the original intention of returning him to the Arctic, but Lok's statements in the financial records indicate that the plan was later abandoned in favour of his burial at St. Olave's churchyard.[69]

On his second voyage Frobisher returned to Baffin Island in search of gold and his five missing crew members. According to Foxe the search for minerals stemmed from discoveries made on the first voyage to the Arctic in 1576 when Frobisher fulfilled his commission for the Cathay Company and the Queen.[70] Goldsmiths in London assayed the samples, and determined that some contained substantial quantities of gold. The decision to undertake a second voyage to Baffin Island was based on the favourable reports from the goldsmiths, and as a result, Frobisher was commissioned to gather great quantities of stone from the Arctic.

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[67] Sturtevant and Quinn, p.72. Lok referred to the Baffin Island native as Frobisher's "strange man of Cathay."

[68] Since the expenses for the paintings by Ketel appear in the Cathay Company records following the expenses regarding his illness, death and embalming, it is assumed that "the Cathay man" was painted *post mortem*. See Neil Cheshire, Tony Waldron, Alison Quinn and David Quinn, "Frobisher's Eskimos in England," Archivaria, no. 10 (Summer 1980), p.34

[69] Cheshire et al, pp. 24-25

[70] See Christy, p. 39. Christy explains that the use of the word Sea-coale by Foxe was likely a reference to coal that was transported by sea.

The voyage originated from Blackwell on May 26, 1577, and in anticipation of gathering tons of mineral samples, three ships and a crew of one hundred and forty set sail for the North.[71] From his encounters with the people of Baffin Island on his first voyage to the Arctic a year earlier, Frobisher likely approached his second voyage with some preconceived notions regarding Inuit. The notion of 'uncivilized savages' was a recurring term of reference in the travel narratives of the sixteenth century. In fact, a description by Hall compared Inuit to Tartars when he stated: "[t]hey be like *Tartars*, with long blacke haire, broad faced, flat nosed, and tawny Coloured, wearing Seale skinnes, and so doe the women, nothing differing; but the women in the Face hath blue stroakes downe the Cheekes and about the eyes."[72]

Since ice accumulations in Frobisher Strait blocked the safe landing of the *Michaell* and the *Gabriell* close to shore, Frobisher approached land aboard his pinnace. From Hall's account the first order of business for Frobisher was the premeditated capture of an Inuk.[73] According to Hall, "[t]hey goe on land. The people seemed to be joyfull thereof; they embrace, and the Captaine laid

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[71] Christy, p. 43. According to Foxe, the three ships were called the '*Aide*' the '*Michaell*' and the '*Gabriell*,' and the crew consisted of "Gentlemen, Soldiers, and Saylers."
[72] Christy, p. 42. Tartars were members of "the combined forces of central Asian peoples, including Mongols and Turks, who under the leadership of Genghis Khan overran and devastated much of Asia and eastern Europe in the early 13th c., and under Tamerlane (14th c.) established a large empire in central Europe with its capital at Samarkand." See Katherine Barber ed., The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 1485
[73] Foxe referred to Frobisher's first captive in 1576 as a "prize," so it therefore seems reasonable to assume that he planned to capture Inuit on his second voyage in order to claim them as trophies. See Christy, p. 39. See also Sturtevant and Quinn pp. 76-80

hands on them; but they escape through nimblenesse, and defends themselves with their bowes and Arrowes. He tooke one; all the rest escaped." Within three or four days of the capture, Frobisher and his crew sailed the ships farther into the strait and anchored in a harbour that Frobisher named "Iackman's Sound."

Consequently, Frobisher set about his other business in Meta Incognita when he took possession of the land in the name of the Queen, searched for gold, and made a final attempt to contact his missing crew. According to Foxe, after claiming the territory for Queen Elizabeth, he found "stones on [the] land and Sand in [the] Sea, [that] sparkle like Gold on both sides (if all be Gold that glysters)." He also discovered an abandoned tent covered with sealskins, where he left trading goods for Inuit such as "glasses, bels, and knives," plus "pen inke and paper" for his missing men, in the hope that they would write him a note if they were still alive.[74] When Frobisher and his crew later encountered another group of Inuit, they captured a woman and her young child. These Inuit, like the "man Salvage," captured a few days earlier, were likely taken as a retributive action for the missing men, and also as trophies for the accomplishments of the second voyage.[75]

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[74] Christy, p. 45. Hall noted that a few days earlier Frobisher announced to his crew that "great riches hid in the bowels of that Continent." See p. 44.

[75] Christy, p. 46. Foxe states that there were two women who could not escape capture by "flying into the Mountains" with the other Inuit because one was aged and the other woman had a child to care for.

In a letter that Frobisher left behind for his missing crew members it is evident that he did not completely give up the hope of finding them alive. It is also apparent that he justified his capture of the man, woman and child as hostages. The letter was addressed to the 'English Captives':

> In the Name of GOD, in whom wee all believe, who I trust hath preserved your bodies and Soules amongst those Infidels, I commend me unto you; I will be glad to seeke, by all meanes you can devise, for your deliverance, either with force or with any Commodities within my ships, which I will spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can doe for you. I have on board of theirs a man, a woman, and child, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the man of theirs which I carried away the last yeare is dead in *England*. Moreover, you may declare unto them that, if they deliver you not, I will not leave a man alive in their Countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to speake with me, they shall have either the man, woman or child, in pawne for you; and thus unto God, whom I trust you doe serve, In hast I leave you to him. We will daily pray for you. This Tuesday morning the 7 of August.
>
> Yours to the utmost of my poore [endeavours],
> Martin Frobisher
>
> [P.S.] – I have sent you, by these bearers, Pen, Inke, and Paper to write back againe, if personally you can [not] come to satisfie me of their estate.[76]

It is clear from Frobisher's statements in the letter that he intentionally captured the three Inuit as hostages in the hope of recovering his lost crew members. He also attempted to entice the captors to release his captured men by offering them trading goods. His cautious hospitality soon transformed to hostility, when he realized that Inuit had no intention of surrendering his men, if

The child also suffered from an arrow wound in the arm, and was attended by the ship's surgeon when the younger woman and the child were taken to the ship as hostages.

[76] Christy, pp.47-48

in fact they were still alive. While Frobisher ultimately failed to find a northwest passage to the Pacific, as was the original intent of his first voyage of discovery, he also did not recover valuable mineral samples on his second voyage. Regardless of his success rate on his voyages, for the purposes of this study the narratives of his voyages to Baffin Island offer reliable textual evidence of early British contact with Inuit in the Eastern Arctic.[77]

It is not surprising that Frobisher established a negative stereotype of Inuit as 'uncivilized savages' from his encounters with them on Baffin Island in the sixteenth century. He reportedly made attempts to be hospitable and generous with his controlled, polite behaviour at the beginning of his stay in the Arctic, but from the tone of the letter that he composed at the end of his second visit, it is likely that he regarded Inuit as untrustworthy non-Christians when he referred to them as "Infidels." Frobisher was obviously a significant contributor to the establishment of these stereotypes, but the treatment of Inuit upon their arrival in England reveals broader British attitudes and assumptions about 'other' peoples in the sixteenth century. The formation and continuation of these stereotypes reveal the British reactions to cultures outside of their familiar European world view.

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[77] On his third attempt, Frobisher intended to establish a colony in Meta Incognita. He was accompanied by one hundred and twenty colonists and fifteen ships. See Christy, footnote 1, p.52, where he states, "[l]ike the two previous voyages, it was a total failure, so far as its main object was concerned." Foxe's account of the third voyage was based on the narratives of Thomas Ellis and Captain Best.

The three Inuit captives captivated the interest of people in Bristol when Frobisher brought them to England following his second voyage in 1577. Eye witness narratives and contemporary chronicles of the arrival of the Baffin Islanders illustrate the fact that British people were awe-struck by these visitors from the Arctic. According to Cheshire et al, a local Bristol chronicler named William Adams recorded impressions of Inuit:

> He introduces them by saying that the expedition brought back "a man called Callicho, and a woman called Ignorth: they were savage people and fed only upon raw flesh;" and it is he who says that the local people thought it strange that the Eskimos' clothes contained "no linen or woolle at all" but appeared to be made out of "stags' skins."

William Camden, another contemporary chronicler, noted that Inuit captives were dressed in "sea-calves' skins." He also commented on their physical appearance and described "men with black hair, broad faces, flat noses, swarthy coloured…; the women painted about the eyes and balls of the cheek with a colour like the ancient Britains."[78]

While Adams did personalize Inuit by mentioning their names, he and Camden highlighted the apparent primitiveness of Inuit in their chronicles. The captives did not measure up to a British standard of 'civilized' behaviour and appearance, and according to the chroniclers, on a social hierarchy they were considered savages and comparable to the ancient British rather than to their

[78] As quoted in Cheshire et al, p.29. See Cheshire et al pp. 30-31 for Calichough's public demonstration of kayaking skills.

contemporaries of the sixteenth century. As in the case of the 'Cathay man' one year earlier, an artist was commissioned to paint the likeness of the trio for the Cathay Company and for Queen Elizabeth. Cornelius Ketel was again hired by the Cathay Company in 1577 to preserve the likenesses of Inuit for future generations. Although Queen Elizabeth did not meet Calichough or Ignorth in person, it is likely that she did view their portraits.[79]

A final record that verifies the visit of the Inuit trio to England in 1577 is a post mortem report recorded by Dr. Edward Dodding entitled "Reporte of the Sicknesse and Death of the Man at Bristoll which Capt. Furbisher brought from the North-west." The report not only provides medical evidence of a lung infection as the probable cause of death for Calichough, it also notes the importance of Inuit as trophies for the British. Dodding states:

> I was bitterly grieved and saddened, not so much by the death of the man himself as because the great hope of seeing him which our most gracious Queen had entertained had now slipped through her fingers, as it were, for a second time. But the heroes of these new and substantial acts of gallantry are affected by a much greater sadness, for they have been deprived of the rewards and prizes for the truly Herculean labour which they have carried out. In my judgement, these men can in all justice expect the highest recognition on our part, for they have triumphantly survived these expeditions by sea, - tortuous and comfortless that they indeed were, and obviously unachieved before this time. They have undertaken enormous tasks, bringing to the kingdom and posterity advantages greater than the hazards, and to their own names supreme

[79] Other unofficial painters of the trio include John White, Lucas de Heere and Adrianen Coenenzn. See Cheshire et al, p. 31. There were five paintings completed of Calichough, and four of Ignorth. Two were sent abroad and the others were intended as a New Year's presentation for the Queen. The Cathay Company records do not indicate that similar portraits of the child Nutioc, who outlived Calichough and Ignorth by eight days, were painted. See Cheshire et al, p. 34

> glory; and they have demonstrated that what he [i.e. Frobisher] has undertaken to do he has succeeded in.[80]

The textual records and the pictorial representations of Inuit on the German handbill and in the paintings by Cornelius Ketel offer evidence of contact between the British and Inuit both in the Arctic and Europe in the sixteenth century. Although the paintings and the handbill may provide some ethnographic detail of Inuit from the sixteenth century, their reliability as sources is dependent upon the ability of the artist to accurately portray Inuit as they actually appeared to the British.[81] From the textual records contained in the travel narratives, it can be assumed that negative stereotypes were derived from the early encounters, because they reveal cultural barriers, communication gaps and ulterior motives that contributed to the establishment of stereotypes in the eyes of the British. Evidence from the medical report also reveals a tone of moral superiority among the British elite who regarded Inuit as scientific specimens, and trophies for heroic British forays into the land of ice and snow.

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[80] As quoted in Cheshire et al, p.41. Details of the post mortem medical report reveal that Calichough's lung was punctured by broken ribs that were likely injured when he was captured. Dodding was also the physician who treated Calichough when his health began to fail. In the report Dodding makes reference to the physical condition of Ignorth prior to her death. He also mentions that he made a deliberate effort to expose Ignorth to the British burial ritual to prove that Calichough was dead, and to control any attempts by Ignorth to practice cannibalism. The post mortem report was originally recorded in Latin.

[81] According to P.J.P. Whitehead, the value of an iconographic source is dependant upon at least two factors. One factor is whether the paintings were extant or derivative, and another factor is the actual skill level of the artist with respect to portraying an honest and accurate representation of Inuit. See P.J.P. Whitehead, "Earliest Extant Paintings of Greenlanders," in Christian F. Feest, ed., Indians and Europe *An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 142-143, p.155. For further discussion on visual history see Ivan Gaskell, "Visual History," in Peter Burke, ed. New Perspectives on Historical Writing second edition (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 187-217

For those British who did not have access to either textual or visual records, or were illiterate, public demonstrations portrayed Inuit as curiosities for onlookers who craved a view of the exotic.

In the seventeenth century, these stereotypes continued to exist for the British and other Europeans, and according to the narratives of William Baffin in 1612, when James Hall's crew traded for food with Inuit they encountered on their voyage to Greenland, they did so cautiously because some Inuit took firearms from the crew, without permission, during a previous meeting.[82] Baffin admitted that the actions of Inuit were not without explanation, as is evident in the wounding of James Hall later in the voyage. According to Baffin:

> …the sauages came to barter with vs, being about fortie of them, and continued about an houre and an halfe: at which time our master, James Hall, being in the boate, a sauage with his dart strooke him a deadly wound vpon the right side, which our surgeon did thinke did pierce his liuer. We all mused that he should strike him, and offer no harme to any of the rest; vnlesse it were that they knew him since he was there with the Danes; for out of the riuer they carried away fiue of the people, whereof neuer any returned againe; and in the next riuer they killed a great number.

[82] The practice of transporting aboriginals to England from the St. Lawrence River and New England areas in the early seventeenth century is noted by Quinn and Quinn. As quoted in a footnote, " 'Captain Harlow, the same who brought away the salvadg at this tyme shewed in London, from the River of Canada' (the St. Lawrence) but from southern New England, having been captured in 1611 and exhibited in London in 1612…" See David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn eds., The English New England Voyages 1602-1608 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1983). Baffin claimed that Inuit wanted any items that contained iron. Clements R. Markham ed., The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-1622 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1881), p.14-15. Although Baffin and Hall sailed under the Danish flag, they are mentioned in this chronology because of the fact that they were of British descent and were likely influenced by the previously established stereotypes of Inuit from the Eastern Arctic. Markham states that Baffin sailed on "a voyage of discovery to Greenland in 1612 [when] [t]wo vessels, called the *Patience* and the *Heart's Ease*, were fitted out at Hull, and William Baffin first appears in history as pilot on board Hall's ship, the *Patience*." See p. xxi.

> And it should seeme that he which killed him was either brother, or some neere kinsman to some of them that were carried away; for he did it very resolutely, and came within foure yards of him. And for ought we could see, the people are very kinde one to another, and ready to reuenge any wrong offred to them.[83]

The revenge of the Greenland Inuit stemmed from a previous encounter with James Hall when he sailed for the Danes in 1605 and 1606 in search of "glittering mica" that was mistaken for silver ore by the explorers.[84]

There is scant evidence available with respect to further contact between the British and Inuit in the early seventeenth century. It was curious, according to Whitehead, "that no original pictures of Eskimos seem to be recorded from the fourteen or so expeditions sent out after those of Frobisher in the search for the Northwest Passage, concluding with the Thomas James voyage of 1631-32 (after which the quest remained dormant for more than a century)."[85]

The next record of Inuit to Europe in the seventeenth century can be traced to a renewed interest in the northern territories by the Danish under Frederik III in 1648. Three summer voyages to Greenland were commissioned by the Customs Department, and on the third voyage in 1654 four Greenlanders along with artifacts that included harpoons, bladder darts and bird darts landed first in Bergen and then in Copenhagen. While in Bergen drawings of Inuit were composed that verify the arrival of the Greenlanders. Unfortunately the

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[83] Markham, p. 24
[84] Markham, p.24, footnote 2. See also p. xx.
[85] Whitehead, p. 143. According to Leacock the Great Rebellion ended the first phase of northern exploration. See Leacock, p.32

only male in the group died before they arrived in Copenhagen, but the three remaining women travelled via Flensburg, to Schloss Gottorp in Schleswig where Frederick III's cousin Freidrich, the third Duke of Holstein-Gottorp "held court and showed an equally great interest in the new and the curious."[86] According to detailed descriptions of the women by Olearius (1603-1671), one of the leading scholars of the time, he found that "Frederick III wanted the three women returned to their homeland once they had learnt Danish and adopted Christian ways."[87] Since no Danish ships sailed for Greenland, the women returned to Copenhagen but succumbed to spotted fever in 1659, and therefore never returned to their homeland.

The significance of the capture of Inuit in 1654 is worth noting in this chronology because Frederick III considered it important to pass Danish cultural values such as language and religion to Inuit, but it also highlights a turning point with respect to the treatment of Inuit by Europeans. According to Renée Fossett, "European governments, for the most part, judged the kidnappings to be criminal and immoral." It was realized that fear, hatred and revenge from the aboriginals were provoked by the crews of European whaling and fishing vessels. By 1720 the States General of the United Province of the Netherlands passed a resolution banning the kidnapping and transporting of

[86] Whitehead, p.144
[87] As quoted in Whitehead, p.145

Greenlanders to Europe based on the 1654 kidnappings of the three Greenland women. In 1732 Denmark issued a Royal Proclamation "against bringing any Greenlanders, either hostages or willing travellers, to Denmark." The legislation was based on Greenlandic oral histories recorded by missionaries that provided evidence of attacks on Norse and indigenous communities between the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.[88] Denmark reissued the Proclamation of 1732 in 1758 and again in 1776. Fossett states that,

> before the end of the 1760s, The Netherlands States General had issued a new decree prohibiting attacks on, and ill treatment of, Greenlanders. For Greenlanders and other North American aboriginal peoples, however, the unenforceable prohibitions of European states were no protection and no comfort when individual captains and crews flouted the instructions of distant governments.[89]

The legislation decreed by the Dutch government in 1720 was most likely also connected to the sightings of "Finnmen" and "Selkie-folk" in the late seventeenth century off the coast of the Orkney Islands located near the north coast of Scotland.[90] While it is unlikely that these visitors to the northern coast of Scotland were originally from Finland, it is probable that they may have travelled to the Orkneys from Finland or Lapland rather than from Greenland or the Davis Strait. This theory is dependent on two factors that may explain the appearance of Inuit in Scotland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth

[88] Fossett, p. 51

[89] Fossett, p.52

[90] Accounts of Finnmen, Selkie-folk or Seal People are found in traditional Orkney and Shetland stories See Idiens, p. 162. Idiens also mentions two other reports in 1760 that connect a kayak on display in Aberdeen to an Inuit man originally from Labrador who died upon his arrival in Aberdeen. See p. 164. See also Fossett pp. 78-79 for information about Selkies.

century. While there is some argument for completing a voyage of at least one thousand miles in a well greased kayak, it does not appear to be the best explanation for the arrival of Inuit in Scottish waters. Instead, according to Idiens,

> [a] more likely explanation may be connected with kidnapped Eskimos who escaped or were put off homeward-bound European vessels in the North Sea. From the earliest days of European discovery in the Arctic it was common practice for Eskimos to be abducted for examination as "scientific curiosities."[91]

Idiens explains the growing concern about kidnapped Inuit when he remarks on captures by Hall in the early seventeenth century:

> In 1605 a Danish expedition took a number of Eskimos, five of whom were exhibited in Denmark. Several prisoners tried to escape and were recaptured, and others jumped overboard, but their curiosity value was such that altogether about thirty Eskimos were kidnapped by Danish, Norwegian and Dutch ships in the first half of the seventeenth century. European intentions, officially at least, were benign, for the charter granted in 1636 to the Greenland Company of Denmark by Christian IV required "that they annually provide us with a pair of young persons, born in this country, about 16, 18 or 20, whom one could here teach the fear of God, language and literary skills to the salvation and welfare of the said land for all time."92

While some European governments acknowledged kidnappings as criminal and immoral acts by the eighteenth century, as Idiens has illustrated, accountability for the kidnappings of Inuit in the seventeenth century cannot rest solely upon the crews of European whaling and fishing vessels. In the case of the charter for the Greenland Company of Denmark for example,

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[91] Idiens, p. 163. Fossett refers to this phenomenon as the 'escaping captive' theory. See Fossett, pp. 80-82

[92] Idiens, p.163

governments encouraged the capture of Inuit in the name of empire, similar to the sixteenth century case of Frobisher and the British crown. Premeditated kidnappings encouraged by some European powers and the "unenforceable prohibitions of European states" offered little defense for Inuit of the Arctic regions against a growing European fascination with the exotic who lived in the land of ice and snow.[93]

It is not surprising then, that Inuit continued to travel to Europe from the Eastern Arctic and the Sub Arctic regions of Labrador and Newfoundland in the eighteenth century despite the legislation prohibiting their ill treatment. There is no evidence that a similar British law prohibiting the transport of Inuit abroad existed in the eighteenth century. In the next recorded case Major George Cartwright brought an Inuk from Labrador to England in 1768. Cartwright was stationed in Newfoundland in 1766, and by 1767 he "was made deputy commissary to the Vice-Admiralty Court in Newfoundland" by Sir Hugh Palliser, the Commander-in-chief and the Governor of Newfoundland.[94] Cartwright noted how entertaining it was for him to observe the fascination that "one of those delicate ladies from Labrador" had with the buildings in England,

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[93] Fossett, p.52. There does not appear to be any similar British legislation with respect to Inuit.
[94] Frances Dorothy Cartwright ed., The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright, Volume I (New Burlington Street: Henry Colburn, 1826), pp. 30-31. Frances Dorothy Cartwright was George Cartwright's niece. See Charles Wendell Townsend, M.D. ed., Captain Cartwright and His Labrador Journal (Boston: Dana Estes & Company Publishers, 1911) p. xxi. According to J.G. Taylor, "the administration of Labrador was handed over to Newfoundland in 1763." See J.G. Taylor, "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire," Ethnohistory, vol. 19, no. 2 (Spring 1972), p. 135. At the time of publication, Taylor worked at the Royal Ontario Museum.

and qualified her culture shock by observing that for her the only other term of reference for constructed buildings were the fishing huts of Newfoundland.[95] He continued to observe how this woman began to shed her 'uncivilized' mannerisms when he stated,

> Notwithstanding her being brought up a barbarian in the full sense of the word, she is already become civilized and polite, but she has no lack of those passions which are said to be peculiar to her sex, and looks with very envious eyes on every woman whose dress is more beautiful than her own. She can hardly allow any Englishwoman to be handsome, but she is more just to the men – she herself is horribly ugly.[96]

Cartwright was obviously pleased to observe that the Labrador woman embraced 'civilized' behaviour instead of any 'barbarian' tendencies, but he was quick to mention that she did not measure up to a British standard of beauty within the social hierarchy. In another account of the 1768 transport of the woman from Labrador to England, a broader perspective of the events surrounding her voyage overseas is consistent with similar captures of Inuit in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[97]

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[95] Cartwright, p.40. For a discussion of similar sod houses for both Europeans and Southern Labrador Inuit in the nineteenth century see Réginald Auger, "Late – 18th – and Early – 19th – Century Inuit and Europeans in Southern Labrador," Arctic, vol. 46, no. 1 (March 1993), pp. 27-34

[96] Cartwright, p. 41. Cartwright's comment that the Inuk was "horribly ugly" is not consistent with other textual accounts or pictorial representations that portray her as a beautiful woman. See J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part I," The Beaver, (Winter 1983) and J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part II," The Beaver, (Spring 1984)

[97] This account is based on primary sources such as ship journals and station diaries of Moravian missionaries in Labrador originally written in German. See J.Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part I," The Beaver, (Winter 1983), pp. 4-13. At the time of publication, Taylor was an Arctic Ethnologist with the National Museum of Man.

According to J. Garth Taylor, "[t]he 'Esquimaux lady' was Mikak, and the events which had led to her presence in London were both violent and tragic." Originally Mikak and eight other Inuit were captured in November 1767 by British naval officers in Southern Labrador near Chateau Bay as a reprisal to the earlier actions of another group of Inuit "who had stolen some wooden boats and killed three Englishmen at a British whaling post just north of Chateau Bay." During the capture, a struggle ensued where some Inuit men perished, including Mikak's husband. The surviving women and children from two boats, together with Mikak and her young son Tutauk, were first imprisoned at York Fort, a block house at Chateau Bay built to protect the British fisheries. The following summer Francis Lucas, the second in command of the garrison, transported the prisoners to St. John's where they were brought before Commodore Hugh Palliser, the Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador.[98]

Three years earlier, Palliser had negotiated a peace treaty with Labrador Inuit, in an effort to end European-Inuit conflicts that involved vessels from New England that, according to Palliser, "went to the northward, robbed, plundered and murdered some of their old men and women and children."

[98] Taylor, pp.4-6. James Webb, Governor of Newfoundland in 1760, took possession of Chateau Bay for the crown. He later renamed it York Harbour. Webb decided that the bay was located in a good strategic location to view incoming and outgoing ships. Webb also secured a trading pact with local Inuit. Although he did not mistreat Inuit, he did consider them to be cannibals. See William H. Whiteley, "James Webb," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca>

After meeting with Mikak, he was impressed with her intelligence and the information that she provided regarding the population numbers and housing for her people, and he decided that Inuit prisoners could act as liaisons between the British and Labrador Inuit, to "assure their people that the British wanted to trade in a fair way but would be swift to punish either theft or murder."[99] It was therefore decided that Inuit should be treated with kindness in an effort to establish a level of respect between the two parties. Inuit were apparently surprised by this approach since for years there was a level of distrust between the two parties. Since it was too late in the year to return them to their northern homes, Palliser decided that six Inuit would winter at St. John's while the remaining three would sail to England on the annual trip of the Newfoundland Squadron, to experience "the power, splendor and generosity of the English nation." Mikak, Tutauk and an orphaned boy named Karpik were selected for the journey.[100]

Mikak and Tutauk lived with Lucas in London, while Karpik was placed in the custody of the Moravians by Governor Palliser. Jens Haven, a Moravian missionary who was stationed in Labrador in 1765 and assisted as a translator

[99] As quoted in Taylor, p. 6. Apparently the plunders by the New England vessels occurred during the summer months when younger Inuit men were away hunting or fishing, and the weaker members of the community were therefore left in a vulnerable state.
[100] As quoted in Taylor, p. 7

for Palliser's peace treaty, visited Lucas' residence.[101] Mikak remembered him from the time in Labrador when he and another missionary named Christen Larsen Drachard sought overnight refuge from a storm and stayed in an Inuit tent.[102] Haven, also known to Inuit as Johannesingoak, arrived in London with written orders from Governor Palliser to visit Mikak and to petition the British government for permission to establish a mission among Inuit, providing that the Moravians also received a land grant. Mikak was delighted to see Haven because he spoke her language, and she pleaded with him to return with her to Labrador "to help her poor soon-to-be-ruined countrymen."[103]

Mikak was not confined to the Lucas residence; she also had contact with other people in Britain when she visited the Moravians at Lindsay House, their headquarters in Chelsea, dined with the Earl of Bathurst, and spent time at Carlton House as a guest of "Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales and mother of King George III." In an effort to help her feel welcome in Britain, Mikak was outfitted in a costume that resembled the style of her Inuit clothing, but

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[101] The Moravians are regarded as the first missionaries to Inuit. Interest among other denominations in the early eighteenth century is difficult to trace. An exception is François Bertin Guesnier, who in 1732, wanted a post among "Eskimo savages," but his superiors assigned him to a Quebec college where he served as a theology professor. See Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791 The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts; With English Translations and Notes; Illustrated by Portraits, Maps, and Facsimiles, Vol. XXX Hurons, Lower Canada: 1646-1647 (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, Publishers, 1898), p. 332, note 38

[102] Drachard and Haven were fluent in Inuktitut they learned in Greenland. See J.G. Taylor, "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire," p. 142, footnotes 1 and 2

[103] As quoted in Taylor, p. 7. Inuit named Haven Johannesingoak, "little Jens," because it related to his small stature. According to J.K. Hiller, in 1770 "Haven was greeted enthusiastically by the natives, to whom he was known as Jens Ingoak, the Inuit friend." See J.K. Hiller, "Jens Haven," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca>

constructed with European manufactured goods selected by Lucas. Mikak insisted on adding fine embroidery to the jacket herself, and gave the impression that she was very pleased with her outfit that included, "red and white leather for boots, black velvet for 'underbreeches,' white shag for upper, white cloth with blue backing for a jacket, and gold lace for trim." But when she was taken to Carlton House, it was obvious that she did not want to display her new outfit, especially in public. Upon noticing her dissatisfaction with the new clothing, and comprehending Mikak's fear that she could be a 'laughing stock' among English women, the princess instead outfitted Mikak in "a head-dress, a damask petticoat and a mantle, in which she went to dinner 'very well satisfied'."[104] This account of Mikak in British apparel is consistent with Cartwright's narrative, and explains why he may have decided that she "looks with very envious eyes on every woman whose dress is more beautiful than her own."[105]

As in previous cases of Inuit in Europe, a pictorial representation of Mikak was available to Londoners and displayed at the Royal Academy of Arts, in the form of a portrait in oil composed by John Russell, a well-known portraitist in British society. According to Taylor, the painting showed "[a]

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[104] As quoted in Taylor, p. 8. When Mikak travelled to Carlton House, she wanted to travel in a sedan chair "so that she could draw the curtains and not be seen." With respect to diet, Mikak preferred the salmon dinners rather than other British cuisine. The Moravians understood that she consumed salmon regularly in Labrador, but the Earl of Bathurst could not understand why she preferred salmon over other prepared dishes when he stated, "I had very good dinners."
[105] Cartwright, p. 41

tattooed mother, representing what was recently billed as 'the most savage people in the world.'" He says that Mikak:

> appears benign and contented as she proudly holds the coronation medal of her new sovereign, King George III, on her left breast. On her wrist rests a bracelet given to her by the Duke of Gloucester, showing more acceptance of British friendship and generosity. Her cherubic son, Tutauk, peers out in wide-eyed (almost too wide for an Inuk) wonder, perhaps contemplating the grandeur of the Empire to which he now belongs. Unfortunately, nothing is known of Mikak's feelings about her portrait, though one of her patrons observed, 'She loves pictures and music extremely, but thinks it indecent to see the pictures of naked men and women.'[106]

In the spring of 1769 Mikak and Tutauk returned home aboard the warship Nautilus. Before their departure, Mikak was informed that the British government granted permission for the Moravians to establish a mission in 'Esquimaux Bay.' The missionaries were scheduled to arrive in Labrador the following summer and Mikak promised the British that she would inform her people of their impending arrival, and encourage Inuit to remain friendly with the Moravians.[107] According to Taylor, Lucas decided to leave the British navy to start a trading company in Labrador, and reports that Lucas:

> instructed Mikak to pass on a number of messages to her people, commandments which she had heard him repeat many times. She was to tell them, among other things, that their land belonged to the good King whom she had seen in England. The Inuit were to obey the King, who was their overlord. The Inuit should no longer travel as far south as

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[106] As quoted in Taylor, p. 8. Her portrait now hangs in the Ethnological Institute at Gottingen University. See William H. Whiteley, "Mikak," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca>

[107] Taylor, p. 9. See also Taylor, "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire," pp. 135 and p. 142,footnote 3 where it states that the Moravians attempted to establish a Labrador mission in 1752

> Newfoundland, where they formerly stole wooden boats. Next summer, however, they could and should come as far south as 'a certain latitude' where they could trade peacefully with their good friend, Lieutenant Lucas.[108]

The kidnapping and return of Mikak and Tutauk mark a significant change with respect to previous kidnappings of earlier centuries. To begin with, the simple fact that they both survived the ordeal is paramount. As proven in previous cases, European disease was often the cause of death for captured Inuit, and Karpik was no exception. While in England he lived with Drachard, where he acquired an aptitude for reading and writing, but Karpik did not return to his homeland because he died of smallpox, on October 4, 1769.[109] He was baptized, and the Moravians buried him at their cemetery at Fulneck in Yorkshire.

Another noteworthy change in the experience and treatment of Inuit was the fact that Mikak was charged with informing her people of the intentions of the British. She became an intermediary in the relationship between her people and the British administrative powers in Labrador and Newfoundland, and according to William H. Whiteley, "Mikak is one of the first Inuit to emerge as a distinct individual in the history of the relations between the Europeans and the natives in Labrador."[110] While Lucas established some very definite

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[108] Taylor, p. 10
[109] Taylor, p. 11
[110] William H. Whiteley, "Mikak," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca>

boundaries with respect to future trading between his company and Inuit, the actions of the Governor and the British crown signal a fundamental change in the treatment of Inuit in the Sub Arctic regions of Labrador and Newfoundland. The administration obviously depended upon the establishment of a reciprocal relationship between Inuit and the Moravian missionaries that was based on the fact that the Moravians were fluent in Inuktitut, the language of Inuit.[111] The connection between these two groups was vital to the British in terms of trading and governing the colonies.[112] Narrowing the communication gap with Inuit was an integral part of their new relationship.

The translated records also establish another level of change with respect to European and Inuit contact because they reveal that acculturation and a broader world view forever changed Mikak and her son Tutauk. Taylor writes that their experiences also permeated the established Inuit culture in Newfoundland and Labrador, because Mikak was regarded as an Inuk with an elevated status among her own people when she returned to her homeland.[113]

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[111] Moravian missionaries originally learned Inuktitut from Greenland Inuit. The missions in Greenland predated the missions in Labrador. The dialects are similar in both locations.

[112] Crowe also notes the association of Mikak and the Moravians when he states "[i]n the beginning Haven was assisted by Inuit such as Merkok, a woman who had been to England (kidnapped by Lieutenant Lucas in 1768), and Sikuliak, a leading hunter." He also states, [t]he government was happy to let the Moravians take almost total responsibility for the future of Inuit – education, trade, and religion combined – as well as what medical help they could give." See Keith J. Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal/London; Arctic Institute of North America, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), p. 139

[113] Her father called her 'Nutarak,' meaning 'the newborn,' and Mikak referred to her son Tutauk as 'Pallisea' after Governor Palliser. Taylor, p. 10.

Throughout the next winter, Mikak shared her stories with Labrador Inuit of her time spent overseas. Although she held a prestigious position among her people because of her European experiences, she was also aware of the fact that they scorned liars.[114] Yet, any suspicions about the veracity of Mikak's stories were likely dissolved with the arrival of missionaries in July 1770. Mikak, her father Nerkingoak, and her new husband Tuglavina greeted the Moravians when they arrived at Byron Bay, the same place that Mikak landed the previous summer.[115]

Mikak, Tuglavina and Tutauk also enjoyed elevated status with the Moravians, because they were invited to dine in the captain's cabin, a privilege no longer extended to other Inuit who traded on the ship. The missionaries were cautious about returning to Labrador, because in an earlier attempt by four Moravians to establish a mission in 1752 at Hamilton Inlet, six members of the

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[114] According to W. Gillies Ross, for Inuit who survived and returned to their homeland from Britain, "there were material riches to display, and fabulous experiences to relate time and time again to relatives and friends huddled in snowhouses and tents. Ironically, their descriptions of the wonders of an industrial society were so far beyond belief, and their stories so often repeated, that some of these returning travelers became known as great bores and incorrigible liars, after which they lost face and were shunned by their own people." See W. Gillies Ross, Arctic Whalers Icy Seas *Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale Fishery* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1985), p. 112

[115] Taylor describes Tuglavina as "an aggressive middleman in the baleen trade with the northern Inuit." See J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part II," The Beaver, (Spring 1984), p. 18. Taylor adds that when Tuglavina was introduced to the Moravians, they were informed that he was an angakok, an Inuit spiritual leader. See J.Garth Taylor, "Tuglavina," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, http://www.biographi.ca. Mikak wore her outfit from the dowager princess and her father wore "an English officer's breastplate and fine wash-leather gloves." See Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part I," p. 11. Taylor reports that Byron Bay was "also the place where she had hidden most of the treasures she had brought from London."

crew were murdered in addition to their leader J.C. Erhardt.[116] Haven issued a stern warning to Mikak stating that "if the Inuit should try to kill the missionaries, they would defend themselves with guns, go back to their own country and never come again." Mikak responded by informing Haven that her people had no intention of harming the missionaries by stating, " 'there are great thieves and murderers among you'." She also reminded him that "[i]n England there are also thieves and murderers."[117]

Mikak and Tuglavina guided the Moravian party along the uncharted coast to Nain, the proposed site of the future mission. On August 3, 1770 the Moravians paid Inuit for the land, and Tuglavina's name was first among sixty-seven Inuit men listed on the 'deed.'[118] When the Moravians prepared for their departure, Mikak sent gifts to her friends in England. Then, according to Haven, "she went away and wept."[119]

When the mission party established a settlement in Nain the following year, Mikak was presented "with some beads, fishhooks and thimbles which had been sent by the Moravian congregation in London." The gifts were

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[116] Taylor, "Eskimo Answers to an Eighteenth Century Questionnaire," p.142, footnote 3.
[117] As quoted in Taylor, p. 11. Haven's rebuttal stated that murderers and thieves were hanged for their crimes, and according to Taylor, "Mikak, who had recently lived in the strange kablunat world, where public hangings were a common form of recreation, decided to close their heated exchange on a conciliatory note."
[118] Taylor, p. 13. On August first, the Moravians met approximately 500 Inuit who lived in tents at Nain for the summer months. Mikak celebrated the occasion by wearing the silk gown given to her by the dowager princess.
[119] Taylor, p.13

"purchased in the name of the royal family and were intended to reciprocate for the fox furs which Mikak had sent the dowager princess the previous summer."[120] Mikak and her family remained in Nain long enough to attend the first Inuit assembly at the mission house, but declined an invitation to spend the winter there. The friendly relationship between the missionaries, Mikak and Tuglavina deteriorated. The couple was also not on good terms with a group of Inuit in the region.

The conflicts came to light when Tuglavina arrived in Nain one month later with "two trunks and three sealskin bags" packed for Mikak and her son Tutauk to take on a trip to London on the next mission ship. The missionaries informed Tuglavina that the proposed trip could not be allowed because "the King had forbidden the captain to bring any more Inuit from their country to England."[121] There is no evidence that a British law prohibiting the transport of Inuit to England existed, and according to William H. Whiteley, the missionaries in fact were the ones who "disapproved of Inuit being taken to England, feeling that contact with European society spoiled them for the life to which they must return."[122] According to Fossett:

> Missionary-trader government in northern Labrador, under British supervision, differed sharply from that of Greenland. The British

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[120] J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part II," The Beaver, (Spring 1984), pp. 19-20. The mission party consisted of three married couples and eight single brethren according to Taylor.
[121] Taylor, p.20
[122] William H. Whiteley, "Mikak," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca>

> government's policy of 'hands-off' was in fact a policy of 'out of sight, out of mind,' which gave the Danish and German missionary-traders total control of the social and economic activities of Inuit converts.[123]

The motive behind Tuglavina's actions was later revealed to the missionaries when they discovered that Inuit in the region were feuding with Mikak and her family because they grieved the fact that " 'Mikak and others of her family, mainly her father, have many beautiful things which they do not share.' Therefore, it was learned, Mikak 'hides her things.' "[124]

Besides the cloud of conflict that hung over her relationships with other Inuit at Nain, Mikak also faced trouble within her own marriage.[125] The relationship between Mikak and the Moravians continued to deteriorate over time, and although other Inuit, including members of her own family, were baptized by the missionaries, Mikak never converted to Christianity. When she died on October 1, 1795, her memorabilia from London was left to her son Tutauk, baptized Jonathan Palliser.[126]

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[123] Fossett, p. 91

[124] As quoted in Taylor, p. 20. Mikak and Tuglavina sought refuge in the mission house for a few nights because they believed that their lives were in danger.

[125] Tuglavina entered into a wife exchange with Pualo, husband of Mikak's sister Nochasak. Tuglavina also took Mikak's other sister Kunek as a second wife. SeeTaylor, p. 20. On numerous occasions Tuglavina was abusive when he beat Mikak and abandoned his family. It is worth noting the irony of Tuglavina trading Mikak for her younger sister in the wife exchange with Pualo, because when Mikak returned from England and married Tuglavina, he had previously been married to the younger sister but decided to end the marriage because he assumed she was barren. His decision to take Mikak as his wife in 1769 was likely related to the prestige attached to an association with her. It should also be noted that the term 'marriage' is used by Taylor, but most likely the term does not imply that they were Christian marriages.

[126]Taylor, pp. 20-25. According to Taylor, Jonathan Palliser "was still living in the south in 1824, when a Methodist missionary in Hamilton Inlet met an elderly Inuk who, as a small boy, had been taken to

Whether the difficulties that Mikak faced in Labrador should solely be attributed to the negative affects of acculturation are not easy to ascertain, but from the turn of events after her return from England, it is clear that she was resented among her own people, and as Taylor has insinuated in the titles of his articles, Mikak was indeed caught between 'two worlds.' Her outward actions with regard to costume offer hints of her attempts to adapt to two different cultures. While in England, she was determined to assimilate with other British women when she wore European clothing, and when in Labrador, she used the gown and the costume made from European manufactured materials as symbols of her elevated status among her own people. Mikak obviously recognized the imbalance of power between the British and Inuit cultures in their unequal relationship. Her role as an intermediary between her people and the Moravians had deteriorated, but from the reports of baptisms and attendance of Inuit at the mission services, the connection between the missionaries and Inuit of Labrador continued to flourish through the years.[127] The new role of Inuit as intermediaries proved to be detrimental to some individuals such as Mikak, but in imperialist terms, Inuit as intermediaries proved to be beneficial to the Moravian congregation established in Labrador.

England along with his mother. One of the old man's wives wore a gold-trimmed costume which his mother had long ago received from the mother of King George III." See p. 25

[127] According to Crowe, "[t]he first Inuk to be baptized was Kingmingusilk, a former shaman, on February 19, 1776. He took the Christian name of Detrus." See Crowe, p. 139

The Moravians refused to allow the transport of Mikak and Tutauk to England in 1770, yet a documented case of Inuit who travelled to England from Labrador two years later, as recorded in the journal of Major George Cartwright, proves that although the enforcement of the embargo was given paramount importance by the Moravians, based on the fact that they wanted to protect Labrador Inuit from European cultural influence, it was obviously not an issue for other individuals with commercial interest in the colony.[128] George Cartwright and Francis Lucas were business partners with two Bristol merchants in the firm Perkins, Coghlan, Cartwright and Lucas. They intended to be friendly with "the Esquimaux Indians," who, according to Cartwright, "have always been accounted the most savage race of people upon the whole continent of America."[129]

In an attempt to establish a good working relationship with Inuit, Lucas persuaded the chief of the settlement of Auchbucktoke to winter with him and Cartwright at their camp at Cape Charles. In his journal entry for October 5,

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[128] This is the same George Cartwright who commented on Mikak's visit to England in 1768, and the same Francis Lucas that Mikak shared accommodations with in Britain. Lucas had decided to pursue business interests in Labrador rather than continue his service in the British navy. According to Taylor, Lucas did not accompany Cartwright and the Inuit to England because he died when his schooner sunk in the North Atlantic. See J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak, Part I," Beaver (Winter 1983), p. 13

[129] Charles W. Townsend ed., Captain Cartwright and His Labrador Journal (Boston: Dana Estes and Company Publishers, 1911), p.13. In a footnote Townsend qualifies Cartwright's use of the term 'Indian' when he states, "[Cartwright] refers to the Eskimos, not to the Indians. Cartwright frequently uses the word Indian when he means Eskimo. This latter race were in his day often called "Fishing Indians" to distinguish them from the true Indians, who were called "Hunting Indians"." See p. 13. In his journal, Cartwright also notes that Lucas learned Inuktitut from the woman he transported from Labrador to England in 1768. See pp. 15-16

1770, Cartwright named Inuit when he stated, "[t]he chief's name is Attuiock, and his family consists of two wives, three young children, a brother, a nephew, and a maid-servant. At nine o'clock, Attuiock, Tooklavinia, his brother, a youth about seventeen years of age; and Etuiock, the nephew, a youth of fifteen; came up here in their kyacks, and breakfasted with me; after which they went back, in order to bring up the women and children."[130]

Cartwright's first impression of the family once they settled at Cape Charles can best be described in his own words,

> Early in the morning I went to pay a visit to the Indians: but of all the people I ever yet heard of, the Esquimaux, I think, are the most uncleanly. They even exceed the accounts which I have read of the Hottentots: for they not only eat the guts of an animal; but, with a still higher gout for delicacies of this kind, they devour even the contents! Their tent was highly impregnated with the effluvia of such savoury dainties. At the farther end, a little raised from the ground, on pieces of boards, were abundance of deer-skins and garments, on which they both sat and slept; the rest was well filled with vessels for eating and drinking; bags of seals' oil, part of the carcase of a seal recently killed; fat, guts, fish; and a great variety of other good things, all lying in glorious confusion; on which their dogs and themselves fed promiscuously! The whole was nauseous in the highest degree, and I was obliged to quit the place with much reluctance.[131]

Although Cartwright was initially disgusted with the eating habits and living arrangements of the Inuit family, he developed an appreciation for their culture when he learned to value: their keen hunting abilities; their agility when

[130] Townsend, pp. 41-42. Cartwright mentions that the youngest wife was named Ickcongogue. See p. 43. On Tuesday, October 23, 1770 Attuiock informed Cartwright that one of his children died a few days earlier. See p. 44

[131] Townsend, p. 43. The Hottentots were indigenous to South Africa. On at least two occasions Cartwright made efforts to introduce Inuit to religion when he stated that he read prayers to "my family." See pp. 44 and 55.

playing ball games in the summer; the art of throwing darts to capture seals; their method for curing cod (without salt); and Attuiock's generous present of a seal skin, as noted in his journal. In a cross-cultural exchange, Cartwright introduced Inuit to some European goods and habits when he read them daily prayers, presented Attuiock with a shallop, and shared meals with them.[132] He wrote:

> Attuiock and Tooklavinia came up in their kyacks, accompanied by five other Esquimaux, who had arrived at Cape Charles this morning with their families. They supped with me, and afterwards smoked a few whiffs of tobacco and drank a little callibogus; but they seemed to prefer sugar and water….It was astonishing to see what a quantity of hot cake and coffee my seven uncouth friends swallowed for breakfast this morning.[133]

While Cartwright did acknowledge that Inuit of Labrador were 'uncouth' with respect to some of their customs, he was likely encouraged that they embraced some aspects of European culture during the time that he spent in Labrador. To expose his new acquaintances to a more intense experience of British culture and to offer his fellow countrymen a view of the exotic inhabitants from North American colonies, Cartwright and his partners transported five Inuit from Labrador to England by way of Ireland.[134]

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[132] Townsend, pp. 44-85

[133] Townsend, p.85

[134] According to Cartwright's journal entry for Thursday October 29, 1772, "[i]t was this day determined, that Attuiock, Ickcongoque, his youngest wife; Ickeuna, her daughter; (a child under four years of age) Tooklavinia, Attuiock's youngest brother; and Caubvick his wife, should accompany me to England. Another brother, with his wife, are already gone to England with Perkins and Coghlan's head-man…" See Townsend, p. 115. It is not clear from Cartwright's journal entry whether the transport of Inuit to England was forced or voluntary.

The three day stopover in Ireland was the first European experience for the Inuit group, and an opportunity for the Irish to view the exotic people from Labrador. In his journal entry for Wednesday, November 25, 1772 Cartwright described the reaction of the Irish. He wrote, "[w]e remained at Waterford from this day till the twenty-eighth, and I was teased to death by the curiosity of the whole town and country to see the Indians."[135] By the time the party arrived in London, Cartwright noted that although Inuit did not immediately recognize the significance of British engineering feats such as the Blackfriar's Bridge, the British, on the other hand, were indeed fascinated with the arrival of Inuit. According to Cartwright, "[o]n landing at Westminister Bridge, we were immediately surrounded by a great concourse of people; attracted not only by the uncommon appearance of the Indians who were in their sealskin dresses, but also by a beautiful eagle, and an Esquimau dog; which had much the resemblance of a wolf, and a remarkable wildness of look."[136]

The overwhelming British curiosity for Inuit forced Cartwright to schedule bi-weekly viewings of the "Indians." The huge response to the displays also necessitated the move to larger accommodations within a few days, since the crowds of carriages and people became a "nuisance to the neighbourhood." In an effort to acculturate the Labradorians, Cartwright

[135] Townsend, pp. 118-119.
[136] Townsend, pp. 120-121.

supplied the women with broadcloth, flannel and beads to construct new garments for themselves and to eliminate the "offensive smell" and "dirty appearance" of their sealskin outfits. In a further effort, he provided British suits for the men, so they were less conspicuous when he brought them to the opera, where they met the Royal Family, and to Covent Garden where they viewed the play 'Cymbeline.' According to Cartwright, Inuit were treated with great respect, for they sat in the King's box at the theatre, and were greeted "with a thundering applause by the audience on entering the box."[137]

Cartwright tried to impress the visitors with other points of interest within the immediate London area, but the whole experience was rather overwhelming, and homesickness soon replaced their earlier enthusiasm for European cultural wonders. At this point Cartwright was cautiously optimistic. While he conceded that Inuit eventually appreciated their new experiences, he was also convinced that the enjoyment of their surroundings was limited by their capacity to appreciate the progress of European society. He wrote: "their admiration increased in proportion, as their ideas expanded; till at length they began more clearly to comprehend the use, beauty, and mechanism of what they saw; though the greater part of these were as totally lost upon them, as they would have been upon one of the brute creation."[138]

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[137] Townsend, pp.121-122
[138] Townsend, p.123.

Cartwright's perception of Inuit as 'uncivilized' was evident again when he took two of the Inuit men to an animal shop in Piccadilly. According to Cartwright, the men were horrified at the sight of monkeys and he even related that one of the men asked him, "Is that an Esquimau?" While it may be difficult to prove whether this incident actually occurred, the fact that Cartwright included the episode in his journal hints at his underlying fascination with Inuit as 'uncivilized.' Upon further explanation to the men, Cartwright was able to convince them of their misunderstanding and he stated, "[o]n pointing out several other monkeys of different kinds, they were greatly diverted at the mistake which they had made; but were not well pleased to observe, that monkeys resembled their race much more than ours." He attributed their initial shock to the fact that these men from Labrador possessed "the uninformed mind[s] of the savage[s],"and their reactions could therefore be justified, because in comparison to "civilized nations," Inuit were not as enlightened as the knowledgeable Europeans who learned about the world through direct communication and books.[139] Although Cartwright recognized and appreciated Inuit culture while he lived in Labrador, he was obviously still of the opinion that the British were intellectually superior to Inuit.

Cartwright was also conscious of the fact that Inuit were clearly hesitant to relate 'the wonders of Britain' to their fellow countrymen. According to his

[139] Townsend, pp. 124-125.

journal entry for Monday December 14, 1772, after a tour of St. Paul's Cathedral he asked them how they would describe the sight to their fellow countrymen, and he wrote, "they replied, with a look of the utmost expression, they should neither mention it, nor many other things, which they had seen, lest they should be called liars, from the seeming impossibility of such astonishing data."[140] Whether or not Cartwright believed that Inuit would relate their adventures to others upon their return to Labrador, or if Inuit considered the British to be exotic compared to their own culture, Cartwright still tried to impress upon them that his culture was significantly different from theirs. To reinforce this suggestion, other visits on their schedule included: supper with John Hunter, a noted surgeon, anatomist and physiologist; observing the King while he reviewed a military regiment in Hyde Park (the King also acknowledged the presence of Inuit because they captured the attention of the crowds gathered for the ceremony); an audience with Lord and Lady Holland at Holland House; a six week stay in Nottingham where they participated in fox hunts, horse riding, and dancing; attending Court and social gatherings with "several of the nobility and people of fashion" in London.[141]

By Cartwright's own admission, aside from the fact that he did try to 'civilize' Inuit, he was more concerned that they should be left with the

[140] Townsend, p. 124. In the case of Mikak, it was noted that liars were scorned in Inuit society, so it is likely that these Inuit feared the same reaction from fellow Labradorians.
[141] Townsend, pp. 125-130.

impression that British society was indeed superior to their own in Labrador. He stated,

> ....I omitted nothing, which came within the compass of my pocket, to make their stay in England agreeable, or to impress them with ideas of our riches and strength. The latter I thought highly necessary, as they had often, when in Labrador, spoken of our numbers with great contempt, and told me they were numerous, that they could cut off all the English with great ease, if they thought proper to collect themselves together; an opinion which could not fail to produce in me very unpleasant reflections. But they had not been long in London before they confessed to me, that the Esquimaux were but as one, compared to that of the English.[142]

Cartwright's efforts to impress his Inuit passengers with the "riches and strength" of Britain were jeopardized shortly after his ship set sail for Labrador on May 8, 1773.[143] Within days the ship was forced to take refuge at Plymouth because of a smallpox outbreak aboard ship. By the first week of June, Ickongoque, Tooklavinia, and Ickeuna died, and Caubvick was extremely ill. Although every effort was made to provide immediate medical attention, the disease soon ravaged their bodies.[144] Caubvick was the only survivor. According to Cartwright, the voyage did not resume until July fifth, when she showed some definite signs of improvement. Even though her recovery was slow, and Caubvick was "reduced to a skeleton, and troubled with a great many

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[142] Townsend, p. 130.

[143] Cartwright's partnership with Perkins and Coghlan expired, and with financial assistance from his father, (2,000 pounds) he returned to Labrador to resume trade with Inuit. See Townsend, p.131

[144] The Inuit were vaccinated, but the devastating effects of the disease could not be averted. It is significant to note that Cartwright does not provide information about the status of Attuiock, one of the original five Inuit destined to travel from Labrador to England. The last reference to Attuiock is found in Cartwright's journal entry for December 14, 1772 where he recalls several outings for Inuit in London. He does note that Attuiock was overwhelmed and homesick, and that he was an "old Indian priest." See Townsend pp. 120-131

large boils," the party arrived safely in Stage Cove Labrador on August 29, 1773.[145]

They were greeted by approximately five hundred Inuit shortly after their arrival, and when the fate of the deceased Inuit was revealed to them, their countrymen reacted by yelling and showed their grief by inflicting pain on themselves.[146] Following a brief period of mourning, within a few days, Caubvick settled into her familiar environment, and Cartwright set about his business. He purchased a "slave girl," Tweegock, from her father for the price of a "bait skiff" boat, but she ran away at least twice in two months. By mid November Cartwright "brought away" her brother Noozelliack, "a boy about twelve years of age."[147] Cartwright sailed from St. John's Newfoundland November 23, 1773 and arrived in England on December 14, 1773. The next morning, Cartwright took the precaution of having Noozelliack inoculated for smallpox, but he died from the disease three days later. Cartwright did not intend to keep Noozelliack as a slave, as in the case of Tweegock. Instead, according to Cartwright,

> ...as I intended, at a future period, to have visited all the northern tribes of Esquimaux, I had brought home this boy, in order to put him to school to

[145] Caubvick also lost a considerable amount of hair from smallpox, so he convinced her that he should shave her head to control the disease "to the rest of her country folks." Caubvick was not pleased with this action, and refused to throw the hair overboard, and instead locked it in her trunk. See Townsend, pp. 136-137

[146] Cartwright notes that many of the women "beat themselves on the head and face" with stones. See Townsend, pp. 138-139

[147] Townsend, pp. 140-145

> be instructed in the English language; intending him for my interpreter. Through him I should have been enabled to have gained full information of their religion, customs and manners. At the same time, I should have improved myself in their language, my dealings with his countrymen would have been greatly facilitated, and I should have acquired much knowledge of the northern parts of the coast.[148]

Cartwright's future plans for Noozelliack added a new component to the role of select Inuit as intermediaries. From his journal it is evident that as a merchant and trader he recognized the advantages of better communication between the two cultures. Through formal education Cartwright wanted to ensure that Noozelliack was fluent in both Inuktitut and English, because he was obviously convinced that 'savages' could be educated.[149] Education for Inuit of Labrador was also part of the mandate of the Moravians who established their mission at Nain in 1770.[150]

Advances with respect to the treatment of certain Inuit as intermediaries and interpreters by the eighteenth century were an indication that assumptions and expectations of the British were beginning to change. The British depended on Inuit skills for communication between the indigenous and non-indigenous people of Labrador, and they obviously believed that Inuit could be

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[148] Townsend, p. 147

[149] In 1768 Karpik was taught to read and write in England when he was placed with the Moravians according to the instructions of Hugh Palliser, the Governor of Newfoundland

[150] For more information regarding later Moravian missions in the Sub Arctic regions of Canada see Davena Gwendolen Monk Davis, "The Dayspring From on High Hath Visited Us" An Examination of the Missionary Endeavours of the Moravians and the Anglican Church Missionary Society Among the Inuit in the Arctic Regions of Canada and Labrador, (1880s – 1920s), (Montreal: McGill University, 1987). Education for Inuit was also part of the mandate for the Evangelical Anglicans from the Church Missionary Society. See also J.K. Hiller, "The Moravians in Labrador, 1771-1805," The Polar Record, vol. 15, no. 99 (1971), pp. 839-854

educated even though they considered them to be 'savages.' Yet, when the treatment of select Inuit in the previous centuries is considered, the fact that some were still regarded as slaves, curiosities and trophies in the eighteenth century reveals another aspect of British attitudes. It is likely that the early stereotypical images of Inuit as 'uncivilized' and 'exotic' continued to be overriding influences on the attitudes and assumptions of some British and other Europeans that constituted part of this change process.

Chapter Three

Northern Commodities and Western Markets

British Stereotypes of Eastern Arctic Inuit in the Nineteenth Century

The eighteenth century marked a transitional stage for British assumptions and treatment of Inuit in the North American British colonies of Newfoundland and Labrador. Select Inuit were cast in their new roles as intermediaries between the larger indigenous population and the non-indigenous groups who inhabited these Sub Arctic regions by the turn of the century. For the Inuit population who migrated from Baffin Island to Labrador in the sixteenth century in response to climatic changes and scarce resources, according to Fosset, their numbers increased five or six fold, and "Labrador Inuit enjoyed relative affluence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[151] From evidence found in textual records such as ship journals, missionary station diaries and personal journals, it can be assumed that the non-indigenous people included members of the government administration, traders, fishermen and missionaries. Ripples of change with respect to new attitudes towards this "most savage race of people upon the whole continent of America"[152] carried

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[151] Renée Fossett, In Order to Live Untroubled *Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 2001), p.88. See also pp. 57-60
[152] Charles W. Townsend ed., Captain Cartwright and His Labrador Journal (Boston: Dana Estes and Company Publishers, 1911), p.13

forth into the nineteenth century, but so also did the earlier established stereotypes.

The initial negative labels such as 'savages,' heathens,' 'infidels' and 'barbarians,' were used as early as the sixteenth century, when some Europeans categorized Inuit based on their assumptions about these Northern Peoples. Grouping Inuit in oversimplified categories may be understood if cultural and linguistic gaps are taken into account. It is also not unreasonable to assume that indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the Arctic and Sub Arctic were guarded in their encounters, because they misunderstood one another. But, cultural and linguistic gaps and misunderstandings do not offer the only explanation for the continuation of stereotypes.

In the nineteenth century, Victorians were fascinated with the exotic, and as this chapter will illustrate, the representation of Inuit as exotic was used to promote other agendas. The Victorian paradigm required that Inuit be both exotic and stereotypic, yet they were also considered authoritative in their own environment. This is paradoxical. Interdependent relationships between Europeans and Inuit developed as a result of their contact through the centuries, and their interactions during the Victorian era need to be explored further to account for the paradox.

During the Age of the New Imperialism that dominated the second half of the nineteenth century, states were consumed with gaining territorial and commercial advantages over competing states. Improvements in technology and medical knowledge guaranteed certain travel and industrial advantages for imperial powers with the introduction of steam engines, improved weapons and the discovery of quinine prophylaxis.[153] Encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples were frequent occurrences when the global power structure was redefined in the Age of the New Imperialism. There continued to be an emphasis on charting the world and a rational approach to finding explanations through solid scientific knowledge and education rather than through abstract philosophies such as those found in most religions. This reliance on rationalism and empirical fact was established during the eighteenth century Age of Enlightenment.

There was a keen interest in the Arctic at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the search for a northwest passage. However, by mid-century the heroes of the early Arctic exploration period were replaced by more practical non-indigenous influences such as whalers, geographers, ethnographers, naturalists, traders, government officials and missionaries. After the discovery of the passage by M'Clure, focus and funding shifted from Arctic voyages of

[153] Alice L. Conklin and Ian Christopher Fletcher, European Imperialism, 1830-1930 (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), p. 4. See "Introduction," pp. 1-9 for a discussion on new approaches to the study of imperialism.

discovery to the exploration of Antarctica and the quest for the North Pole.[154] To hope for any further financial backing for Arctic endeavours, it seems logical to assume that those with a penchant for adventure and commercial gain in the land of ice and snow had to promote the Arctic to a wide-ranging audience who might sympathize with the untapped potential of the North.

On a broader scale, opportunities to promote colonialism were realized by mid-century when resources from the colonies were represented in Great Britain and other European countries via international exhibitions where interested observers and financial sponsors viewed the riches of Empire. The promotion of the natural resources from the colonies was measured in the concrete items transported overseas for display in Europe. Artifacts and indigenous peoples represented the promotion of ethereal qualities of the colonies, such as exoticism and adventure. Victorians regarded 'others' as measurements of mystery in foreign lands, and the 'uncivilized' captured the imaginations of the British and other Europeans.[155] Exoticism and adventure were manipulated as part of the marketing strategy of imperialist promotion.

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[154] Hugh N. Wallace notes "[e]ntering the Arctic by Bering Strait in 1850 to look for Franklin, M'Clure's expedition explored the whole of the coastline of Banks Island as it found two Northwest Passages." See Hugh N. Wallace, "Geographical Explorations to 1880," in Morris Zaslow, ed., A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1981),p.25. According to Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, Roald Amundsen eventually conquered the Northwest Passage in the *Gjöa*. See Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, Eskimos (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1971), p.21

[155] For a discussion of representational theory see Robert G. David, The Arctic in the British Imagination, 1818-1914 (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000 and Shelagh D. Grant, "Imagination and Spirituality: Written Narratives and the Oral Tradition," In John Moss, ed., Echoing Silence: Essays on Arctic Narrative (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1997), pp. 191-209

In the decades immediately preceding the exhibitions of empire in the nineteenth century, individual promoters displayed indigenous peoples for entertainment and profit at smaller venues. These entrepreneurs recognized the commercial value of bringing aboriginal peoples to Europe, and in the name of entertainment and profit they tapped into the fascination with the exotic. One of the earliest records where Inuit were brought to Europe for this purpose in the nineteenth century is the case of Captain Samuel Hadlock.

In 1821 Hadlock, an American whaler turned entrepreneur from Maine, brought a family of four Inuit overseas "to make his fortune exhibiting his menagerie in Europe."[156] An interview conducted by Leopold Fitzinger revealed that Hadlock met the family in "Baffin's Bay" during a whaling expedition. According to Fitzinger, "Hadlock was so endeared to them that they voluntarily decided to come with him to Europe, and that they were baptized George and Marie in Hudson Bay after Capt. Hadlock had instructed them in the Christian religion.[157] George's native name was Niagungitok, and Marie's was Coonahnik." They were twenty-seven and twenty-five years of

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[156] Robin K. Wright, "The Traveling Exhibition of Captain Samuel Hadlock, Jr.: Eskimos in Europe, 1822-1826," in Christian F. Feest, ed., Indians in Europe *An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 217. Wright states that Hadlock also brought "a large collection of artifacts. This included ten live sled dogs and a sled, a kayak, harpoons, bows and arrows and other hunting equipment, ivory carvings, native clothing from the Eastern Arctic as well as the Eastern Woodlands, and stuffed seals, bears and birds." See p. 215

[157] According to Ulf Bankmann, Hadlock also claimed that he taught reading and writing to Niagungitok, but those skills were likely learned from the Moravian mission school in Hopedale Labrador. Niagungitok was also skilled at drawing. It is probable that he also learned this skill from the Moravians. See Ulf Bankmann, "The "Esquimaux-Indians" in Berlin, 1824-1825 Drawings and Prints," Native American Studies, vol. 11, no. 2 (1997), pp. 22-24

age.[158] Fitzinger also revealed that the couple had two children. "One died at eight months of age during the sea trip, and the other, three years old, died in England."[159]

Although Fitzinger reported that the family voluntarily accompanied Hadlock to Europe in his contemporary account, the *Literary Gazette* of London painted a different picture of the relationship. They were exhibited in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore before they crossed the Atlantic. According to the article:

> One Hadlock, brought back with him to New York an Esquimaux man a woman, and a child. Of these he made a show, and their exploits in a seal skin canoe, &c. were exhibited at so much per head to the natives of that city. Some rumours having got afloat, that he had kidnapped these poor Indians, he was indicted for a trespass and battery; but the mayor acquitted him.[160]

The newspaper article was printed in 1821 and the interview was published in 1825. While it is difficult to ascertain whether the family was indeed kidnapped, as reported in the earlier piece, or if they accompanied Hadlock willingly, as claimed by the Fitzinger interview four years later, it is

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[158] According to Bankmann, notices in *Berlinische Nachrighten* list the ages of the man and woman as twenty five and twenty three years of age in the November 13, 1824 edition of the paper, and as twenty five and twenty two years of age in the November 16, 1824 edition. See Bankmann, p. 21

[159] Wright, pp. 217-218

[160] As quoted in Wright, p. 218. Wright used Hadlock's handwritten journal of his four years in Europe as a primary source for information regarding his journeys. She supplemented with other primary sources such as the Fitzinger interview and newspaper articles to provide more detailed information about the relationship between Hadlock and the "Eskimos." For information about his life before and after the time period described in the journal, Wright stated that "Rachel Field's romantic account of Hadlock's life, *God's Pocket*, was based primarily on Hadlock's journal, but also on the recollections of Hadlock's grandson, Samuel Sanford, who was in his eighties at the time she interviewed him in the 1930s." See pp. 215-216.

important to consider the fact that profit was Hadlock's motive for the exhibition of this family. Therefore, kidnapping was not out of the question in this case. Fitzinger interviewed Hadlock for his article after a few years of touring Europe. By then, Hadlock's motives were well established therefore his intentions were questionable, and his testimony may have been riddled with falsehoods.[161]

The entourage toured throughout the British Isles between January 1822 and the early summer of 1824. The shows consisted of "a kayak performance, a re-enactment of an Eskimo marriage ceremony and a demonstration of sled dogs pulling a sledge."[162] Marie died early in the tour following an illness, but Hadlock replaced her with a "gypsy woman" who filled "the vacancy in the show" at Hull. In Hadlock's journal he referred to her when he wrote that she was, "the Jipsy [gypsy] that I drest up in sealskin and excibited as an Indian Woomern [woman]." By the time the troupe arrived at Lincoln, their next destination, Hadlock recorded that,

> the Magastrates found out that I was imposing on the Publick. Thay was determined to stop me and send us to prison for the efence commited on the publick...But I goot Knues [news] of the same and sot off that daye at another town and cleaned myself of them and laft [laughed] at thare under taking...Begun in another town at the same trade. Dun Wall.

[161] Bankmann also supports the contention that while Hadlock tried to portray altruistic intentions, he was motivated by profit. See Bankmann, pp. 22-24

[162] Wright, p. 216

The imposter only remained with the show for three weeks, because Hadlock began to lose profits when rumours circulated that the "gypsy woman" was a fraud. She was replaced by a more convincing substitute, and Hadlock reported, "[g]ut another womern which ansored my purpes better then the first, she being the same kuller [color] and the same fetchers [features] which pases without Dispute. She conducks herself better then the Jipsey...I rote this in Pickidilly." [163]

By his own admission, Hadlock intended to deceive the paying public at his exhibits. It is likely that competition from a rival exhibit of "the Botokado Indian" in London and in Vienna pressured Hadlock to promote his show as the superior entertainment experience, because he hired an agent when the show arrived in Hamburg in July 1824.[164] By September the exhibit proceeded to Leipzig, to appear at the Michaelmas Fair. George's performances in his kayak were definite crowd pleasers. Hadlock wrote, "[o]n Sunday in the after noon I put the Indian on the watter...for the last time in this town whare I took $600 in 2 owers [hours]. The croudes of spectators ware great and mutch pleased to

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[163] As quoted in Wright, p. 219

[164] Wright, p.219. According to J.C.H. King, the display of the Botocudos from Brazil was more successful than Hadlock's display of Inuit. See J.C.H. King, "Family of Botocudos Exhibited on Bond Street in 1822," in Christian F. Feest ed., Indians and Europe *An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 248. According to Bankmann, few Berliners questioned the validity of Hadlock's claims about Inuit. According to an article in *Berlinische Nachrichten* for November 13, 1824, "Berlin has for some years seen within its walls with general and sustained interest several inhabitants of other parts of the world. So far Esquimaux have not been here and I therefore have no reluctance in pursuance of Mr. Captain Hadlock's request to attest to their authenticity." See p. 21

behold a native from the arctic regions Exploy [employ] his boat with such admirable dexterity and kill his game so wall as he did."[165]

In combination with the exhibition of Inuit as curiosities, Hadlock also displayed and traded some artifacts from the Arctic as part of the promotion for his shows.[166] In an effort to appeal to both the literate and illiterate in society, large posters, panoramas, handbills and newspaper accounts were used to advertise Inuit as curiosities.[167] In the autumn of 1825, Hadlock's troupe also entertained various royals and dignitaries that included: the King of Bavaria; King Joseph Maximilian IV; Queen Caroline Maria Therese of Sweden; the Russian ambassador; and King William I of Wurttemberg. Obviously the Danish laws enacted in the eighteenth century regarding the moral and ethical

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[165] As quoted in Wright, p. 220. Hadlock recorded that his total receipts amounted to fifteen hundred dollars. Wright also states that the principle role for Marie in the show involved the marriage ritual where she danced and ate raw fish. Apparently she was quite convincing in the role, although she was not of Inuit descent. See p. 222

[166] Hadlock's museum also contained a display of South Pacific artifacts, including a preserved Maori head. His earlier whaling expeditions brought him to the Arctic and the South Pole, so it is very likely that he acquired these artifacts for his collection during those years. There is some speculation that Hadlock either sold some artifacts in 1824, or gifted them to his new father-in-law, but there are no documents that support these theories. See Wright p. 221

[167] The terms diorama and panorama may have been used interchangeably in the nineteenth century, because these types of presentation were similar. According to Richard D. Altick, "[i]n the exhibition business, just as "panorama" was meant to connote magnitude, so "diorama" implied lighting tricks, transparency in particular, with the addition, following theatrical usage, of movement; but often the words were used almost interchangeably, and in many cases, so far as we can tell, no peculiarity was present to justify use of either term." He adds, "[t]he panorama's claim to dignity as a quasi-cultural institution and to patronage as a respectable alternative to the theatre lay in its vaunted educational value. It was one of the several nineteenth-century commercial enterprises that were dedicated, on paper at least, to the dissemination of useful knowledge....[t]he educational effect of the pictures was reinforced by sixpenny booklets, such as could be bought at every Barker-Burford show, to serve first as a guide to the picture while one viewed it – there was no lecturer – and then as a permanent souvenir, to be added to one's collection of informative reading matter. In addition to an outline sketch of the picture, these pamphlets contained a dozen or so pages of text, summarizing the history, geography, and current interest of the scene depicted." See Robert D. Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge/London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 174

treatment of North American Aboriginal People did not interfere with the entertainment of the aristocrats. According to Hadlock, his most profitable show was at the summer palace of Queen Caroline Maria Therese in Munich. He stated, "I preformed with the Indian on the watter in frunt of the Queans Pollis...the spectators amounted to about 6000...all seamed to be much pleased."[168] His financial gains were short-lived however, because George died during the tour, so Hadlock returned to North America in the late spring of 1826.[169] He enjoyed prestige abroad as a nineteenth century showman who "mingled with royalty and exhibited for Kings and Queens," but ultimately Hadlock displayed Aboriginal North Americans in Europe for profit and entertainment.[170]

Hadlock's commercial exploitation of Niagungitok and Coonahnik was a case where Inuit were treated as curiosities in the early nineteenth century, a pattern of treatment established since the sixteenth century. In addition, as an individual showman who recognized a business opportunity, Hadlock added another component to European assumptions and attitudes with regard to Inuit when he valued them as commodities and displayed them to a paying public.

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[168] As quoted in Wright, p. 226. Wright notes that Hadlock "made more money on this day than for any other single performance."
[169] Wright states that in North America "Hadlock busied himself shooting and stuffing seals. He also prepared for a voyage to the north to gather more seals which he planned to stuff and sell to the royalty of Europe when he returned there." See p. 227
[170] Wright, pp. 228-229. According to Bankmann "the very rich pictorial documentation" of Hadlock's tours in England and the continent of Europe between 1822 and 1826 have hardly been discussed when compared to other textual records of the tours. See Bankmann, p. 21

Paradoxically, while the representation of some Inuit as curiosities and sources of entertainment in Europe was well established by the 1830s, in their own locale other non-indigenous commercial interests who hoped to profit from the Arctic for other reasons recognized their authority. In the North Inuit were valued by some British entrepreneurs for their knowledge of Northern geography, survival skills and technology in a land with an abundance of natural resources and an unforgiving climate.[171]

Inuit skills for locating and capturing whales in the icy waters of the Arctic and Sub Arctic regions were invaluable to British and American whalers in the nineteenth century. During the first few decades, the British travelled in armadas, and according to Dorothy Harley Eber, "[t]hey fished first off Pond Inlet and Bylot Island, then as the season progressed pushed into Lancaster Sound and south down the East Baffin coast, "rock-nosing," as the whalers put it, close to the craggy shore."[172] Since the climate only permitted a relatively

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[171] According to David Thomas Murphy, the Germans maintained a positive image of Inuit in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. "It is clear that the positive image of the Eskimo was due primarily to a single fact: Germans admired the Eskimo ability to survive in the Arctic environment. German respect for Inuit skill in exploiting the resources of their unique natural setting is evident from the earliest days of organized exploration." See David Thomas Murphy, " "First Among Savages": The German Romance of the Eskimo from the Enlightenment to National Socialism," German Studies Review, vol. 25, no. 3 (2002), p. 537

[172] Dorothy Harley Eber, When the Whalers Were Up North *Inuit Memories From the Eastern Arctic* (Kingston/Montreal/London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), pp. 11-12. There is also a reference to rock-nosing in protected harbours in the final weeks of the fishing season. This kind of fishing was unpopular with the crews, but the whales that were killed late in the season were usually large, and provided more blubber. See Daniel Francis, Arctic Chase *A History of Whaling in Canada's North*, (St. John's Newfoundland: Breakwater Books, 1984), pp. 18-19

short fishing season for whaling non-indigenous fishermen were compelled to find rich fishing grounds.

Inuit depended on the capture of whales for their subsistent way of life. They considered maktaaq, the skin of the whale, to be quite a delicacy, eaten either raw or after it was boiled, and used other whale products to survive in the North. Eber states,

> [t]hey made their sleds from its jaw-bones (the early Eskimo people who didn't use the snowhouse had roofed their stone homes with its ribs). Its carcass was a giant bait that drew polar bears and foxes. Its skin was the most prized of all foods, delicious and nutritious; its meat fed the dogs all winter. A whale was subsistence for a year.[173]

European and American whalers captured their prey for other reasons. They hunted whales for the commercial value of whale oil and baleen. W. Gillies Ross notes that, "[b]ehind this extraordinary circumpolar quest was the need of European and American homes, cities, and factories, for illuminants and lubricants before the ascendancy of petroleum products and electricity."[174] The oil was rendered from a layer of blubber that measured between twelve to eighteen inches in thickness, and according to Eber, "[a] bowhead (usually

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[173] Eber, pp. 16 and 29. According to Francis, the carcass was also known as the *kreng* by European whalers. See Francis, p. 16

[174] W. Gillies Ross, Arctic Whalers Icy Seas *Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale Fishery* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1985), p. xiii. See also Francis, p. 1. He states, "[o]il was used first as an ingredient in the production of soap, then later in the eighteenth century as a fuel for street lamps. A third use was in the preparation of woolen textiles. As time went on, however, whale oil was replaced by better, cheaper products. Rapeseed oil was favoured in the manufacture of soap and textiles, and in the 1820s coal gas began to prove itself superior as an illuminant. Still, it took the introduction of petroleum forty years later before animal oil was completely superseded." See p. 41

some fifty feet long, occasionally more) may yield thirty tons of oil if a female, twenty tons if a male." Although whale oil was replaced by other fuels in the nineteenth century, "it still had industrial uses – as a lubricant, in tanning, in the manufacture of paints and varnishes."[175]

The profitable business of selling whale oil on European markets induced many whalers from Britain to join Arctic fleets, even though ships were often lost in thick ice. The introduction of petroleum products triggered a decline in the whale oil market in 1820, and although the market rebounded in 1858, the demand for whale oil diminished by late century.[176] Europeans also valued whales for their baleen, and while the market for oil weakened, the price of baleen gained strength. According to Francis,

> [b]aleen is a bone-like substance, but unlike bone it is flexible when heated and can be twisted into diverse shapes. The women's fashion industry is often blamed for the destruction of the arctic whale since baleen was first used to make corset stays, however, the dictates of fashion were only partly responsible. Baleen was transformed into a vast array of products, including buggy whips, skirt hoops, umbrellas, carriage wheels and springs, luggage, and fishing rods. In many ways it was the plastic of its day. Even the fringe hairs were used to stuff furniture and make brushes......It has been estimated that in 1870 whalebone constituted only thirty per cent of a whale's value whereas by 1890 this figure had increased to eighty-three per cent. Since an average bowhead carried 680

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[175] Eber, pp. 16 and 29. See also Francis, p. 42. Ross states that the bowhead "is a mighty animal running to fifty-five feet or more in length, thirty feet around the waistline, sixty tones or more in weight, with tail flukes measuring more than twenty feet from tip to tip, and a mouth large enough to accommodate a dozen Jonahs." See p. xv

[176] Francis, p. 42. Francis notes that whale oil sold for £38 per ton in 1810, declined to £20 per ton in 1820, and then enjoyed a brief recovery in 1858 to £53 per ton. He contends that the industry was floundering by 1830 due to the decline in the price per ton plus the heavy losses incurred on fleets as a result of thick ice in Davis Strait. For a case study of the decline in whaling from 1820-1850 see Tony Barrow, "The Decline of British Whaling in Arctic Canada, 1820-1850: A Case Study of Newcastle Upon Tyne," The Northern Mariner, vol. VIII, no. 4 (October 1998), pp. 35-54

> kilograms of bone in its mouth it was possible by the early 1900s for the oil and baleen from a single animal to be worth as much as $15,000, enough in itself to meet the expenses of an entire whaling voyage.[177]

In the nineteenth century, whaling was also a commercial enterprise in the Western Arctic, but according to Ross, "[t]he largest and most enduring whale fishery off arctic North America was that of the Davis Strait–Baffin Bay region, which persisted for more than two centuries prior to the First World War." It was a lucrative business because a substantial number of bowhead whales were nourished, reproduced and migrated in the icy waters between Greenland and Arctic Canada.[178] By the early nineteenth century, the British were committed to the Arctic whaling industry with respect to manpower, ship construction and government subsidies.[179]

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[177] Francis, pp.42-43. Francis states that in the late nineteenth century baleen jumped from 32¢ per pound (American dollars) to $5.80 per pound by 1904. He also adds, "[i]n the 1860s, with the price of oil dropping, the introduction of steam power lifted a slumping industry and propelled it into a final phase of high returns and geographic expansion." See Francis, p. 43. See also Eber, p. 29 for uses of baleen. According to Ross, other baleen products included: fences, riding crops, sieves, brushes, nets, gratings, window blinds, fences and the bottoms and backs for chairs. See Ross, p. xiii

[178] Ross, p. xiii. The Hudson's Bay Company also traded with Hudson Strait Inuit for baleen in the eighteenth century, but the amount of trade was minimal because according to William Barr "the average amount of baleen traded by Inuit of southern Baffin Island was 1237 lb (559.7 kg), i.e., approximately the amount of baleen produced by an average adult bowhead whale." See William Barr, "The Eighteenth Century Trade Between the Ships of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Hudson Strait Inuit," Arctic, vol. 47, no. 3 (September 1994), p. 236. See also Francis, pp. 1-22. According to Francis, when the Spitzbergen fishing grounds were depleted the British ships followed the Dutch to Davis Strait, and when the Dutch abandoned the whale hunts, "the Eastern Arctic became the private sea of whaling men from Aberdeen and Hull, Whitby and London, Peterhead and Dundee." See pp. 3-4. According to Ross, the westward push by whalemen included Hudson Bay by 1860. See W. Gillies Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The Neptune Expedition of 1903-04," Arctic, vol. 29, no. 2 (1976), p. 88

[179] Between 1814-1817, the British whaling fleet averaged one hundred and fifty per year. See Clive A. Holland, "William Penny, 1809-92: Arctic Whaling Master," The Polar Record, vol. 15, no. 94 (1970), p. 25. The British government subsidized whale fleets from as early as 1733. See Francis pp. 3-4. The crews originated from the Shetland and Orkney Islands, because they were considered to be "skilled and durable sailors." The Arctic whaleships were "constructed in the shipyards of Peterhead, Hull,

The annual whaling voyages were perilous journeys to the land of ice and snow. Whalers reached the top of Baffin Bay by first sailing up Davis Strait to Melville Bay located off the western shore of Greenland. The whalers then proceeded across the treacherous pack ice of Melville Bay "into the ice free area, or polynya, of northern Baffin Bay," located at lat 77° N at the top of Davis Strait.[180] This route connected whalers to the rich whaling grounds of Pond Inlet and Lancaster Sound located off the shores of Baffin Island. Many fleets were caught in storms at Baffin Bay but record catches such as those realized in 1823 drove the whalers to continue their hunt of the bowhead.[181] By the 1830s however, it was painfully evident that British whaling ships could become "floating coffins" after several were trapped in ice for six months during the 1835-1836 season.[182] To circumvent suffering and loss due to exposure, starvation and disease, the establishment of permanent whaling stations was proposed as a remedy to future disasters.

Whitby and Dundee [and] were designed especially for the rigours of arctic sailing." See Francis, pp. 4-7. Francis also notes that the British whaling crews were superior to the American whaling crews because the British received a monthly salary plus bonuses. The Americans paid their crew a percentage of the value of the catch. Francis states, "[s]tingy wages did not attract experienced sailors, and whalers often went north with a crew of very green hands." See p. 12.

[180] W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling, Inuit, and the Arctic Islands," in Morris Zaslow, ed., A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1981), p. 35

[181] Holland, p. 25. Holland notes that in 1819 approximately ten ships were lost in Baffin Bay, whereas between 1814-1817 a total of eight ships were lost. Francis states, that the British fleet "suffered losses of £142,600 in 1830, while posting returns of just £55,265, a fraction of the previous year's catch." See p.28. Holland notes that the industry was not prepared for the severe weather conditions of 1830, when ninety-one British ships sailed to Davis Strait that year. See Holland, p. 26

[182] Francis, pp. 34-35. Crew members often suffered frostbite and died of scurvy when they were trapped in the ice for extended periods of time.

Pond Inlet was first suggested as a location for a permanent station based on proximity to profitable whaling grounds, but the site was rejected because in all likelihood, whalers would be stranded from the station when ice blocked the Baffin Island shore. A southwesterly location for a permanent station was a more likely solution since the bowhead migrated there annually in September. Unfortunately the area later known as Cumberland Sound was virtually unknown to the whalers, because there were no documented visits to the Sound since the explorations of John Davis almost two hundred and fifty years earlier.[183] Whaling companies hesitated to risk the loss of seasonal profits by sending a discovery ship, so they approached the British government to fund an expedition to Baffin Island in order to explore the coast, but their request was denied. According to Clive A. Holland, "[the government], however, either failed to grasp the urgency of the problem or took the view that the whaling companies were capable of carrying out the work themselves."[184] British merchants became wary of investing more money or ships in the Arctic whaling industry with the depletion of whale stocks in Baffin Bay and the precarious

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[183] According to Renée Fossett, few European vessels visited the area "[a]fter the three brief visits of John Davis to Cumberland Sound in the 1580s..." See Renée Fossett, In Order to Live Untroubled *Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550-1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), p. 168. William Wakeham describes Davis' three voyages. "John Davis sailed from England on the 7th of May, 1586, on his second voyage in the "Moonshine." He sailed past "Meta Incognita," which land had been so named by Frobisher. He entered Hudson Strait, and coming out again continued on down to Davis Inlet, Labrador. He again visited Cumberland Sound in 1587, thinking it the route to Cathay." See William Wakeham, Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship "Diana" Under the Command of William Wakeham Marine and Fisheries Canada in the Year 1897 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), p. 48

[184] Holland, p. 28

nature of the business; it appeared that the British whaling industry was on the verge of collapse before 1840.[185]

William Penny, a young whaler who was well aware of the depletion of stocks in Baffin Bay by the 1830s, questioned Inuit at Exeter Bay, south of Pond Inlet, in 1833 about the possible location of new fishing grounds.[186] He was encouraged by their claims of "a deep bay just to the south where the animals resorted in large numbers." On a subsequent journey in 1839, when Penny was master of the whaler *Neptune* from Aberdeen, Inuit at Durban Island, located off the eastern shores of Baffin Island, told him about a large bay named Tenudiakbeek where the whales gathered each autumn.[187] Penny was intrigued by this news since he estimated that Tenudiakbeek was likely Cumberland Sound. Fortunately at Durban he met an Inuk named Eenoolooapik who was born at Keimooksook located on the south side of the sound; Eenoolooapik drew a rough map of the bay for Penny.[188]

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185 Francis, p. 35

186 Penny also led an expedition funded by the British government to search for Franklin in 1850. Numerous private and naval search expeditions sailed from Britain and the United States to search for Franklin and his crew. See Klutschak, Heinrich, translated and edited by William Barr, Overland to Starvation Cove *With the Inuit in Search of Franklin 1878-1880* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. xiv-xv

187 See Alan Cooke and Clive Holland, The Exploration of Northern Canada *500 to 1920 A Chronology* (Toronto: The Arctic History Press, 1978), p. 169

188 Francis, p. 36. See also Holland, p. 33. His birthplace was also confirmed by Alexander M'Donald in his contemporary account of Eenoolooapik's return voyage to Baffin Island. See Alexander M'Donald, A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik A Young Esquimaux, Who Was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship "Neptune" of Aberdeen: An Account of the Discovery of Hogarth's Sound: Remarks on the Northern Whale Fishery, and Suggestions for Its Improvement (Edinburgh: Fraser & Co. and J. Hogg, 1841). According to Ross M'Donald "served as surgeon on board the *Bon Accord* in the following spring, when that vessel bore the young man back to Baffin

Logically, contact between indigenous and non-indigenous people in the Arctic increased substantially in the nineteenth century due to the whale industry. The case of William Penny and Eenoolooapik underlines the growing reliance between Europeans and Inuit that resulted from increased contact. Penny relied on Eenoolooapik's geographic knowledge, and also on the likelihood that his presence in Scotland would convince William Hogarth, the owner of the *Neptune*, that Cumberland Sound did indeed exist. Penny was convinced that the extended whaling season at this southerly location, and the possibility of a permanent whaling station located on the shores of Cumberland Sound would be proof of the economic potential that lay dormant in the Arctic.

Eenoolooapik agreed to accompany Penny to Aberdeen Scotland, and as Penny expected, the Scottish were intrigued with their visitor. Holland notes,

> ....[Eenoolooapik] was the first Eskimo to be seen for seventy years. The townspeople followed him everywhere, and the newspapers reported his progress with great concern when he caught a cold and nearly died after the exertions of giving a kayaking demonstration in full Eskimo dress. The name of Eenoolooapik – and of Penny – spread far beyond Aberdeen.[189]

Island. M'Donald later died on the Franklin Expedition of 1845." See Ross, p. 112. Tenudiakbeek was the Inuit name for Cumberland Sound. See also Holland, pp. 30-32. Fossett refers to the Inuk as Inuluapik rather than Eenoolooapik. See p. 168. See also M'Donald for map entitled "Cumberland Isle, From the Observations of Captain Penny of the Greenland Ship Neptune of Aberdeen and from the information of Enoolooapik an intelligent Esquimaux," p. 6. For a brief biographical sketch of Eenoolooapik see Susan Rowley, "Eenoolooapik (Bobbie)," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca>

[189] Holland, p.30. According to Dale Idiens, in 1816 an Inuk called John Sakeouse from Jacob Sound in Davis Strait was apparently a stowaway on a Greenland whaler. His kayak demonstrations in Leith harbour drew huge crowds. When he returned to the Arctic, John Sakeouse was an official interpreter for Captain John Ross for an 1818 Arctic expedition. Idiens notes that "[s]ome accounts say that he stowed away, and that he wanted to become a missionary and to study the art of drawing." See Dale

Alexander M'Donald recorded additional information concerning Eenoolooapik in A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik, A Young Esquimaux, Who Was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship "Neptune" of Aberdeen: An Account of the Discovery of Hogarth's Sound: Remarks on the Northern Whale Fisher, and Suggestions for its Improvement, published in 1841.[190] He commended Eenoolooapik for his aptitude with respect to geographical knowledge and for his observational skills, but true to a Victorian sensibility, M'Donald expected that Eenoolooapik possessed "the inexperienced mind of the savage."[191] In M'Donald's estimation Eenoolooapik was a good candidate as a scientific specimen, but he was valued more for his geographical knowledge. He noted,

> At this time Eenoolooapik was about twenty years of age, and might be considered, in his physical aspect, a fair specimen of the Esquimaux race. But, as yet, his mental acquirements were of a very limited description. Doomed hitherto to pass his days amid those dismal solitudes of snow, where all his energies were requisite to provide for the wants of the passing hour, and where mental cultivation is unknown, it was scarcely to be expected that he would manifest much knowledge beyond what he had gathered in his wanderings, or what had been forced upon him by daily

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Idiens, "Eskimos in Scotland: c1682-1924," in Christian F. Feest, ed., Indians in Europe *An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 166

[190] According to Dr. H.G. Jones from the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina, M'Donald's narrative provides valuable insight to the interactions of Baffin Island Inuit and European whalers. He states, "[o]ne of the best recorded examples of Inuit geographical knowledge is found in the story of Eenoolooapik, probably the only nineteenth-century Inuk for whom a biography was published during his lifetime." See Dr. H.G. Jones, "Eenoolooapik's Odyssey: Inuit Geography and the Rediscovery of Cumberland Sound," http://www.uaf.edu/uafrural/ISC/abstracts/WebAbstracts/HG_Jones%20-Eenoolooapiks_Od... (8 April 2004). Penny renamed Cumberland Sound Hogarth Sound in honour of William Hogarth in 1840. In 1841, Captain Wareham renamed it Northumberland Inlet. See Holland, pp. 32-33. It was common practice for the British and other Europeans to re-name locations that were originally named by Inuit.

[191] M'Donald, p. 5.

> experience. And, indeed, if we except his geographical information, there was little to recommend him to the notice of our countrymen; but *that* being observed to be considerable, it was deemed of importance to have a better opportunity of learning the extent of it, as it might not only be made available for the purposes of the whale-fishery, but also be of value in a scientific point of view. Hence, as before observed, the reason of his invitation in Britain.[192]

In accordance with earlier cases of Inuit to Britain, M'Donald, like his predecessors, considered Eenoolooapik to be 'uncivilized,' and in his text he related the many attempts to 'civilize' this "fair specimen of the Esquimaux race."[193] The 'civilization process' began on the voyage to Scotland. Through imitation, Eenoolooapik quickly learned "the manner of those around him with astonishing facility." He was protected from interactions with any 'unsavoury persons' aboard ship as a necessary precaution since according to M'Donald, "the first impressions made upon a mind emerging from the gloom of savage ignorance, were likely to be permanent." At this time Eenoolooapik was also encouraged to shed his outfit of loose furs in exchange for European clothing, and to practice habits of personal hygiene aboard ship.[194]

The Neptune arrived on the coast of Caithness, where for the first time Eenoolooapik observed a castle and animals grazing in a field. When the ship sailed to the coast of Aberdeen, he travelled aboard the steamship *Sovereign*.

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[192] M'Donald, pp. 9-10

[193] M'Donald, p. 9

[194] M'Donald, p. 10. M'Donald also noted that Eenoolooapik recorded the duration of the trip by tying a knot on a cord for each day of the journey; when they reached land he tied two knots. See p. 13. An engraving of Eenoolooapik in European clothing is found opposite the title page of the narrative.

The *Neptune* was unable to enter the harbour until November 8, 1839,[195] but news of Eenoolooapik's arrival drew a large crowd consisting of "all classes of the inhabitants" the next day. They hoped to catch a glimpse of the Northern visitor.[196] His entrance to 'civilized life' in Scotland was marked by accommodations at a town residence, and an invitation to a dinner party. He continued to imitate the mannerisms of those around him, and according to M'Donald, interested observers tried to impress Eenoolooapik by showing him items that were "likely to astonish him and elicit the latent feelings of delight, which must, unquestionably, have possessed his soul."[197] M'Donald noted that Eenoolooapik was most comfortable when he was brought into the countryside, where he was very curious about the nature of the land, especially the trees.

In M'Donald's estimation, Eenoolooapik adjusted to 'civilized' life during his short transitional period. He wrote,

> A month ago, and he had been among the fur-clad savages of Durban, a member of their tribe, and a follower of their customs, and now, he was an object of attraction and interest in the midst of a civilized and refined community. It is difficult to imagine the process of thought which must have passed through his mind within this brief period; and his ready intelligence and perfect equanimity are still more curious and interesting phenomena.[198]

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[195] M'Donald, pp. 14-15. Eenoolooapik was intrigued with lighthouses along the coast, especially the Bell-Rock lighthouse. See p. 17
[196] M'Donald, p. 20
[197] M'Donald, p. 20
[198] M'Donald, p. 23

M'Donald was also aware of the curiosity factor with respect to the Victorians, when he wrote,

> There is a feeling of romantic interest associated in the minds of most people with the arrival of "strangers and foreigners" on our shores; and this principle of curiosity, as it is sometimes called is heightened if the visitants be of a rude, uncivilized race. If it is not the same, it seems to be akin to the motive which induces us to visit a menagerie or a museum; although when we gaze upon a fellow mortal in the uncouth aspect of barbarism, there may be more of sympathy mingled with the feeling than when we study the habits and instincts of the natural denizens of the forest. Mind is a subject of wonderful contemplation, whether exhibited in the refinement and science of civilized life, or in the wild, uncultivated manners of savage existence; and when a real "son of the desert' is brought amongst us, we naturally feel a strong desire to witness the workings of his untutored reason, and the development and display of energies which have slumbered till the moment he is ushered into the midst of civilization.[199]

M'Donald believed that awakening and cultivating a 'civilized' mind in Eenoolooapik was a "striking and singular" case when compared to other indigenous peoples brought to Europe because his terms of reference with respect to landscape and climate were unique. In his opinion, as an Inuit, Eenoolooapik could not possibly prepare for the 'refined civilization' of Scotland.

> The isles of the Pacific have sent of their sons to see the father-land of the faithful missionary, - the dark children of Africa have come to behold and bless the birth-place of liberty to the captive negro, - the simple Hindoo, and the stern Indian, may have trod our soil and wondered at our science, - but all these had the remembrance of much that was lovely and luxuriant in their own fair and fertile homes. Eenoolooapik's memory had no such beautiful resting-places on which to repose and expand itself. In the climes of the south, nature is prodigal of her favours, and lavish of her loveliness, and little would the inhabitants of such regions care for our

[199] M'Donald, pp. 19-20

> richest landscapes, if destitute of the decorations and trophies of art. The towering cliffs of the stormy north may display much of grandeur and magnificence, but the cheerless snow-hut and the icy ocean can call forth few associations of repose, and could have done little to prepare Eenoolooapik's mind for the refinement into which he had been ushered.[200]

By M'Donald's own admission, not only was Eenoolooapik's mind ripe for refinement, but also when compared to other indigenous people transported to Britain, Baffin Island Inuit, as represented by Eenoolooapik, were the most 'uncivilized.' His opinion is consistent with that of George Cartwright in the eighteenth century who described Labrador Inuit as the "most savage race of people upon the whole continent of America."[201] Plans to 'cultivate a civilized mind' for Eenoolooapik by teaching him "the art of boat-building" and "the art of carpentry" were interrupted when he suffered from an inflammation of the lungs.[202] After his recovery from the illness, he was instructed to read – although he preferred drawing – and introduced to "every thing which is likely to interest or inform him."[203] Eenoolooapik toured a cotton factory and attended a theatre production and "other places of public amusement" during his initiation to 'civilized' living.[204]

As the time drew near for the return voyage to the Arctic, Eenoolooapik was anxious to leave Scotland. He was encouraged to bring back any items that

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[200] M'Donald, p. 24
[201] Townsend, p. 13.
[202] M'Donald, pp. 25-33.
[203] M'Donald, p. 34
[204] M'Donald, pp. 34-37

he might find useful, with the assistance of some funding from the government treasury.[205] Penny captained the *Bon Accord*, and since the British government refused to fund the exploration of Tenudiackbeek, Penny was instructed by his employers to hunt the bowheads, and leave the re-discovery of the whale grounds as a secondary activity on his voyage. The ship set sail on April 1, 1840 and arrived in Cumberland Sound, which Penny promptly re-named Hogarth Sound in honour of William Hogarth, on July 27, 1840.[206]

On August 2, 1840, the *Bon Accord* sailed into the sound on a strong southeastern breeze. Fog and ice had delayed the voyage for a few days, and the gale force winds separated the ship from the *Truelove*, a barque under the command of Captain Parker, that accompanied the *Bon Accord* in the hope of finding rich whaling grounds.[207] After five days of navigating through the ice buildup in the sound, two Inuit who traded whalebone and walrus tusks in exchange for a large knife visited the party. They informed Penny that the

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[205] The treasury department permitted £20 towards these expenses. M'Donald states, "Fowling-pieces, with powder and shot, - edge-tools, of various kinds, - culinary utensils, - and clothing in abundance, - formed part of his miscellaneous acquisitions." See p. 39. Eenoolooapik kept his articles in a chest that he called an "eeclameek." See p. 79

[206] M'Donald, pp. 42-75. Although Penny delivered a chart of his discoveries to the Admiralty, the voyage was a financial disaster. Penny and his crew harpooned two whales, but had to leave the Sound without a single catch. The Bon Accord had to be sold by the owner, which left the port of Aberdeen without a whaling ship. See Holland, pp. 32-33. Penny also named Cape Crombie, located further on the eastern shore of the Sound, after the owner of the *Bon Accord*. See M'Donald, p. 77

[207] M'Donald, p. 76. According to Charles Francis Hall, Parker was a well known British whaler who "had been navigating those northern seas (whaling) for forty-five years, with an interval of about five years, when he rested. He commenced in 1815, and was a commander in 1820. He had never lost a ship." See Charles Frances Hall, Arctic Researches and Life Among the Esquimaux: Being the Narrative of an Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, in the Years 1860, 1861, and 1862 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1865), pp. 154-156

whales had been numerous in the summer, and they could expect to find plenty of them at Kingoua located farther north. While the ship continued to steer in a westerly direction in the sound, British names were given to the prominent points.[208] The British ship encountered another group of four Inuit later that day, and when questioned about the whale stocks, they also encouraged them to fish at Kingoua.

After Penny requested that Eenoolooapik invite the Inuit aboard, it was discovered that two of the men were Eenoolooapik's cousins from his birthplace of Keimooksook located on the western shore of the sound. They informed him that his mother planned to meet him at Keimooksook, which pleased Eenoolooapik immensely. He told them some details of his voyage, and showed them his "fowling-pieces" from Britain. When they joined him in testing the hunting tools, M'Donald noted that "[t]hey shewed us some splendid archery – one of them, in particular, repeatedly putting an arrow through a hole about an inch in diameter, at the distance of about seventy feet." The pair remained aboard the ship until they were approximately fifty miles from home. Eenoolooapik gave them a few presents before they departed, and according to M'Donald, before they left the ship, the Inuit "advised Eenoo not to return to

[208] For example, Kingaïte was renamed Beaufort's Inlet and another point was renamed Jamieson's Monument – a burial place for a deceased crew member who died of an accidental gunshot wound. See M'Donald, pp. 83-86

Britain, and, had Captain Penny consented, he would have left us and gone with them then, but we had further occasion for his services."[209]

After serving as an interpreter for Penny, Eenooloolapik continued to guide the ship along the sound until they reached the Inuit village of Noodlook, where they anchored the *Bon Accord.* M'Donald notes that Inuit from the village "were all aware of Eenoo having been to Britain, and they crowded round him to learn the particulars of his voyage." His social status among fellow Inuit changed as a result of his visit to European shores. This advantage helped Eenoolooapik to trade his green painted canoe for Coonook, the daughter of Aaniapik, an elder of the village. The elevated status of Eenoolooapik directly influenced his arrangement with Aaniapik because according to M'Donald, "Coonook had been betrothed to another when a child, but the importance which Eenoolooapik had acquired by his visit to Britain, was considered sufficient to nullify any previous engagement."[210] In fact, Aaniapik was so impressed with the adventures of Eenoolooapik that M'Donald noted "though tottering on the brink of the grave, he began to entertain the wish

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[209] M'Donald, pp. 82-83.

[210] M'Donald, pp. 87-88. M'Donald notes that there were approximately forty inhabitants in the village that summer, but the population would increase in the winter when the majority of the Inuit returned from fishing for salmon farther inland. See pp. 91-92.

of also taking a voyage to Britain, and he had confidentially told Eenoo that if invited to accompany us home, *he* would not make any objection."[211]

On August 20, 1840 approximately sixty Inuit off the shores of Keimooksook, where Eenoolooapik gladly joined many of his relatives, including his mother, greeted the *Bon Accord.* M'Donald noted his strong attachment to his homeland as the reason for his turning away from "the advantages of civilized life." In his opinion, most likely from a scientific point of view, this was a natural response for Eenoolooapik. According to M'Donald, the progress of Eenoolooapik's education enabled him to write a short letter to William Hogarth before he left the ship:

> Mr. Hogarth,
> Eenoolooapik has arrived in Tenudiackbeek and intends to remain at Keimooksook.
> The Innuit say that for many suns the whales were very numerous, but before the ship came they had all disappeared. They also say that the whales will return when the sun becomes low.
> Captain Penny has been very kind to me and to many Innuit, who all thank him. Next to him you were kindest to me when I was with you.
>
> Eenoolooapik[212]

In M'Donald's review of Eenoolooapik's "mental constitution," he was impressed with his: geographical knowledge; ability to communicate his

[211] M'Donald, p. 94. M'Donald first met Aaniapik at Durban in 1835.
[212] M'Donald, pp. 102-103. This is a translation of the original letter. M'Donald also attempted to give Eenoolooapik religious instruction on the voyage from Scotland, but he had to be satisfied with the fact that Eenoolooapik understood that the British had a different belief system than Baffin Island Inuit. See pp. 104-105. M'Donald hoped that Eenoolooapik would tell others about "the land where the Bible is believed" because it might be "the germ whence civilization may spring and overspread even that dreary wilderness of snow." See p. 133

knowledge with rough drawings; talent for imitation; honesty and truthfulness. Although some of these traits separated Eenoolooapik from other Baffin Island Inuit, M'Donald noted that he possessed some common qualities such as affection for his mother and a rather apathetic disposition.[213] The balance of common and uncommon traits for Eenoolooapik was a consolation for M'Donald, and a confirmation of his opinion of Inuit as a barbarous race. He stated:

> It is pleasing to think that, in visiting this country, he has learned nothing that will tend to degrade him. On the contrary, we may hope that his residence among us may have imbued his mind with some noble principles which may tend to soften the remaining barbarity of his nature, and in the evolution of Time's dark mysteries, become subservient to the good of the hyperborean races.[214]

Following Eenoolooapik's departure, Penny charted Hogarth's Sound and M'Donald observed Inuit with respect to their physical appearance, disposition, and talents for navigating and hunting.[215] While he studied Inuit as scientific specimens on the journey, M'Donald was particularly fascinated with their slow progress towards civilization. In his opinion, Eenoolooapik was representative of the whole Inuit race when compared to other "savage nations." He concluded that:

> [w]hen reviewing the more prominent feature's of Enoolooapik's mind, we discovered a considerable development of those facilities which were best suited to place him in harmony with his condition; and he evinced a

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[213] M'Donald, pp. 107-110.
[214] M'Donald, p. 110.
[215] M'Donald, pp. 115-120.

> great aptitude for acquiring such knowledge as came within the range of those facilities. He also wanted many of the darker traits which are so often found among other savages; and if anything can be inferred from his solitary example, it would lead to the conclusion that though the Esquimaux are incapable of elevating themselves, yet, upon the proper impulse being given, they are susceptible of great improvement.[216]

The case of Eenoolooapik's transport to Scotland reveals the fact that Inuit continued to be treated as curiosities and scientific specimens by some Europeans in the mid-nineteenth century. An emphasis on educating 'savages' in order to 'civilize,' evident as early as the eighteenth century with respect to the education of Karpik and Noozelliack in Britain and the mandate of the Moravians in Labrador, continued to be a recurring theme in the nineteenth century according to M'Donald's narrative.[217] At the same time in the Arctic however, Europeans depended on individuals such as Eenoolooapik for his geographical knowledge, and on other select Inuit for their ability to track whale stocks. The role of some Inuit as guides, intermediaries and interpreters underlines the growing dependency of Europeans on Inuit in the Eastern Arctic.

For the Baffin Island Inuit, as for Labrador Inuit in the case of Mikak for the eighteenth century, Eenoolooapik's trip to Scotland forever changed his status among his own people. While it is difficult to ascertain the long-term effects of the experiences on Eenoolooapik, due to a lack of documentation on

[216] M'Donald, p. 121

[217] An emphasis on education was also evident for settlements in Greenland. M'Donald noted that a young Inuit from Greenland was sent to Denmark by Major Fasting stationed at Disco Island. He was to be educated to become either a schoolmaster of a clergyman. See p. 53

the remainder of his life in the Arctic, evidence found in another narrative suggests that Eenoolooapik continued to be respected among his people, and his safe return from Scotland was encouragement for others to follow in his footsteps.[218]

According to a journal kept by Charles Francis Hall, an American who joined in the search for the lost Franklin expedition in the 1860s, an Inuit couple travelled to Britain in 1853.[219] He commented that [t]he man's name was Ebierbing – otherwise called by us "Joe" – his wife's Tookoolito, or "Hannah." In fact, the woman named Tookoolito was related to Eenoolooapik. Hall wrote:

> I was informed that this couple had been taken to England in 1853, and presented to her majesty Queen Victoria, and that the female was a remarkably intelligent, and what might be called an accomplished woman. They had remained nearly two years in Great Britain, and were every

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[218]Penny continued to visit Eenoolooapik each time he returned to the Sound on whaling expeditions. In 1848 Penny learned that Eenoolooapik died of consumption that summer. See Holland, pp. 33-35. Ross reports that an Inuit couple was transported to Hull in 1849. On the handbill it states: "Lecture-Hall, Goodramgate, York. The Two Esquimaux or Yacks, Male and Female, brought home by Captain Parker, of the Ship *Truelove*, of Hull, from Nyatlick, in Cumberland Straits, on the West side of Davis' Straits." The handbill boasts that the young couple, Memiadiuk and Uckaluk, had already been seen by at least 12,000 people at locations that included; Hull, Manchester, Beverley and Driffield. They were also billed as "the only inhabitants ever brought to England from the Western Coast." See Ross, p. 110

[219] According to Hall, the British had already committed over £2,000,000 to searches for the lost Franklin expedition, the largest search to date. He qualified the participation of American searchers when he stated, "[t]hat the missing navigators belonged not to our own beloved land made no difference. The one general feeling was the same reference to a desire for participating in the search after those who, having periled themselves in devotion to science and the good of mankind, had become as brothers to us all. Hence the banner of Columbia – the glorious stars and stripes – floated to the breeze of an arctic clime, side by side with England's proud flag, in the noble errand of humanity, for which a goodly fleet of some twenty vessels had been sent forth!" See Hall, p. xviii. According to William Barr, Hall studied the Inuit of Frobisher Bay after the whaling ships *George* and *Henry*, his means of transportation to the Arctic, were wrecked in the summer of 1860. See Barr, pp. xx-xxi. For a brief biographical sketch of Hall see Ernest S. Dodge and C.C. Loomis, "Hall, Charles Francis," <u>Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online</u>, <http://www.biographi.ca>

> where well received. I heard, moreover, that she was the sister of *To-to* and *Ee-noo-loo-a-pik*, both celebrated in their country as great travelers and intelligent men, and the latter well known in England from his visit there in 1839, and from a memoir of him published by Surgeon Macdonald, of the ill-fated Franklin Expedition. Ebierbing was a good pilot for this coast, and had brought Captain Parker's ship through the channels, as already narrated.[220]

When Hall first met Tookoolito in Cumberland Sound, referred to as Northumberland Inlet in his narrative, he was particularly struck by her 'civilized' behaviour and appearance although her costume seemed out of place in the land of ice and snow. She greeted him wearing a European dress complete with a crinoline. He stated:

> Tookoolito was suffering with a cold, and I noticed that whenever she coughed she threw her face on one side and held her hand before her lips, the same as any lady of good manners would. Her costume was that of civilization, being a dress with heavy flounces, an elegant toga made of young tuktoo fur deeply fringed, and a bonnet of the style invented on the principle "cover the head by a rosette on its back!"
>
> As Tookoolito continued speaking, I could not help admiring the exceeding gracefulness and modesty of her demeanor. Simple and gentle in her way, there was a degree of calm intellectual power about her that more and more astonished me. I felt delighted beyond measure, because

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[220] Hall, pp. 156-157. Ebierbing and Tookoolito are also mentioned by Joseph Everett Nourse, editor of Captain Charles Hall's second expedition to the Arctic when he searched for relics for the Smithsonian from the Frobisher expedition. See Joseph Everett Nourse, American Explorations in the Ice Zones (Boston: Lothrop, 1884), pp. 176-177, 181-182, 196-198. 'Hannah' and 'Joe' are also referenced by Farley Mowat in volume two of a trilogy on the Arctic. See Farley Mowat, The Polar Passion (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), pp. 122-124. Ebierbing and Tookoolito are mentioned by David Woodman. See David Woodman, Strangers Among Us (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). Barr describes 'Eskimo Joe' in his later years as an Inuk "known far and wide as an interpreter on arctic searches (he had accompanied the whites on two polar voyages and three Franklin search expeditions)." See Barr, p. 180. According to Altick, an Inuit trio from Cumberland Sound were brought to London in 1854. See Altick, p. 286 See also Owen Beattie and John Geiger, Frozen in Time *Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1988), p. 28. Euphemia Blake wrote, "Joe and Hannah have lived for years with and among civilized people. Their native names are Ebierbing and Tookoolito; they had traveled with Captain Hall on both his previous journeys, and are frequently referred to in his book on 'Arctic Researches.'" Blake added that the Inuit couple also lived in Groton, Connecticut. See Euphemia Blake, Arctic Explorations (New York: Harper Brothers, 1874), p. 221

> of the opportunity it gave me for becoming better acquainted with these people through her means, and I hoped to improve it toward the furtherance of the great object I had in view.
>
> After a stay of some duration she went on shore, and the following day I visited her and her husband in their tent. She was then in native costume, and it seemed to me that this suited her even better than the other.[221]

Hall valued the Inuit couple as interpreters, especially Tookoolito, because in his opinion, "[t]hey can talk to me in my own vernacular, are both smart, and will be useful each in the department they will be called upon to fill."[222] He observed that since the couple returned from England in 1855, in his opinion Tookoolito influenced the female portion of the Inuit population of Cumberland Sound in a positive manner. Not only had she encouraged other women to learn knitting, according to Hall, "[i]n all the places around Northumberland Inlet she has lived and done what she could to improve her people. A singular fact relative to dressing her hair, keeping her face and hands cleanly, and wearing civilization dresses – others of her sex, in considerable numbers, follow these *fashions* imported by her." Hall recognized the potential for 'civilizing' Inuit of Cumberland Sound through an intermediary such as Tookoolito when he remarked:

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[221] Hall, pp. 158-159

[222] Hall, p. 161. Ebierbing was also valued as a reliable guide by Parker and Hall. By 1864, Fossett notes that Hall not only relied on Tookoolito as an interpreter, but "[a]t Aivilik in 1864, Tookooliktoo, one of the interpreters to Charles Francis Hall, made winter clothing for herself, her husband, Hall and Hall's servant....Tookooliktoo, an expert seamstress, spent a minimum of sixty hours on each suit, and about 120 hours on a complete winter outfit for one adult. The period within which sewing of new clothing was done was short; sewing could begin only after skins were taken in the fall hunt and had to be completed before the onset of winter. Women who became professional tailors in addition to producing clothing for family needs had greatly increased workloads." See Fossett, pp. 172-173

> This shows to me what one person like Tookoolito could accomplish in the way of the introduction of schools and churches among this people. To give this woman an education in the States, and subsequent employment in connection with several of our missionaries, would serve to advance a noble and good work. And yet I must state that, unless a *working colony*, or several of them, were established, co-operating in this work, and laws were made by the fundamental power that *should be as rigid* relative to whalers visiting the coasts as those of Denmark to Greenland, *all would be as naught.*
>
> The working or trading colony would make its government, school, and church institutions self-supporting. *Let the plan of Denmark for Greenland be followed. It is a good one, and works well.*[223]

Hall's comments about lawful management of the Eastern Arctic were likely influenced by reports of the negative influence of American whalers in the North. While sharing a cup of tea with Tookoolito, according to Hall she voiced her concern about the whalers when she said, " 'I feel sorry to say that many of the whaling people are very bad, making the Innuits bad too; they swear very much, and make our people swear. I wish they would not do so. *Americans swear a great deal – more and worse than the English. I wish no one would swear.* It is a very bad practice, I believe.' " Hall was embarrassed by the behaviour of some Americans, yet he admitted that they did not represent every commander or crew member of whaling ships who sought to "extend the bounds of civilization, planting philanthropic and Christian institutions where darkness and ignorance had before reigned universal." Still, he was disturbed by the actions of a few 'civilized' whalers. He wrote:

[223] Hall, pp. 160-161. According to Hall Tookoolito had already learned to spell and pronounce some words when he met her. He stated that, "[s]he is far more anxious to learn to read and write then Ebierbing." See p. 161.

> Her word, her looks, her voice, her tears, are in my very soul still. Here, one of the iron daughters of the rocky, ice-ribbed North, standing like an angel, pleading the cause of the true God, weeping for the sad havoc made and making among her people by those of my countrymen who should have been, and ever should be, the glorious representatives of freedom, civilization, and Christianity! It was too much; I was a child. I confess, I blushed for this stain upon my country's honor – not only this, but for the wickedness diffused almost throughout the unenlightened world by the instrumentality of whalers hailing from civilized lands.[224]

Hall's concerns about the influence of whalers on Inuit in the Eastern Arctic were well founded. Construction of the first British permanent shore station began at Kekkerton in 1857 because William Penny wanted to ensure that the Americans did not take control of the fishing rights in Cumberland Sound.[225] After learning that an American crew wintered in the Sound in 1851, he petitioned the British government for a land grant and for exclusive rights to trade and fish, under the charter for the Aberdeen Arctic Company.[226] His concerns were justified, because according to Eber, by mid-century the Americans were considered "the pre-eminent whalers of the world."[227] With an increasing number of wintering British and American whalers, not only was

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[224] Hall, pp. 162-163. Hall later brought Tookoolito, Ebierbing and their adopted daughter to New Bedford in 1869. See W. Elmer Ekblaw, "The Arctic Voyages and the Discoveries of Dehaven, Kane and Hall," In American Philosophical Society, Centenary Celebration, the Wilkes Exploring Expedition of the United States Navy, 1838-1842, and , Symposium on American Polar Exploration, February 23-24, 1940 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1940), p. 885

[225] Within a couple of years of the construction of the Kekkerton land station, Americans built permanent land stations. See Eber, p. 12 . According to Eber American and Scottish whalers established three whaling stations in the sound circa 1860. Blacklead Island was located off the south-eastern shore of Baffin Island and Cape Haven was located at the mouth of the sound, facing Davis Strait. See Eber, p. 8Fossett states that Penny wintered at Niantilik in 1853-1854. He "employed fifty Inuit as boatmen, hunters, and transportation labourers." See Fossett, p. 169

[226] Penny formed the company with some businessmen from Aberdeen. Originally the company was known as the Royal Arctic Company, with William Hogarth as a director and Penny as the General Superintendent. To obtain a Royal Charter, modifications to the company resulted in the name change to the Aberdeen Arctic Company. See Holland, pp. 37-41. See also Francis, p. 39

[227] Eber, p. 11

there increased competition for resources, but the welfare of Inuit was also in jeopardy. According to Holland, "[m]any of the Eskimos now worked for the whaling stations and, as a result of this close contact with the whalers, began to succumb both to European habits and European diseases." Penny believed that a missionary to Cumberland Sound "would cure all ills."[228]

The Moravian Church in Greenland agreed to send Brother Mathias Marmow to Cumberland Sound via Aberdeen since three earlier attempts by Penny to meet a missionary at Greenland had failed due to poor weather conditions. They anchored at Kekkerton in August 1857. Marmow did not approve of the living conditions for Inuit, and he was particularly disturbed by their close contact with the whalers, and the impact of acculturation on the 'uncivilized.' In an extract from his journal for the winter of 1857-1858 in Cumberland Sound he wrote,

> I am always sorry to see the Esquimaux wearing European clothes, and, in short, imitating the Europeans in all respects. They were undoubtedly better off in their original state, and more likely to be gained for the kingdom of God. But when they begin to copy our mode of life, they are neither properly Europeans nor Esquimaux, and will speedily die out, in consequence of the change.[229]

Shortly after Marmow returned to Aberdeen on August 22, 1858, the Mission Board decided that they could not justify the establishment of a mission in the sound. They based the decision on the detrimental influence of

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[228] Holland, p. 39
[229] As quoted in Holland, p. 40

the whalers and the fact that the impact of diseases brought a decline in the Inuit population from 1000 in 1840 to 350 in 1857.[230]

Permanent shore stations were a more economical approach to whaling because there was protection from ice, and whaling did not have to be the only source of income. In fact, profits could be realized with smaller catches because capital costs remained low. According to the oral testimony of Etooangat Aksayook, an Inuk who worked on some of the last whale hunts in his younger days, Europeans depended on the highly developed skills of Inuit whalers. He stated, "I myself have never heard of a qallunaaq [white man] going after the whale,....Because the Inuit had learned how; they could manage everything in the operation."[231] Whalers depended on Inuit in the Eastern Arctic to adapt their dispersed and subsistent existence to accommodate the needs of the non-indigenous.

The permanent shore stations marked a turning point for the relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous people in the Eastern Arctic, and changed their economic and social environments. According to Francis,

> The Inuit became suppliers of food, animal skins, and labour. They were employees now as well as trading partners, interrupting their own

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[230] Holland, p. 40. The population for 1840 was estimated by Penny, and the population for 1857 was counted by Marmow. See also Fossett, p. 170.
[231] As quoted in Eber, p. 9. This claim is also supported in Wakeham's Report when he states that the natives were employed to do all the work. See Wakeham, p. 74

> subsistence patterns to help the whalers survive and hunt. In many ways the Inuit profited from increased contact. They received in trade a steady supply of guns and metal goods which previously had been unknown to them. But there was a price to be paid, a price calculated in terms of the reliance the people came to have on goods they could not provide for themselves.[232]

According to Diamond Jenness, a renowned expert on Inuit studies, changes with respect to a dispersed life for Inuit caused some to abandon their traditional way of life to accommodate changes in their lifestyles, and even forced some Inuit to move further north. He mentions that "[a] new generation of Eskimos arose that lacked the ancient skills and hunting lore of its parents, a generation that had lost its autarchy and could hardly survive without contact with the civilized world."[233]

The material culture of Inuit altered significantly with the introduction of European goods and the increased material wealth gained from recycling items discarded by whaling crews. Fossett states that some European technologies were a positive contribution to Inuit life.

> Hunting and butchering were more easily and quickly done after the introduction of rifles and metal flensing tools, and shears and hand-operated sewing machines lightened the burden of skin preparation and sewing. The British government and many of the whaling captains provided relief and other kinds of security, including medical care, all of which had their effects on Inuit family life and other social arrangements.[234]

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[232] Francis, pp. 38-40. See also Eber p. 12

[233] Diamond Jenness, "Eskimo Administration: II. Canada." In Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 14 (1964), p. 12

[234] Fossett, pp. 169-170

Inuit populations declined in the 1840s with the introduction of European diseases, and sedentary village life contributed to the spread of diseases because centralization and cramped living quarters exacerbated the problem. While the introduction of disease was unintentional on the part of the Europeans, and proved to be detrimental to indigenous and non-indigenous people in the Eastern Arctic, the negative effects of prolonged contact introduced other problems for Inuit. Most whaling captains who enjoyed long-term relationships with indigenous people were respectful of the local customs and social arrangements, but unfortunately that was not the case in every situation. According to Fossett other whaling captains did not act as responsibly because they were unconcerned with the attitudes and actions of their crews. "They introduced alcohol into communities, cheated local people when they could, and made no attempt to restrain their crews from conduct that was considered immoral by most people in both European and Inuit societies. Liaisons with Inuit women were commonplace and children were the inevitable result."[235]

Increased contact between Europeans and Inuit was predictable considering the high demand for Arctic resources on western markets and the

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[235] Fossett, p. 170. Jenness claims that for Western Arctic Inuit alcohol consumption led to severe problems between the indigenous and non-indigenous populations, especially since coal-oil drums were used to distill molasses or potatoes into alcohol. Therefore, the role of the missionaries was often limited to 'keeping the peace.' For Eastern Arctic Inuit, he suggests that the whaling captains only kept limited stocks of liquor, so consumption was restricted to the crew. See Jenness, p. 14

dependent relationships that developed between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the Eastern Arctic. The introduction of new European technologies such as steam powered whaling ships by the 1860s increased safety and mobility for whalers, and extended the range of the hunt and the life of the arctic whaling industry. The use of harpoon guns by the Scottish whalers and darting guns by the Americans was also a technological advantage in the industry, but according to Francis, '[w]ith the introduction of such a lethal battery of weapons, the whale hunt ceased to be a contest and was simply a slaughter."[236] In the last decades of the nineteenth century geographers, ethnographers, naturalists, traders, government officials and missionaries joined whalers in the Eastern Arctic. To survive the harsh climate and the isolated life in the Arctic, the non-indigenous relied on the permanent shore stations for their survival. Supply ships only arrived once a year when the ice was passable, so being stationed in the Arctic was a serious commitment.[237]

Edmund James Peck was an Anglican missionary to Inuit of the Arctic and Sub Arctic regions of the Diocese of Moosonee for over forty years. He brought the Gospel to Inuit, Cree and traders, translated scriptures into

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[236] Francis, pp. 43-46. Francis contends that the arctic whaling industry "was a victim of its own greed....It wasn't until the 1930s that all commercial hunting of the species was finally banned, and subsequently the bowhead was declared an endangered species." See p. 107. Eber notes that improvements in technology contributed to the depletion of whale stocks. See Dorothy Harley Eber, "Eskimo Memories," History Today [Great Britain], vol. 39 (November 1989), pp. 48-49

[237] Coal was often included as an essential supply since locations such as Blacklead Island were devoid of a sufficient firewood supply since it is situated above the tree line. The supply ships were the connection to the world beyond the Arctic.

indigenous dialects using a syllabic script, and he nurtured the vocations of several indigenous catechists who later brought the Gospel to the Western Arctic.[238] His work as a missionary began in 1876 when he was stationed to the Sub Arctic regions of the Diocese of Moosonee at sites such as Moose Factory, Fort George, Little Whale River and Great Whale River located along the shores of James Bay and Hudson Bay.[239] He established the first permanent Anglican mission among Inuit of Blacklead Island, that Inuit called Uumanaqjuaq, in 1894, after he petitioned the Committee of the Church Missionary Society (CMS).[240] In a summary of his first sixteen years of missionary service, and his plans for future work among Inuit north of Hudson Bay, Peck explained to the Committee that,

> he had searched out the Eskimos to the utmost of his power; 140 adults were now under instruction, of whom eighty are baptized. He had trained five Eskimo teachers, of whom three have died, and two are now at work. He had translated many portions of the New Testament into the local Eskimo dialect....He urged on the Committee the spiritual needs of the

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[238] In 1901, Peter Tooluakjuak, a local Inuit was named a catechist at Blacklead Island. See Peck Report p. 37, Peck Papers, P032 Diocese of Moosonee Fonds, Laurentian University Archives. For information regarding an indigenous catechist from the Eastern Arctic in the nineteenth century see Clive Holland, "Kallihirua," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, http://www.biographi.ca. In 1918 Luke Kidlapik was catechist for the district between Lake Harbour and Frobisher Bay. Another catechist, Joseph Pudlo, travelled between Lake Harbour and Capte Dorset in service to his ministry. See Rev. John G. Anderson, D.D.,4th Bishop of Moosonee, "A Visit to Baffin's Land in 1918,"The Northland, vol. 28, no. 4 (Summer 1972), p. 11, P032 Diocese of Moosonee Fonds, Laurentian University Archives

[239] Peck relied on two Inuit interpreters in the early years of his ministry. Adam Lucy was sent from Labrador by the Hudson's Bay Company and Bishop Horden. When Peck was stationed at Little Whale River Adam Lucy and John Melucto acted as interpreters. Melucto was baptized by Horden in 1863. Peck also studied the Cree language in order to minister to them at the post. See Peck Report, pp. 14-15

[240] Peck acknowledged the earlier attempt to establish a mission among Inuit of Baffin Island by Marmow, a Moravian missionary who wintered aboard Penny's whaling ship in 1858. See Peck Report p. 28. According to Nutaraq, an Inuk of Baffin Island, Uumanaqjuaq means "like a big sea mammal's heart." See Eber, p. 8

> Eskimos north of Hudson's Bay; and expressed his willingness to go amongst them in whaling vessels.[241]

Peck and another missionary named Parker arrived on Blacklead Island, at a Scottish whaling station owned by Crawford Noble, when the economy in the Arctic began to slide from the effects of depleted whale stocks.[242] There were fewer whalers in Cumberland Sound in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, but South Baffin Island Inuit continued to rely on trade with the stations at Blacklead Island and Kekkerton. According to Leah Nutaraq, a survivor from the whaling days in the Arctic, the tradition of trading for European goods profoundly influenced Inuit culture.

> Even up till today we call Saturday 'Sivataqbik' – the day of the biscuits,....[b]ut we received more than biscuits; it was payment day. The qallunaaq would ring a bell to gather all the people together, and if the husbands were away after the whales, the women would go to get their supplies. We got coffee, molasses from a barrel, and biscuits as payment. The qallunaaq would get out of the house on to the porch and ring his bell, and the women would go up and gather around. When it was time to trade sealskins, he would do the same.[243]

Since Inuit were highly skilled at whaling, it was still a viable business for them, but they also supplemented their income with "harvested blubber skins – sealskins with blubber attached, which were processed in Scotland –

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[241] T.C.B Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 139

[242] Peck stated that there were 171 Inuit on the island. See Peck Report, p. 29

[243] As quoted in Eber, p. 7. Eber adds, "Nutaraq notes that at Blacklead Island the trader rang a bell at biscuit time; Alookie Ishullutaq of Iqaluit, who lived at Kekerton, confirms that there he blew a horn. See Eber, Notes, p. 175. Eber also notes that Franz Boas confirmed this practice in his study of Baffin Island Inuit entitled The Central Eskimo, published after he lived among Inuit of Baffin Island in 1885. See also Eber, p. 8 and p. 175. See also Francis, pp. 40-41

ivory, narwhal tusks, and furs."[244] Jenness argues that the missionaries played a pivotal role in the lives of Inuit at this time because they helped to ease the transition to a new economy. Jenness viewed the work of the missionaries as a positive force for Inuit. He states that,

> the early missionaries (Peck in the east, and first Stringer, then Whittaker, in the west) rapidly took their places alongside the other pioneers of the Arctic. They learned as quickly as possible the Eskimo language in order to perform their religious duties. With that knowledge they became the natives' advisers, not in spiritual matters alone, but in their relations with the trader and other white men who could not understand their tongue.[245]

Juxtaposed against his compassion for Inuit, in the case of Peck, his first impressions of Inuit of Blacklead Island reveal that he was ultimately a product of the Anglican Evangelical movement.[246] Brother Marmow, the Moravian who wintered with Penny and his crew in 1857-1858 was dismayed by the effects of close contact with whalers, and the impact of acculturation on Baffin Island Inuit. In Peck's 'civilizing mission' he intended to impose his European

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[244] Eber, p. 12. Inuit learned to trap the white fox fur that was very desirable on the European market.
[245] Jenness, pp. 15-16
[246] Although it can be argued that Peck's role as a missionary was consistent with other missionaries who attempted to impose cultural annihilation on indigenous people, ironically his use of the syllabic script actually preserved a distinct written communication for Inuit of the Eastern Arctic. Contemporary Inuit also credit Peck with the preservation of *tuurngait*, the shamanic helping spirits of Inuit. His complete and accurate records are unpublished, yet they have kept the memory of the *tuurngait* alive for contemporary Inuit. They provide a textual record, which is a rare exception, for a people who relied on the oral tradition to pass their history from one generation to the next. SeeFrédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten and Francois Trudel, Memory and History in Nunavut Volume I Representing Tuurngait (Iqaluit, Nunavut: Language and Culture Program of Nunavut Arctic College, 2000). Franz Boas relied on ethnographic data and translations from Peck for an article in the Bulletin of American Museum of Natural History published in 1901. See Franz Boas, "The Eskimo of Baffin Island and Hudson Bay From Notes Collected by Capt. George Comer, Capt. James S. Mutch, and Rev. E.J. Peck," Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV (1901), p. 4. See also Bernhard Hantzsch, "My Life Among the Eskimos Baffinland Journeys in the Years 1909-1911," in Mawdsley Memoir 3, translated and edited by Leslie H. Neatby, (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1977), p. 18

belief system onto 'barbaric culture' when he referred to the "gross heathen darkness" and the "vile practices" of Inuit. In the Peck Report he recounts his first impressions of Inuit of Blacklead Island in 1894,

> we soon realized that the people were living in gross heathen darkness, for amongst this little community were no less than three complete magicians (i.e. fully qualified conjurors) besides others who, in their own way, deceived their neighbours. Indeed every adult was more or less given over to numerous superstitions and vile practices.[247]

These statements are consistent with the rhetoric employed by those who encouraged Europeans such as Peck to minister to Inuit of the Canadian Arctic and Sub Arctic regions. In 1875 Bishop Horden of the Diocese of Moosonee decided that a full time missionary was required for Inuit of Hudson Bay. Consequently, his letter to the CMS was published in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, a journal of the CMS:

> The general condition of the Eskimo is sad. The picture drawn of their doings by my friend Mr. Cotter (one of the Hudson Bay company chief officers) who was for a few years stationed at Little Whale River is a very terrible one; their immoralities, their incestuous marriages – so bad that some of the men have their own mothers for wives – their frequent use of the knife on the slightest provocation, show that their condition is but little above that of the beasts; and yet with all this, the majority of them long for teachers to show them the right and the good way.[248]

Ironically, Horden did not stress the 'uncivilized' behaviour of Inuit in an earlier publication. According to Beatrice Batty, editor for The Coral Magazine, published for young readers of the CMS, Horden expressed a

[247] Peck Report p. 30
[248] Autobiography pp. 15-16, File 1, Peck Papers, Series I-VIII, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives

different perception of Inuit in 1862 when he stated, "[t]he Eskimo appear to me to be kind, cheerful, docile, persevering, and honest. Nothing could exceed the desire they professed for instruction, nothing the exertions they made to learn to read, nothing the attention with which they listened to the Word of God."[249] Whether Horden intentionally addressed two different audiences in 1862 and 1875 with his reports of Inuit, it is clear that he displayed a zeal for conversion to Christianity similar to Anglican Evangelicals in Britain who believed that 'heathens' living in spiritual darkness had to be saved from themselves. His statements illustrate the duality that emphasized moral superiority and humanitarianism in the late nineteenth century. Obviously Horden supported the view that Christianity and civilization were synonymous terms.

While the whalers and missionaries were not the only non-indigenous influences in the Arctic in the nineteenth century, their roles have been emphasized in this chapter because they lived among Inuit for extended periods of time. While the direct influence of other non-indigenous people is not insignificant, they ultimately did not have the same profound impact on Inuit, although their observations of Inuit in their records did influence their audience of readers outside of the Arctic.

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[249] Boon, p. 124. The readers of The Coral Magazine raised considerable amounts of money for the Diocese of Moosonee. See note 124n.

In the name of empire the prolonged contact of whalers and missionaries changed the social and material environments of Inuit over an extended period of time. Direct contact with Europeans introduced diseases that were devastating to Inuit populations yet unintentional contributions by the non-indigenous. Trading goods, technology, religion and literacy reached Inuit as a result of indirect contact with the growing demands of western markets and 'civilizing missions.' The patterns of living for indigenous people adapted to suit the needs of the non-indigenous when Inuit supplied clothing, food, animal skins and labour. In the late nineteenth century Inuit depended on European material goods on a regular basis to a much greater extent than Inuit whom had limited contact with non-indigenous people in earlier centuries. Yet, consistent with earlier centuries, the stereotypical portrayal of Inuit as 'uncivilized' and exotic continued to exist among the non-indigenous in the late nineteenth century.

The tone of moral superiority with respect to non-indigenous people in the Arctic is evident in the various Inuit stereotypes that evolved over the nineteenth century. Inuit as curiosities continued to reinforce the label of 'exotic' for those who were transported to Europe throughout the century, especially in the case of the showman Hadlock who regarded Inuit as commodities when he profited from displays to a paying public. From initial attitudes with respect to being 'uncivilized savages' some Europeans such as

M'Donald, who earned an elevated status within Victorian society because of his academic training, assumed that although Inuit were capable of some general improvement with respect to a 'civilized' outlook, Inuit as a race were incapable of moving up on the social hierarchy. In his scientific opinion, this was not unusual for the 'barbarous races.'

Paradoxically, Europeans were indebted to Inuit who acted as guides, interpreters, hunters and guards at established settlements. Individuals such as missionaries who arrived in the Eastern Arctic in the last decades of the century encouraged Inuit to become schoolteachers and clergy for their peoples. While this change in attitudes and assumptions about Inuit is refreshing, it is also disturbing that the earlier stereotypic representations of Inuit continued to exist at the same time. This incongruous treatment of Inuit at home and abroad suggests that stereotypes were used to promote other agendas that were beneficial to non-indigenous people and detrimental to indigenous people.

Chapter Four

White Myths: Frozen in an Historical Stereotype

British Stereotypes of Eastern Arctic Inuit in Victorian Popular Culture

Some of the earliest European representations of Inuit as exotic and 'uncivilized' established a stereotypic view that survived from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century.[250] In the Eastern Arctic, the sustained presence of whalers and missionaries in the nineteenth century and the impact of acculturation drastically affected the patterns of living for many Inuit. Yet, few non-indigenous people living outside of the Arctic region recognized that the introduction of European and American technology, commercial competition for resources, material goods, disease, and cultural values altered the indigenous population.[251]

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[250] Daniel Francis used the term 'frozen in an historical stereotype' to describe the image of 'Performing Indians' at fairs and exhibitions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Canada and the United States. See Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian *The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), p. 102

[251] According to Ross, "the activities of whalemen during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century are worthy of consideration because they exerted a powerful influence upon the animal life, native population, and political status of the Arctic Islands." See W. Gillies Ross, "Whaling, Inuit, and the Arctic Islands," in Morris Zaslow ed., A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands 1880-1980 (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1981), p. 34. Ross also notes the ecological impact of whalers in W. Gillies Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The *Neptune* Expedition of 1903-04," Arctic, vol. 29, no. 2 (1976), pp. 88-89. According to Daniel R. Headrick, "European empires of the nineteenth century were economy empires, cheaply obtained by taking advantage of new technologies, and, when the cost of keeping them rose a century later, quickly discarded. In the process, they unbalanced world relations, overturned ancient ways of life, and opened the way for a new global civilization." See Daniel R. Headrick, The Tools of Empire *Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 209

By the end of the century the British government relinquished control of the Arctic Islands to the Dominion of Canada through treaties signed in 1870 and 1880, designed to diminish the threat of an American presence north of Canada.[252] The Canadian government paid little attention to the indigenous population in the Eastern Arctic.[253] Inuit were not consulted when the treaties were signed, even though they were a distinct people who had occupied the land of their ancestors for thousands of years.

In the pre-contact period this dispersed population of First People adapted to the harsh climate and available resources in the Arctic and Sub Arctic regions.[254] They were sovereign in the land of ice and snow before the first political impact of explorers, when Frobisher claimed Meta Incognita in the name of Queen Elizabeth I in 1576.[255] Yet, in 1897 the Canadian federal

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[252]According to Zaslow, Americans were warned not to trespass on "Cumberland Island" in 1853 as a direct result of whaling activity. The warning had little affect on American whalers, and the sovereignty issue was not raised until 1874 when William A. Mintzer, an American naval officer, applied for a grant to mine mica deposits in Cumberland Sound. See Zaslow, pp. 47-48. The area under consideration was a twenty square mile tract. See Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914, (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. 251. See also Eber, p. 22

[253] See Diamond Jenness, "Eskimo Administration: II. Canada." In Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 14 (1964), p. 17

[254] Anthropologists use the term 'dispersed' rather than 'nomadic' for Inuit patterns. See David Damas, "From Ethnography and History to Ethnohistory in the Central Arctic," Arctic Anthropology, vol. 35, no. 2 (1998). For information on Inuit ancestors such as the Dorset and Thule cultures see Renée Fossett, In Order to Live Untroubled *Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2000), pp. 9-32. See also Hans-Georg Bandi, translated by Ann E. Keep, Eskimo Prehistory (Alaska: University of Alaska Press, 1972). Archaeological records confirm that the ancestors of Inuit were innovative when they adapted to regional variations in climate, geography and natural resources. See "Part One, The Relationship in Historical Perspective, Chapter Five," Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996

[255]Ross notes the political impact of explorers in his article "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The *Neptune* Expedition of 1903-04," p. 89. According to the digital collection program of Industry

government officially declared sovereignty over the Arctic Islands with the outward gesture of a flag-raising at the whaling station located on Kekkerton Island in Cumberland Sound. William Wakeham, commander of the steamship *Diana* recorded the occasion in his report to Marine and Fisheries Canada:

> Tuesday, 17th August – Landed and hoisted the Union Jack in presence of the agent, a number of our own officers and crew, and the Esquimaux, formally declaring in their presence that the flag was hoisted as an evidence that Baffin's Land with all the territories, islands and dependencies adjacent to it were now, as they always had been since their first discovery and occupation, under the exclusive sovereignty of Great Britain.[256]

Meanwhile, in Great Britain social commentators were preoccupied with the repercussions of rapid industrial growth, economic depression and overcrowded cities. With a population of forty million people, many struggled for the bare necessities of life. Other unfortunate souls succumbed to their extreme level of poverty. In The People of the Abyss, a social comment on the

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Canada, "[t]he 1960's saw the rise of Inuit political consciousness…Inuit began from the standpoint that they had never surrendered their land by conquest or treaty." See Industry Canada Digital Collection Program, "Land Claims Agreements," Canadian Arctic Profiles Indigenous Culture <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/arctic/inuit/claims.htm>

256 William Wakeham, Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship "Diana" Under the Command of William Wakeham Marine and Fisheries Canada in the Year 1897 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1898), pp. 23-24. See also Jenness, p. 17. According to Ross, the early treaties in 1870 and 1880 were vague, so "an Act of the Canadian parliament of 1895 under which the territories were divided into four districts, provided the politico-legal framework for Canadian sovereignty in the North; but it remained for Canada to turn privileges into real and undisputed possession." See Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The *Neptune* Expedition of 1903-04," p. 88. Later government reports on the Arctic include A.P. Low, Report of the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands on Board the D.G.S. Neptune 1903-1904 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906); J.E. Bernier, Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to the Northern Waters and Arctic Archipelago of the D.G.S. "Arctic" in 1910 (Ottawa: Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1911); A.E. Millward, ed., Southern Baffin Island: An Account of Exploration, Investigation and Settlement During the Past Fifty Years (Canada, Department of the Interior, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1930)

"chronic condition of misery" for the destitute poor in the city of London, Jack London related his experiences for the summer of 1902. In the preface he states, "I went down into the under-world of London with an attitude of mind which I may best liken to that of the explorer. I was open to be convinced by the evidence of my eyes, rather than by the teachings of those who had not seen, or by the words of those who had seen and gone before."[257] In chapter twenty-seven entitled "The Management," he endorsed the reorganization of British society under capable political management and blamed the current state of affairs on the mismanagement and misappropriation of funds by the government of the day. He called for a more civilized existence for the London poor. To conclude the chapter he wrote:

> There can be no mistake. Civilization has increased man's producing power an hundred fold, and through mismanagement the men of Civilization live worse than the beasts, and have less to eat and wear and protect them from the elements than the savage Innuit in a frigid climate who lives today as he lived in the stone age ten thousand years ago.[258]

In his early twentieth century commentary, London criticized the 'civilized' progress of British industrial society and he characterized 'uncivilized' Inuit as primitive 'savages' whose society had not advanced since the Stone Age. London's observation was consistent with the labels established for Inuit by British society for at least three hundred years. From the earliest

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[257] Jack London, The People of the Abyss, [computer file] (Raleigh, NC: Alex Catalogue, [199-?], p. 2. This copy was originally published as the 1905 edition.
[258] London, p. 129

textual records of Arctic explorers in the sixteenth century to the records of missionaries in the late nineteenth century, constant references to the 'uncivilized' existence of 'savage' Inuit are a recurring theme. Textual records, artifacts, visual images preserved in woodcuts, paintings and engravings promoted Inuit as exotics through the centuries.[259] The stereotype was reinforced when North American indigenous people were transported from their homelands to Europe and the United States. Inuit in particular were considered to be among the most 'savage' of the 'barbarous races,' as noted by George Cartwright in the late eighteenth century, a categorization that continued to exist one hundred years later.

As in previous centuries, Eastern Arctic Inuit were treated as curiosities by the non-indigenous in Victorian times. Some European showmen recognized that displaying Inuit offered greater profits when compared to

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[259] Several articles contain reprints of paintings, woodcuts and engravings in Christian F. Feest, ed., Indians and Europe, *an Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989). See also Neil Cheshire, Tony Waldron, Alison Quinn and David Quinn, "Frobisher's Eskimos in England," Archivaria, no. 10 (Summer 1980). See also Robert G. David, The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818-1914, (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2000) for a discussion of representational theory and the Arctic. For the origins of the magic lantern see Donald Simpson, "Missions and the Magic Lantern," International Bulletin of Missionary Research, vol. 21, no. 1 (January 1997), pp. 13-16. The use of lantern slides and photographs from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century as historical records or as propaganda is discussed in several articles. See Stephen Bottomore, "Projecting for the Lord – The Work of Wilson Carlile," Film History, vol. 14 (2002), pp. 195-209; W. Gillies Ross, "The Use and Misuse of Historical Photographs: A Case Study From Hudson Bay, Canada," Arctic Anthropology, vol. 27, no. 2 (1990), pp. 93-112; Christopher Trott, "Projecting An Image: Lantern Slide Shows As Anglican Missionary Representations of Inuit," In Jill Oakes, Rich Riewe, Skip Koolage, Leanne Simpson and Nancy Schuster, eds., Aboriginal Health, Identity and Resources (Winnipeg: Native Studies Press, 2000), pp. 239-258; Christopher G. Trott, "The Dialectics of "Us" and "Other": Anglican Missionary Photographs of the Inuit," The American Review of Canadian Studies (Spring/Summer 2001), pp. 171-190; Brock V. Silversides, The Face Pullers *Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939* (Canada: Fifth House Ltd., 1994).

exhibiting other indigenous peoples, as recorded in the 1880 diary of Captain Johan Adrian Jacobsen.[260] According to Nancy Grenville, archivist at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Jacobsen was an agent for Carl Hagenbeck, "founder of the Hamburg Tiergarten and sponsor of exhibitions of 'exotic peoples.'"[261] When Jacobsen arrived in Hamburg with eight Inuit from Labrador and artifacts that he collected from gravesites, Hagenbeck was very pleased with the new acquisitions.[262] According to Jacobsen, he and Hagenbeck "made plans to set up our show to the greatest advantage." Jacobsen disclosed the significance of exhibiting Inuit when he commented, "[f]or other groups, eg Africans and later Indians (from India), there were always 20, 30, 40 people. However, these were paid much less than the northern Eskimos or Laplanders."[263] Hadlock had regarded Inuit as commodities at the beginning of the nineteenth century; Jacobsen and Hagenbeck continued the practice when they exhibited Inuit for profit at the end of the century.[264]

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[260] In 1877 Johan Adrian Jacobsen transported a group of Inuit from Disko Bay to Europe. They were fortunate enough to return to Greenland, and did not die from smallpox because Jacobsen arranged vaccinations for them. See Translation of the Diary Kept by Captain Johan Adrian Jacobsen on Board the Galleas Eisbaer, 1880, sidescript to page 104, p. 4, Records of the Moravian Mission, Centre for Newfoundland Studies

[261] See Nancy Grenville, "Introduction to the Translation of the Diary Kept by Captain Johan Adrian Jacobsen on Board the Galleas Eisbaer, 1880", (St. John's Newfoundland: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University Library, July 20, 1987), p. 1

[262] According to Jacobsen, "The Museum in Paris (the Trocadero) had also bought several things, such as, for instance, all the objects from the graves in Labrador." See pp. 34-35

[263] Jacobsen, p. 26

[264] Jacobsen, p. 15. The names of the individual Inuit are noted in Jacobsen's diary, see p. 20. See also Garth J. Taylor, "An Eskimo Abroad, 1880: His Diary and Death," Canadian Geographic [Canada],

Transporting Inuit from the Eastern Arctic was not restricted to the Europeans according to Kenn Harper in his book Give Me My Father's Body *The Life of Minik, the New York Eskimo*, where he documents the journey of six Inuit from northwestern Greenland to New York in 1897. Robert E. Peary, an American explorer later renowned for his claim of discovering the North Pole, left the group at the American Museum of Natural History after he brought them to New York from Greenland.[265] Officials at the museum treated them as live scientific specimens, and a curious American public paid to observe these select members of the "Northern races."[266]

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vol. 101, no. 5 (1981), pp. 38-43. While Jacobsen was pleased that he persuaded a group of Labrador Inuit to travel to Europe, once they were outside of the influence of the Moravians who disapproved of this practice, Jacobsen was disappointed that officials in Greenland would not allow him to bring Greenlanders to Germany. Jacobsen brought a group of four Greenland Inuit to Europe in 1877-1878. See Jacobsen, pp.6-7

[265] Peary recovered meteorites from the Arctic and brought a huge sample from Greenland to New York on the voyage of 1897. Morris Jessup was the financier who provided funding for the expeditions. The Peary Club was also founded to provide further funding for the quest to reach the North Pole. Peary received medals from the Royal Geographic Society of London for his expeditions to the North. See Marquis Publications, Who was Who in America, Volume I 1897-1942 (Chicago: Marquis Publications, 1966), p. 950.

[266]The term "Northern races" was used by Franz Boas. He worked in the Department of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History. In a letter from Boas to Peary, dated May 24, 1897, Boas suggested that Peary should try to bring back a middle-aged Eskimo to stay in New York for the winter. Peary took it upon himself to bring back six Greenland Inuit. Morris Jessup, the sponsor of the expedition to Greenland, did not ask Peary to bring back Inuit as live specimens, and was therefore surprised to learn of their arrival in the United States. See Kenn Harper, Give Me My Father's Body *The Life of Minik, the New York Eskimo* (South Royalton: Steerforth Press, 2000), pp. 24-25. See notes p. 239. For list of 'Eskimo' collections in European museums in the early twentieth century see Knud Rsmussen, "Tasks for Future Research in Eskimo Culture," In Problems of Polar Research A Series of Papers by Thirty-One Authors, ed. W.L.G. Joerg (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), pp. 186-187. According to Moira McLoughlin, artifacts as museum pieces reflect "particular and situated interpretations of history." See Moira McLoughlin, "Boundaries and Borders: First Nations; History in Museums," Canadian Journal of Communication, vol. 18, no. 3 (1993), p. 2. For a discussion of museum collecting expeditions see Alison K. Brown, Object Encounters: Perspectives on Collecting Expeditions to Canada, (University of Oxford: 2000). For discussions on repatriation see Alexandra Gill, *The Globe and Mail*, 'Bones of Contention,' August 16, 2003. See also "Appendix 6A: Excerpts from Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples,"

Five of the Greenlanders succumbed to disease, the unfortunate fate of many Inuit transported abroad through the centuries. Minik, a young Inuk, was the only survivor. He lived with his adoptive family for twelve years before he returned to his homeland. Like the cases of Mikak in the eighteenth century, and Eenoolooapik, Tookoolito and Ebierbing earlier in the nineteenth century, Minik was caught 'between two worlds' when he was immersed in another culture. Exhibiting Inuit was not an exclusive practice of the British in the nineteenth century, and it is evident from the accounts of Jacobsen and Harper that this practice was part of a larger trend of displaying indigenous peoples from around the globe as curiosities for Europeans and Americans.

The experiences of Minik were first brought to Harper's attention by Ulrik Lennert of Qaanaaq, northwest Greenland,[267] and this particular case was also noted by Archibald Fleming, an Anglican missionary who later became the first bishop for the Anglican Diocese of the Arctic in 1933.[268] Fleming met

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1992 Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples. For repatriation with respect to the Arctic Studies Center at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History see Stephen Loring, "Repatriation as a Guiding Principle for the Arctic Studies Center," and Tamara Bray, "Repatriation: A Clash of World Views." <http://www.mnh.si.edu/arctic/html/repatriation.html>

[267] Besides recollections of Minik by elders who knew him when they were young children at the turn of the century, Ulrik Lennert introduced Harper to the diary of Gustav Olsen, the first missionary to northwestern Greenland. Harper states, "Ulrik showed me an entry for a day in September [1909]; it told that the small ship, *Jeanie*, arrived that day with supplies for Peary and brought back from New York a young man, Minik, who had lost his language and culture and had only the clothes on his back." See Harper, Afterword, "A Conversation with Kenn Harper."

[268] Fleming was consecrated bishop of the newly formed Diocese of the Arctic on December 21, 1933 at St. John's Cathedral in Winnipeg Manitoba. See T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), pp. 446-44. See also Archibald Lang Fleming, Archibald the Arctic (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), pp. 305-306

Minik, also known as Mene Wallace, at St. John's Newfoundland in 1909.[269] Originally from Scotland, Fleming claimed that his decision to become a missionary was first influenced by the written accounts of missionaries to Africa. As a child, in 1894, he was also fascinated by the news that an Inuk from Cumberland Sound arrived home with the whalers. His sister told him about the Inuk named Shoudlo whom she saw at Dundee.[270] As an adult Fleming decided to become an Anglican Evangelical in the Arctic, like Peck before him, in order to 'save the heathens from themselves.' Fleming arrived at Lake Harbour aboard the *Lorna Doone* accompanied by Peck in 1909, to begin his ministry at the second Anglican mission on Baffin Island. In his autobiography he remarked:

> That the Eskimo were friendly and loving could not be questioned and this would mean everything to us as we entered upon the work. But it was equally clear that these were indeed a primitive people. My heart sank because they looked so wild, dirty, and unkempt. Some were dressed in garments made of sealskin while others wore a hodgepodge of ordinary clothing received from the men on the whaler. All were sadly ragged and disheveled. Could we ever hope to instruct them?[271]

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[269] Fleming, pp. 38-39. Minik was the first 'Eskimo' that Fleming ever met, yet he claimed that before their meeting he knew of this case from newspaper reports. According to Harper, "[i]n American sources Minik's name has generally been spelled "Mene," although in scientific journals it was consistently "Minik." All Greenlandic and Danish sources use "Minik" and this is consistent with the spelling of the official Greenlandic orthography." See Harper, p. xvi

[270] Fleming, pp. 7-8

[271] Fleming, p. 52. In 1909 Peck was superintendent of Arctic work for the church. He accompanied Fleming to Lake Harbour in order to establish a new mission. The Lorna Doone carried supplies, coal and a prefabricated house when it left St. John's harbour on the twelve hundred mile journey. See Fleming p. 36. Shorter journeys to the Arctic missions were realized a few years later when the base of communications for the Church Missionary Society switched from England to Canada and missionaries travelled aboard steamboats owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. See Peck Report,Peck Papers, P032 Diocese of Moosonee Fonds, Laurentian University Archives, p. 40. By 1910 the missionaries left Blacklead Island due to an extremely difficult winter. By 1914, with the outbreak of World War I

As a missionary, Fleming, like Horden, not only regarded Inuit as 'uncivilized heathens' but also as a primitive race of people.

The oversimplified stereotype of Inuit as a primitive race permeated Victorian culture, and their treatment as curiosities by Europeans and Americans perpetuated the label. Inuit and their ancestors had survived in the Arctic for eons through their resourcefulness and their skill to adapt to variations in climate and food supply. Near permanent shore stations built by whalers in the late nineteenth century, some Inuit adapted their lifestyle to trade for European goods and to accommodate the needs of non-indigenous people in the North. It cannot be denied that certain new-comers exploited i ndigenous people, yet select Inuit attained a modest level of success in their new roles as intermediaries.[272] The effects of acculturation may have contributed to alienation for people such as Mikak in the eighteenth century, but for others, such as Eenoolooapik in the nineteenth century, an elevated status within his society did not appear to be detrimental. In fact, the successes attributed to his trip abroad convinced even his sister Tookoolito to emulate his actions.

Anglican missionary work on the island came to a halt. An Inuit catechist, Peter Tooluakjuak, continued to minister to his own people until at least 1919. See Peck Report, p. 39

[272] According to Daniel Francis, "[t]he whalers left a mixed legacy from their two-hundred-year sojourn in the North. Their impact on the Inuit was profound; they left them depleted in population and hungry for the white man's trade." See Daniel Francis, Arctic Chase: A History of Whaling in Canada's North (St. John's Newfoundland: Breakwater Books, 1984), p. 107. See also Diamond Jenness, "Eskimo Administration: II. Canada. In Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 14 (1964), pp. 7-17. Jenness acknowledges the negative impact of decimated whale stocks and trade with whalers in the Eastern Arctic, but he also notes the positive impact of missionaries who helped to ease the painful transition for Inuit from their traditional ways to twentieth-century life. See pp. 15-16

The influence of non-indigenous cultural values was inevitable during the age of the new imperialism with improvements in European technology, and the introduction of larger sailing vessels and steamboats.[273] As methods of transportation improved, 'unknown' lands around the globe became more accessible to Europeans. Circa 1840 to 1910 was a transitional period when the sustained presence of whalers and missionaries levied a profound ecological and cultural impact on the Eastern Arctic. The regular distribution of European goods and European values from the shore stations changed the social and economic environment for Inuit.[274] The changes were linked to western market demands for such prized commodities as baleen, whale oil, sealskins and fox furs. Meanwhile, non-indigenous people in the Eastern Arctic relied on the labour, survival skills and trading goods that often only Inuit could supply in the land of ice and snow for most of the nineteenth century.

The assumptions and a ttitudes of non-indigenous people living outside the Arctic overshadowed the ingenuity of Inuit and the level of dependency between Europeans and Inuit in the Eastern Arctic.[275] 'Uncivilized' indigenous

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[273] See Headrick for discussion of the influence of technology during the new imperialism.

[274] At the shore stations near the mouth of Cumberland Sound Inuit families were issued weekly rations of ship biscuit, coffee, molasses and tobacco. See Diamond Jenness, p. 11. See also Dorothy Harley Eber, When the Whalers Were Up North *Inuit Memories From the Eastern Arctic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), pp. 7-8

[275] It is interesting to note that while Hagenbeck displayed Inuit for profit first in Germany and then throughout Europe, and they were therefore regarded as curiosities, Germans maintained a positive view of Eastern Arctic Inuit. According to David Thomas Murphy: "Although scores of related but distinct groups populate the subpolar Arctic in Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland, nonscholarly German accounts in general focused on the so-called "Central" and, to a lesser extent, the "Greenland"

peoples and their lifestyles continued to be displayed for profit at international venues where they were contrasted with 'civilized' non-indigenous cultures. At the international level, Inuit as a primitive race were promoted to a broad audience at world's fairs. According to Burton Benedict:

> World's fairs showed the power of the imperial nation and were meant to impress both foreigners and the home population....Visitors flocked to them out of curiosity and because they wanted to learn about the way people from foreign lands lived, the skills they possessed and the objects they produced.
>
> Showing living people and their artifacts fed into existing ethnic stereotypes, which world's fairs, both elaborated and modified. During nearly 150 years of world's fairs, ethnic stereotypes, gradually altered, moving from manifestations of Euro-American superiority and imperialism towards expressions of nationalism in new nations.[276]

The Crystal Palace, the site of the first international exhibition at Hyde Park in London in 1851, was a tremendous architectural structure that symbolized the industrial, military and economic superiority of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Victoria.[277] Invitations to attend the exhibition were

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Eskimo, the indigenous inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic and of Greenland respectively. It is clear that the positive image of the Eskimo was due primarily to a single fact: Germans admired the Eskimo ability to survive in the Arctic environment." See David Thomas Murphy, " "First Among Savages": The German Romance of the Eskimo from the Enlightenment to National Socialism," German Studies Review, vol. 25, no. 3 (2002), p. 537

[276] Burton Benedict, "Rituals of Representation: Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs," In Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn, eds., Fair Representations *World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), p. 28.

[277] The Crystal Palace was the model for future international exhibitions. According to Roland Marchand, since the first international exhibition in 1851, "these exhibitions have served a multitude of purposes. People have come seeking knowledge of new technologies, vicarious experiences of distant peoples and places, visions of the future, lessons in everyday living, thrills and entertainment, or simply the pleasures of joining in the flow of eager and expectant crowds." See Roland Marchand, "Corporate Imagery and Popular Education: World's Fairs and Expositions in the United States, 1893-1940," European Contributions to American Studies, vol. 21 (1991), p. 18. For a discussion of impact of the 1851, 1951 and 2000 Exhibitions in Britain see Asa Briggs, "Exhibiting the Nation," History Today (2000), pp. 16-25. For a listing of major exhibitions for Australia, England and India in 1851-1914 see Peter H. Hoffenberg, An Empire on Display *English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the*

extended to virtually all the colonized world, and according to Audrey Short, the Province of Canada joined seventy-two states and other territories on display. While Britain hoped to outshine other countries with respect to national progress, Short contends that for pre-confederation Canada, "the central purpose of the display was to win immigrants and investment for British America." Six million people viewed a collective display provided by the Province of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland that, according to the official catalogue for the Great Exhibition, consisted of a two storey high timber trophy and a sleigh containing "Indian and Eskimo articles, and a painting of caribou stalking in 'wild romantic country.'"[278] Between 1851 and 1867 the British American colonies were promoted at the international level at four exhibitions attended by an estimated twenty-five million visitors.[279]

By the end of the century, when post-confederation Canada participated at the Columbian International Exposition at Chicago in 1893, there was still an emphasis on nationalism, especially for the United States, but the

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Crystal Palace to the Great War (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 279-280. For a listing of prominent Commissioners in 1851-1914 see Hoffenberg, pp. 281-285. For a list of English government expenditures in 1851-1914 for selected exhibitions see Hoffenberg, p. 286

[278] As quoted in Audrey Short, "Canada Exhibited, 1851-1867," The Canadian Historical Review, vol. XLVIII, no. 4 (December, 1967), p. 355

[279] Short, pp. 363-364

overwhelming focus of the fairs was diverted to displays of popular culture.[280] According to historian Elsbeth Heaman, in the late nineteenth century exhibitions were ideally viewed as places of cultural exchange and educational opportunities, especially with respect to agricultural concerns. Based on this premise, governments justified their financial support for the exhibitions.[281] Historian James Gilbert notes that world's fairs and international expositions were "sites of remarkable commercial and cultural complexity, contradiction and struggle." He adds that from the mid-nineteenth century to present day, the history of world's fairs can be divided into two models. The first model, Victorian Fair, began with the Crystal Palace in 1851 and extended to the period of time immediately following World War I. Gilbert states, "[t]he great organizing principle of the Victorian Fair was the idea of universal culture, a complex notion defined, in part, by European (often with a French accent) opposition between civilization and savagery. This division was moral, physical, and visual."[282] At the end of the nineteenth century the exposition

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[280] According to James Gilbert, Americans scheduled fairs around commemorative occasions "1893 (400 years after Columbus), 1904 (Louisiana Purchase), 1933 (a century of Chicago history) were excuses for a city to celebrate itself and its economic achievements and future commerce and a chance to inscribe American history into the primary narrative of world history." See James Gilbert, "World's Fairs as Historical Events," In Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn, eds, Fair Representations *World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994)

[281] Elsbeth Anne Heaman, Commercial Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions at Home and Abroad During the Nineteenth Century (University of Toronto, 1996), p. 404

[282] Gilbert, p. 17. He also states, " [w]hile the Victorian Fairs exhibited culture as the badge of achievement and power, it did so as a part of the larger definition of civilization that coupled culture to commerce." See p. 20. Aram A. Yengoyan notes that the French regarded civilization as the highest form of cultural development. See Aram A. Yengoyan, "Culture, Ideology and World's Fairs: Colonizer and Colonized in Comparative Perspectives," In Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn, eds.,

was divided into the White City and the Midway, terms coined at Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition.[283]

Gate receipts were of predominant importance to organizers of exhibitions, and in order to cater to the demands of the masses, sideshows were incorporated as trendy venues. The sideshows represented the triumph of popular culture at the fairs. According to Heaman, "[e]xhibitions had tried to bring popular taste to the level of cultured elites; instead, things had gone the other way. The exhibition now catered to the masses and social elites had to accommodate themselves willy-nilly." [284] Gilbert confirms Heaman's observations when he states that anthropological and colonial curiosities were grouped with leisure activities at the Midway. The enclosure of anthropology and mass amusement served "the mutual attraction of exoticism and fantasy, the aesthetic of difference and discovery in a special place where the planners of the fairs consigned elements that did not fit into their celebrations of high culture, European or American nationalism, and science."[285]

Fair Representations *World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), p. 82. In a contemporary account of the Chicago Exposition, Julian Hawthorne remarks, that the Midway Plaisance, as noted in the catalogue for the fair, was listed as "Department M. – Ethnology. Isolated Exhibits – Midway Plaisance." Hawthorne described a stroll in the Midway, "....while all along your route are samples of the architecture, inhabitants, manners and customs, home-life and characteristic products of the wild and civilized races of the world. Upon the whole, it is the most magnificent and satisfactory plaything ever yet devised for the delectation of mortal woman or man." See Julian Hawthorne, "Foreign Folk at the Fair," The Cosmopolitan, vol. 15 (1893), p. 568.

[283] Gilbert, pp. 13-14

[284] Heaman, pp. 404-406

[285] Gilbert, p. 17. Progress in technology and architecture were celebrated in the White City. The 'City Beautiful Movement' is traced to the exposition.

At Chicago the sideshow was called the Midway Plaisance, and according to Heaman,

> Cairo street was one of the many recreations of exotic lifestyles on the Midway and around the Exhibition site. As well as the Egyptians and Sudanese on Cairo street, there were Indonesians, Dahomans, Malays, Samoans, Fijians, Japanese, Chinese, and Irish communities. There were also Natives from across North America, including 58 Inuit from Labrador.

The Inuit encampment was considered "dirty, smelly, and idle," yet Heaman remarks that "the Inuit were not passive before the curious stares of the tourists." Apparently a speculator brought the Inuit group to the fair, but "they left the grounds and set up their own show, charging admission, and remained there till the autumn..." The indigenous people at the sideshow overshadowed the exhibits of Native culture displayed by Canadian and American governments, which highlighted their efforts of assimilation through education for their respective indigenous populations.[286]

Sideshow entertainment was established as a profitable component of popular cultures in the late nineteenth century in such promotions as Buffalo

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[286] Heaman, pp. 404-406. Indian Affairs collected native artifacts from across the country. According to Heaman, American agents bought the best West Coast artifacts before the Canadian officials. See pp. 406-407. Heaman states that Franz Boas arranged for seventeen Kwagiulth to set up a camp. In August they created controversy when they performed the Sun Dance, banned in Canada. See p. 406. The largest Canadian attraction was a small group of Native boys and girls from the residential schools who showed their various skills to interested visitors. Judges awarded a collective medal to the Department of Indian Affairs, and prizes to eight schools. In reality, the conditions at schools such as those located in Qu'Appelle and Battleford were horrid. See Heaman, pp. 407-409.

Bill's Wild West Show that toured in Canada, the United States and Europe.[287] According to Daniel Francis, complex Native cultures were reduced to a single representation with the shows.[288] Heaman supports Francis when she states:

> The general public in Canada and England enjoyed Native displays, the more "savage" the better, but earnest Canadians concerned for the progress of civilization tried to repress anything that would reflect badly on Canada's reputation. In Canada, the public usually won, for Natives did dance and perform at exhibitions across the country, often in Wild West shows which toured around the major exhibitions during the 1880s and 1890s, re-enacting battles. In 1914, however, the Department of Indian Affairs prohibited "senseless" drumming, dancing, and Indian costume from exhibitions and in 1925 banished Natives from the Calgary Exhibition.[289]

The sideshows were controversial, especially for governments concerned with 'keeping up appearances.' According to Heaman:

> this tension between the spectacular and the civilized was most acute, as government agents tried to show the world how progressive and civilized Canada was, which meant thrusting Indian artifacts firmly behind the minerals and motors. But most tourists weren't interested in rocks and planks and they congregated at the most entertaining and visually stimulating displays. At first the battle ground concerned the inclusion of Native artifacts, but later, the struggle was waged with the bodies of Natives themselves.[290]

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[287] Daniel Francis, pp. 87-90. Francis states that the Wild West Show was most popular in the decades that immediately preceded World War I. See p. 95

[288] Francis, p. 96

[289] Heaman, p. 545. See also Francis, p. 98 and Constance Backhouse, " 'Bedecked in Gaudy Feathers': The Legal Prohibition of Aboriginal Dance: Wanduta's Trial, Manitoba, 1903," in Colour-Coded: A Legal History or Racism in Canada, 1900-1950 (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 18-55 and Tina Loo, "Dan Crammer's Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol, and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 73, no. 2 (June 1992), pp. 125-165. There were international, regional and local exhibitions in the nineteenth century.

[290] Heaman, p. 546

At international exhibitions 'uncivilized' indigenous races from around the globe were juxtaposed against the progress of 'civilized' nations.[291] These profound cultural statements situated Indigenous peoples and artifacts as trophies of the Victorian Age, just as early explorers during the Age of the Enlightenment regarded indigenous peoples as trophies of their heroic forays into unknown lands in the name of imperialism. Coincidentally while Inuit were widely regarded as exotic, some Europeans admired the resourcefulness of Eastern Arctic Inuit.[292]

Live displays of Inuit reinforced the power of the imagination and myths of the Arctic in the cultural microcosms of the Victorian Age. Inuit as 'uncivilized savages' from a primitive race were well established as part of European folklore by the nineteenth century.[293] According to Francis,

> Fairs and exhibitions represented a manipulation of nostalgia. They allowed non-Natives to admire aspects of aboriginal culture safely locked in the past, without confronting the problems of contemporary Native people. Frozen as they were in an historical stereotype, Performing Indians invoked a bygone era. By implication, they celebrated the triumph of white civilization.[294]

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[291] Ian Radforth discusses the role of Aboriginal people in national celebrations such as the 1860 Royal Tour of Canada. He argues that the social and cultural dynamics were complex. He proposes that an event such as the Royal Tour was not only "an occasion for state officials and other non-Aboriginal people to appropriate and display Indians but was also an opportunity for Native people themselves to claim public attention, affirm their own loyalism and cultural integrity, and demand redress of political grievances." For an example of aboriginal agency in the 1860s see Ian Radforth, "Performance, Politics, and Representation: Aboriginal People and the 1860 Royal Tour of Canada," The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 84, no. 1 (March 2003), pp. 1-2 . See also Gilbert, p. 17

[292] Benedict, p. 43. See also David Thomas Murphy, p. 537

[293] See David/Feest/Francis.

[294] Francis, p. 102. According to Gilbert, "the Midway exhibits joined fantasized and nostalgic displays of culture from Ireland and Germany to colonial enterprises and to exhibits of native Americans in a

In contrast, the Arctic was regarded as uninhabitable land by European standards, yet Inuit continued to live against what seemed like insurmountable odds with the threats of severe climate, difficult terrain and lack of vegetation. For centuries they survived at a subsistent level of existence and adapted to changes in the landscape and availability of resources. They were not a static society, yet representations of Inuit reinforced stereotypes as myths that were frozen and static in the imaginations of Europeans.

From their European world view, Victorians not only regarded Inuit as 'uncivilized' and exotic, but also as a fragile, vulnerable, dying race.[295] According to historian Peter H. Hoffenberg, while indigenous peoples from British colonies were promoted as 'exotics' at exhibitions, it was their presentation as members of " "disappearing" and "new" races, economies, cultures, and arts that drove their exhibition mania."[296] Victorians assumed that other indigenous people faced the same fate in the last two decades of the nineteenth century; Inuit were regarded as a distinctive dying race for another

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territory of confined exoticism." See Gilbert, p. 20. For information about the manipulation of stereotypes in Western Canada see Sarah Carter, Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery In Canada's Prairie West (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

[295] While deaths due to disease and starvation led to decreases in the population, before World War I many indigenous peoples were regarded as disappearing races. According to Silversides, First Nations people in western Canada were never in danger of extinction. Census data verifies a decline in their population between 1880 and 1918, and an increase for the 1920s. See Silversides, p. 57. Francis notes that the numbers of Indians were not so much as risk of disappearing as was their way of life. See Francis, p. 58

[296] Hoffenberg, p. 274

reason.[297] Experts believed that the Inuit race symbolized the evolutionary link between the 'Old World' and the 'New World.' Just as London commented in People of the Abyss, scientific scholars were convinced that Inuit were representatives from the Stone Age, and they searched for their proof in physical evidence.[298]

At the end of the century the new sciences of ethnography, ethnology and anthropology gained ground in the United States, Canada and Britain as means of measuring cultures and categorizing human beings according to race and origin.[299] Pseudosciences were also very popular. Phrenology purported to determine intelligence and character based on skull formations and Craniometry

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[297] Silversides explains the phenomenon of 'dying races' by placing it in historical context. "This was most likely due to the prevalence of the idea of social Darwinism combined with the observed inability of the First Nations people to adapt to the technologically superior society moving into their territory." See p. 57.

[298] See Henry Rink, "On the Descent of the Eskimo," Journal of the Anthropological Institute (Mémoires de la Societé Royale des Antiquaries du Nord) (April 1872) and Clements R. Markham, ed., Arctic Geography and Ethnology. A Selection of Papers on Arctic Geography and Ethnology. Reprinted and Presented to The Arctic Expedition of 1875, By The President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Geographic Society (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1875); Daniel Wilson, "On the Supposed Prevalence of One Cranial Type Throughout the American Aborigines," Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, New Series (1858); Daniel Wilson. The Lost Atlantis and Other Ethnographic Studies (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 10 Castle Street, 1892); J.C. Schultz, "The Innuits of Our Arctic Coast," Transactions of the Royal Society, Section II, 1894; F.F. Payne, "Eskimo of Hudson's Strait," Extract from Proceedings of Canadian Institute, 1889 (Toronto: The Copp Clark Company Limited Printers, 1889).

[299] Gilbert notes that the growth of Victorian Fairs "corresponded to the rise of modern tourism." A larger middle class had leisure time and finances to support their appetite for travel. As a result, by the twentieth century, stereotypic presentations persisted, and "[a]s organizing principles, science and science popularization and the promise of consumer plenty began to dominate the fair." See pp. 22-23. Patricia Jasen discusses the culture of tourism in Ontario in 1790-1914. She notes the interest in wilderness and wildness as part of the romanticism attached to tourism. She states, "[m]any factors were involved, including the emergence of the 'picturesque' and the 'sublime' as major aesthetic categories; the rising importance of landscape as an element of taste; growing links between concepts of landscape, nationalism, and history; and a deepening fascination with aboriginal peoples." See Patricia Jasen, Wild Things Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914, (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 7

measured cranial features to classify people with respect to race, criminal temperament and intelligence. These beliefs were based on the assumption that the size and shape of the skull determined brain size, which in turn determined intelligence and m oral behaviour.[300] Therefore, under the guise of scientific evidence, psuedoscientific claims categorized race according to hierarchies on the evolutionary scale, and influenced studies in scientific fields.[301]

For the 'armchair anthropologist' of the nineteenth century, travel literature offered non-specialist reports about adventure and primitive races.[302] According to Constance Backhouse, a proliferation of 'professionals' in the emerging sciences offered their 'expert' reports with respect to race.

> During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when empires stretched to the far corners of the globe, Europeans began to exploit the idea of 'race' as a convenient justification for their right to rule over 'uncivilized' peoples, a rationale for the creation of colonial hierarchies. With the rise of 'science' on the heels of the Industrial Revolution, newly emerging

[300] For the Scope's trial of 1925, Constance Areson Clark explains that the diagrams used by scientists to form hypotheses about the evolutionary process, were also used as illustrations in popular publications. This posed a significant problem, because these illustrations were interpreted as truths when taken at face value, instead of hypothetical explanations of evolution, as was originally intended. See Constance Areson Clark, "Evolution for John Doe: Pictures, the Public, and the Scopes Trial Debate," The Journal of American History (March 2001), pp. 1275-1303. Clark claims that "evolutionary thinking contained mixed messages about basic human dignity and racial hierarchy." See "Author's Comments on Teaching the Article," <http://www.indiana.edu/~jah/teaching/archive/2001_03/teaching.html>,pp. 1-2

[301] Jacobsen had the 'skullcap' of Paingo, one of the Labradorians he brought to Europe. In his journal he states that it was "wrapped in paper, I had stuffed into my suitcase between my clothes. However, when I left hospital a professor from the museum had come to assess our material from the graves. I offered him this skullcap, as I wanted to get rid of it. The professor accepted it gladly, put it under his topcoat and marched off with it." See Jacobsen, Insert for diary entry January 20, Thursday, "Stay in St. Louis Hospital, Paris 1881," pp. 34-35. See Backhouse for discussion of skull measurements for 1939 trial on status of Eskimos in Canada. See pp. 43-45.

[302] The term 'armchair anthropologist' is found in Henrika Kuklick, The Savage Within *The Social History of Anthropology 1885-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 13

> disciplines such as ethnology, anthropology, eugenics, psychology, and sociology began to offer 'professional' help in this task.[303]

The first in-depth ethnological study of Baffin Island Inuit, The Central Eskimo, was recorded by Franz Boas, a young German geographer who lived in the Arctic for the winter of 1883-1884. Boas intended to study "the simple relationships between the land and the people."[304] When he arrived at Kekerten, his first impressions of Inuit were captured in a letter to his family on October 3, 1883 when he wrote, "....with luck I will be with you again a year after you have read these lines, and I can tell you that the Eskimos are far from being uncivilized people."[305] In a letter to his fiancée Marie Krackowizer, written on January 23, 1884, he commented "These are 'savages' whose lives are supposed to be worth nothing compared with a civilized European. I do not believe that we, if living under the same conditions, would be so willing to work or be so cheerful and happy! I have to say that as regards character [,] I am totally contented with the Eskimos."[306]

His work was originally published as part of the Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in

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[303] Backhouse, p. 5

[304] As quoted from Boas in Ludger Müller-Wille ed., translated by William Barr, Franz Boas Among the Inuit of Baffin Island 1883-1884 *Journals and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 4.

[305] Müller-Wille, p. 110. On October 28, 1883 Boas met Kanaka, the son of Tookoolito. See pp. 129-132.

[306] Müller-Wille, p. 173. According to Douglas Cole, for Boas, "[p]articipation in the life of the Inuit also sharpened his social sense and his belief in the equality of virtue among peoples." See Douglas Cole, "Franz Boas in Baffin-Land," The Beaver, vol. 4 (August – September, 1986), p. 11. Boas published

1888.[307] Boas submitted documentation on Inuit legends and songs to the Journal of American Folklore based on his 1883-1884 study and consultations with Dr. H. Rink, a noted ethnologist who studied Greenland Inuit.[308] In 1901 he submitted an article to the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History entitled "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, From Notes Collected by Capt. George Comer, Capt. James S. Mutch and Rev. E.J. Peck."[309] In subsequent years Boas continued to study other indigenous populations as a professional anthropologist. He did not lose interest in Inuit, but he never returned to the Arctic.[310]

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[307] Gustav F. Holm's monograph on Greenland Inuit was published simultaneous with the monograph on Central Inuit by Boas. They are recognized as the two classics of Eskimo ethnology according to Henry B. Collins, from the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. Holm's monograph was also published in English as Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo, Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. 39, 1914. See Franz Boas, Introduction by Henry B. Collins, The Central Eskimo (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), p. v. Boas noted that scant information was available about the traditions of Greenlanders or Eskimos from Alaska. He was convinced that the information would help to explain the origin of the Eskimos. See pp. 233-235. For further insight to Boas experiences on Baffin Island see his translated journals and letters for 1883-1884 in Ludger Müller-Wille. International stationary research programs in the Arctic and the Antarctic were promoted as part of the framework of the First International Polar Year in 1882-1883. Eleven nations participated at fourteen research stations. See Müller-Wille, p. 7.

[308] Item b, Eskimo Tales and Songs by Boas, Printed, n.d. File XXI Franz Boas Papers, M56-1 Peck Papers, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives. See also Item d, Eskimo Tales and Songs by Boas, Journal of American Folk-Lore (and H. Rink), n.d. File XXI Franz Boas Papers, M56-1 Peck Papers, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives.

[309] Franz Boas, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay From Notes Collected by Capt. George Comer, Capt. James S. Mutch and Rev. E.J. Peck," Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XV (1901). See also Bernhard Hantzsch, "My Life Among the Eskimos Baffinland Journeys in the Years 1909-1911," In Mawdsley Memoir 3 translated and edited by Leslie H. Neatby, (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1977), p. 18. See also Frédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten, François Trudel, Memory and History in Nunavut Volume I Representing Tuurngait (Iqaluit, Nunavut: Language and Culture Program of Nunavut Arctic College, 2000), pp. 2-15. Peck ministered to Inuit for over forty years. According to a quote from Boas, Mutch spent seventeen winters in Cumberland Sound. See Collins, p. vii

[310] The naturalist Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch relied on Boas' maps of Baffin Island for his exploration of the West Coast of the island in 1909-1911. He conducted zoological expeditions to Iceland and Ungava Bay in his previous work. See Hantzsch, Bernhard Adolph, My Life Among the Eskimos,

In the Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution for the period 1889-1890 a report by Lucien Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory," was published following his two years among the indigenous population at the Fort Chimo Hudson's Bay Company post from August 1882 to September 1884.[311] Although Turner lived among the Innu and Inuit one year before Boas, as part of the First International Polar Year in 1882-1883, the publication of his work appeared after the Boas contribution.

Detailed scientific evidence about Eastern Arctic Inuit was scarce for the British in earlier centuries, and restricted to only a few sources. As noted in this study, the trend of transporting Inuit from the Eastern Arctic to Britain over three centuries revealed that some Europeans regarded them as scientific specimens. Dr. Edward Dodding wrote a post mortem report for Calichough in 1577. In the eighteenth century observations about Labrador Inuit were recorded by early Moravian missionaries and entrepreneurs such as Cartwright. A biography of Eenoolooapik with a brief summary of Baffin Inuit culture was

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Baffinland Journeys in the Years 1909-1911, translated and edited by Leslie H. Neatby (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1977), p. 18.

[311] He was originally sent to the region "to conduct coordinated observations of meteorological and magnetic phenomena....The project was titled the International Polar Year and it resulted in the first professionally-based anthropological studies in the eastern Arctic." See Jane Sproull Thomson, Book Review for "Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory," by Lucien M. Turner; Introduction by Stephen Loring, Polar Publishing, http://website.lineone.net/~polar.publishing/lucienturner.htm. Sproull Thomson is "a former ethnology curator with the Newfoundland and Glenbow Museums; she presently teaches native art history for the University of Calgary." See Sproull Thomson. The monographs by Boas and Turner are significant in anthropological terms because they studied indigenous peoples in the field.

published in 1841 from evidence recorded by M'Donald, the surgeon aboard the whaler *Bon Accord* in 1840.

The stereotypic view of Inuit that was established for over three centuries perpetuated their treatment as trophies, curiosities, scientific specimens and sources of entertainment in Victorian popular culture. The dependency between indigenous and non-indigenous people in the Arctic was well established by the nineteenth century, yet on European and North American soil Inuit were regarded as a primitive race. The perception of Inuit as racially inferior to Europeans and Americans overshadowed the reality of existence for those who lived and worked in the Arctic. The Age of the New Imperialism was marked by dramatic advances in technology, medical knowledge, communication and transportation when states were consumed with gaining territorial and commercial advantages over competing states, yet centuries old stereotypes of Inuit continued to thrive in the imaginations of the non-indigenous.

Victorian attitudes and assumptions filtered their perceptions of race. The situated interpretations of history as represented in displays of artifacts and the "territory of confined exoticism" at exhibitions promoted static stereotypes of Inuit.[312] The representation of Inuit as an 'uncivilized' and 'dying' race

[312] Gilbert coined the phrase "territory of confined exoticism." See Gilbert, p. 20. See also Radforth, Francis and McLoughlin for discussions of representation, imagination and performance.

fulfilled imagined realities for the British in the nineteenth century Age of the New Imperialism dominated by "self-conscious projects of collecting and organizing knowledge." Popular culture reinforced the established labels for British stereotypes of Inuit, and the contrast of cultures entrenched notions of race and 'civility' defined by moral superiority and cultural differences.[313]

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[313] Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., Tensions of Empire *Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1997), pp.11-13

Conclusion

Captured Inuit and Captured Imaginations

In this study a number of cases where Eastern Arctic Inuit were transported to Europe willingly or under duress emphasizes the British perception of Inuit as 'uncivilized' and exotic. This trend over time uncovers the evolution of stereotypes into a European folklore or myth with respect to Inuit in the Imperial Age. The continued use of adjectives such as 'savage,' 'barbaric,' 'uncivilized,' and 'heathen' in narratives, journals, diaries, letters and reports perpetuated the non-indigenous perception of Inuit as an exotic and primitive race.

The stereotypic view was used to suit the needs of the non-indigenous when they treated Inuit as trophies, curiosities, sources of entertainment and scientific specimens. Europeans categorized themselves as intellectually, morally, politically and racially superior to Inuit from first contact to the Victorian Age. They attributed inferior status to Inuit based on cultural stereotypes and 'scientific' evidence. Paradoxically, in the Arctic Europeans and Americans depended on the hunting and survival skills of the indigenous in order to endure the unforgiving climate of the North. The non-indigenous also

relied on Inuit as intermediaries and guides in their quest to reap the rewards of rich natural resources from the North that was demanded by western markets.

The duality of moral superiority and humanitarianism, additional components of the new imperialism, seem to contradict each other but according to Conklin and Fletcher,

> Europeans' sense of moral superiority over others....is one of the central contradictions of European imperialism – as it reached its climax – that every colonizing power insisted both that conquest by their particular nation was a force for universal human progress, and that the peoples of the rest of the world were organized into immutable racial hierarchies that justified their subjugation.[314]

Missionaries exemplify this duality, for in order to spread the influence of the encroaching society, religiosity also travelled from the old world to the new world in the ongoing quest for commercial and territorial gains. While some may attribute moral superiority to arrogance on the side of the Europeans, it may also be explained, not necessarily justified, by stating that some Europeans were convinced that they had a religious duty to 'save these people from themselves.' They believed that indigenous peoples were 'heathens' who lived in spiritual darkness.

In the case of the Evangelical missionaries who often accompanied the commercial interests of the British as integral components of the new imperialism, their mandate included bringing their religion and social norms to

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[314] Alice L. Conklin and Ian Christopher Fletcher, European Imperialism, 1830-1930 (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), p. 5

the 'heathens' whom they considered to be less fortunate than themselves. Conjoining their religious and imperial duties with their 'civilizing missions,' missionaries joined the explorers, whalers, traders, naturalists and geographers in the name of empire to bring European 'civilization' to the 'savages;' they did not acknowledge that indigenous peoples had civilizations of their own.[315] Conklin and Fletcher state that "missionaries, a significant presence in all European colonies, readily accepted that the forward march of Christianity was also that of civilization."[316]

Besides exploiting non-Europeans as trophies and as slaves, Europeans also regarded 'other' people as sources of scientific information and entertainment. Working alongside the missionaries, a host of other Europeans studied and recorded scientific and geographic information about strange lands and 'other' peoples in the nineteenth century. These actions were consistent with an increasing interest in scientific knowledge such as ethnology, ethnography, and later anthropology. In the name of science, indigenous peoples were studied as living specimens who provided opportunities for Europeans to study societies different from their own. The presence of exotics also afforded Europeans an opportunity to gain information about the geography, and the natural resources of other lands that might be commercially

[315] Olive Patricia Dickason, The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), p. 277
[316] Conklin and Fletcher, p.56. See also Adrian Hastings, "Christianity, Civilization and Commerce," in Conklin and Fletcher, pp. 74-81

viable and politically significant for the future expansion of empire. Learning about exotics, and introducing them to European customs and languages when they were brought to Europe was also favoured by the Europeans, because people such as Inuit could act as intermediaries, and learn enough about European languages to act as guides and interpreters for the Europeans on return visits to the North.[317]

For the aristocrats who did not value the scientific knowledge gained from studying indigenous people, visiting 'savages' proved to be a source of entertainment for the wealthy who were sometimes bored with their own existence, and craved a view of the exotic.[318] Panoramas, exhibitions and collections of artifacts were opportunities for displaying the riches of empire, for entertaining the rich, and for creating interest in the travels of explorers and merchants who visited foreign lands.[319] In an effort to bring the exotic home,

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[317]The role of 'savages' as intermediaries for British explorers in other parts of the world was commonplace by the nineteenth century. See Nick Hazelwood, Savage The Life and Times of Jemmy Button (Great Britain: Hodder & Stoughton, 2000), p.35. The transport of Jemmy Button, who was purchased for the price of a pearl button as a child, and four indigenous people from Tierra Del Fuego is recorded by Charles Darwin. See Charles Darwin, Journal of Researches (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1902), pp. 236-239. For more information on Jemmy Button see Charles Darwin, The Voyage of the Beagle, edited by Charles W. Eliot (New York: P.F. Collier & Son Corporation, 1937), pp. 211-214.

[318] The display of non-Europeans was an ancient practice, but documentation of the displays can only be traced to sixteenth century England. According to J.C.H. King, the most famous of the displays were Inuit that Martin Frobisher brought to England in 1577. See J.C.H. King, p. 243.

[319] Some exhibitions of Inuit in the nineteenth century were offered at reasonable rates. For example, at an exhibition in Vienna, Wright states that "[a]dmission was one guilder, with children and people from the serving classes admitted at half price." See Robin K. Wright, "The Traveling Exhibition of Captain Samuel Hadlock, Jr.: Eskimos in Europe, 1822-1826," in Christian F. Feest, Indians in Europe *An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 222. See also W. Gillies Ross, Arctic Whalers Icy Seas *Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale Fishery* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1985), pp. 109-112

literature and pictorial representations reached European audiences along with tangible items such as artifacts, minerals, and harvested natural resources, but in the name of entertainment live specimens brought a living and breathing representation of the exotic to Europe.[320]

Stereotypes do not reside in isolation, but live within the social and historical constructs of race as mythical and artificial designations.[321] Stereotypes tell the story of their creation if presented within their historical context. For the Arctic region, the contact periods fill in some of the gaps to our whole Canadian history. It is presumptuous to assume that the records of the Europeans and other non-indigenous people are a complete representation of Arctic history, because the voice of Inuit is needed to add another perspective to the experiences of their ancestors. Their voices are missing from most recorded history of their land, but clues about this relatively small, dispersed population of First People who lived across massive expanses of ice and snow may be found in the scattered fragments of information left by the non-Inuit who lived for a time in the Eastern Arctic.

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[321] Backhouse contends that the study of the concept of race "is built upon shifting sands." She adds that while some may argue that racial designations are artificial and it is therefore difficult to make credible assessments of the categories, she argues that " '[r]ace' is a mythical construct. 'Racism' is not." Backhouse states that "Canadian history is rooted in racial distinctions, assumptions, laws, and activities, however fictional the concept of 'race' may be." See Constance Backhouse, Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada 1900-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 7

With growing support for ethnohistory across the disciplines in the twenty-first century the sub discipline of Aboriginal history plays a pivotal role as a conduit for historical understanding. Not only is the writing of Aboriginal history situated close to the intersection of scholarship and contemporary public policy according to Ken Coates, it is also an integral part of our whole Canadian past.[322] Inuit history did not begin with European contact but with the prehistory of their ancestors. In this study the continual British stereotype for Inuit examines myths and stereotypes as a phenomenon of the Imperial Age. To reconstruct our past contextualized historical knowledge will contribute to solving the puzzle of the silences of the North. Inuit and their ancestors are distinct Aboriginals who were the First People to call the Arctic home. Their lives and their land hold a rich and complex history.

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[322] Ken Coates, "Writing First Nations into Canadian History: A Review of Recent Scholarly Works," The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 81, no. 1 (March 2000), p. 100

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